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THE  
CHURCHMAN

FEBRUARY, 1901.

ART. I.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY  
SINCE THE RESTORATION.

FREDERICK CORNWALLIS.

JOHN CORNWALLIS, ancestor of our present subject, was Sheriff of London in 1377. He had a country seat, Brome Hall, near Eye, in Suffolk, which his descendants continued to hold, some of them from time to time representing the county in Parliament. Frederick Cornwallis was a loyal supporter of Charles I., and followed his son into exile. The former made him a baronet, and the latter on the Restoration raised him to the peerage by the title of Lord Cornwallis of Eye, and the family continued to prosper through fortunate marriages. The fifth Baron was created an Earl. He was the eldest brother of Frederick, the subject of the present memoir, who was born on February 22, 1713, and had for twin brother Edward, afterwards General, who was so like him in appearance that when they were boys together at Eton "it was difficult to know them asunder." The eldest brother, Charles, married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Townshend and niece of Sir Robert Walpole, and we need not hesitate to assume that it was owing to this marriage that the Baron became an Earl and that his brother became a Bishop, though Walpole had died before the latter appointment.

Frederick Cornwallis proceeded from Eton to Christ's College, Cambridge, took his B.A. degree in 1736, and became a Fellow. He was very popular at the University, and bore a high character, but towards the end of his residence he had some paralytic affection which took away the use of his right hand and obliged him from that time to write with his left. In 1740 he was presented by his brother to the rectory of Chelmondiston, Suffolk, with which he held that of Tittles-

hall St. Mary, Norfolk. Then he was appointed successively King's Chaplain, Canon of Windsor, Prebendary of Lincoln, and on February 19, 1750, was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. In 1766 he was nominated Dean of St. Paul's. We have already seen more than one case where a poorly endowed bishopric was thus supplemented in the way of income.

Probably the Church of England was never more sleepy than at that moment. The Nonjurors, who had furnished a real element of piety among the upper and middle classes, were dwindling away. Country squires, whose fathers had been Jacobite, so far followed in their steps as to drink "the King's health over the water," but really cared no more for the Stuarts than they did for the Ptolemies, knowing that the Stuart cause was hopeless; but the old High Churchmen still held Puritanism in abomination, and, as far as they knew how, kept up the Laudian ritual. But Whiggism in politics had gone steadily on, and the main tenet among the clergy was: "Live an easy life, and let things alone." Mark Pattison, in his "Essay on the Religious Thought of the Eighteenth Century" ("Essays and Reviews," No. VI.) well sums up the characteristics of the time in the following words: "It was a period of decay of religion, licentiousness of morals, public corruption, profaneness of language—a day of rebuke and blasphemy. Even those who look with suspicion on the contemporary complaints from the Jacobite clergy of decay of religion will not hesitate to say that it was an age destitute of depth and earnestness; an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight, and whose public men were without character; an age of light without love, whose very merits were of the earth earthy." Theological writing was confined almost entirely to scepticism on one side and the "evidences" on the other. To quote Mr. Pattison once more: "Dogmatic theology had ceased to exist; the exhibition of religious truth for practical purposes was confined to a few obscure writers. Everyone who had anything to say on sacred subjects drilled it into an array of arguments against a supposed objector. Christianity appeared made for nothing else but to be proved; what use to make of it when it was proved was not much thought about. The only quality in Scripture which was dwelt on was its *credibility*." But even now things were on the turn for the better. Wesley in 1738 had begun that incessant round of itinerant labours in every part of the British Isles which ceased not for fifty years. And at the moment at which we are arrived his preaching, as also that of Whitefield, was beginning to tell. Wesley had profoundly moved great

masses of the miners and manufacturers in great towns, and the Londoners were also beginning to feel the enthusiasm. Still, it was as yet a dull period. To judge only by the Episcopate, as one looks down the list of Bishops in the year of Cornwallis's consecration, there are only three whose names are even remembered to-day. Of Secker I have ventured to speak highly. Joseph Butler was appointed Bishop of Durham the same year that Cornwallis went to Lichfield. This great man, it is true, wrote on the "Evidences," of which Pattison speaks somewhat lightly. But then he did so with the most deep and profound conviction of the moral and spiritual power of Christian religion. All his life the man had a profound faith in God, and therefore his "Analogy" does not impress us so much as being an argument for the credibility of religion, but as a work impelling the energy of realized conviction. One other name just survives—that of Zachary Pearce, Bishop of Rochester. He wrote a respectable Commentary on the Gospels and Acts, some portions of which may still be found imbedded in the dreary Commentary of D'Oyly and Mant. But, for the rest of the list, who knows anything of Edward Willes, Sir W. Ashburnham, Lord J. Beauchamp? They are but a few of a list, respectable, I suppose, but quite forgotten. "Omnes illacrimabiles urgentur, ignotique longâ nocte."

Cornwallis, however, let it be said, was highly esteemed for his personal character. The Prime Minister, George Grenville, said to Bishop Newton in the most naive way that such bishoprics as Lichfield were sees of ease, where little work had to be done, and therefore such as ought to be specially reserved for men of family and fashion. He seems to have filled the see with credit and to have shown zeal and wisdom in the administration of it. He was at this time a moderate Whig, and proved himself tolerant to Dissenters and appreciative of the good work of Wesley and Whitefield. He was not a brilliant man, but he had plenty of good sense, of candour, and of hearty, kindly feeling. During his Lichfield episcopate he married Caroline, granddaughter of Lord Townshend, but had no children. She survived him twenty-eight years.

On the death of Secker in 1768 Cornwallis was translated to Canterbury, and though he did nothing brilliant and published nothing but four sermons, he filled his archiepiscopal throne with dignity and won the respect of his contemporaries. Hasted, the historian of Kent, who was his contemporary, speaks in very high terms of him for his "affability and courteous behaviour, so very different to his contemporaries." It was specially noted that from the time

of his taking up his residence at Lambeth the Archbishop's chaplains sat at the same table with himself instead of being placed at a separate one. And his hospitality was always most bountiful. Some pleasant features mark the period of his primacy. In the first place, the character of George III., notwithstanding his obstinacy and narrow-mindedness, was a distinct and marked improvement upon those of his predecessors. He was a genuinely religious man and desirous for the moral improvement of his people, and this was telling strongly upon his Court and those who frequented it. The Deistical spirit was dying out, at all events as far as Churchmen were concerned; the Methodist revival was telling with considerable force upon the clergy, even upon those who held aloof from its peculiarities. Benevolent agencies had been set on foot and flourished. The Christian Knowledge Society was busy and well-conducted. Howard was rescuing prisoners from their heathenism to a sense of Christian manhood. And with this there came a wider spirit of tolerance. There had been a plea for it made by the Whig party, but the main response to their appeal had come from the sceptical and the indifferent. It was now finding a place in the hearts of the earnest and pious, though there were drawbacks and hindrances. The friends of the wider views were denounced by some earnest people as indifferentists; as they looked back upon past troubles, the one side identified Nonconformity with disloyalty and the other side regarded stanch Churchmen as foes to liberty and upholders of despotism. We have seen how this operated against the proposals for the American Episcopate. They were opposed because men said it would militate against the liberties of the colonists in preaching up unlimited obedience to the King. Still, the advance of toleration continued. Dissenting teachers had hitherto been required to assent to the Thirty-nine Articles. For this in 1779 was substituted a profession of Protestantism and of belief in the Scriptures. Hints were even given of the desirability of repealing the Test Act, which imposed a sacramental test on those who held posts under Government. Cowper, who was a Whig in politics, wrote sternly against it:

“ Hast thou by statute shoved from its design  
 The Saviour's Feast, His own bless'd bread and wine,  
 And made the symbols of atoning grace  
 An office key, a picklock to a place,  
 That infidels may prove their title good  
 By an oath dipped in Sacramental blood?  
 A blot that will be still a blot, in spite  
 Of all that grave apologists may write;  
 And though a Bishop toil to cleanse the stain,  
 He wipes and scours the silver cup in vain ”

(“ Expostulation,” 375-385).

The Bishop here reflected on is Warburton, who published an essay on "The Necessity and Equity of a Test Law." A few years later the whole idea of repeal was thrown aside in the reaction against the principles of the French Revolution.

But there was another cause which retarded the growth of the principle of toleration, namely, the dread of Popery. The old statutes against it had never been repealed, but they had fallen into abeyance. Wake, as we have seen, had entertained hopes of reunion, but these had faded away. The Roman Catholics, hoping that they would find no further opposition, had come out of their retirement, for some of the prominent men of the day had spoken kindly and favourably of them. Dr. Johnson had done so in 1769, as Boswell tells us very emphatically. Even the evangelical John Newton had freely declared his belief in the genuine Christianity of Fénelon and Pascal. Cowper, who had written severely of Romanism in his first published volume of Poems, cancelled the leaf on the very eve of publication. Wesley had wavered, and from time to time had used contradictory language on the question. The moderation of Gallicanism had declared against the opinion which had once been held, that the Pope had the power of absolving subjects from their allegiance to the King, and of declaring them deposed for their heretical opinions, and this had led to a similar declaration of English Romanists. And as a result of this a Bill was passed in the Irish Parliament in 1774 which admitted the members of the Roman Church to be accepted as loyal citizens on taking an oath that the Pope had no temporal power in this realm. In the same year it was enacted that in Quebec, where there were 150,000 Catholics and only 400 Protestants, the majority should have freedom of worship conceded to them. The English Bishops supported this Bill, and incurred much obloquy in consequence, even from Lord Chatham amongst others. In 1778 the English Romanists, who had had a new chapel demolished in Bristol, Bishop Newton abetting the deed, approached the Throne with a loyal address, and in consequence a Bill was passed allowing them to worship in their own manner without incurring the penalty of high treason, on condition that they took the oath of loyalty. Their children were not precluded from succeeding to their fathers' estates. But hardly had the Bill passed when an outcry was raised. Protestant Associations were formed all over England and Scotland. The King was declared to be a Papist, and his confessor entrusted with the direction of all political doings. A demand was made that Papist blood should run in every gutter. And hence came the Gordon riots of 1780. Let it be recorded to Cornwallis's honour that he very

earnestly and sincerely stood his ground and defended the relief. He and Bishop Porteus adduced evidence that no harm had come of the granting justice to the Romanists, and were greatly reviled for doing so. In the same spirit he and Porteus had acted when a fresh endeavour was made for relaxation, by altering the Liturgy so as to make subscription easier. During the primacy of Secker this movement had been led, as we have already seen, by Francis Blackburne, an extreme Liberal, whom Hutton, while Archbishop of York, had appointed to the Archdeaconry of Cleveland for his Latitudinarian views. He had maintained them with unabated zeal, and in 1766 published anonymously a work entitled "The Confessional," in which he most strenuously denounced clerical subscription. Secker guessed the author, and was angry—probably his remembrance of Blackburne's gratuitous and slanderous attack on Bishop Butler increased his asperity—and bade his chaplain write against it. And so once more the book-shops were flooded with theological pamphlets. Cornwallis at this time was probably in favour of some relaxation. But after his appointment to the Primacy he declined to further it. His friend Porteus, who was afterwards consecrated by him Bishop of Chester (1776), had presented a petition for relaxation. The "Feathers Tavern Petition" was presented in February, 1772, signed by about 200 clergy, praying "to be relieved from the burden of subscription, and for the right of interpreting Scripture without being bound to any human interpretation." The Archbishop consulted his brethren on the Bench, and at length returned answer (February, 1773) that "nothing in prudence can be done in the matter." Nor was there, but we shall have the renewal of this subject during the next Archiepiscopate.

One passage in the Archbishop's life cannot be passed by. The celebrated Lady Huntingdon, founder of the religious body which bears her name, wrote to George III. complaining that the Archbishop held routs at Lambeth on Sundays; whereupon the King wrote an autograph letter of rebuke to the Primate, stating that he himself had always most carefully avoided such doings, and requesting him to cease from them.

Archbishop Cornwallis, in 1781, consecrated his nephew Frederick Cornwallis to his own former see of Lichfield, and he held the see for fifty-three years, succeeding his uncle as Earl in his eighty-second year. Archbishop Cornwallis died, after a few days' illness, on March 19, 1783. He is buried under the Lord's Table in Lambeth Church. There is a very good portrait of him in the guard-room at Lambeth by Dance, who painted several Bishops. And let it be mentioned to Corn-

wallis's honour that he gave copies of several of his predecessors to the Palace to fill up the gaps: Arundel, from the picture at Penshurst; Juxon, from Longleat; Sheldon, from Brome Hall; Sancroft, from Emanuel College, Cambridge.

W. BENHAM.

(To be continued.)



## ART. II.—THE WITNESS OF THE HISTORICAL SCRIPTURES TO THE ACCURACY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

### No. VI.

THE Book of Ruth, we may observe *in limine*, short as it is, displays traces of independent authorship at least equal to those which have just been pointed out in the case of Judges. But on this point I will not dwell in detail. The characters of Naomi and Boaz are just such as an honest and conscientious observance of the principles of the Mosaic law would tend to produce. In fact, the whole history is impossible unless the religion of the five books of Moses was, and had for some time been, fully recognised as a guide for conduct, for the four chapters now known as the "Book of the Covenant," apart from the rest of the Pentateuch, could hardly have produced such a social and moral tone as we find before us. The simple sketch of pastoral life seems to have been written at an early period in the history of Israel rather than that of the later kings, when cruelty, oppression, and licentiousness reigned supreme. The merciful conduct of Boaz toward the young gleaner implies the full recognition of the precepts in Deut. xxiv. and the supposed post-Exilic Lev. xix. The way in which the daughter of the stranger is welcomed in the land of Israel, in consequence of her pure, upright, and affectionate character, fixes the composition of the book at a time when the observance of the spirit, rather than the letter, of the law was in the ascendant. It was only after frequent and obstinate rebellions against God that a stringent enforcement of its provisions in the letter was believed to have become necessary. The institution of the *Goel*, or Redeemer (Deut. xxv.), is represented, not only as being in existence, but as having been so for a long time. This we learn from chap. iv. 7, where it is stated that in the lapse of ages some changes had taken place in the form of the ceremony. We must, therefore, assign the law in Deut. xxv. to a very early date. The genealogy with which the book

concludes stops with David, whence the inference is a natural, if not an absolutely certain, one, that the book was written in that reign. Thus, it becomes practically a part of the records of the early history of Bethlehem which have come down to us, of which the three concluding chapters of the Book of Judges form the earlier portion. These are not, however, necessarily by the same author. There is only one more point to which reference is necessary. The Book of Ruth, like the Book of Judges, is not only in its religion and morality far in advance of the "Book of the Covenant," but it "knows nothing" of its contents. We have thus, on the principles of the German criticism, another argument in favour of making the "Book of the Covenant" the latest, instead of the earliest, portion of the Jewish law. Professor Driver, it may be added, ventures here to differ from the German school, and assigns the Book of Ruth to the pre-Exilic period.

There is no need to take serious exception to the Professor's remark that "distance" of time may have "mellowed" the picture we find here of life under the Judges, though we have somewhat of a companion picture in 1 Samuel of Eli, Hannah, and Samuel.<sup>1</sup> Professor Driver, however, I should add, denies that in the mention of the *Goel*, referred to above, there is any reference to Deut. xxv. I should be disposed, on the contrary, to contend that the original Mosaic institution of the Levirate marriages, connected as they became under Deut. xxv. with the tenure of land, had undergone a gradual development, even as early as the time of Boaz, into an enforcement of the law on the nearest kinsman when no brother existed to carry it out; and that thus the Deuteronomic law here mentioned, so far from dating from the reign of Josiah, must have been coeval with the settlement in Palestine.

<sup>1</sup> "The history of Eli and Hannah presupposes the influence of the Mosaic institutions as emphatically as that of Samuel. There is literally nothing in the religious colouring of the picture, save the Tabernacle, which would be out of keeping with an English country parish in the nineteenth century A.D.; and it is absolutely unlike all Greek, or Roman, or Egyptian, or Babylonian, or Phœnician religious thought, or that of any other peoples with whom we are familiar. Whence, then, this close similarity between the religious conceptions of Eli and Hannah, and those of our own time? Either the history is literally true down to the smallest details, and the ideas of Eli and Hannah were as much coloured as our own by the law of Moses, or once more we have a master of fiction as great as Shakespeare evolving the history out of his own imagination, after the Priestly Code had for some time been accepted as binding on the Jewish conscience" (*Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1895, p. 296). Professor Driver, it may be remarked, does not venture to assign a date to this history, except so far as he declares it to be earlier in date than "either ch. i.-iv. 1a or iv. 1b-vii. 1." As is so often the case, no reason is given for this assertion.

This view seems certainly *prima facie* to be more probable than any other. One additional point relating to date may be of interest. The historian in Gen. xxxv. speaks of Bethlehem by its ancient name of Ephrath. The words "which is Bethlehem" may not unreasonably be contended to be the work of a later redactor or annotator. In Judg. xvii. 7, 9, xix. 1, 18, Bethlehem is called Bethlehem-judah, to distinguish it from Bethlehem in Zebulun. The same specification appears in Ruth i. 1, 2, and in 1 Sam. xvii. 12. It must further be observed, that the old name was kept up by calling the inhabitants Ephrathites. We find the prophet Micah, too, whose message was to Israel as well as to Judah, distinguishing Bethlehem in Judah from the other Bethlehem by the addition of Ephratah. Now, it is highly improbable that it would have occurred to any purely Jewish writer at a later date than that of Micah—that is to say, after the deportation of the ten tribes—to distinguish between the two places. The occurrence, therefore, of the phrase "Bethlehem-judah" would seem once again to involve the early date of the portion of the narrative in which it appears.<sup>1</sup>

It will be needless for me to repeat the arguments on the First Book of Samuel, which are to be found in my essay in "Lex Mosaica." I may claim, at least until serious arguments are brought forward to the contrary, to have proved that this book, as far as the history of Samuel and Saul are concerned, postulates the existence of the whole Mosaic law, J E, D, and P combined, the one sanctuary at Shiloh, the high priest, the tabernacle, the ark, the law of sacrifice, and a host of minor regulations. Either, therefore, the story of Samuel and Saul is a narrative *composed*, not compiled, at a time when the post-Exilic institutions were recognised without contradiction—a hypothesis which does not find favour with the German school—or the presumed post-Exilic P was in existence, not only when the history was written, but when the events related in it occurred. There is a third hypothesis, which is practically identical with the second—namely, that the institutions mentioned in P, including the one sanctuary, were in existence in early times, but were not formally embodied in a code until the return from the Captivity. The matter is of no moment, though perhaps one may be allowed to ask the precise difference between the existence of regulations *as* regulations and their embodiment in a code. And it may further be worth inquiring how much evidence remains, on the hypothesis just mentioned, for the alleged post-Exilic codification.

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<sup>1</sup> If this view be correct, then the story of David and Goliath is an *early* narrative, and Gen. xxxv. one of still earlier date.

It may be necessary to add that stress still appears to be laid on the different aspects in which Samuel's character is represented in 1 Sam. ix. to that in which it is placed, say, in chap. x. As usual, the conclusion is drawn that we have here two irreconcilable accounts of the prophet, an earlier and a later, and that the later is, of course, purely mythical. But this summary method of writing history is a little discredited by the fact that the supposed earlier idea of Samuel presented in chap. ix. is at variance with every reference to that prophet in the rest of the books of the Old Testament. Sweep away Samuel, with his revival of Israelite nationality, and not only Saul, but David and the rest of the monarchs of Israel and Judah remain suspended in mid-air, as Wellhausen would say, "by their own waistbands." How were the disorganized peoples to which the Book of Judges introduces us, and which, if we are to believe some critics of the German school, had neither a national polity nor religion at the time of the conquest, but were isolated tribes, with no link of connection whatsoever, brought into the condition in which we find them at the accession of David? The history as it stands explains the phenomena; take away the central figure of Samuel, and it becomes unexplainable. Is it sound historical criticism to remove a central figure of this kind because the servant of an ignorant young man of "the least of the tribes of Israel" is reported to have been unaware of the high character of the person to whom he proposed that his young master should address himself when in trouble?<sup>1</sup> If we are compelled to reject one or other of these narratives—and it does not seem quite clear that we are—we must strike out as unhistorical one of the most representative characters of Jewish history in order to maintain the indisputable accuracy of a story about some lost asses and their discovery, not by the "seer" himself, but by some other means. Whether there be or be not some inversion of the ordinary laws of logic here, some lack of historical perspective, some misconception of the rules of historical criticism, let historical experts tell us.

We proceed to the history of David. And here there are a number of undesigned coincidences indicating the early date of the materials from which the history is compiled. We have seen that the history of the Judges, save during its earliest period, represents Judah as taking no part, for some reason or other, in the conflicts of that unsettled age. To

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<sup>1</sup> Is it not in perfect keeping with the primitive state of society described that the prophet was accessible to all sorts and conditions of men in Israel, whatever their business might be? By the time of David all this accessibility had vanished.

Samuel is due the union of the twelve tribes once more into one confederation; but we have more than one hint that the isolation of Judah had already attracted attention even in the days of Saul. When Saul sent his message to all Israel to join him in his expedition for the relief of Jabesh-gilead, the men of Judah are specially numbered apart (1 Sam. xi. 8). When Goliath was slain, "the men of Israel and of Judah," we are told, pursued after the Philistines (xvii. 52). "All Israel and Judah" loved David (xviii. 16). It is impossible to avoid seeing in these hints the presence to the mind of the writer, not only of the distinction and the rivalry which, as we are afterwards told, existed between the two most powerful tribes, but also the fact that Ephraim, not Judah, had hitherto taken the lead in Israel. It is equally impossible to deny that in these slight, but most important, touches we may not unreasonably infer the hand of an almost contemporary narrator.

There are other points in the narrative which cannot be passed over. The institution of the shew-bread was already in existence, and therefore in all probability the sanctuary and the tabernacle, as they are described by P, in which alone the mention of the shew-bread is to be found.<sup>1</sup> The provision which reserved the shew-bread for the priests is found in Lev. xxiv. 9, attributed to the post-Exilic writer or compiler; and it is most improbable that anyone would have introduced a mention of this provision into the narrative in order to emphasize the fact that the law it was desired to inculcate was not kept on the only occasion on which it is mentioned. The historical investigator has, therefore, no alternative but to believe that we have here a piece of genuine history. Moreover, we are compelled to see here a "codification" by P of a custom as old as the reign of Saul. Why was it not "codified" before the Exile? The custom of inquiring of the Lord, of which we have no mention but in P, is frequently referred to in this history (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, 37; xxiii. 6, 9; xxviii. 6; xxx. 7). The use of the ephod was evidently a substitute for the inquiry by Urim when the latter was impossible. Among other indications of the accuracy of the history we may observe the double reference to Caleb (xxv. 3, xxx. 14), involving the truth of the story of Caleb as told in Josh. xiv., xv. The repeated mention we find of David's scrupulous regard for "Jehovah's anointed" implies the existence of "commandments, statutes, and judgments" established, at least in his belief, under very solemn sanction; in other words, of a definite religious system, very clearly

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxv. 30; Lev. xxiv. 5-9.

understood and recognised, instead of a blind and confused struggle between an immoral polytheism and an undeveloped monotheism. Nor does David's scrupulosity in this particular appear to fit in at all with a later date or a character other than his. Lastly, the continual mention of the "Hebrews" in this book (chaps. xiii. 3, 7, 19; xiv. 11, 21; xxix. 3) is apparently another mark of early date. The book was probably compiled from authentic sources in the reign of David, and signs of compilation unquestionably appear in its pages. But criticism will only begin to be on the right scent when it casts aside all foregone conclusions about the history having been placed in a "setting," or "worked over" by later writers into a contradiction of the real facts, and in accordance with the preconceived opinions of the "redactor" or "redactors." When criticism ceases to be on the look-out for confirmations of previously formed theories, and endeavours with a single eye to ascertain the facts, we shall be on the road to a critical presentment of the history which will meet with general approval. At present this is by no means the case. There is no reason to doubt that documents are inserted *in extenso* in the narrative. But the scissors-and-paste theory so much in favour with certain modern theorists does not stand the test of examination. There is only one other point which requires notice. There is not, once more, in the whole First Book of Samuel *one single reference* to the "Book of the Covenant" as a code of laws acknowledged in Israel. Critics of the German School must, therefore, once more admit that, according to their favourite argument *e silentio*, it was not in existence when this book was published. Nor is this all. Mention is made in the narrative of other provisions of the Mosaic law. On the *e silentio* principle, therefore, these provisions are older than, not later than, the so-called "Book of the Covenant."

The Second Book of Samuel displays the same traces of individual authorship as the Books of Judges and 1 Samuel, though perhaps not quite to the same extent. It will not be necessary to enter into a detailed examination of its contents, because this would be to go over the same ground as we have gone over before. Its hero is David, and of him we may say the same as I have said of Samuel in "Lex Mosaica." He is the creature of his environment. And that environment is the law of Moses.<sup>1</sup> If he be indeed an ideal character, fashioned by fancy after the model of a law which was hardly yet in existence, and therefore was as yet incapable of moulding character and circumstance, one can only say that the art of ideal portraiture of character had risen in those distant days

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<sup>1</sup> On this point see Dr. Watson's essay in "Lex Mosaica."

to a height to which Shakespeare himself affords no parallel. Were we to imagine, with some of the critics, that David lived at a period when fetichism was developed, or was developing, into polytheism, the narrative we have before us was not only drawn up with an impudent disregard for truth, but some of the scenes are absolutely impossible. The whole story of Bathsheba in particular, from this point of view, is at once a ridiculous fabrication and a glaring anachronism. The religion of Palestine, unless all the leading authorities have deceived us, was shamelessly immoral, and David's adultery with Bathsheba, in an age when Palestinian polytheism was in the ascendant, would have been no more than a fitting act of homage to the goddess Ashtoreth. Even if Uriah were jealous of his wife's honour, it would be a feeling confined to himself alone. He would have obtained little sympathy from a people among whom licentiousness had been elevated into a creed. There would have been no need for the King to conspire against his servant. Had the servant, on the contrary, conspired against the King, his jealous rage, though natural enough in himself, would have been regarded as absurd by everyone else. One has only to read the stories in Herodotus to see how different was the environment among a people given up to nature worship. It is obvious enough in the narrative that it was not the anger of Uriah that David feared, but the reproach of his own conscience and the indignation of an outraged public opinion. Even the hypothesis that "a certain germ" of legal and religious enactment—say, the "Book of the Covenant"—was already in existence will not help us here. The only way in which David's conduct can be satisfactorily explained is on the hypothesis that the supposed post-Exilic law of Lev. xx. 10, that "the adulterer and adulteress should be put to death," was already in existence; that the conceptions entertained by David of the moral character and requirements of Jehovah were in many ways as clear as our own, and that he must have enjoyed the blessing of living under a very definite revelation of His being. Nothing short of this can explain the cruel perplexity into which Bathsheba's message plunged him, or account for the absolute necessity that the whole matter should be hushed up.<sup>1</sup> Not only the story of Bathsheba, but the whole character of David, presupposes the moral and religious environment of the Pentateuch. If we are to suppose that the Israelites were

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<sup>1</sup> The story of Bathsheba for the first time quotes the "Book of the Covenant" (*cf.* 2 Sam. xii. 6; Exod. xxii. 1). But it is also acquainted with Num. xv. 31 (JE). We may observe that the story, simple and natural as it is, presupposes regulations only found in Lev. xv. 19, 28; xviii. 19; and xx. 18 (P).

so indifferent to their own literature that no composition by one well described as the "sweet Psalmist of Israel" has been handed down—a tolerably bold supposition—yet there still remains enough in the masterly and characteristic portrait drawn for us in the First and Second Books of Samuel to support the assertion that we have made. It was hardly the worshipper of an "unknown God" who could display such confidence in that God's protection as David does in his determination to meet Goliath. Nor is this a mere isolated incident. The spirit attributed to David on that occasion animates him throughout his whole career. It is the leading feature in his character, and is displayed as strongly in his earnest desire to build a temple for the God in whom he had trusted, and in his commission to do so addressed to his successor, as when the courageous stripling went out to do battle against the enemies of Jehovah, relying on a strength supplied by the covenant God of Israel. It is not in the Bathsheba episode only, but in the whole tone and tenor of his acts, that we find ourselves either in the presence of veracious history or in the presence of a dramatic power which anticipates by some 2,500 years the course of the world's intellectual development. Not to enter further into detail, we may remark how the same high moral standard, combined with the deep humiliation the sense of having violated it involved, is visible throughout the rest of David's history, and especially in the rebellion of Absalom. The psychological elements in David's character require that the Mosaic institutions in their present shape must have been as well known to him as to ourselves. Making all deductions, moreover, for the theories of the Germanizers, there remains in the history of David as much deserving of the grateful remembrance of the Jewish people as we English find in the reign of our own King Alfred. We have shown our respect and gratitude to our great ruler, not only by remembering his life, but by handing down his compositions. Israel owes more to David even than England to Alfred. Was she likely to show less gratitude than we?

But we are further told that the adoption of modern critical theories about the composition of the Old Testament will leave its moral influence precisely where it was. Will it? Is there anyone bold enough to assert that the touching and striking scene between the prophet Nathan and the King, the stern rebuke of the former and the conscience-stricken outcry of the latter, or the profound and touching and lifelong devotion of the warrior-statesman to his God, or his solemn sense of consecration attaching to the person of Jehovah's anointed,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Psalms, *passim*.

or the gentleness, the patience, so contrary to the conduct of most successful Oriental warriors, with which he treated those who withstood him, will have precisely the same effect on the ordinary truth-loving Englishman whether the story be brilliant fiction or sober historical fact? There are some among us who believe that the precise contrary will be the case. And this will account for their anxiety that the critical theories should be proved up to the hilt before a surrender is made which will unquestionably seriously diminish the influence of the Scriptures for good.<sup>1</sup>

But to proceed. We are forbidden to use Chronicles to establish our point, a principle about as rational as if we were forbidden to use ecclesiastical documents, such as the various monastic chronicles, including even the pseudo-Ingulphus of which Professor Freeman makes use in his "History of the Norman Conquest," to illustrate the traditions in which the writer was brought up, in compiling a history of England. But enough remains for our purpose in the secular histories. If no such thing as a central sanctuary were contemplated in the ages before David, whence came his intense anxiety to build such a sanctuary?<sup>2</sup> and why, when it was built, did Solomon make it so markedly and essentially the centre of all Israelite worship as is implied in 1 Kings viii.? This chapter, it is true, is held by Professor Driver to have been added by the compiler. But once more, not the slightest proof is alleged in favour of this statement. Of course, as we have no information concerning the date and authorship of the Books of the Old Testament, 1 Kings viii. *may* have been a later insertion. But surely the difference between *may* have been and *must* have been is practically infinite. The ground for Professor Driver's assertion is not that the chapter in question is in the slightest degree out of keeping with the rest of the narrative. On the contrary, it harmonizes perfectly with its surroundings—the anxiety of David above referred to, his great preparations for a great object, the majesty of the temple, the extraordinary magnificence and solemnity of the dedication. The ground is simply and solely that the authenticity of this chapter conflicts with the theory that there was no central sanctuary, and no conception of a central sanctuary, at the time to which the narrative refers. This

<sup>1</sup> It may not be amiss to add that, on so-called critical principles, *nearly every* striking or forcible story in the Old Testament is more or less of a fabrication.

<sup>2</sup> See 2 Sam. vii. 2-13, 18-29. The "curtains," it may be noted, are P's creation (Exod. xxvi., xl.). The preparations made by David, though only described at length in Chronicles, are indicated in 2 Sam. viii. 11 and 1 Kings vii. 51.

mode of dealing with our authorities, it cannot be too often repeated, is *not* that which competent historians are accustomed to adopt.

Beyond the points which have been mentioned, the second Book of Samuel contains little matter for controversy. There is very little quotation of the Pentateuch in its pages. It is acquainted, as we have seen, with the "Book of the Covenant," one of the provisions of which (Exod. xxii. 28) is evidently referred to in the account of Shimei.<sup>1</sup> I need not dwell on what I have said in "Lex Mosaica," p. 265, about the fact recorded in 2 Sam. vi. 17, that David provided a tabernacle at Jerusalem for the ark, while the Mosaic tabernacle, which had been removed from Shiloh to Gibeon, was left at the latter place, a fact repeatedly and undesignedly corroborated by the author of 1 Chronicles. We may, however, remark on the coincidence of 2 Sam. vii. 7 with the statements of our former authorities, that the ark and the tabernacle were occasionally, under the pressure of circumstances, removed from Shiloh. In chap. xv. we are once more struck with a fact that meets us alike in Joshua, Judges and 1 Samuel, namely, the recognition of the ark as the centre of Israelite religious worship. Here Zadok and Abiathar evidently desire to keep the solemn sanctions its presence involves by the side of the monarch in his trouble. And for this reason, the ark is to be removed once more, as it had been in the conflict with Benjamin. But the King recognises in Jerusalem the political and religious centre of Israel, and he desires that it shall remain where with so much ceremony he had placed it. Here, again, then, we meet with an undesigned confirmation of the fact that was fully recognised as early as the reign of David—the principle of the one sanctuary, the "habitation" of God.<sup>2</sup> And we have David, as we might naturally expect, unless his character be indeed a priestly fiction invented centuries afterwards, preferring the rule laid down by Moses to his own personal advantage. "If I shall find favour in the eyes of Jehovah, He will bring me again, and shall show me His habitation. But if He thus say, I have no delight in thee, behold, here am I, let Him do what seemeth Him good." We have here the genuine ring of the Davidic psalms. Is it a *post-Exilic* insertion, or have those psalms been rightly attributed to David? Let anyone judge who has read this vivid description, and who does not hold a brief for the German school. Again, the reference to the Gibeonites in chap. xxi. is just what might be expected in a later writer who briefly summarizes the previous history. But we never

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xvi. 9, xix. 21; *cf.* 1 Kings ii. 8, 36-46.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xv. 25.

find the later redactor introducing any portions of later history into the earlier, except, of course, on the assumptions—and they are assumptions, and no more—of the class of critics against which we are contending. All he does is to write occasionally a few explanatory notes. The Psalms are outside our province. But the psalm introduced into chap. xxii. appears from the remark in ver. 1 to have been written before luxury and success had puffed up David—probably at a very early period in his reign. Verses 21-25 could hardly have been written, either by him or by anyone else in his name, after the events recorded in chap. xii. And we may also ask for information—at present none has been vouchsafed us—about the steps of the evolution by which the grand conceptions of God contained in it were reached. The incident mentioned in chap. xxiv. is not without some indications of early date. The phrase “from Dan even unto Beersheba” only meets us while Israel was undivided, nor was it likely to have been invented afterwards. As in Joshua and Judges, so here, we find portions of territory afterwards reconquered by Moab<sup>1</sup> regarded as part of the territory of Israel. One of the pitfalls into which later inventors and redactors are likely to fall stands invitingly open here. How is it that the historian does not fall into it? We have, moreover, in this history, the early date of the composition of which is thus so clearly indicated, no signs whatever of a people or a monarch gradually feeling their way to monotheism. The worship, the very conception, of Jehovah, as well as the recognition by monarch and people of His existence and His character, is as clear and definite as ever it was at any period of Jewish history. If it be urged that David built an altar, and offered sacrifices at the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and that this was contrary to the provisions of the Jewish law in its present shape, we have to observe (1) that, as we learn from the story of the circumcision of Israel by Joshua, and from the story of Ruth—from the whole history, in fact—the precepts of the law were intended as general rules, not in any way covering exceptional cases; and (2) that the narrative of Ornan or Araunah appears without explanation or apology in Chronicles, a book confessedly written when the exclusive worship at the one sanctuary was fully established, and with a strong resolution to recommend and even to enforce it.

J. J. LIAS.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> See Isa. xiv. and Jer. xlviii.

ART. III.—CREDE ET MANDUCĀSTI.<sup>1</sup>

“Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.”—JOHN vi. 53, 54.

THESE great words of our Saviour Christ were spoken, as we know, in the synagogue of Capernaum, and, according to verse 4 of the chapter, about the time of the third Passover in the ministry of our blessed Lord, His crucifixion as the very Paschal Lamb being coincident with the fourth Passover of His ministry, the events of which, together with the institution of the Lord’s Supper, occurred more than a year after the discourse as recorded in John vi. was delivered.

That the first part of His great deliverance has reference rather to the manna, is suggested by the feeding of the five thousand and their anxiety about the meat that perisheth; and in this division of the chapter He therefore speaks of the Bread from heaven and of that same spiritual meat and same spiritual drink of which the faithful of old partook, for they drank of that spiritual Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ.

It should never be forgotten that under the old law, whether in sacrifice or symbol, there was possible, and actually enjoyed by the faithful, that true participation in Christ whereunto in this chapter He opens wide the everlasting gates in the royal proclamation: “I am the bread of life; he that cometh to Me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on Me shall never thirst.”

The hour had come; as clouds before sunshine, types had faded away in the presence of that wonderful One of whom they taught. The true (*ἀλήθινος*) Bread from heaven was before them; the Rock of Ages was now to be smitten for them. Let them drink and live! But the latter part of this discourse has more reference to the approaching Passover, to a Sacrifice, a Victim, a Paschal Lamb, to the body and blood of Christ crucified; and this second part He prefaces with the oft-repeated and illuminating sentence of verse 47: “He that believeth on Me hath everlasting life.” After which He repeats, “I am the living bread,” and He adds the new statement: “The bread which I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world”; that is, not merely “flesh,” but “flesh given”; not merely “blood,” but “blood poured out.”

To this agree the words of administration in the Lord’s

<sup>1</sup> Read at Clerical Meeting, May, 1898.

Supper, which are not "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul," but "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, *which was given* for thee, preserve," κ.τ.λ. It is therefore the body *given* for the life of the world, and the blood *shed* for you and many, which is the bread of life, and our Lord speaks not of the Incarnation, but of the Atonement, for which purpose of atoning death it was that He became incarnate.

The next step in the wonderful pronouncement is the two-fold statement in verses 53, 54; and I may here indicate the order of my argument in treating of these great words, to which, indeed, the text is applicable, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

(a) First, then, let us dwell on the distinction of tense in verses 53, 54, and on the absolutely continuous nature of the "eating" which is proposed to us.

(b) Then we must carefully consider what it is which is to be eaten and the error of some on this point.

(c) Lastly, let us examine what this great act of manducation is, and what results follow from it.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE TENSES IN VERSES 53, 54.

I need not dwell on the general importance of tense in the New Testament, nor do more than allude to such texts as John xx. 23 and the words "have been and are remitted" and "have been and are retained"; Heb. viii. 3, "somewhat also to have once offered"—*i.e.*, at the time of the great sacrifice; Heb. x. 14, "them that are being sanctified"; 1 John i. 7, "cleanseth."

It is almost impossible to be original in the interpretation of John vi. on any principles of sound explanation; but the force of and the distinction of the tenses in these verses of which I speak have perhaps hardly received the notice to which these points are entitled.

The tense of the verbs "eat" (φάγητε) and "drink" in verse 53 is the aorist, the force of which would be that there must be some definite time, whether consciously realized or not in the life of each individual for the commencement of such "eating" and "drinking," explain these acts as we may. It is the aorist here which is significant, and we notice how that in the very next verse (the 54th) the tense abruptly changes (τρῶγων), and after the statement in the aorist that unless there be some definite point of commencement of this "eating

<sup>1</sup> See Waterland on the Eucharist, Oxford edition, 1880, pp. 89-129.

and drinking," spiritual life cannot exist, we find the verbs in verse 54 asserting with all the emphasis of the Greek present that this "eating and drinking" is not a fitful act or one to be done at intervals, be they brief or protracted, but is absolutely continuous: "Whoso *eateth* My flesh . . . and drinketh . . . *hath* eternal life."

It is a continuous, unbroken act, as of the branches deriving continuous nutriment from the vine. It is a present salvation; neither life nor death can interrupt it; and, begun in the everlasting purpose of God before the foundation of the world was laid, is wrought out in time by His Spirit working in due season in the hearts and wills of His people; and when time is no more, it has its natural consequence, viz., everlasting life.

Flashes of the eternal glories gleam from this verse over the waves of this troublesome world, and enable us, as from Pisgah's heights of present salvation, to view that crowning day when we shall stand in our lot and put on the final and unfading garments of immortality; for Jesus said, "Whoso *eateth* My flesh and *drinketh* My blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." "They go from strength to strength; every one of them in Zion appeareth before God."

Nor is the tense merely the present, indicative of a continuous act, but the word itself (*τρώγων*) is that which, above any other word, denotes a continuance of eating, as of chewing the cud; indeed, this is the first sense of the word in the lexicons. The "eating and drinking," therefore, here spoken of are not occasional acts, separated from each other by intervals of days or weeks or months, but are continuous, and are done—nay, must be done—every moment of the Christian's life. Each moment—as he writes, as he speaks, in business or in pleasure, alone or among his fellows; for without this he is lost, and with this eating he lives and by this drinking he is saved.

#### WHAT IS EATEN.

It is now necessary to direct attention to that which is the subject of this continuous "eating" and "drinking" here spoken of—viz., "the flesh and blood" of our Saviour Christ.

The ideas, the practices of the Passover are in His mind; the rite, the victim, the sacrifice are all in the minds of His hearers. He obviously speaks of a sacrificed, not a living, Victim as that which they are to feed upon. He speaks of His flesh bruised even unto death, and His blood shed upon the cross in death, when out of His side came blood, by which

precious blood-shedding alone we have remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven.

The "flesh" is mentioned separately and the "blood" is mentioned separately to impress upon us that what is here spoken of is Christ our atonement, Christ crucified, Christ our Passover slain for us, Christ in His death—for the death of Christ is a Christian's life—Christ upon the cross.

That which is spoken of is not the glorified body of Christ. It is the "flesh and blood" rent asunder in death. That which is spoken of is not union with the glorified body of Christ, of which there is *no mention* in the verse, but that which is set before us is participation in and appropriation of the precious death and passion of Christ our Paschal Lamb, crucified and slain.

It is not the Incarnation which is set here before us; it is not any reception of the glorified Saviour which is, or could by any possibility be, alluded to in the words, "Whoso eateth My *flesh* and drinketh My *blood*," but it is, in a word, the Atonement, "that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world" wrought out by the one oblation of our Saviour Christ once offered and finished upon the cross. The Incarnation is, of course, implied, but is only found in the passage as subsidiary to the Atonement. The Incarnation was visible to, and partly understood by, His believing disciples; the Atonement was at the time beyond their grasp, and here, therefore, He sets forth the absolute necessity of their participation in His death. The very Apostle who made the great confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," and thus by the confession of a true faith acknowledged his incarnate Lord, soon after spoke of His Master's atoning death, "Be it far from Thee, Lord; this shall not be unto Thee."

It was teaching on the Atonement which they needed, and which in this immortal chapter their Master gave them. Hence it is "the extension of the Atonement" which He sets before them, that, wide and deep as the sea of human sin might be, where sin abounded grace might much more abound "unto all and upon them that believe."

And it is by the mighty gift of "appropriating faith" that our Master and only Saviour provides for all believers a part and lot in the Atonement of which alone He said: "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life." "And we are in this action not only carried up to Christ (*sursum corda*), but we are also carried back to Christ, as He was at the very instant and in the very act of His offering. . . . If an host could be turned into Him now, glorified as He is, it would not serve. Christ *offered* is it, thither we must go. To

the serpent lifted up, thither we must repair, even *ad cadaver*” (Bishop Andrewes, quoted by Dr. Vogan “On the Eucharist,” p. 104).

#### THE MEANING OF THE EATING AND OF THE DRINKING.

What, then, is this *eating* and what this *drinking*? What is the explanation of these acts, practised by and familiar to His hearers to express their participation in their own sacrifices and sin-offerings, as referred to Christ our Passover, slain for us? What great act of manducation is here meant, without which a man is lost, and a partner in which a man is saved? The broad statements of verses 53, 54, may be summed up, and are so by Waterland, to the effect that “all that feed on what is here mentioned have life, and all that do not feed thereupon have no life.”

#### THE REFERENCE OF THE EATING AND THE DRINKING.

Does our blessed Lord mean by these statements of the widest character to refer primarily and directly to the Sacramental feeding in the Lord's Supper? Where, then, in this chapter is the institution, the giving of thanks, the breaking of bread, the foundation of the new covenant? On these grounds alone the reference cannot be primarily to the Lord's Supper. Nor is it true that all who receive the Communion have life, unless we put in the restriction of “worthy,” and such like. “Much less is it true,” says Waterland, “that all who never have or never shall receive it have not life, unless we make other restrictions and exceptions as to good men of old, infants, the invincibly ignorant and others, idiots, and those in utter darkness from no fault of theirs. And an interpretation which must be clogged with such a multitude of restrictions to make it apply at all cannot be the correct one.”

Nor is the reference to the Lord's Supper possible for those who hold that it is the glorified body of Christ which is received in the Sacrament, since, as above noticed, that which is set before us for eating and drinking in John vi. is the actual “flesh given” and “the blood shed” *in death*, of our Saviour Christ, words which exclude a living and glorified body. Furthermore, the reception of the Sacrament is not, and cannot be, the continuous act referred to in the words, “Whoso *eateth* My flesh and *drinketh* My blood,” and emphasized by the remarkable change of tense seen in verses 53, 54.

Nor is the same permanency attached in any part of Scripture to the reception of the Sacrament as is asserted of this “eating” and of this “drinking,” for in the mighty words, “hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last

day," there is the undoubted and unmistakable ring of the final preservation of the saints.

Is there not, then, any other interpretation which will suit the breadth and length and depth of this great chapter? "Yes, and it is this," says Waterland. "All that finally share in the death, passion, and atonement of Christ are safe, and all that have not a part therein are lost. All that are saved owe their salvation to the salutary passion of Christ, and their partaking thereof, which is feeding upon His flesh and blood, is their life," so that "whether before Christ or since, whether in covenant or out of covenant, whether here or hereafter, no man ever was, is, or will be accepted but in and through the grand propitiation made by the *blood* of Christ."<sup>1</sup>

That which is "eaten" is Christ Himself, in His whole person and passion: "I am the bread of life"; and more particularly as regards His body to be broken and His blood to be shed for making an atonement, "so that," to use Waterland's words, "*the fruits of His death* are what we are to receive as our spiritual food. . . . His passion is our redemption and by His death we live."

Here, following Waterland and Westcott, I would draw a careful distinction between interpreting and applying. The language of our Lord does not, and cannot primarily, refer to or be *interpreted* of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; but whether it can be *applied* to the faithful in the Lord's Supper is another question which for the present I reserve until we further consider the nature of the manducation.

That this "eating" is continuous and unbroken in the believer, and that the subject of this manducation is the actual body and blood which was crucified of Christ our Saviour, imperatively demands the solution that here we are in the presence of the greatest spiritual act of which the soul of man is capable. It has no qualification, such as "worthily." Eating is life in this case, and the act of eating is *not* a passive one. It is not a mere "receiving," and that which is treated of, though described under the veil of human language, through which we but dimly discern the essence of things, is a spiritual act which requires the positive and combined operation of the intellect, the will, and the heart.

If the subject of this "eating" be Christ on the cross; if this "eating" be life, and only life, and also eventual resurrection; if this "eating" be *continuous*, and therefore to be performed at every moment and crisis of daily life, the "eating" must be that supreme act of "faith in His blood" of which Paul speaks in Rom. iii. 25: "Whom God hath set

<sup>1</sup> Waterland, "Eucharist," p. 91.

forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood for the remission of sins that are past," and of which Augustine says: "Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit, manducat."<sup>1</sup> And so clearly did Augustine and Jerome interpret John vi. of *spiritual feeding* at large that they asserted that this eating was done by the patriarchs of old, and is now eaten not only in the Supper but also in the Sacrament of Baptism.

Augustine says the same spiritual meat means that which we also eat, for "there were those in the desert who understood what they ate, by whom Christ was more tasted in the heart than the manna in the mouth. . . . So also the same drink, 'for the Rock was Christ.' Therefore they drank the same drink as we do, but spiritual—i.e., *that which is taken by faith, not that which is drunk by the body.*"

Furthermore, it is to be noted that the difficulty which was felt by some as to the Lord's words had no reference to the meaning of the expressions "eating" and "drinking." Their real difficulty was that neither the Jews nor His Apostles had any comprehension of the fact which Moses and Elias spoke of in the Holy Mount; that is, of His approaching vicarious death as the very Paschal Lamb which taketh away the sin of the world—of Christ, our sacrifice. Versed as they were in sacrificial rites, they knew that "eating" the sacrifice, sometimes dispensed with and sometimes performed, was but the outward expression of the worshipper's heart—identification as a sinner with his sacrifice; the outward expression, but not the actual appropriation, of the value thereof; for in that case the "eating" of the sin-offering could not possibly have been omitted (Heb. xiii. 10, 11).

That "eating," then, which every Jew, taught by sacrifice and type, understood to mean soul-appropriation, not of transitory promises, but of Him afar off whose day Abraham saw and was glad; that "eating" which our Saviour speaks of as capable of being done in the then present, a year before the institution of the Supper; that "eating" which Jerome and Augustine ascribe to the faithful of old; that "eating" which is not always done when the Sacrament of so great a thing is eaten; that "eating" which is always life, and only life; that "eating" which, as no oral eating can possibly be, is here by our Lord stamped as continuous, can be no bodily or interrupted act, can refer to no reception at intervals by the mouth, which, even if it were possible, would not bring the body and blood of Christ one whit closer to the soul—for is anything really closer to the soul that is merely brought

<sup>1</sup> "In Johann.," Tract xxvi., 1.

into the mouth and stomach?—but must be that faith, active and appropriating, not merely receptive—the gift of God—which reaches back through the centuries to Calvary, and, knowing no obstacle in time or space, there finds its rest at the foot of the cross, where, like the brazen serpent in the wilderness, the Son of man is lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

THE EATING AND DRINKING ARE “APPROPRIATING FAITH.”

This faith *appropriates* all that belongs to Christ—“His agony and bloody sweat, His cross and passion, His precious death and burial.” It *appropriates*—for this is the essence of all “eating”—in a word, *Christ crucified*. It is a stupendous spiritual act of the soul; it is no physical or bodily eating; it is an act of faith: “Ut quid, paras dentes et ventrem,” “Crede et manducâsti.” “Believe, and thou hast eaten, and continuest to eat.”<sup>1</sup>

Here it is to be noted that the figure is not in the words “flesh” and “blood,” but, as perhaps has been already made plain, in the words “eating” and “drinking.”

The error of some is to interpret the expressions of the glorified body of Christ, an error which ignores the exclusive reference of the passage to Christ our Passover *slain*, and then places the glorified body in the mouth, or, by a monstrous self-contradiction, the actual body and blood “after the manner of a spirit” in the digestive apparatus of the communicant, a contact which in no way affects the character. To the former, it may be said, the “eating” does not refer to the glorified body at all, but to that body in which He atoned for us. To the latter, it should be replied, the “eating” is not a bodily act; it is an act of faith which vitally affects and transforms the whole moral nature.

We must further inquire in what sense the soul can be said to feed upon a body. Let me answer in the words of Archbishop Sharp: “The body of Christ can no otherwise be a food for the strengthening and refreshing of our souls than only as the virtue and effects of Christ’s sacrifice upon the Cross are communicated to it, nor is the soul capable of receiving those benefits otherwise than by faith; so that the body and blood of Christ, in the sense of our Church, are the benefits of Christ’s passion.” And so Cranmer,<sup>2</sup> in a passage applicable both to John vi. and to the Communion: “Moreover, when I say that the body of Christ is present in them that worthily receive the Sacrament, lest any should think

<sup>1</sup> Aug., Tract xxv., 1.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to “Answer to Gardiner.”

that I mean that, though Christ is not corporally in the outward visible signs, yet He is corporally in the persons that duly receive them, this is to advertize the reader that I mean no such thing; but my meaning is, that the force, the grace, the virtue and benefit of Christ's body that was crucified for us and of His blood that was shed for us be really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the Sacraments." And in another place he bears testimony to the wide application of the "eating" in John vi., in the words: "Romanists say that good men eat the body of Christ and drink His blood only when they receive the Sacrament. We say they eat, drink, and feed on Christ continually as long as they are members of His body." They say that the fathers and prophets of the Old Testament did not eat the body nor drink the blood. We say that they did eat His body and drink His blood, though He was not yet born or incarnate. And it is observable that St. Paul, instead of saying, "Ye do show the Lord's body broken and blood shed," says, "Ye do show the Lord's death till He come," which makes it plain that "body broken and blood shed" are equivalent to the single word "death," *with its fruits*. To eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ means, *therefore*, to take by an act of faith a portion in the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus, "for there is no kind of meate that is comfortable to the soul but only the death of Christe's blessed body, nor no kynde of drynke that can quenche her thirst but only the bloude-sheddyng of her Saviour Christ, which was shed for her offences."<sup>1</sup>

There is no support for the carnal materialism which would have us believe that the flesh and blood of Christ are absorbed into the human constitution.<sup>2</sup> Nor would the addition of the words "by faith" make such a doctrine more possible either without the elements, as in this chapter, or with the elements, as in the Lord's Supper. That which is "eaten" is the benefits of His passion, the value, virtue, and efficacy thereof, and the "eating" is faith. Faith, God-given, is more than the hand which takes; it is the appropriating faculty, *Qui credit, manducat*. This spiritual manducation is the vital act which underlies the whole of a Christian's life, and it is of this spiritual "eating" our Saviour speaks in this chapter.

It will be remembered that in the Gospel St. John nowhere speaks of the outward rites of the Sacraments; but he *does* treat of the great spiritual facts to which they refer. In the third chapter he speaks of regeneration; and in this chapter

<sup>1</sup> Cranmer, "First Book on the Sacrament," p. 40, P.S.

<sup>2</sup> See Vogan, "On the Eucharist," pp. 130-134.

he speaks of that deep celestial truth to which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper refers back. The sixth chapter of John, therefore, though primarily referring to the great spiritual act of which I have spoken, is undoubtedly *applicable* to that holy ordinance which refers back to the great truth of which it is "the Divinely appointed and concrete expression," and in which, by the faithful, the very same sacred "eating" is effected as our Saviour speaks of long before its institution.

Sacred "means" are given to us, precious signs and pledges are given to, not offered by, us, in the bread and wine; but they are "moral means"—*i.e.*, means to our faith, and not physical means; they are a Divine elevation or platform, a *Ποῦ στῶ* given to raise our hearts from grovelling materialism to Him, who the night He was betrayed *gave* to us for this use these His creatures of bread and wine, but whether before, at, or after the Lord's Supper, "the mean whereby the body and blood of Christ is received, is faith."

I have said that the "eating" of John vi. does not refer to the glorified body of Christ; and, following Waterland, I now say that a clear distinction must be observed between "manducation" and "union." The one refers to the crucified, the other to the risen and glorified, Saviour. The *consequence* of "faith in His blood," of partaking of His sufferings, is union with Him. If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him, and "he that 'eateth' Me, even he shall live by Me."

Some, with Augustine, make the union with Christ precede the manducation. Augustine says: "Non vere edit corpus Christi qui non est de corpore Christi"; but, notwithstanding this, manducation comes first in natural order, since our participation in the reconciliation of the Cross through "faith in His blood" must be the foundation of all our spiritual life, and precede the blessings and privileges which flow from it. But this union with Christ, transcending as it is, must not be regarded as merely a dream, too bright, too good to be true, but is an actual reality of the benefits of His passion, in whom all the promises of God are "yea" and "Amen."

The conclusions, therefore, to which we are led are as follows:

1. The "eating" of John vi. 54 is always "life," and ends in life; and this "eating" is continuous, and will continue as long as the Christian is in Christ, which is for ever.
2. That which is to be "eaten" is not the glorified body of Christ, nor can there be any allusion to the glorified body of our Lord in the expression, "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood," language which clearly refers to Christ crucified.
3. This act of manducation is, therefore, "faith," "appro-

priating faith," *Qui credit, manducat*; and the object of it is the passion, the death, and the fruits thereof, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the appropriating and receiving the grace and virtue of Christ's body broken and His blood shed being, of course, the ultimate meaning of "eating His body and drinking His blood" as above explained by Cranmer.

4. The whole chapter has reference to this daily, hourly, unbroken, continuous act of the soul, and not primarily to the Holy Communion.

But at the Lord's Supper, which clearly refers to this spiritual act of the faithful soul, there is, of course, by the faithful the very same "eating" as is here spoken of, and is always and continuously done by all believers at, after, and before the sacred ordinance, uplifted and helped in this Holy Sacrament by Divinely-appointed "means" and signs and pledges, *the mean* paramount and supreme being at all times and invariably faith.

This God-given faith neither creates nor believes "any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood . . . which are in heaven, and not here," nor requires for its operation Christ to be in the mouth, as some by strong delusion suppose. The faithful soul reaches *backwards* to the cross, and *appropriates to itself the efficacy of Christ's passion*, which is the only way in which the spirit of man *can* "eat the flesh and drink the blood" of our Saviour Christ, and *therefore upwards* to Him glorified, and by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit attains to union, not with His glorified body, but with Him glorified, as will be manifested when He returns to reign:

"Lord Jesus, are we one with Thee?  
O height, O depth of love!  
Thou One with us on Calvary,  
We one with Thee above!"

But no mere human words may conclude this paper. May we who, unworthy, except through Him, who is Jehovah Tsidkenu, have ventured to approach the ark of the covenant and the mercy-seat, join hereafter in the great anthem of all the redeemed: "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and honour and blessing, for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood out of every kindred and tongue and people. *"Αμην."*

T. S. TREANOR.



ART. IV.—THE CATHOLICITY OF OUR HYMN-BOOKS.

IN his last Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury the late Archbishop Tait used the following words: "I cannot help remarking what an evidence to a widespread catholicity is afforded by the hymns which are used in public worship. The strains in which we Church of England people sing God's praises are drawn from the most diverse sources. We hear in them the ever-living voices of early Christian fathers, of medieval saints, of Lutheran reformers, of some modern Roman Catholics, and of many English and American Nonconformists. These all unite with our own Church's poets and divines of every school in raising our thoughts in our holiest moments to the throne of God." We propose in the present article to supplement these wise words by tracing the use of hymns in the Christian Church. We are the better able to do this through the publication, a few years ago, of Julian's masterly and exhaustive "Dictionary of Hymnology," and also through the reprint, in taking and convenient form, of the late Lord Selborne's valuable article on hymns in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." In these days, when the subject of the reunion of the churches commands the attention of men of the most opposite opinions, the consideration of the catholicity of our hymn-books may not be altogether inappropriate.

The origin of Christian hymnody is to be found in the Old Testament. It has been said, and rightly, that the whole Bible rings with music, from the first page of Genesis to the last of Revelation. At the Creation the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy; while the Apocalypse closes, in the stately language of Milton, with "a sevenfold chorus of Hallelujahs and harping symphonies." To David belongs the honour, not only of being the first great poet of Israel, but also the founder of the Psalter. He first introduced the singing of psalms or hymns—for the modern distinction between them is purely arbitrary—into the public worship of Almighty God. In Christian times St. Luke must be considered as the first hymnologist. To his care we owe, not only the *Ave Maria* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but also the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*. In the New Testament we read that Christ and His disciples "sung a hymn," probably the Passover Psalms, after the institution of the Lord's Supper; and that Paul and Silas "were singing hymns unto God" in their midnight prison at Philippi. Several times in the course of the Epistles is psalm-

singing insisted on, and more than once we seem to hear a fragment of some early Christian hymn.

In the Eastern Church the use of hymns was customary from the earliest times. Pliny, in his well-known letter to Trajan, seems to allude to antiphonal singing when he says that the Christians were accustomed to "sing a hymn to Christ as God, *secum invicem*, by turns among themselves." An early tradition ascribes the introduction of antiphonal singing to Ignatius of Antioch, who saw a vision of angels thus chanting in heaven. This, we are told by the historian Socrates, led him to introduce it into the Church of Antioch, from which it quickly spread over the Eastern Church. After the conversion of Constantine, "the progress of hymnody became closely connected with Church controversies." The numerous hymns of Ephraim the Syrian were written with a view of enlisting popular feeling on the side of orthodoxy in the controversy with the Gnostic teachers, Bardesanes, Marcion, and Manes, the first of whom had largely employed hymns, set to popular tunes, in the dissemination of his opinions. A further development arose at Constantinople out of the Arian controversy. The Arians were wont to catch the ear of the populace by singing, in the streets and open places of the city, hymns and antiphons expressive of Arian doctrine. Chrysostom endeavoured to neutralize the effect of this heretical teaching by organizing rival processions of the orthodox, who, with crosses and tapers and solemn chanting, nightly perambulated the streets of the city. And from the streets the use of hymns passed into the more recognised services of the Church. It was not, however, until the period of the iconoclastic controversy that Greek hymnody reached its highest development. From the Greek Church several hymns have found their way, through the translations of Dr. Neale, into our English services. Among these may be mentioned: "The day is past and over," from Anatolius; "Christian, dost thou see them," from Andrew of Crete; and, above all, "Art thou weary," which is adapted from a hymn by Stephen the Sabaite.

It was not until the fourth century that the use of hymns was introduced into the Western Church, when, by a strange coincidence, it was brought about by the Arian controversy. We learn from Augustine's "Confessions" (ix., vii. 15), that St. Ambrose had incurred the resentment of the Arian Empress Justina, in consequence of which sentence of exile was passed upon him. The "devout people" were determined to defend their Bishop, and kept watch in the church night and day, ready, if need be, to die with him. "Then it was first appointed," says St. Augustine, "that, after the

manner of the Eastern Churches, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax weary and faint through sorrow, which custom has ever since been retained, and has been followed by almost all congregations in other parts of the world." Hence arose the use of hymnody in the Latin Church, although before this Hilary of Poitiers had written a book of hymns, some of which, together with those of St. Ambrose and of Prudentius, afterwards found their way into the different breviaries.

What is known as the first medieval period—from the sixth to the ninth century—is singularly barren in the production of good hymns. The noble hymn of Cardinal Damiani on the joys of Paradise, *Ad Perennis Vitæ Fontem*, must, however, be excepted, and the celebrated *Veni Creator Spiritus*, "which," says the writer in Julian's Dictionary, "has taken a deeper hold of the Western Church than any other medieval hymn except the *Te Deum*." The authorship of the hymn is doubtful, it having been ascribed, among others, to Ambrose, to Gregory the Great, to Charles the Bald, and to Rabanus Maurus. The story of its composition, as told by Ekkehard in his "Life of Notker," is as follows: "It is told of the blessed man [Notker] that one day when he went through the dormitory he listened, for there was hard by a mill whose wheel was revolving slowly for lack of water, and, groaning, gave out sounds something like words. And the man of God, hearing this, straightway was in the spirit, and produced that most beautiful hymn, the 'sequence' on the Holy Ghost, *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*. And when he had finished it, he sent it as a present to the Emperor Charles, who was then staying, probably, at Aachen. And the same Christian Emperor sent back to him by the messenger that which the same Spirit had inspired him to write, the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*." If this story is to be credited—and it certainly has an air of truth—the author of the hymn was not Charlemagne, but more probably Charles the Fat, who had paid great attention to Notker during his visit to St. Gall in A.D. 883; and there is no reason why the above incident should not have taken place soon after.

The invention of "sequences" by Notker may conveniently be regarded as the beginning of the later period of medieval hymnody. The origin of the term seems to have been somewhat as follows: It was the custom to sing the word "Alleluia" between the Epistle and the Gospel. The last syllable of this word was prolonged into a number of musical notes, which were called the *sequentia*, as following the *Alleluia*. In the latter part of the ninth century Notker invented the practice of adapting words to suit these notes, and hence the words

came in their turn to be called "sequences." Among the most famous of these medieval sequences, two are attributed to Notker—the "Alleluiaic Sequence," *Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Alleluia*, well known in Dr. Neale's translation, "The strain upraise of joy and praise, Alleluia"; and the *Media in Vita*, "In the midst of life we are in death," which is said to have been suggested to him while watching some workmen building a bridge at the Martinstobel, a gorge of the Goldach, on its course from St. Gall to the Lake of Constance. It is stated by Miss Winkworth that this hymn was "long used as a battle-song, until its custom was forbidden on account of its being supposed to exercise a magical influence." Luther translated it into German as one of his funeral hymns; and the pathetic portion of our Burial Service, beginning "In the midst of life we are in death," down to "Suffer us not at the last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from Thee," is taken from it. The "Golden Sequence," *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, "Come, Thou Holy Spirit, come," considered by Archbishop Trench as "the loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin sacred poetry," was probably written by Pope Innocent III.; and perhaps the *Stabat Mater dolorosa*, "By the cross sad vigil keeping," the most pathetic hymn of the Middle Ages. The *Dies Iræ*, "That day of wrath, that dreadful day," perhaps the most celebrated of those medieval sequences—it has been called "the great sequence of the Western Church"—was written by Thomas de Celano, the friend and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi; while the famous sacramental hymn of St. Thomas Aquinas, *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium*, written by him for the festival of Corpus Christi, probably exercised "a not unimportant influence" upon the general reception of the dogma of transubstantiation. Among other hymn-writers of this later medieval period must be mentioned St. Bernard of Morlaix, to whom we are indebted for the popular hymn, "Jerusalem the golden"; and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose beautiful hymn, *Jesu dulcis memoria*, "Jesu, the very thought of Thee," has been called by Schaff "the sweetest and most evangelical hymn of the Middle Ages." It is certainly the finest and most characteristic specimen of what has been called St. Bernard's "subjective loveliness," which has since found favour with so many religious minds.

Hymns played a great part at the time of the Reformation. It is a remarkable fact, as a writer in Julian's Dictionary has pointed out, that some of the greatest religious revivals, as the Reformation, and Pietism, and Moravianism, and Methodism, were sung as well as preached; and that the leaders of those revivals—Luther, Spener, Zinzendorf, Wesley,

—were themselves hymnists. To Luther belongs the supreme honour of giving to the German nation in their own language, not the Bible only, but also their Catechism and hymn-book. He is the “Ambrose of German hymnology.” Without adopting the hyperbolic saying of Coleridge, that “Luther did as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible,” it may be truly affirmed, says Lord Selborne, “that, among the secondary means by which the success of the Reformation was promoted, none was more powerful. They were sung everywhere: in the streets and fields, as well as the churches, in the workshop and the palace, by children in the cottage, and by martyrs on the scaffold. It was by them that a congregational character was given to the new Protestant worship.” His hymns, some thirty-seven in number—of which about a dozen are translations from Latin originals—were written for the chief Christian seasons; and there is also a very touching song on the martyrdom of two youths at Brussels in 1523. The best known is, of course, the celebrated *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, the national hymn of Germany, “the production,” as Ranke says, “of the moment in which Luther, engaged in a conflict with a world of foes, sought strength in the consciousness that he was defending a Divine cause which would never perish.” “A battle-hymn was this defiant song,” says Heine, “with which he and his comrades entered Worms (April 16, 1521). The old cathedral trembled at the new notes, and the ravens were startled in their hidden nests in the tower. This hymn, the *Marseillaise of the Reformation*, has preserved its potent spell on to our days; and we may yet soon use again in similar conflicts the old mailed words.” Carlyle compares it to “a sound of Alpine avalanches, or the first murmur of earthquakes.” Luther himself sang the words daily at Coburg in 1530. Melancthon and Jonas were greatly comforted in their banishment from Wittenburg by hearing it sung by a little maiden on their entrance into Weimar in 1547. Gustavus Adolphus caused it to be sung by the whole army before the Battle of Leipsic on September 17, 1631. During the Luther celebrations of 1883 it was sung at the Castle Church, Wittenburg, and at the unveiling of Luther’s memorial in the market-place of Eisleben.

The period of the Thirty Years’ War produced one or two hymns of world-wide celebrity. The famous battle-song of Gustavus Adolphus, *Verzage nicht du Häuflein Klein*, “Fear not, O little flock, the foe,” supposed by some to be the composition of the hero-king himself—Knapp calls it “a little feather from the eagle-wing of Gustavus Adolphus”—is said by Julian to have been written, or, at any rate, the first

three stanzas of it, by Michael Altenburg on the receipt of the news of the victory of Leipsic in 1631. This fine hymn was sung by Gustavus and his brave soldiers before the fatal Battle of Lutzen, on November 19, 1632. To this period also belongs—though, according to Julian, it has no immediate connection with the peace of Westphalia—the thanksgiving song of Martin Rinckhart, a pastor of Eilenburg, which has been fitly called the *Te Deum* of Germany. It is well known in England through Miss Winkworth's spirited translation :

" Now thank we all our God  
With hearts and hands and voices."

Among other German hymn-writers who call for notice Paul Gerhardt must not be forgotten. He was a Lutheran pastor at Berlin, and afterwards at Lübben, and is usually considered as the prince of German hymnists of the seventeenth century. His compositions, which may be compared to Keble's "Christian Year," yielded in popularity only to those of Luther. But the difference between Luther's theology and that of Gerhardt was considerable, and is thus summarized by Gervinus: "In Luther's time the belief in free grace and the work of the Atonement and the bursting of the gates of hell was the inspiration of joyful confidence; with Gerhardt it is the belief of the love of God. With Luther the old wrathful God of the Romanists assumed the heavenly aspect of grace and mercy; with Gerhardt the merciful Righteous One is a gentle, loving man." The hymns of John Scheffler, the founder of the "second Silesian school," who after his conversion to Romanism assumed the name of "Angelus," must also be noticed. One of them is familiar to English readers, through Wesley's adaptation, "Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower." Both as a poet and as a convert to Romanism Scheffler furnishes an interesting parallel to our own Faber. And the hymns of both of them, even after their "conversion," were freely used by Protestant congregations. The keynote of Scheffler's hymns, like those of St. Bernard, is Divine love. It may be well illustrated by his last words: "Jesus and Christ, God and man, bridegroom and brother, peace and joy, sweetness and delight, refuge and redemption, heaven and earth, eternity and time, love and all, have mercy on my soul."

The "Pietist" and Moravian schools produced, among other hymn-writers, Spener, Hiller and Zinzendorf. Spener, who was pastor of St. Nicolas, in Berlin, was the founder of the "Pietist" school, but his hymns, though numerous, are not remarkable. Hiller was a pastor in Württemberg (1699-1769), and his "Casket of Spiritual Songs," which he wrote towards

the end of his ministry, when fallen into feeble health, is still prized by the peasantry of Würtemberg next to their Bibles ; and we are told that "the numerous emigrants from that part of Germany to America and other foreign countries generally take it with them wherever they go." As an instance of the reverence and affection with which Hiller's hymns are still regarded, it is said, in Julian's Dictionary, that when a German colony in the Caucasus was attacked by a hostile Circassian tribe some fifty years ago, the parents cut up their copies of the "Casket," and divided the leaves among their children as they were being torn away from them into slavery. The motto of Count Zinzendorf, "I have but one passion, and it is He, only He," may be taken as the keynote of his 111 hymns. They are marked by a deep personal devotion to the crucified Saviour. One of his hymns is well known in England through Wesley's translation, "Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness."

Various causes helped to retard the development of hymnody in Great Britain after the time of the Reformation. Among these may be placed the fierce hatred of Rome, which cast discredit on all Latin hymns, and the intense love of the English Bible, which helped to exclude from public worship whatever was not contained in holy writ. But the most powerful cause was undoubtedly the example and influence of Geneva. John Calvin, holding the narrow opinion once held by Paul of Samosata—an opinion which was openly condemned by the Fourth Council of Toledo—that whatever was used in public worship ought to be taken out of the Bible, rejected the entire hymnology of the Breviaries and Missals, and used only the French metrical translation of the Psalms by Marot and Beza. The example thus set at Geneva produced in England what is commonly known as the "Old Version" of the Psalms. It was begun by Thomas Sternhold, an official in the household of Henry VIII., and afterwards of Edward VI., who published a translation of some thirty-seven Psalms in 1549. At his death the work was continued by John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman, and afterwards by certain English refugees at Geneva during the reign of Queen Mary. The completed edition of the "Old Version" finally appeared in 1562.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth the "German Psalmody" was at once brought into use, and for over a hundred years the "Old Version" of Sternhold and Hopkins continued to be the sole hymn-book of the English Church. In 1693, under the authority of "the Court at Kensington," the "New Version" of the Psalms by Tait and Brady appeared, and eventually, after a long struggle, succeeded in displacing

the older translation. The standard of merit of both these versions is miserably low; and surprise must be felt that "in the country of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, and notwithstanding the example of Germany," nothing worthy of the name of congregational hymnody arose until after the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is true that the seventeenth century was not altogether indifferent to the power and value of congregational hymnody and music. Even the Puritan John Milton could sing:

"Let the pealing organ blow  
To the full-voiced choir below,  
In service high, and anthems clear,  
As may with sweetness through mine ear  
Dissolve me into ecstasies,  
And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

And Milton himself wrote "hymns" on the Nativity, the Circumcision and the Passion. The earliest attempt at an English hymn-book was made by George Wither in 1622, in the publication of his "Hymns and Songs of the Church." The volume included hymns for all the Church seasons and festivals, as well as hymns of a more private and devotional character, and was "at once a 'Christian Year' and a manual of practical piety." The publication, however, only involved its author in loss and persecution. Two writers belong to this period, both of whom were eminently qualified to be hymn-writers—George Herbert, whose "Temple" was printed in 1633, and Francis Quarles, whose "Emblems" appeared in the following year. During the time of the Commonwealth Jeremy Taylor published some hymns, which he describes as "celebrating the mysteries and chief festivals of the year, according to the manner of the ancient Church." Later on appeared the "Poetical Fragments" of Richard Baxter, to whom we are indebted for the hymn, "Lord, it belongs not to our care." Dryden's translation of the *Veni Creator* must also be mentioned, and, above all, Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns, which first appeared in 1697, appended to the third edition of the author's "Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars."

To the Independents, as represented by Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge, belongs the honour of being "the real founders of modern English hymnody." Watts's "Hymns" appeared in 1707, and he may justly be regarded as "the father of English hymnody." "It has been the fashion," says Lord Selborne, "to disparage Watts, as if he had never risen above the level of his 'Hymns for Little Children.' No doubt his taste is often faulty and his style very unequal, but looking to the good, and disregarding the large quantity of

inferior, matter, it is probable that more hymns which approach to a very high standard of excellence, and are at the same time suitable for congregational use, may be found in his works than in those of any other English writer." Among his best-known hymns may be mentioned, "Come, let us join our cheerful songs," "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun," "O God, our help in ages past," "When I survey the wondrous cross," and, above all, "There is a land of pure delight," which is said to have been suggested by the beautiful prospect over Southampton Water. To Doddridge we owe "Hark, the glad sound," and "My God, and is Thy table spread"; and to Simon Browne, another Independent, "Come, gracious Spirit, heavenly dove."

The "Methodist" movement of the eighteenth century, which may be divided into the Wesleyan branch, under the leadership of John Wesley, and the Calvinistic branch, under the leadership of George Whitefield, produced a large number of hymn-writers. Of these by far the greatest was Charles Wesley. He wrote the prodigious number of over 6,000 hymns, of which perhaps the two best are, "Come, O Thou Traveller unknown," founded on the incident of Jacob wrestling with the angel, and which Watts said was "worth all the verses he himself had written," and the hymn on Catholic love, beginning, "Weary of all this wordy strife." His most generally popular hymn is probably "Jesu! lover of my soul"; while John Wesley preferred, above all his brother had written, "Come, let us join our friends above." Of the other Wesleyan hymn-writers, Olivers, a Welsh shoemaker, is best known through his beautiful ode, "The God of Abraham praise." To the Moravian Methodists belonged John Cennick, the author of "Children of the heavenly King"; and James Montgomery, who wrote, among other hymns, "Go to dark Gethsemane," "Hail to the Lord's anointed," and, best of all, "For ever with the Lord."

The Calvinistic section of the Methodist party produced a larger number of hymn-writers. Augustus Toplady will be ever remembered for his most beautiful hymn, "Rock of ages," perhaps, as Dr. Pusey said, "the most popular hymn, the very favourite—very beautiful is it." William Williams, the apostle of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales, was the author of two well-known hymns, "Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah," and "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness." Rowland Hill wrote the popular hymn, "Exalted high at God's right hand"; and Thomas Haweis, "O Thou, from whom all goodness flows." But the "Olney Hymns," which, as Lord Selborne says, combine "the tenderness of Cowper with the manliness of Newton," are entitled to be placed at the head

of all the writers of this Calvinistic school. To Newton belongs the tender hymn, "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds," and the soul-inspiring strain, "Glorious things of thee are spoken, Zion, city of our God." Poor Cowper contributed over sixty hymns to the Olney collection, many of which speak the language of his own pathetic experiences. Among these may be mentioned, "O for a closer walk with God," "When darkness long has veil'd my mind," and "God moves in a mysterious way," said to have been written on the very eve of his second attack of insanity. In Lord Selborne's opinion, the best of Cowper's hymns is the one beginning "Hark, my soul! it is the Lord," and containing the exquisite lines :

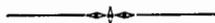
"Can a woman's tender care  
Cease towards the child she bare?  
Yes, she may forgetful be;  
Yet will I remember thee."

"Mine is an unchanging love,  
Higher than the heights above;  
Deeper than the depths beneath,  
Free and faithful, strong as death."

During the first quarter of the present century the example of the Wesleys in introducing hymnody into public worship was generally followed among the Evangelical section of the Church. The High Church party, however, held aloof from the innovation, as lacking ecclesiastical authority, and as savouring of dissent, and continued to use only Tait and Brady's "New Version." But in 1827 two publications appeared, which, says Lord Selborne, "introduced a new epoch, breaking down the barrier as to hymnody which had till then existed between the different theological schools of the Church of England." These publications were Bishop Heber's "Hymns" and Keble's "Christian Year." Shortly afterwards the "Lyra Apostolica," containing John Henry Newman's celebrated hymn, "Lead, kindly Light," was published, and since then a flood of congregational hymnody has been poured forth upon Christendom by writers too numerous to mention. Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Non-conformists, Sacerdotalists and Evangelicals, have alike contributed to swell the number of our hymns and hymn-books. They have alike borne witness to the existence of that one religion to which, whatever they may call themselves, the good, the just, the pious, the devout all belong, and who, whatever their differences on earth, shall know and recognise each other in heaven. They are members, one and all, of that universal Church of which the saintly Lacordaire truly said: "Where there is the love of God, there is Jesus Christ; and

where there is Jesus Christ, there is the Church with Him." Yes, "coming from every religious movement, our hymns betoken," says a distinguished living writer, "an unsectarian catholicity such as marks all true religion. On the neutral ground of hymns we rejoice alike in the classic sweetness of Addison, in the simple faith of Ken, in the fervent devotion of Toplady, the poetic tenderness of Heber, the chastened sadness of Cowper, the saintly strength of Newman, the soothing peacefulness of Keble, the passionate yearnings of Faber and Neale. What matters that some of these were Bishops and some Dissenters, some Puritans and some Roman Catholics, some Armenians and some Calvinists? A true hymn, simple and passionate, natural, manly, fervent, thrilling with spontaneity and vigour, knows nothing of the petty distinctions of Ritualist or Evangelist; it knows only of Christ and God." In the calm light thrown by our hymn-books on the consoling truth of the inward unity of Christendom, we can make with confidence the great confession, "I believe in the communion of saints."

JOHN VAUGHAN.



#### ART. V.—PARTY SPIRIT.

THE third and last subject for National Repentance mentioned by the Bishops in the appeal which they made last January for united prayer during the dying year of the century is one that will be very popular with all of us. It alludes to a fault which we all see in our neighbours, though we are very unwilling to detect it in ourselves. It is *Religious Party Spirit*.

"We cannot disguise from ourselves," say the Bishops, "that the greatest hindrances to the advance of the kingdom of Christ among men are to be found in the bosom of Christendom itself. Next to the irreligious lives and inconsistent spirit of many professing Christians, perhaps the chief hindrance is to be found in the unhappy divisions in the Church of Christ. The divisions of Christendom, the present troubles in our communion, and, more grievous still, the acrimonious temper which too often characterizes religious controversy, are deplorable impediments to the progress of the Gospel. All these hindrances are again a call to prayer." What excellent advice! we say, and how admirably suited for those who do not agree with us!

The party or schismatic spirit comes from an exaggerated

and one-sided reverence for religious teachers. Sometimes it issues in the formation of movements within the Church, sometimes without; but all alike arise from excessive partiality and unreasoning devotion to the leader. A great teacher arises, and forms a movement. He is opposed. Allegiance to him becomes a tradition. So it goes on. It has always been so, and always will be. It began, for our warning, in the very earliest days of Christianity.

The Corinthian Church, so lately founded by St. Paul himself, failed to abide in the unity of Christ. Following the fashion of the Greek philosophical schools, its members soon clustered round different human organs of the Spirit of Christ, who had themselves no desire for such rivalry. The different parties maintained and magnified what they thought to be the peculiar excellencies of their favourite teachers with contentious zeal, until at last they broke into factions, each separate tendency pushing itself to an extreme, while they still met in the same place, and belonged to the same Church.

St. Paul enumerates the parties in the order of their rise: that of Paul, of Apollos, of Cephas (or Peter), and of Christ. Their origin was the appearance of the brilliant Apollos at Corinth. His treatment of the Gospel was essentially the same as St. Paul's; but while St. Paul made it a rule to preserve the utmost simplicity in his preaching, Apollos, on the contrary, seems to have given full scope to his Alexandrine learning, and to his well-trained power of eloquence and argument. These shining qualities so attracted some members of the Church that, in their over-estimate of them, they exalted Apollos above St. Paul, as a teacher of superior education and culture. Over against the adherents of Apollos, accordingly, there arose a loyal and indignant party for St. Paul, who applauded the founder of the Church as their master, and wished to make him their head. Against both of these there gathered gradually a third faction, under the influence of Judaizing teachers, who wished for a legalistic system founded on Jewish rites, and who, without sufficient reason, invoked the name of St. Peter.

Finally, there was a party of purists, who were shocked at the devotion of these various cliques to their favourite divines, and were resolved in a lofty spirit to exalt Christ alone as the Head to Whom they themselves belonged, but who did this in so exclusive, disdainful, and partial a manner, that, instead of proving a uniting element in the distracted Church, they only made the rent worse.

St. Paul's remedy for all this is to abase as much as possible his own importance and that of Apollos, as mere instruments of God, and to refer the divided Corinthians back to Christ

Himself. Human teachers, he urged, however great, were nothing but *ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God*. Those mysteries had been revealed once for all in Christ; that was the important thing. Human instrumentality was only of value in so far as it represented that Divine influence, and was in accordance with it. *Other foundation could no man lay than that which was laid, which was Jesus Christ*. Christ's work, Christ's teaching, Christ's life, Christ's character—these were all important. Human ideas were nothing. If anyone among them had a reputation for superior wisdom, for human gifts of intelligence, and doctrinal refinements and improvements, let him become a fool that he might become wise. Paul, Apollos, Peter, everybody and everything else, were only of use in so far as they represented the truth of Christ; for Christ Himself was the revelation of God.

To St. Paul there can be no question that schism means the indulgence of these partialities to the verge of forming divisions within the Church. It is comforting to us to know that when, not many years later, St. Clement of Rome wrote his Epistle to the Church of Corinth, the wise and self-forgetful counsels of St. Paul had so far prevailed that these discussions had not been of long continuance. St. Clement speaks of them as something long past and gone, with which he compares later quarrels as a phenomenon even worse.

From this object-lesson of the Church at Corinth we see that all sectarianism and party organization, arising out of this inordinate preference and loyalty for favourite teachers, is in itself sinful, and fraught with dangerous consequences to the truth and peace of the Church. It ruptures the Church's unity by limiting Christ's right over us, and our absolute and exclusive subjection to Him, in favour of special interpretations of special men. It allows to a mere man, or set of men, and to their peculiar opinions and ways and doctrines, something of that power and importance which belong to Christ alone. It binds its followers, and would wish to bind all Christians alike, to these special views and objects, as if on these our whole salvation depended. It causes those whom it influences, on one side or another, at one time or another of the Church's history, to move in these favourite views as the very element of their existence. To these special views, customs, or ideas it draws their whole devotion; and so it causes a human mind or minds, with all their individualities and singularities, to take the position of essential mediators in that spiritual life which can come alone by truth and grace.

The tendency to sectarianism or party spirit lies sometimes in human ignorance, partiality, and stubbornness of opinion, sometimes in conceit and egotism, sometimes in an honest and

sincere incapacity to estimate the truth of doctrine. We believe our own party to be truest and best, and that it ought to establish itself over other parties, whereas the things that divide us from other parties are not, according to St. Paul's criterion, fundamental. Party spirit does not consist in holding fast to our profession or opinion for conscience' sake—that is a right that is inherent in everybody—but in organizing ourselves for the purpose of making our specific opinions triumphant, and in using our own specific varieties of doctrine or religion as a means for exalting our own party and for ruling over others, depressing them, or opposing them.

And do not think that this is confined to leaders alone. As at Corinth, so in the history of the Church, so in our own day, the party spirit of followers is generally more intense than in those they follow. This is the case especially among party women, who are less versed than men in the logic of life and in the simplicity as well as the many-sidedness of truth. That votary of party spirit who does not feel sufficiently strong or courageous to take the lead will at least join himself with ambitious devotion to some other person better able to do it, in whose victories and successes he may share.

But Christianity refuses to be sectarian or partisan at all. Lord Bacon, in writing on Unity in Religion, refers us to St. Paul's criterion of Christian truth, the foundation teaching of Jesus Christ Himself: "The league of Christians," he says, "has been penned by our Lord in two clauses, which only need sound and plain exposition: '*He that is not with us is against us:*' and '*He that is not against us is on our side.*' That is," he says, "that the points fundamental and of substance in religion should be truly discerned and distinguished from points not absolutely of faith, but only of opinion, order, or good intention." Oh, what heart-burnings, mutual recriminations, factions, divisions and cruelties, might have been saved had any attention been paid to the Divine rule!

Excellent and wholesome advice, we say, and how justly applicable to those obstinate people who will not accept our views!

But when such a condition of things has grown up in the English Church as that described by the Bishops, it is impossible that the fault can be all on one side; and it becomes very important for us, as part of our spiritual discipline, to examine ourselves in order to discover whether we ourselves belong to a party, whether we ourselves have been enlisting under human leaders, whether we ourselves have been brandishing swords on the party arena, whether some of the clamour and discord does not lie at our own door.

Now, here again the same wise man is of great service in

suggesting to us tests by which we may examine our consciences. He reminds us that there are two kinds of controversies about which men become partisans, and by which they ought to take heed of rending God's Church :

"The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the Church's vesture was of divers colours: whereupon he saith, Let there be variety in the robe, but no rent. They be two things, unity and uniformity.

"And the other kind of controversy is this: when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one and the same thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and so He approveth of both? Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed: so that, whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning."

*"Whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal?"*

In looking into our consciences, it should be a warning to us to remember that the worst dissensions have been about very small matters: the time of keeping Easter, the way in which clergymen should cut their hair, the addition of a word to the creed the meaning of which the other side fully admitted; the question whether the surplice was allowable; the question whether Bishops ought to have a distinctive dress; the exact meaning of such an abstract idea as Predestination; the sign of the cross in baptism; the question whether the bread used in Holy Communion should be leavened or unleavened; the question whether prayers should be printed or extemporaneous; the question whether organs are permissible; the question whether hymns should be read out line by line before singing. All these and a multitude of other trivialities have seemed of vital importance to different generations of Christians. It is difficult for us to believe it: but so it was. It is these things that have divided Churches, or filled them with confusion and hatred. It is more than probable that at a time when the Church is full of internal discord,

and, as the Archbishop of Canterbury lately said, is more in danger from disruption than disestablishment, the like trivialities may have assumed the like absurd and unreasonable importance amongst ourselves. If you take the harsh correspondence in half a dozen ecclesiastical newspapers of one week, and compare them, and consider what it is that has separated these good and earnest men, and made them think so bitterly and unkindly of each other, the slightness of the cause, the needlessness of the difference, the malignity of the dislike, the defilement of the calm atmosphere of the Church by the evil tempers of distrust, suspicion, misrepresentation, disparagement, and hostility, then one cannot but think of the exquisite lines of the Irish poet on quarrels :

“ Alas ! how slight a cause may move  
 Dissension between hearts that love !  
 Hearts that the world in vain had tried,  
 And sorrow but more closely tied ;  
 That stood the storm when waves were rough,  
 Yet in the sunny hour fall off,  
 Like ships that have gone down at sea  
 When heaven was all tranquillity !  
 A something light as air, a look,  
 A word unkind or wrongly taken—  
 Oh, love that tempests never shook !  
 A breath, a touch like this hath shaken.  
 And ruder words will soon rush in  
 To spread the breach that words begin ;  
 And eyes forget the gentle ray  
 They wore in friendship's smiling day ;  
 And voices lose the tone that shed  
 A tenderness round all they said ;  
 Till, fast declining, one by one  
 The sweetnesss of love are gone,  
 And hearts, so lately mingled, seem  
 Like broken clouds—or like the stream  
 That smiling left the mountain's brow  
 As though its waters ne'er could sever,  
 Yet e'er it reached the plain below  
 Breaks into floods that part for ever !”

“ *Whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal ?*”

One of the evils of going into the party room is that such combinations, either for the exaltation of one doctrine or for the denial of another, tend to create words, terms, and phrases of their own which are not present in the foundation of Jesus Christ, but which gradually become shibboleths, which the followers of the party always expect to hear, and the absence of which fills them with disgust and the suspicion of heresy. Thus these favourite terms inevitably crystallize the party more and more, and separate it in a wholly unnecessary and

most lamentable manner from the great mass of the other members of the Church. So the division becomes permanent, so the rent or schism grows wider and deeper. And this exclusiveness is generally on the part of those who have adopted the favourite terms and phraseology. They cannot help feeling a sense of superior wisdom, and looking down on those who have not taken up their shibboleths. They have a sense of delightful isolation and elevation, like those little cliques in society who have invented for themselves what they call a new language. "All the more fools the others," they say, "for not accepting our views and our words." But it is not so. These things are not of the foundation of Jesus Christ; and to expect allegiance and submission in such matters is merely a proof of the domination of party spirit.

Another evil of going into the party room is that it supplies those who are there with a spurious and baneful form of that sympathy for which man has a right and genuine craving. "To anyone unconnected with party," wrote a deep student of human nature of its effect on the rank and file of partisans, "the temptations of personal interest or gratification are in some degree checked by the disapprobation of those around him. But, alas! a partisan finds himself surrounded by persons, most of whom, though perhaps not unscrupulous in their private capacity, are prepared to *keep him in countenance* in much that is unjustifiable—to overlook or excuse almost anything in a zealous and efficient partisan—and even to applaud what in another they would condemn, so it does but promote some party object. For party corrupts the conscience by making almost all virtues flow, as it were, *in its own party channel*. Zeal for truth becomes gradually zeal for the watchword, the shibboleth, of the party; justice, mercy, benevolence, are all limited to the members of that party, and are censured if extended to those of the opposite party, or (which is usually even more detested) to those of no party. Candour is made to consist in putting the best construction on all that comes from one side, and the worst on all that does not. Whatever is wrong in any member of the party is either boldly denied, in the face of all evidence, or vindicated, or passed over in silence; and whatever is, or can be brought to appear, wrong on the opposite side is readily credited, and brought forward and exaggerated. The principles of conduct originally the noblest—disinterested self-devotion, courage, and active zeal—party perverts to its own purposes; veracity, submissive humility, charity—in short, every Christian virtue—it enlists in its cause and confines within its own limits; and the conscience becomes gradually so corrupted that it becomes a guide to evil instead of good. 'The light that is in us becomes darkness.'"

These last sentences are the words of a famous Archbishop, a very acute observer of his own times. Again we say: What admirable advice, and how perfectly true of those who do not agree with us!

The third evil of going into the party room is that it leads to personal dislike of those who pass into the opposite room, or who do not go into any room at all. This is the commonest and most obvious result of party spirit, and I need not dwell upon it. In some it amounts to no more than a shirking from the companionship of those who do not agree with us; in others it takes the form of perpetual depreciation whenever their name is mentioned; in others it breeds slanders, misrepresentations, monstrous lies, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. Of this, God knows, the Church is full. From this we pray three times a week, "Good Lord, deliver us!" This alone, even if we are free from it ourselves, when we know it to be the direct result of party spirit, should be enough to prevent us, for the sake of example and influence for others, from entering the pestilential atmosphere of party at all.

"I beseech you, brethren," says the loving and tender heart of St. Paul in like circumstances—"I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that there be no divisions among you: but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." I said that this would be a popular subject, because, in order to see the evils of that party spirit which the Bishops deplore and of which they entreat us to repent, it is not necessary to go very far; we can measure the melancholy result in the words and conduct of people about in our world. I do not ask my readers to apply these statements to themselves, but to think of the tendencies which produce these evils as they exist in the Church. And then I will ask them with all my heart, for the sake of that great historic Church which we all love, and which has such unrivalled opportunities for good of every kind opening out before her, to avoid to the very utmost, at whatever cost, the increase of this dire spirit of partisanship by any complicity of their own, however slight, with party combinations. Of course, we shall say, "My own party is the cause of truth; it is right; it is the true Church." But then we shall remember that the members of every party would say the very same. Such a complacent opinion will only lead to perpetuation of faction. The only remedy is the remedy that St. Paul urged so affectionately and strenuously on the Corinthians, to turn with all our heart and soul and mind and strength to the foundation-truths of Jesus Christ. If we maintain these with any power that we have, and cultivate

the philanthropies, graces, and charities that spring from these, then our life will be far more fruitful, fertile, and happy. The smaller things of which Bacon spoke which are not fundamentals, or even the great things when pushed to an extreme of refinement, we must make a real effort to put in their proper place for fear of the carnal evils of factious pursuit. We may have opinions about them; we may have controversies about them, if need be; but we shall refuse to commit ourselves to all the dangers of combination on their account. It is well to remember the advice of Gamaliel about greater matters than these: "Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." By the love we bear our Saviour, by the loyalty which we owe to the English Church, let us consecrate the opening of the new century by ceasing to exaggerate things that are not fundamental by looking in all things to the foundation of Jesus Christ for the estimation of the relative importance of controversies. For this one year, the first of a momentous series, should we not refuse to go near the party room, and see how well we can get on without it? A sacrifice is demanded of each of us for the cause of the peace of the Church: it is only to go back in all things to our only Lord and Saviour, Master and Teacher, Jesus Christ. The nearer we are to Him, the nearer we shall be to each other. Personal traditions, human influences, may be recognised in their proper place; but when they divide us in parties, and distort great truths, and destroy proportions, and fill us with the fierce glee of sectarian fury, then certainly they are not of God. For this one year of renewed life and responsibility let all refrain from these combinations, which might in different times be tolerable, but which are now necessarily and essentially imbued with the evil spirit of division. "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that there be no schisms among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment?"

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



## Reviews.



*A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe; from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. In three volumes. Vol. i.: "Classical and Medieval Criticism." Blackwood, 1900. Price 16s. net.

THIS is a most remarkable book in every way. It is, as the title-page shows, sufficiently ambitious in design; it is almost as bold in execution. But Professor Saintsbury is not the man to flinch in face of a formidable task—a task which, in the literary sphere, demands almost as much preparation and learning as did Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" in the sphere of history. And what has added to the difficulty of the work is the fact that practically Professor Saintsbury has had to move forward through the jungles of literature, as a pioneer cutting his way step by step, only reaching a point of view from which to survey the whole field of his labours after much toil and exploration. As an example of the thoroughness with which the Professor has worked, one may mention here—what is noted in the preface, p. vii—that, by way of preparation for such an immense task as he proposed to himself, Professor Saintsbury has read over "some four or five times" the "Poetics" and "Rhetoric" of Aristotle, the "Institutes" and the *Περί Ὑψους*, the "De Vulgari Eloquentia" and the "Discoveries," the "Essays of Dramatic Poesy" and the "Preface to Lyrical Ballads."

The fact is, the writer seems to have read everything; whether he has always completely digested the vast stores of his learning, or assimilated the finer spirit of literary criticism, is perhaps less certain. As a stylist, Professor Saintsbury leaves a good deal to be desired. He is not an entertaining writer; possibly entertainment is not to be looked for in a book like the present. But in a work which, for good or ill, must rank as Professor Saintsbury's *magnum opus*, we should have preferred a less awkward and encumbered form of literary diction. The gods, however, do not, save in the rarest instances, dower a writer with all the literary graces; and we must content ourselves with what Professor Saintsbury has done for us, rather than ask for what is, perhaps, the unattainable. Making every deduction, we still possess in this work an accurate, and indeed indispensable, guide to the history of literary criticism. The writer's encyclopædic knowledge and immense industry find full scope here, and, judging by the first volume, the remainder of the book ought to be worthy of the closest attention. It is a small point, but it deserves to be noticed, that the index—compiled by Professor Saintsbury himself—is a model of fulness; while the footnotes render useful aid to the student on almost every page.

E. H. B.

*Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama.* By the late J. ADDINGTON SYMONDS. New edition. London: Smith, Elder and Co. Price 7s. 6d.

This book was originally issued some seventeen years ago; but unfortunately its accomplished and versatile author never lived to revise it. Yet a revision was needed. Mr. Churton Collins reviewed it on its first appearance in a masterly essay that was subsequently reprinted in "Essays and Studies." He pointed out very clearly its defects—defects, however, that might readily have been remedied with a little care and patience. Yet the book, even as it stands—and the present volume is merely a reprint, so far as we can see, of the original volume—is decidedly valuable. Mr. Symonds was peculiarly well fitted to undertake such a task as a literary history of Shakespeare's predecessors in the English drama. He was not only intimately acquainted with the classical drama of Greece—an acquaintance which is indispensable for a due knowledge of all subsequent dramatic history—but he, beyond all other of his contemporaries, was versed in the literary and artistic developments of the Italian Renaissance. His "Renaissance in Italy" (recently reissued in seven volumes) is a mine of information, and will not soon be superseded. But besides possessing these qualifications, Mr. Symonds had the further advantage of being extremely well read in English literature. As one of our "minor poets," too, he occupied a high position. Such a book, therefore, as the present volume must needs appeal to a wide audience. We feel instinctively we are in the hands of an accomplished writer and of a widely-read man of letters.

The *style* of the writer is, perhaps, overcharged with ornament. In his "Greek Poets" (perhaps his finest work) Mr. Symonds is seen at his best; but in "Shakespeare's Predecessors" there is a surfeit of "fine writing" and an exaggeration of diction which strike one as needless. Fulsomeness, specially in a critic, is always annoying. There are other faults: lapses of good taste are by no means as rare as they should be; possibly the writer, had he lived to revise his book, would have mended this. But the book, taken as a whole, is eminently suggestive, even though, as an effort of literary criticism, it falls far short of the highest place.

E. H. B.

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## Short Notices.

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*Talks with my Lads.* Preface by Canon SEYMOUR COXE. Elliot Stock, 1900. Pp. 160.

A very useful series of eight addresses to young men on religious principle and practice in daily life, which will be particularly welcome to the many in these days who hold Bible classes and classes of instruction for youths.

and religion called Roman Catholicism. It would be better and more forcible if it were more expanded and references and details given. The warning is addressed to the Ritualist who is pleading for a revival of so-called Catholic teaching, which the author believes goes no further back than the thirteenth century, and is, therefore, not mainly Catholic. A powerful book could be produced by the writer on the foundation of this pamphlet.

*Truths New and Old.* Sermons preached in the parish church of Rochdale, by the Ven. James M. WILSON, M.A., Westminster. Archibald Constable and Co. Price 6s.

One of the chief dangers of the pulpit to-day is not that it preaches over the heads of the people, but under. We are convinced of this fact if the sermons contained in these volumes were listened to "with interest and profit" by the working-men and women of Lancashire, as the author from experience and judgment believes they were. For this reason alone it would be well to obtain the volume to learn what their standard is. It is undoubtedly a very high one, as far as material is concerned, but they are presented in plain, forcible language, thoroughly in touch with the thought of the day, and moderate in length, so that we can well believe that the plain man would derive much help from them. We admire the preacher's candour in openly stating that he claims no originality, but uses the materials of his reading. If anything will help to vindicate the foundations of the Christian faith, sermons such as these will, and we are assured not only that many who have listened to them will be helped, but many who will carefully read them will be equally helped. We commend them to the clergy as a fine type of the modern sermon, full of wide learning and careful theology.

*Assurance.* By the Late J. C. RYLE, D.D., Bishop of Liverpool. London: C. J. Thynn, Wycliffe House.

A discourse based upon 2 Timothy iv. 6, 7, 8, endeavouring to show from Scripture that Assurance is a true doctrine. At the same time, the author does not insist that all who will be saved must have assurance of ultimate salvation; he only asserts that it is possible and scriptural, and discusses the means to attain it, and the reasons why many are without it.

*The Reformation in Great Britain.* By H. O. WAKEMAN, M.A., and the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

One of the Oxford Church Text-books. It contains an account of the Reformation in England and Scotland, with special regard to doctrine, with a view to show the thought of the Reformers. Some reference is also made to Calvinism, in order to point by contrast the real character of the English Reformation settlement.

*Outlines of Old Testament Theology.* By the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

The theology outlined in this little book of the Oxford Church Text-Book Series, is based on the views of the Higher Criticism with regard to the composition and dates of the various books. It is interesting as showing how far that position affects the theology of the Old Testament as hitherto accepted.

*Lessons on Israel in Egypt.* By the late SARAH GERALDINA STOCK. London: Church of England Sunday-School Institute. Price 2s.

A revised edition of these useful lessons, containing splendid notes, carefully revised, with reference to modern discoveries in Egypt.

*The Village by the River.* By LOUISA BEDFORD. S.P.C.K. Pp. 224.

A pleasant and healthy tale of the varieties of life in a contemporary English village.

*The Church-Worker Annual Volume, 1900.* Sunday-School Institute. Pp. 192.

This work, chiefly intended for the clergy, lay-workers, Sunday-school teachers, and other helpers, provides a continuous store of information. There are fifty-two lessons on "Signs and Wonders in Egypt" (the Exodus), a series on "Parochial Byways," and the "Outlook" and "Notes and Comments" are continued with renewed interest.

*A Penniless Lass.* By ANNETTE LYSTER. S.P.C.K. Pp. 157.

A lively and readable tale for girls, illustrating principle and character in modern provincial social life.

*Flower Stories.* By A. MEADOWS-TAYLOR. S.P.C.K. Pp. 123.

Nine admirable allegories taken from the life and characteristics of well-known flowers.

*Lily and Mr. Ginger.* By E. LOGAN. S.P.C.K. Pp. 95.

A pleasant little story of the every-day trials of a young girl, and how she surmounted them.

*The Temple Treasury.* Dent and Co. Pp. 184.

This is the second half of a very pretty and well-chosen Biblical Diary. The passages selected are very beautiful, and are printed as in distichs of poetry.

*The Day of Days. Annual Volume, 1900.* Home Words Publishing Office. Pp. 240. Price 2s.

A well-illustrated parish magazine. The biographies, with excellent portraits, are a feature; so is the scientific series, "Wonderland in the Bible."

*A Door of Hope.* By ANNIE L. GEE. S.P.C.K. Pp. 222.

A vigorous and interesting story of the Danish invasion in the reign of King Alfred. The historical surroundings and local colour have been well studied.

*The Cape as I found It.* By BEATRICE M. HICKS. Elliot Stock. Pp. 198.

The pleasant and interesting impressions of a nurse who spent three years in South Africa, told with spirit and good taste.

*The Clerical Visiting List, 1900.* Hazell, Watson, and Viney. Pp. 276.

Everything has been combined in this most useful pocket-book that is likely to be useful to a parish clergyman—all kinds of lists, room for addresses, etc., besides the usual stores of information.

*Papers for the Parsonage.* By Two Clergymen. London: Elliot Stock.

There are fifteen papers in this small book. The writers are in earnest and zealous for their own views. Greater system and reference to authorities would have added to the importance of the work.

*Rome and Romanizing; Some Experiences and a Warning.* By ARTHUR GALTON. London: Skeffington and Son. Price 1s.

Contains the substance of the three articles published last summer in the *National Review*. It is a strong and serious indictment of the system

“The address presented to the Pope by the Duke of Norfolk on behalf of the Catholic Union, on the occasion of the visit of the English pilgrims to Rome, has come in for a good deal of unfavourable criticism. Mr. Lilly has explained that the address was in no way the individual utterance of the Duke of Norfolk, but was carefully drawn up by the executive of the union, and represents the conviction of its members that the Pope is justified in declaring an effective civil sovereignty to be necessary for the effective discharge of his duties as head of the Church. The address did not use the word ‘sovereignty,’ but expressed a hope that the twentieth century might ‘witness the restoration of the Roman Pontiff to that position of temporal independence which your Holiness has declared necessary for the effective fulfilment of the duties of his worldwide charge.’ We do not know the precise terms of the declaration which is referred to. Would the Pope be satisfied with ‘independent sovereignty over an island elsewhere than in Italy,’ which Lord Herries declares to be a possible interpretation of the ‘pious hope’ expressed in the address? Independence of any civil government is one thing, restoration of a previously existing sovereignty over Rome and Italian territory is another. To the former there could be little objection, but we doubt whether it is a scheme which would excite any enthusiasm; whereas in many minds the desire that the Pope should be the successor of Constantine rather than of St. Peter, which St. Bernard blamed in writing to Eugenius IV., has still a powerful influence.”—*Guardian*.

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The number of clerical secessions from the Roman Church in France was lately estimated by the Abbé Charbonnel, one of the seceders, at 348.

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A scheme for raising a *two million shilling fund for the Worcester diocese* was brought forward recently at a meeting of the clergy and laity of the Archdeaconry of Birmingham. The Bishop of Coventry presided. To bring all the benefices in the diocese even up to the moderate sum of £200 a year would require an annual sum of £11,000.

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The return of Lord Roberts in the first week of January was celebrated with great rejoicings in London. The Queen did but express the unanimous feelings of the nation when she decorated the Field-Marshal with the Order of the Garter, and bestowed on him the earldom he has so justly deserved. The new duties on which Lord Roberts enters at the War Office might well tax the ingenuity and strength of a far younger man; but the reforms and rearrangements must be made, and to whom else could such a task be safely entrusted?

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News from the seat of war is distinctly unfavourable. We have suffered no signal reverse, but it is quite clear that even Lord Kitchener's activities are being sorely tried in his endeavours to suppress the guerilla warfare that is so exasperatingly continuous.

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The Joint Note of the European Powers has been accepted by the Chinese Plenipotentiaries. Those optimists, however, who, on the strength of this, fancy that the era of negotiation is at an end, and that things will now settle down into the old grooves, will find themselves mistaken.

## PAMPHLETS, ETC.

In *Facts about the Memory and its Use* (Partridge), the Rev. J. D. Kilburn writes usefully, though we cannot say we feel as "convinced" as he does of the efficacy of any system of mnemonics. We have received from Elliot Stock a copy of the Rev. Prebendary Harry Jones's *Some Tides of To-day*, a sixpenny booklet of sermons which are quite worth perusal; and from Simpkin Marshall a new brochure by the author of *The Englishman's Brief*. The title of the new publication is *The Coming Disestablishment of the Church of England and the "Free Churches."* It is an excellent half-crown's worth, written from a thoroughly popular point of view. The Rev. T. H. Passmore's *Things beyond the Tomb* (Longmans, 2s. 6d.) is intended to be a manual of instruction, as we are told in the preface; it contains some good things, not unmingled with much that is doubtful and open to criticism. The author believes in prayers for the dead.



## The Month.

THE "great century" is already a memory. Many are the "reviews" and "retrospects" that have appeared, both in the religious and secular press, on this subject—much of it, we fear, of that complacent order to which, of late, we have been growing accustomed. The Bishop of Winchester, in his New Year's pastoral, writes, wisely, thus: "We are tempted to let a complacent and continuous purr of self-satisfaction take the place of sterner and more resolute sounds. We want a larger element of wholesome discontent with the results 'whereunto we have already attained' as the outcome of a hundred years of God-given opportunity." The fact is, the nation, despite the reminders it has had of late touching the folly of boasting, has yet to learn the full significance of Kipling's "Recessional":

"If, drunk with sight of power, we loose  
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,  
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,  
Or lesser breeds without the law,  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget, lest we forget!"

"For heathen heart that puts her trust  
In reeking tube and iron shard,  
All valiant dust that builds on dust,  
And, guarding, calls not Thee to guard;  
For frantic boast and foolish word,  
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord!"

The *Daily News* of Thursday, January 10, contained an editorial note to the effect that the editorship of Mr. E. T. Cook, which commenced in February, 1896, came to an end that day. His successor is Mr. R. C. Lehmann, of Trinity College, Cambridge, well known as a coach of the University crews, and a member of the staff of *Punch*. The Liberalism of the paper will be of a more advanced character. In its first leading article on January 11, it took occasion to say that Mr. Gladstone "saved South Africa in 1881 by an act as politic as it was generous, and as magnanimous as it was wise."

Dr. Ridgeway, who was recently transferred from St. Peter's, Cranley Gardens, where he has worked during the last ten years, to the rectory of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, has been appointed Bishop-Suffragan of Kensington.

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It is announced that the Tithe Rent-charge for 1901 will be calculated at the rate of £66 10s. 9½d. per £100—*i.e.*, that the amount which a clergyman receives in tithe is now less than two-thirds of the nominal value of the rent-charge, and scarcely three-fifths of what it was in 1875. It is true that the fall during the past three years has not been so severe as it was in 1895-98, or in several triennial periods between 1880-95; but when so low a point has been reached, each successive diminution is more severely felt.

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The *Church Union Gazette* announces that 2,506 persons have joined the E.C.U. during the past year, and that the resignations have been less than 2½ per cent. on the total numbers on the roll. It is further stated that during the past year there have been added to the Union, and in some cases to its council, the "names of several prominent Churchmen who have for years held aloof from the society, or, if belonging to it, have certainly not before felt called to take such an active part in its proceedings as to accept a seat on its council."

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"A plea for the enlargement of the diaconate, on the lines which the Bishop of Worcester has of late courageously adopted, has reached us in the form of a pamphlet by Prebendary Brereton. Its contents were prepared for the West Norfolk Clerical Society under the title of 'Non-Clerical Pursuits: A Plea for an Extended Diaconate.' One line of argument adopted by Prebendary Brereton we do not remember to have seen thus employed before. He asks, in effect, whether the arrangement by which a deacon might still pursue a secular calling might not help to show the dignity and the true Christian character of the lay occupation? 'By enrolling themselves among the clergy, while retaining freedom to devote themselves to what are falsely called mere secular pursuits, they would be contributing to their Church and country what no money could procure, and yet no financial estimate could fully value. They would be redeeming for the Redeemer's cause, and His rightful claim, the chief streams of civilizing pursuit, which in the process of becoming unclerical have assuredly incurred a danger of becoming unchristian.' It might be said, in reply, that nothing now hinders the man of God who is, let us say, solicitor, barrister, or merchant, from thus sanctifying a secular calling. But the range within which he may exercise his ministry is, however high his qualifications, strictly limited, and the question is whether it might not, with great advantage to the Church, be enlarged. The progress of the experiment which the Bishop of Worcester is making will, we are sure, be watched with the greatest interest and hope."—*Record*, December 28.

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Apropos of the discussion that has been going on vigorously in the *Times* respecting the merits of the First and Second Prayer-Books of Edward VI., the following extract from the *Guardian* will be of interest: "Mr. Simpson Rostron writes to us from 1, Hare Court, Temple, that, seeing that Cranmer had the chief share in arranging both the First and Second Books, any expression of his own opinion on changes and revision

is, historically, of interest and value. 'Strange to say, there is extant a letter of the Archbishop directly in point, which, so far as I am aware, has not been noticed. Three weeks before the "Second Book" was to come into use, in a letter dated from Lambeth, October 7, 1552, to the Privy Council, objecting to the insertion in the "Book" of the "Declaration on Kneeling," Cranmer expresses in forcible terms his opinion on alterations and changes in general. His words are:

" "I know your Lordships' wisdom to be such that I trust ye will not be moved with these glorious and unquiet spirits which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy; and cease not to make trouble when things be most quiet and in good order. If such men should be heard—although the book were made every year anew, yet it should not lack faults in their opinion. 'But,' say they, 'it is not commanded in the Scripture to kneel, and whatsoever is not commanded in the Scripture is against the Scripture, and utterly unlawful and ungodly.' But this saying is the chief foundation of the Anabaptists and of divers others sects. . . . If this saying be true, take away the whole Book of Service; for what should men travell to set in order, in the form of service, if no order can be got but that is already prescribed by Scripture?"—*Vide* State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI., xv. 15.

#### DONATIONS, APPEALS, BEQUESTS.

The following are amongst the subscriptions lately received towards the founding of the proposed Diocese of Southwark: The Merchant Taylors' Company, £525; the Leather-sellers' Company, £500; Sir John Watney, £105; the Hon. Harriet Brodrick, £100; Mr. R. P. Barrow, £100; Mr. J. E. Street, £100; Mr. M. N. Buttanshaw, £52; Mr. E. N. Buxton, £50. The fund now amounts to £39,933.

A generous offer has been received by the Bradford Parish Church Restoration Committee from Viscount Mountgarrett, Lord of the Manor of Bradford. The restoration of the church cost about £13,000, of which £5,000 is still owing. Lord Mountgarrett undertakes to give £1,000 towards this sum in the spring of next year, provided that a similar contribution is promised from another source. Failing this, he is willing to pay the last £1,000 of the debt, provided that £4,000 be raised by the end of 1901.

The Bishop of London's Fund has received a New Year's gift of £1,200 from an old supporter.

Lord Salisbury has sent a donation of £400 to the Bishop of St. Albans' Fund for East "London over the Border."

The Bishop of Winchester has contributed £250 towards a special appeal for funds to provide additional church accommodation at Portsmouth.

Mrs. Blanshard, Lady of the Manor of Camerton, who gave £50 towards the new bells of St. Aidan's, Carlisle, has sent to the Bishop of Carlisle a cheque for £1,200 towards the erection of a mission-room in the new parish. It was owing to Mrs. Blanshard's munificence that a new church was built a short time ago at West Seaton, Workington.

Mr. F. W. Harrison, of Maer Hall, Staffordshire, has given a special donation of £500 to the Chester Diocesan Clergy Pensions Fund.

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## Obituary.

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IT is with a regret that can hardly be put into words that we record the death of HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN, who passed away, on the evening of the 22nd,

“To where, beyond these voices, there is peace.”

Honoured by the whole world, loved by the millions of her loyal subjects throughout her mighty Empire, QUEEN VICTORIA has left upon the page of history a name that, while England remains a nation, can never die.

“So a fit silence is her eulogy,  
And praise is mute.”

And for the blessing of the Queen's reign, that most memorable of all reigns recorded in human history, the thanks of every Englishman are due to Him from whom cometh every good gift.

The death of the Bishop of London took place on January 14, and the melancholy tidings have evoked much sympathy and deep regret among all sections of the community. During the four years of his London episcopacy he had, by his firmness, his tact, his winning courtesy, and his brilliant qualities both as leader of men and thinker, made a great impression upon people. As a historian he took a very high place indeed among his contemporaries; in fact, Dr. Creighton and Dr. Stubbs (the present Bishop of Oxford) may justly be claimed by the Church of England as among the most distinguished historians of the time. The “History of the Papacy”—his most ambitious work—was never completed; for, unfortunately, the duties of a modern Bishop, above all a Bishop of London, practically allow him no time for literary pursuits. One of Dr. Creighton's last public acts was the summoning of the Round Table Conference; and when the mists of prejudice are cleared up men will remember, with no small admiration for his generous impulse, that Bishop whose love of fair-play, and conciliatory policy, had prompted the undertaking of a noteworthy effort to find a basis of concord among (apparently) antagonistic parties.