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THE
CHURCHMAN

MARCH, 1894.

ART. I.—HERMAS AND THE FOUR GOSPELS.

WHEN a writer likens the Four Gospels to the four elements of the world, he gives us to understand that in the Church of his day, and as he knew it, they had already won for themselves an exclusive and canonical position. It is, therefore, of no little importance for the history of the Canon of the New Testament to trace this comparison as nearly as may be to its source. It is found in Origen; and in "The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels" (1892) I have endeavoured to show that it is contained in an enigmatical form in the "Shepherd" of Hermas, a work of about the middle of the second century.

The case is stated as below by Dr. Sanday in the "Bampton Lectures" for 1893: "The 'Shepherd' is from first to last an allegory, the details of which are significant, though the writer himself only partially explains them; so that when the Church, afterwards identified with the Son of God, under the figure of an aged woman who becomes young, is represented as sitting upon a bench or stool planted firmly upon four feet, there is certainly a resemblance to a place in Irenæus where the Church Catholic spread throughout the four quarters of the earth is said to be stayed upon four pillars, which are the Four Gospels, corresponding also to the four cherubim over whom is seated the Word. And when it is further said that the stool has four feet and stands strongly because the world also is held together by four elements (*διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται*), we are reminded that *Origen compares the Four Gospels to the elements of the faith of the Church, of which elements the whole world consists.* Now we know that Irenæus treats the 'Shepherd' of Hermas as Scripture, and that Origen treats it almost as Scripture, quoting from it repeatedly, and mentioning the fact that some did so regard it. When, therefore, the question is asked whether the two later writers are wholly independent

of the earlier, or the coincidence between them is purely accidental, though I admit that the case is not so clear as to convince a gainsayer, I confess that to me there seems to be a real probability that they are not independent, and that Hermas gave the hint which Irenæus and Origen have followed. But if so, then Hermas knew the fourfold Gospel, and even in his day the Canonical Four were detached from the rest."

See also the statement by Dr. Resch in his "Paralleltexte."

Some reviewers of the "Witness of Hermas" are satisfied with the argument of the book, some dissatisfied, and some in doubt about it. Without mentioning the names of those who have found fault with it, I propose to show how the first draft of the argument may be improved and their objections met. The objectors, so far as I have observed, were not acquainted with Origen's comparison of the Four Gospels to the Elements of the World. In this important particular Dr. Resch and Dr. Sanday have the advantage of them. The passage of Origen was not known to me when I wrote the "Witness of Hermas," and it seemed to me when I met with it to be a striking illustration and a verification of the thesis of the book. It is in the prologue to his commentary on St. John's Gospel, on the first verse of which he quotes the "Shepherd" by name.

The train of reasoning by which I was led to the conclusion that Hermas hinted at the Four Gospels, namely, under the figure of the *four feet* of the Church's seat, which he compares to the *four elements* of the world, was as follows:

"I was not thinking of any moot-point in the history of the Canon, but only of the relation of the 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' to the 'Shepherd' of Hermas. I was writing an article on this for the *Journal of Philology*, and had satisfied myself that Hermas not only used, but used up the 'Teaching'; so that anything very striking in that manual had only to be looked for in the 'Shepherd,' and there it would in due course be found in one disguise or other. Coming near to the end of the comparison of the two writings, I was considering the words in the last chapter but one of the 'Teaching,' 'And your prayers and your alms and all that ye do, so do as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord,' when it occurred to me that there ought to be some trace of the word 'Gospel' in Hermas. I set to work to read through the 'Shepherd' for the purpose of finding in it a disguised trace of the word εὐαγγέλιον, *Gospel*. I came to *Vis.* iii. 13, 2, and found ἀγγεῖλα ἀγαθή, *good tidings*, which was evidently the thing sought. Then at once it seemed clear to me, in the light of sayings of Irenæus which will be quoted below, that under the figure of the bench standing firmly on four feet, in the imme-

diate context, Hermas refers to the Four Gospels, comparing them to the four elements of the world."

It is easy to dispose of this argument by saying that it makes everything depend upon the supposed reference to the Gospel as *good tidings*, and that this is not proven, and consequently the further reference to the Four Gospels falls to the ground. But in reality nothing depends upon the expression upon which everything seems at first sight to have been staked. I was, indeed, first led to connect the Gospel with the *bench* in the way above mentioned; but if the link "good tidings" were missing, its place could easily be supplied.

The author's partial explanation of the figure of the bench must be read in connection with the entire picture of which the bench is a detail. The explanation is given at the end of *Vis. iii.*; but for the whole vision and its interpretation, and therefore for the right understanding of the bench as part of it, we must go back to the beginning.

In *Vis. iii. 1, sq.*, we read: "Then she came with six young men, the same whom I had seen before, and . . . she raiseth me by the hand, and leadeth me to the bench, and saith to the young men, *Go and build . . .* Then she again took me by the hand, and raiseth me, and seateth me on the bench at the left hand, while she herself sat at the right. And lifting up a certain bright rod, she saith to me, Seest thou a great thing? I say to her, Lady, I see nothing. She saith to me, Look thou; dost thou not see in front of thee *a great tower* being builded upon the waters, of bright four-square stones? Now, the tower was being builded four-square by the six young men. . . . The tower (she said) which thou seest building is myself, *the Church*. . . . But the six young men that build, who are they, lady? These (she says) are the holy angels of God that were created first of all, unto whom the Lord delivered all His *creation*, to increase and to build it, and to be masters of all creation. By their hands, therefore, the building of the tower will be accomplished." See Mr. Harmer's text and translation of the "Shepherd" in Lightfoot and Harmer's "Apostolic Fathers."

The building of the tower, which is the Church, is the outcome of the preaching of the Gospel; and of its component stones it may be said, in words quoted from the Gospel in *Vis. iii. 7*, *These are they that heard the word*. The Church personified commands the six angelic "masters of all creation" to go and build—that is, to rear the universal Church by preaching the Gospel; and she gives the word of command standing by the bench; and she shows Hermas the vision of the Church "being builded upon the waters" of baptism, as the earth was "founded upon the floods," while she sits,

waving her "rod of power," upon the bench, with Hermas beside her on the left hand.

The bench is thus intimately associated with the preaching of the Word of God. By a customary symbolism a throne, chair, or other seat connotes authority to rule, judge, or teach; and the source of the Church's power to "edify" and teach is the Divine revelation of "the everlasting Gospel," which the bench should in some sense accordingly represent.

Thus far we have touched upon no disputed point in the history of the Canon. The Gospel known to Hermas may have been single or multiple, documentary or oral; and the Church's seat may have had four feet, or only three, or none at all.

C. TAYLOR.



ART. II.—THE ORIGIN OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

PROFESSOR GARDNER'S pamphlet on this subject¹ is very attractive. The tone is modest and conciliatory; the scholarship is of the biggest; the difficulties have been carefully considered and the objections anticipated. With much of what he writes, all who have studied the subject will agree—nay, more, they will be grateful for the illustrations which his special knowledge gives; and yet from his main conclusions we feel bound to dissent.

Some persons will retort that all criticism tends in the same direction, and that our only safety lies in the strict conservatism of the late Dean Burgon, who laid down the rule that if a single word in the Bible fall short of being in the fullest sense the Word of God, the whole of our Christianity must be abandoned. Being unwilling to leave any excuses for such counsels of despair, we proceed to examine these new proposals.

Dr. Gardner offers us the choice of two positions. One, to which he apparently inclines, makes the scene of breaking bread, which the Synoptists unite in placing at the Last Supper in or about the year 29, to be antedated by almost a quarter of a century. Our Lord did not say while He was upon earth, "*This is My Body,*" but St. Paul in a trance at Corinth in the year 53 heard Him say the words in heaven. More timid or cautious readers are offered an alternative, according to which Christ broke bread and gave it to His disciples upon earth, but nothing further was done. No sacra-

¹ Macmillan and Co., London, 1893.

ment of the Lord's Supper was instituted until St. Paul in a vision beheld the scene repeated, and heard a new command, "*This do in remembrance of Me.*" He thereupon founded the Eucharist, partly in obedience to the command, partly in imitation of the Eleusinian mysteries, by which he had recently been impressed.

Dr. Gardner, like most of what I may call the more advanced critics, rejects the oral hypothesis respecting the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. And no wonder; for this hypothesis is fatal to his speculations. For example, it is essential to his first proposal to hold that St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, which is generally allowed to have been written in the year 58, is far earlier than any of our Gospels. But the advocate of the oral hypothesis replies, "I admit that the Synoptic Gospels were not *written* before the eighth decade of the first century, but I insist that a large part of them, including the account of the Last Supper, existed in an oral form a generation earlier. The bulk of St. Peter's memoirs, which constitute the first cycle of oral Gospel, must have been composed within twelve years of the Ascension, or I cannot account for their wide distribution and their multitudinous variations. And whatever is found in all three Evangelists belongs to the earliest part of St. Peter's work."

Now, there is no question between us that the account of the Last Supper in St. Paul, St. Mark, St. Matthew, and St. Luke comes in great measure from the same source. Dr. Gardner insists upon that fact as strongly as I do. Whether St. Paul or St. Peter is the ultimate authority for it is simply a question of dates. Dr. Gardner, in saying that St. Paul was the author, is ignoring the primitive oral teaching, the existence of which in the first age few people who have examined the subject will venture to deny, however much they may seek to minimize its influence. And I must hold him to that point, as the one essential contention between us.

The truth of the oral hypothesis is established partly by the habits and prejudices of the age, partly by minute study of the resemblances and divergences of the same sections in the three Gospels. The very paragraph about the institution of the Lord's Supper furnishes some interesting examples. For St. Luke has some curious reversals of order. He puts the prediction of Judas Iscariot's treachery after the institution of the Lord's Supper, whereas the other two Evangelists have put it before the Supper; and, according to the true text, he represents that the cup was given before the bread. Nor is this unparalleled. He presents us with an exactly similar transposition in the early part of his Gospel, where he reverses the order of the second and third temptations (Luke iv. 5-12);

Matt. iv. 5-10). Such transpositions are easily accounted for, on the supposition that men learned the Gospel sections by heart, and stored them in a memory which was trustworthy enough when it had mastered the lesson, but was apt to be treacherous during the initial stages. They are almost impossible to account for if the Evangelists were copying from a document.

Much of the wording also is strangely altered, not more so than in most passages of the triple tradition; but we should have expected to find this less altered, for it has long been observed that the words of Christ have been more scrupulously preserved in the Gospels than the rest of the narrative. Reverence for the Master's sayings has checked, as I hold, the carelessness or presumption of catechists. Why should it not have done so here? The answer may seem paradoxical, but the very gravity of the occasion would appear to have been the cause for increased changes. At any rate, the same thing has happened in two other utterances of the first importance—the Lord's Prayer and the baptismal formula. St. Luke's recension of the Lord's Prayer, according to the true text (xi. 2*ff.*), is much shorter than St. Matthew's (vi. 9*ff.*). And St. Matthew's Gospel directs baptism to be administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (xxviii. 19); but St. Luke and St. Paul invariably represent it as administered in the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts ii. 38, viii. 16, x. 48, xix. 5; Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27; Col. ii. 12).

It appears to me that we may account for these changes by the reflex action of the liturgies upon the oral Gospel. Lengthy liturgies certainly did not exist in the first days; but short formularies, at first elastic, but gradually hardened and stereotyped, would connect themselves with the administration of the Sacraments in the several churches. It may be thought strange to believe that in the Church for which St. Luke wrote his Gospel (whether it was Antioch, on the Orontes, or any other) the cup should have been regularly given before the bread, and both the Lord's Prayer and the words used at baptism should have been abbreviated; but on any other supposition I am unable to account for St. Luke's variations. The further you can push the matter back, the easier it is to believe in the existence of diversity of usage; and the less you are encumbered with written documents, the more reasonable will your deductions appear.

My belief in the oral hypothesis is based upon the cumulated results of many years' study; such considerations as these only strengthen it. But a theory which is unwaveringly upheld by the Bishop of Durham must not be lightly set

aside, out of deference to the opinions of certain critics on the Continent.

It is well known to students of textual criticism that Luke xxii. 19[‡], 20, have been rejected by Drs. Westcott and Hort as an early interpolation. A copy of St. Luke's Gospel must have reached Corinth, or some other Pauline Church, at an early date. What wonder if the Church authorities, finding in it so strange an inversion of their own custom of administering the Eucharist, should have inserted into the margin from their liturgical formula (which was based on 1 Cor. xi. 25) the words which in the common text distort the whole passage? Their doing so will but illustrate what I have written about the effect of local liturgies upon the local editions of the Gospels.

But if, as I maintain, St. Paul has borrowed from St. Mark (with the usual variations and additions), not St. Mark from St. Paul, how do I account for St. Paul's language: "For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered unto you"?

In the first place, it is to be noticed that the words "receive" and "deliver" (*παραλαβεῖν*, *παραδοῦναι*) are regularly used of tradition (*παράδοσις*), in which a man receives from the Lord, but through a long line of oral teachers (Mark vii. 4; John i. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 1, 3; Gal. i. 9, 12; Phil. iv. 9, etc.). And it is quite possible that St. Paul merely meant: "I derived from the Lord, through St. Peter and other eye-witnesses." In the passages which Dr. Gardner produces to prove the contrary, this particular word does not occur, and I contend that he has too readily rejected this interpretation.

But even if we allowed that St. Paul alleged in these words a special supernatural revelation, we are not bound to think that he was independent of St. Mark. It is reasonable to suppose that, after his first Communion or his first administration of the Communion to others, being impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and with the words fresh in his mind, he fell into a trance, or had a dream on the following night, in which he saw heaven opened and the Lord Jesus at the Supper-table breaking the bread and delivering it to the Apostles. The formulæ, the manual acts, the whole surroundings, would in that case have been projected into the vision from the earthly scene, at which he had been so recently assisting. To St. Paul's mind it would bring confirmation of faith; and, unless we deny altogether that God spake in past times in visions unto His saints, we may allow that his belief was warranted. But the historical fact would be the basis of the vision, not the vision the basis of the Eucharistic service.

Dr. Gardner holds that the *agapé*, or love-feast, is older

than the Eucharist, and at first was simply a social meal partaken by the whole body of Christians together, without any special religious ceremonies. The Eucharist afterwards was grafted upon it. And that when we read (Luke xxiv. 30; Acts ii. 42) of the breaking bread, nothing more than the *agapé* is intended. To this I object, first that we have no evidence that *agapæ* were ever established in the primitive Church of Jerusalem. The Christians in the first days had no synagogues, nor houses large enough for a joint festival. Nor were such feasts known to the Jewish synagogue, whose practices they largely followed. St. Luke's words, "breaking bread at home" (Acts ii. 42) indicate a multitude of small gatherings, not a congregational meal. When St. Jude (12) writes "*your* love feasts," he perhaps points to the fact that love-feasts were unknown to his own Church. Secondly, the phrase "breaking bread" is not, I think, the proper one to describe an ordinary meal. It is an expression never found in the Old Testament, nor, I believe, in any pre-Christian author. The cause for this is obvious. The loaves of the ancients were flat cakes, each of which would generally satisfy one person's appetite. To hand round the loaves, not to break them, would be the office of the master of the house. For to give broken bread was a mark of poverty or slight (Ezek. xiii. 19). It was our Lord who introduced a new custom. On two occasions He took some loaves of bread and brake them into pieces to distribute to the multitudes. At the Last Supper He took one loaf, divided it into twelve pieces, and gave one piece to each of the Apostles. In imitation of this St. Paul says that *all* the Corinthians at the Eucharist partook of *one* loaf, which symbolized their unity. So completely was this ceremony peculiar to Christ that the disciples at Emmaus recognised Him in the breaking of bread.

Let us turn next to St. John. It is well known that he omits all reference to the institution of the Lord's Supper, but, nevertheless, in the sixth chapter uses Eucharistic language, as though the Communion had already at that early date been established. Dr. Gardner infers from this that he did not accept St. Paul's account, but yet elaborately expanded his phrases. I have for some time suspected that a simpler explanation is the true one. If we had the Synoptists alone, we should have gathered that baptism was first instituted after the resurrection; we learn from St. John iv. 1 that it had been practised by the twelve throughout our Lord's ministry. May not the same thing be true of the Eucharist? It was solemnly administered on the night of the betrayal, but not for the first time. It had been a covenant of union between Christ and His disciples during their sojourn together. Ready

though I am to admit that the discourses in St. John's Gospel have been moulded in the apostle's mind and influenced by the teaching of his life, I cannot allow that they are so altogether an invention as Dr. Gardner teaches. And if not, the language of the sixth chapter receives its simplest solution from the suggestion which I have made, which in itself is highly probable. Hence, too, we understand better how Jesus was recognised in the breaking of bread.

But, setting aside all other considerations, let us boldly meet Dr. Gardner in his own domain of history. At the date when the Synoptic Gospels were written (probably 70 to 80 A.D.), the celebration of the Eucharist in Christian congregations was so general, that in each of three gospels the account of its institution is given, yet in the year 52 Dr. Gardner maintains it was unknown. Soon after that St. Paul first started it at Corinth, then introduced it at Troas (Acts xx. 7), and in other churches of his founding. After that it spread over the East and became universal. The belief also was established that it dated from the Crucifixion. So much was the genius of one man capable of accomplishing!

Is not Dr. Gardner crediting St. Paul with much greater influence than that Apostle possessed during his life, or for some time after his death? We are far from admitting, with the Tübingen school of historical criticism, that St. Peter, St. James, and St. John were his enemies. But he was disliked or deserted in many of his own churches (Gal. iv. 16; 2 Tim. i. 15). At Jerusalem the prejudice against him was inveterate (Acts xv. 5; xxi. 21). The Jews of the dispersion detested him (1 Thess. ii. 15; Phil. iii. 2). And no wonder. It is strange that the author of the Epistle to the Galatians was able to mix with Jews at all. If any man was compelled by the activity of enemies to adhere strictly to the truth, it was the great Apostle of the Gentiles. He was not able, even, to force his own form of institution upon his faithful henchman, St. Luke. In spite of his alleged revelations, the other evangelists also adhered to their own formula. By what means was such a man to foist a new ordinance upon the churches and persuade them to believe that it was primitive? What energy and frequency of exhortation must he have used to preserve it when once started? Yet the fact is that in all his extant writings, except the first epistle to the Corinthians, he never so much as alludes to it.

Dr. Gardner thinks that St. Peter and the other Apostles, though they knew that Christ had never said, "This is My body," nor solemnly broken bread and given it to them, would have acquiesced in the pious fraud, and given St. Paul that support in his innovation, without which he could not have

succeeded. Many Christians will feel a difficulty in accepting this startling supposition, notwithstanding the reasons which are given for it. Nor is it very credible that the Eleusinian mysteries suggested the Last Supper. These mysteries were celebrated annually. The gorgeous pageant owed its attractiveness to its rarity. A weekly or daily fair would pall on the taste of the gayest. But St. Paul contemplated a more frequent repetition. "This do," the command runs, "as often as ye drink." Strictly interpreted, the words mean, "as often as you take a draught of any kind"; and in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Luke apparently describes the Church in the days of its first love as "breaking bread" at every meal, the head of the family acting as priest in his own house, according to the Christian idea. A looser, but intelligible, interpretation is, "As often as ye drink wine." Just when the temptation to self-indulgence is strongest, let appetite be restrained by sacred associations. Let the thought of Him who died hallow your earthly enjoyments.

The resemblance between the Christian ordinance, and both ancestor worship and the Eleusinian mysteries, is no doubt real, but I should account for it by the similarity which exists between all ancient religious rites amongst civilized peoples. Our Lord did not find anything absolutely new in kind. It would be His design, we may believe, to establish a sacrament which would be generally intelligible, because it appealed to old ideas and inherited prepossessions. To eat bread or salt with a person has been, and amongst Arabs still is, to make a sacred bond of friendship with him. Hence in the books of Genesis and Judges so much is made of asking a visitor to eat bread. Hence the Psalmist sees in violated hospitality the climax of ingratitude: "Yea, mine own familiar friend, whom I trusted, who did also eat of my bread, hath laid great wait for me" (xli. 9). Hence, also, "every sacrifice is salted with salt." Nor must we forget the ancient custom of sending out portions, whether carried out on a large scale, as with the Spartan kings (Hdt. vi. 57), or on quite a small scale in mere dainty bits, the size of which, however, indicated the measure of your esteem. Oceanus says to Prometheus:

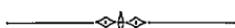
Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ μείζονα μοῖραν νείμασμ' η σοι.—Æschylus, P. V., 291.

Joseph sends messes to his brethren, "and Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs" (Gen. xlivi. 34). And in the same manner our Lord gave the sop to Judas. "The blood is the life" (Gen. ix. 4), and wine is an ancient surrogate for blood; it is called in Ecclesiasticus the "blood of the grape" (Prof. W. R. Smith, "The Religion of the Semites," p. 213). To make blood-brotherhood is a common custom still

with African tribes. "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, abideth in Me and I in him" (John vi. 56), is not borrowed from Hellenic thought, but from the common ideas of primitive man. I believe that this covenant of union was made between Christ and the Twelve frequently during His earthly sojourn. I believe that, as in the feeding of the five thousand, it was to some extent offered occasionally to a larger circle. I believe that it was solemnly repeated on the night of the betrayal, and that St. Luke is right in representing it as practised in the earliest days of the Church. For long examination has convinced me that the opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles are based upon ancient (probably oral) records. And surely if so strange, so simple a ceremony was started from the first and never discontinued, there is no difficulty about it. But if it was neglected for upwards of twenty years, we fail to imagine a power which within the next twenty years could have made it practically universal.

We freely admit, or, rather, have long insisted, that the words, "Do this in remembrance of Me," stand on a lower level in point of historical attestation than the words, "This is My body." They are not guaranteed by St. Peter, but come to us only on the authority of St. Paul. But we are very far indeed from casting suspicion on all our Lord's reputed deeds and words which St. Peter has not recorded. Other persons who were present at the Last Supper had memories besides the *coryphaeus* of Apostles. In spite of all that Dr. Gardner has urged, we think it simplest to believe that at the Last Supper Christ Himself used both these sentences, although in the churches, which depended for their information on St. Peter, only one of them was preserved.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.



ART. III.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

I PROPOSE to state what I believe to be the true relation between the modern teaching of the Higher Criticism and the traditional aspect of Holy Scripture as a revelation "guaranteed" to us by "Divine authority." I borrow this last phrase from Professor Huxley¹ because, being that of an adversary, it must be regarded as unexceptionable on his side, while on my own I should find it hard to improve upon

¹ In a letter to the *Times*, February 3, 1892.

it. For this it is that seems to me to express what I hold to be the true character of Holy Writ, what was certainly held to be so at the great period of the Reformation, what has implicitly been held by the whole Church, East and West, and what, till within a very recent time, was the acknowledged and received belief of all parties without distinction in the English Church.

For some reason or other the Scriptures stand out in marked relief as different from all other literature. They refuse to be reduced to the level of any other writings. Neither Homer, Plato, nor Thucydides can be compared with the Law, the Prophets, or the Psalms. They differ in kind even more than in degree, and they differ not less in respect of the platform on which they profess to stand. This is speaking in the broadest and most general way. Homer, Thucydides, and Plato are confessedly ignorant of God; they have no testimony or record concerning Him. The writers of the Old Testament profess to have the knowing of His ways. I do not now maintain that they have, but I affirm that they are distinguished from the classical writers by nothing so conspicuously as by this, that they profess to have. And they profess to have it in a way and with an appearance of justice in their claim which has no true parallel elsewhere. It is, therefore, an *ignoratio elenchi* at the outset to start with the assumption that the difference which appears to be so great is after all, and in fact, no difference at all. The comparative method of estimating literary monuments may with more justice concede to the writers of the Old Testament the validity, or at all events the speciality, of their claim than decide to ignore it altogether.

If, however, we consent to recognise the reality of this claim in its just proportions, we must proceed eventually to estimate its validity. And in the endeavour to do this we must determine whether the claim was a true or a false one, whether it is to be ascribed to ignorance, or to wilful delusion, or to self-deception. And even if in this respect we decide against it, there still remains, as a difficulty to be fully and adequately explained, the extraordinary way in which these writers were distinguished from all others in the depth and transparency of their belief. They were persuaded that they were in a special and exceptional way the ministers and servants of the Most High God, and all the features and incidents of their history were consistent with that belief. What, then, was the cause of this intense and persistent conviction?

It is, moreover, to be borne in mind that it is not only with classical writers or with the religious books of other nations that the writers of the Old Testament are to be compared. We

have the great Christian writers of eighteen centuries, where, if anywhere, it might be supposed we should meet with some analogy to the prophets and psalmists of the Old Testament; but nowhere do we find anything like the clear and unswerving conviction of a Divine commission that animates an Asaph or Isaiah. These writers of the Christian Church do but lean upon the great ones of old. They do not claim to share the same conviction or aspire to speak with the like authority. I maintain, therefore, that if we begin with the endeavour to place the Old Testament writers on the same level with the sacred writers of other nations, or with the writers of Greece and Rome, we act in direct contradiction to the evidence, and deliberately take no account of their most characteristic features. This is a consideration which must have its due weight before we attempt to estimate the relation of what is called the Higher Criticism to the supposed revelation of the Old Testament.

For it cannot but be that our estimate of the Old Testament must be to a large extent determined by the estimate of it that we find in the New. Now, it is absolutely certain that the writers of the New Testament throughout attach the highest possible importance to the substantive message, and very often to the words of the Old. It stands to reason, therefore, that we cannot accept the verdict of certain modern critics with regard to many facts and statements of the Old Testament without manifest divergence from, and disloyalty to, the New. I do not now say that the judgment of the New Testament is right. I only draw attention to the patent fact that it is inconsistent with this particular verdict of criticism. The two cannot be reconciled, and they cannot both be right. I desire to emphasize this point as one of which we may be absolutely certain. It is altogether another question whether we suffer criticism to modify our estimate of the New Testament, or allow the New Testament to correct the verdict of criticism. The point to be insisted upon is their divergence.

And as it is the criticism of the Old Testament with which we are now mainly concerned, it is as well to inquire into the way in which the Old Testament reaches us. We have very little external testimony about it. There is the evidence of Josephus and the son of Sirach, and there is the Alexandrine version of the Septuagint. These two last may be held to cover two centuries at least of the period before the Christian era. It is in the highest degree improbable that any book or the Old Testament is later than that. But, then, what does that imply? It implies surely that two centuries before Christ the Old Testament had acquired so much prestige as to create the necessity of its being translated. Had it been a recent

production, it could not in those times of laborious multiplication by MS. have created the demand for translation, in addition to its being almost the only instance of the kind in antiquity. Its character was not such as to attract the Greek mind, and consequently the fact of its translation is a mark of its important traditional estimate.

But as there are indications of several periods in the writings of the Old Testament, this traditional estimate must have been the long result of time. It cannot have been the growth of a generation or an age. Now, the parts of the Old Testament which appear to be latest are such books as Ezra and Nehemiah. It can hardly be that they are very much later than the times they record, or the latter half of the fifth century B.C. But these books by their style speak for themselves as to their modernness in relation to the great bulk of the others. That is to say, the great event in the history known as the Captivity seems to have stamped itself as a clear dividing line on the literature of the nation. As Ezra and Nehemiah, Esther and the three last prophets belong manifestly to the time after it, and as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel seem to belong to that period itself and the time immediately preceding it, so would the rest of the books, speaking generally, appear to reach further and further back. *Chronicles*, of course, is obviously to be excepted.

But then there is this remarkable feature about these books, that the later ones refer to and presuppose the earlier ones. For instance, putting aside theory, it is impossible to accept Ezra and Nehemiah as *bond fide* witnesses, and not see that they contain undesigned evidence of the existence of, and acquaintance with, the earlier history. They presuppose, for instance, the possession of the Book of the Law as a whole, and this Book of the Law must have contained many things that we now find in it. And with regard to other books, the Books of Kings refer to Samuel, Samuel refers to Judges, Judges presupposes Joshua, and Joshua presupposes the Pentateuch. Adopting what critical conjectures we please, it is an undeniable and unalterable fact that this is how these several books present themselves to us, and this is the condition in which they exist. It follows, therefore, that this dependence of the later books upon the earlier ones is either undesigned and spontaneous in them, or else they were deliberately composed and concocted so as to produce this appearance of mutual support and testimony. But the latter supposition is so extravagant and preposterous as to be absolutely precluded. We cannot imagine books so different as Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings looking back as they do one to the other if each separate book in order had not existed before the other.

For instance, it is impossible to suppose that the curse pronounced by Joshua on the rebuilder of Jericho was inserted in Joshua after the incident recorded in Kings ; Joshua, therefore, must have been in existence when Kings was written, and must have contained this incident. And so on in like cases. Whatever the date of Kings, Joshua must have been earlier. We cannot imagine a single writer, or a body of writers, sitting down to anticipate the reference in Kings by the record in Joshua, or the reverse. For if this were so, not only would the supposition be fatal to the historical worth of the several narratives, but it would imply a deliberately fraudulent intent such as would discredit any body of records, and for which there is no vestige of any ground of suspicion.

But then, again, as it is impossible for any written records to be of value which are not to be referred to a period shortly after the events they narrate, it becomes impossible to bring down the composition of the early records to a late date without destroying altogether their historical value ; and, therefore, the question is really one of the general credibility of those records. It matters not how we criticise them if we decide against this credibility. The distrust of the credibility may quite as naturally give birth to the criticism as the criticism to the distrust of their credibility. And it is possible there may be reasons for believing in their credibility, which not only may be proof against the criticism, but which, if valid, may deprive it altogether of its weight. For instance, it is useless to say that the narratives of the Exodus and the Conquest cannot possibly be historical or contemporaneous, and therefore are not to be believed, because that is the very question at issue, and having, as a matter of fact, these narratives before us, corroborated as they are by a mass of allusion in the national literature, we are bound to discover an environment of natural incident and circumstance which would adequately account for these narratives as they are, and be equally consistent with all the features of the history. And that is the difficulty. It is not merely the narrative of the passage of the Red Sea and the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host that we have to deal with, but there is also the song of Moses and Miriam to account for, together with a mass of allusion in the Psalms and Prophets. It is too much to suppose that this is all fictitious and elaborately concocted to look as if real and natural, but if there is any of it genuine it is hard to say where it is and where it is not ; and so we are thrown back upon so much of apparent and credible history in the narrative as, if it is believed, is more than sufficient to laugh to scorn the minor quibbles of a carping criticism, which, however ingenious and minute it may claim to be, is certainly not believing.

When we come to the prophetical literature we stand upon somewhat more familiar and ordinary ground. It is like passing from the Gospels to the Epistles. For here we have beyond all doubt the actual works of men who flourished in the eighth century B.C., that is to say, who were coëval with the earliest history of Rome; they are their own witnesses for the life of their time, and in not a few respects are corroborative of the contemporary history as it has been handed down to us. And here one of the first questions we have to decide, which is practically ignored by criticism, is, What was the originating cause of the rise and mission of these men? No satisfactory answer has been given to that question by the critical school. It is assumed that such prophets as Amos and Hosea started into existence without any preparation and with no antecedents. But, as a matter of fact, each of these writers charges the people with a great national defection. From what was this defection, if, as it is assumed, the religion of the people had never been anything more than calf-worship or some similar form of idolatry? There would have been no basis for the prophet to work upon; there would have been no national conscience to appeal to if there had been no knowledge in the people of violation of a Divine covenant. Where was the pungency of Hosea's satire in applying his personal history, whether real or allegorical, to the nation if there was no national conscience of a conjugal relation to God? and if there was any such conscience, from what did it arise but from recollection of the marriage covenant at Sinai with a God who revealed Himself as a jealous God? The sudden appearance on the scene of prophets like Amos and Hosea, bearing the message which they bore with no antecedent preparation in the national history, or with only such preparation as would have been supplied by the recent or contemporary inventions of a Jehovah or Elohist is a phenomenon for which any such supposition affords no explanation. In addition to which, the evidence afforded by Hosea to the existence of the Mosaic law, and acquaintance therewith, is remarkable and conclusive. Every book of the Pentateuch is virtually implied by numerous incidental allusions and obvious quotations in the brief fourteen chapters of Hosea. Amos, likewise, bears ample testimony not only to his own, but also to the people's, acquaintance with the law as it is known to us; and so with every one in turn of the minor prophets.¹ We are driven, therefore, to this conclusion: either these prophets were the outcome and product of a recent extraordinary efflorescence of mythical narrative by unknown writers, whether Elohist or Jehovah, who

¹ See the writer's "Law in the Prophets."

professed to record events which had occurred six or seven centuries before, or else their very existence is a witness sufficiently valid and explicit to a consciousness in the nation of the occurrence of these events, the knowledge of which had been provided for and preserved by the narratives in the Books of Moses, which were in the main what they professed to be. In like manner, when we come to the Psalms, it is impossible to interpret such words as "Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean" in Ps. li., and "Before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh stir up thy strength, and come and help us" in Ps. lxxx., without supposing in the one case an allusion to the Levitical ritual, and in the other to the prescribed order of march in the wilderness, as given in Numbers ii., but nowhere else. It is all very well to assign arbitrarily a late date to one or other, or to both, of these Psalms. That is very easy, but it does not prove them to be late. And it is far more probable in either case that the writer referred to a long-established custom and a well-known fact, than that in writing at a period long after the Captivity he appealed or alluded to a ritual prescription of the second temple, which could have no semblance of authority other than human, or referred to a recently invented and imaginary order for the march of certain tribes in the wilderness, which had no historical value, and therefore could furnish no ground for the appeal based upon it.

Now, these are facts which are independent of, and inexplicable upon, the critical hypothesis, and they may be multiplied to almost any extent, and I contend we must take our choice between the two hypotheses; but one offers an adequate explanation of the literary phenomenon, while the other creates a difficulty which it leaves unexplained. And so with the Psalms generally. We may, if we like, make them all Maccabæan, but then we have to account for the appearance of such Psalms as ii. and cx., which are obviously archaic in language, at a time when the known phenomena of the national literature presented the highest possible contrast, and the tone of national thought was so essentially different, and this creates a literary difficulty for which there is no vestige of any natural solution.

So much, then, for the general character of the Old Testament literature in some of its more prominent features, which are unalterable, and which any critical hypothesis must not fail to account for. For my own part, though I do not doubt that some few of the Psalms are post-Captivity, I greatly doubt whether it is possible to place any so late as the Maccabæan period, but would much rather agree with Dr. Pusey when he says that "no one now believes in Maccabæan Psalms," though this statement has lately been negatived by the Oriel

Professor of Exegesis, who would appear to believe in nothing else.

We have seen, then, that the traditional pedigree, if I may so call it, of the Old Testament, is not altogether the illusory and mistaken thing that some have supposed and asserted it to be. What about its general claim on our belief? Now, here I am willing to propose the question in, as it may seem, the crudest and baldest manner, as, for example, Is the Old Testament true or not true? that is to say, Is its general testimony as a record of special and exceptional operation on the part of God for the sake of His people Israel to be accepted or not? or is all this marvellous and unique history to be regarded merely as an exaggerated statement of ordinary occurrences, from which the exceptional is to be stripped off before we can decide upon the actual and the real? And, consequently, so far from searching for or discovering any particular manifestation of hidden and special purpose in the narrative as a whole, should we not be nearer to the truth if we regarded this Hebrew history as a mere variation of ordinary mythical narrative, in which we could not expect to grasp the truth till we had reduced it to the level of all other history? In other words, are we or are we not to accept the testimony of the Old Testament concerning itself, or only for what it is worth? That is to say, is the Old Testament true or is it not? This is really the point on which I join issue with so many of our modern self-styled critics, because I see plainly that on their principles we have absolutely no solid ground to stand upon in the Bible history, and can be no more certain of the migration of Abraham than of the Dorian migration, the return of the Heracleids, or the expulsion of the Tarquins. And I would ask, is this really to be our position, and are we willing that it should be so?

Now, my own position is rather this: though we may not be very clear as to who was the actual writer of the history of Abraham, nor whether several narratives may be thrown together into one, nor as to the actual date of one or any of them, yet in the providence of God the history, as we have it, is one which has specially been preserved with all necessary fulness and accuracy of detail for our instruction as a monument of the true and actual dealings of God with him who was selected to be the father of the faithful. I utterly reject, therefore, the notion that the history, as we have it, was not put together for a thousand years after the events occurred, and that it is nothing more than the ideal representation of what may or may not have happened, and that its ethical value is independent of its historic truth, that, therefore, whether true or not, its moral teaching is the same. And my reason for doing

so is this : I want to know whether or not God actually did deal thus with Abraham, and whether or not it was Abraham with whom He thus dealt, because if not, then I cannot be sure that He ever deals analogously with anyone else, or has dealt so ; and if no promise of the kind recorded was ever given to Abraham, or not given in the way recorded, then not only have I no promise to trust to, but the people of Israel had none, and St. Paul had none, and Jesus Christ had none. It makes all the difference in the world to me whether the promise to Abraham was a true and actual promise or whether it was nothing more than the mythical, ideal, and dramatic projection or precipitation, so to say, upon paper of very strong subjective impressions in the mind of the people, the actual cause and origin of which defies investigation, and which, being subjective, may very possibly have been delusive. It is because I believe that the so-called critical position (I make the critics a present of the word, though I deny their claim to it) does and can only result in some such notion as this, that I am prepared to dispute it inch by inch. Not that this is my only ground for doing so, because I believe we are bound to follow truth at all hazards, let it lead where it will ; but I believe the so-called grounds of the criticism are no less subjective than its advocates would have the origin of the Bible history to be, and that they exist not in the substance of the narrative, but spring up in the unbelieving heart of the critics.

Nor can I help it if in so saying I lay myself open to the charge of uncharitableness, because the issue is one that does not call for the exercise of charity, inasmuch as truth has higher claims than charity, and our Lord Himself may be held to have incurred the like charge in saying, "He that is of God heareth God's words : ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God."

If it is meant that the conviction of Israel as God's people, being purely subjective, was nevertheless as such of God, and that the explanation of it is to be found simply in themselves, then the case is somewhat altered. And this is merely another instance of the way in which the evolution theory is leavening all our thought ; but even then I entirely reject the notion, because I believe it to be inconsistent with the phenomena of the history, and because I believe that, sooner or later, we must face the question whether or not God acts only on the principles of evolution. Was Christ an instance of evolution ? Did He arise and develop naturally ? Can His life and history be explained and accounted for on natural or evolution principles alone ? Because if not, then that life and history seem to me to demand, or at least to allow, a corresponding departure from

evolution principles in certain points of Hebrew history, such as those of Abraham, Moses, and the like, which may be regarded as part of the preparation intended to lead up to Him. It is here that the real crux lies, not in the presumed appearance of composite authorship or the like, which may, after all, be imaginary, but in the reluctance to believe that there have been times in which the Creator has deigned to come forth out of the clouds and darkness which are continually round about Him to speak in another way and from another platform, and that, having done so, He has provided that the record of the occasions of His doing so should be preserved, and for all requisite purposes should be "guaranteed" by "Divine authority." This latter, of course, is a rider to the former position, but it also is one which sooner or later we must accept if we are in any sense to be believers. I presume that, given the Divinity of the life of Christ, we must concede also the special Divine providence by which the record of that life was both written and preserved, and that it has been recorded with all necessary fulness and with all requisite accuracy. It would be impossible to produce a scientific life of Christ, and there are multitudes of questions, critical, historical, and the like, which we can never answer; but, after all, if we believe at all, we must believe that the providence of God has been at work in the production and growth of the New Testament; and, believing that, it is not unreasonable to believe also that it has wrought likewise in the composition of the Old, and that in a way and to an extent such as to warrant us in believing it to be "guaranteed" for all necessary purposes "by Divine authority."

Now, it seems to me to be more needful to establish this latter position than it is to amuse ourselves with conjectures as to the origin and relations of the several sections of the books, while it is certainly desirable that we should be on our guard lest speculations on these matters should imperceptibly and unconsciously prevail so as to undermine our faith in what, if it is held at all, must be held earnestly, faithfully, deliberately, and tenaciously. Because if the Old Testament is not trustworthy in its testimony to the fact and method of the Divine action, what is the value of its testimony at all? Instead of leading us straight to God and the knowledge of His ways, it has started us on a false scent and led us in a wrong direction. It has told us that which we must learn not to believe, and taught us what we must unlearn. Now this I cannot but regard as a very serious indictment, and the more so because, if we apply such principles to the Old Testament, there is nothing to prevent their application to the New. We must decide whether a voice actually spoke to Christ out of heaven at His baptism and transfiguration, or whether He only and others

thought it did. And if, as a matter of fact, it spoke to Him from heaven, how are we to decide that in the case of Abraham it only spoke to him in the narrative, and not in reality? Where is the difference? and how are we to determine what it is? And if in the case of Abraham it spoke only in the narrative, why are we to suppose that it spoke otherwise in the case of Christ? But if it spoke only in the narrative in the case of Christ, what are we to say to the narrative; and how is it to be distinguished from a lie? But if the ethical teaching in the narrative of Abraham is the same, whether it is true or not, is there any reason why it should not be so in the case of Christ? And thus we are brought to the perilous position of suggesting that it is a matter of indifference whether our Gospels are true or not, even in such details as the narratives of the baptism, the transfiguration, and that in the twelfth chapter of St. John, when some supposed that it thundered, and others that an angel spoke to our Lord—a wonderful incidental proof, by the way, if the narrative is to be relied upon, that the voice was an external objective voice, and not one uttered only in the interior consciousness of Christ. I am anxious to press this matter home, because it is here that we want to understand one another, and to know why principles that are pernicious and fatal in the case of the New Testament are innocuous and rational when applied to the Old.

For it would seem that if we are to accept the general testimony of the New Testament, then we are committed in various instances, and especially by the witness of our Lord after His resurrection, when the theory of His *Kenosis* had become inapplicable, to such an estimate of the ancient Scriptures as the writers of the New Testament nowhere claim for themselves. Consequently, if to us the Old Testament rests mainly upon the New, upon what does the New rest? and are we quite consistent in conceding to that an amount of deference which we are most anxious not to render to the Old? It is because I feel that the self-styled critics are assuming that men may honestly believe in Christ, and yet refuse to believe certain facts which are implied in and presupposed by the claims of Christ, that I am anxious to show the insufficiency and invalidity of such faith. We may be unable to determine the precise extent of Divine authority which attaches to the Old Testament; but unless we admit as a matter of fact a Divine authority of the truest kind, we most certainly sap the foundations of those literary monuments which are indispensable to the testimony concerning Christ, as well as of the faith which rests upon them. It is this that the critics do not see, or are unwilling to allow, whereas logically I can discern no escape from it.

There are two points to which I would draw attention as illustrating my position. It is said that it is not the function of Scripture to be accurate in matters of detail, such, for example, as those of the Books of Chronicles and the like, any more than it is to be so in matters of science, as, for instance, when our Lord speaks of God making His sun to rise on the evil and on the good. But surely there is a trap laid here for the unwary. No one wishes to insist upon the accuracy of every genealogy in Scripture, for in many cases it is obviously of no importance; but this is a very different matter from asserting, with Renan, for example, that Christ was born at Nazareth, in opposition to St. Matthew, who states that He was born at Bethlehem, and that in fulfilment of prophecy. Here, then, are two points of detail, on the accuracy of which very much turns, and in which it must affect the whole character of the Gospel, not to say of the New Testament, whether we accept or reject its testimony. Will anyone venture to say that it matters not whether Christ was born at Bethlehem or at Nazareth so long as He was the Christ? If so, then here is involved probably very much more than is supposed. For by the Christ is implied all that elaborate scheme of preparation embracing promise, prophetic announcement, and miraculous intervention, without which the conception of a Christ would have been impossible, and the claim of Jesus to have fulfilled it a delusion. It becomes, then, a matter of degree where we recognise the presence and operation of the Divine. The question is whether, as a matter of fact, we recognise it or do not. And if so, there must be points in which the function of Scripture of necessity involved accuracy of detail, and the statement that the prophecy of Micah was fulfilled in the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem must be regarded as one of them, and one which of itself implies that the statement of the prophet was "guaranteed by Divine authority." It by no means follows, however, that every minor point of detail is of the same character and illustrates equally the same truth; but to make use of this as a reason for withholding our acceptance from the truth generally is absurd. In the same manner, the discrepancy about Esau's wives, or the introduction of David to Saul, gives no ground for raising any question as to the reality and the repetition of the several promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is surely a matter of the highest import that we hold to these; it is of no importance at all that we are left in uncertainty as to the others, nor does that uncertainty furnish any excuse for not believing these promises; nor would inaccuracy in the one case, if it could be proved, warrant us in assuming it in the other. But, at the same time, we hardly can believe them without assigning to them, and likewise to

the record containing them, an amount of authority, which is worth nothing if it is not Divine. In the same manner, it is in the highest degree unfair to press our Lord's speaking of the sun rising as an indication of the limited amount of knowledge we may ascribe to Him, or as a reason for asserting that when He said Moses wrote of Him He did not intend us to believe that it was Moses who wrote, or even that there was any essential connection between what he wrote and Himself. In the one case He adopted the language which we, everyone of us, use now, knowing that it is only apparently true; in the other He, as a professedly Divine teacher, told us that which was absolutely untrue if the words were not those of Moses, or, being those of Moses, were not intended by the Divine Spirit to find their meaning in Him, and in Him alone. But, then, in this latter case we must postulate, that is to say, we must believe in their being "guaranteed by Divine authority." In other words, the Old Testament appeals to, and makes demands upon, our faith, and without faith we cannot rightly understand it or do it justice.

Again, it has been observed that our Lord uses the phrases "My Father" and "your Father," but only says, "When *ye* pray, say *Our* Father;" He never suggests that the specific character of the Fatherhood is one and the same in both cases, and from this it has not unreasonably been inferred that He intended us to learn that His own relation to the Father was higher in degree and different in kind from ours; but if this be so, we must not only assume that such was His intention, but also assign so much of verbal accuracy to the narrative as was requisite to reflect and express this intention. But if this be so, we must again draw upon the guarantee of Divine authority, not only for the words of Christ and His right to use them, but also for the accuracy with which the narrative reproduced them, and for the providence by which it did so.

Again, there are those who eagerly lay hold of our Lord's expressed and professed ignorance of the judgment-day as a reason for believing that He may have been ignorant of certain so-called critical questions supposed to be matters of modern discovery, but the same persons do not see that the words spoken after His resurrection, when He said unto His disciples, "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which are written in the Law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning Me," virtually give us all that we want, and very much more than the critics are willing to allow, namely, that the things written were written of Him, and consequently of Him only, that there was a Divine necessity for them to be fulfilled, and that, therefore, the fact that they were written

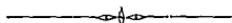
ages before He came showed that there was in their composition an extraordinary and unique element to which no human origin could be assigned, and which presupposed and postulated the operation and exercise of a Divine energy, of which it may be impossible to define the working, but which we must be especially careful not to exclude or to deny in our efforts to investigate and discover the *modus operandi* and to define the limits of its working area.

The point, therefore, on which I join issue with the critics is that they seem to me to shut their eyes to what must surely be the necessity of recognising so much of the supernatural in Scripture as will suffice to make it "guaranteed" to us "by Divine authority." Now, it cannot be denied that some of the critical positions are absolutely fatal to this belief, and the critics have been far more anxious to discover and analyse the human element in Scripture than to recognise and bow with deference and submission before the Divine. It is a vital question, therefore, to determine whether there is a Divine element, and where it is to be found.

Of course, there arises also the further and independent question as to the general validity of the critical position ; but unless the ground of faith is altogether defective and insecure, we may not unreasonably point to the incompatibility of the two, and the more this is realised, the less will be the difficulty of choosing between them. Added to which, I, for my part, am perfectly certain that with regard to very many of the so-called conclusions of criticism we may safely affirm that they are unproven. I regard the genuineness of the Pentateuch as by no means disproved ; I believe the case is much stronger in its favour than against it. Notwithstanding the reiterated affirmations to the contrary, I believe the existence of the second Isaiah to be a pure myth ; and I think, in spite of all the difficulties connected with the book of Daniel, that Dr. Pusey's defence of it has never been answered, and that more difficulties are created than are removed by supposing it to be a late invention. And it seems to me that even supposing the case in these various points to be more evenly balanced than I believe it to be, it is perfectly legitimate to throw into the scale in favour of the books the undoubted and indubitable estimate of them expressed in the New Testament in order to decide it. For either the prophets spoke of Christ or they did not ; either, as the Creed has it, they spake by the Holy Ghost or they did not. If they did not, then verily we must re-write every book of the New Testament which assumes they did. Then we must understand their utterances as suggested by the circumstances of their own time, and referring only to them ; and then not only were they casual utterances, but their cor-

respondence with the incidents of the life of Christ were also casual ; and then the inference drawn from this correspondence by the evangelists, the Apostles, and presumably by Christ Himself was delusive and unreal. For even the casual correspondence of the casual utterance and the casual incident could not be pronounced significant and Divine without postulating so much supernatural knowledge of the Divine intention and the Divine mind as would suffice to make the declaration to be "guaranteed by Divine authority." And if this is valid in any single instance, it may be valid throughout Scripture as a whole. Whereas if it is not valid, then we have no testimony, whether of apostles or prophets, that we can trust, but the foundations of the faith are utterly overthrown.

STANLEY LEATHES.



ART. IV.—IN WHAT DOES GOOD CHURCHMANSHIP CONSIST?

THERE were once two balls in a box, one of which was made of real gold, while the other was only gilded over. The latter was carefully wrapped in paper and remained perfectly still, while its fellow kept rolling about.

"How can you go on rolling about so much?" asked the gilt ball of the gold one. "Why, you will rub all off!"

"Rub what off?" replied the gold ball, as it continued its motion. "I am all of the same material."

There was nothing to rub off in the case of the gold ball, which was all reality, whereas its companion had only a superficial covering of gold, which it was anxious to preserve, as there was nothing underneath the external appearance.

No doubt many have been reminded of this allegory by hearing large-hearted, liberal-minded men of our communion denounced by those who hold exaggerated views on the subject of Episcopacy and Apostolical succession, for cultivating friendly relations with those who do not belong to Episcopal churches. Far from it being a sign of indifference to the fundamental principles on which our national Church is built that we should try and establish a good feeling between Episcopalian and non-Episcopalian, I venture to think that if we carefully examine the subject we shall find the reverse is true, and that those who hold exaggerated, exclusive views of Episcopacy, and who, therefore, cut themselves off from associating with others, have, in their mistaken zeal to uphold their special form of ecclesiastical polity, failed to grasp the fundamental principle on which our system is based.

Throughout this article I plead for a more comprehensive view of a Church and of our churchmanship, and to show that not only need no Churchman make sad the heart of the righteous, when Christ has not made them sad, but that the act of cutting ourselves off from those who do not pronounce our ecclesiastical shibboleth is as contrary to all sound principles of churchmanship as it is contrary to the teaching of Christ, whose whole life showed that He ever valued far more the spiritual part of religion, which affects a man's inner life, than He did mere external organization. The policy of the Church of England, I submit, was originally one of comprehensive catholicity, as opposed to the narrow, exclusive principles of the Roman communion, which excommunicates everyone that does not acknowledge the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. If this is true, it is obvious that only a large-hearted, liberal-minded man can be a good Churchman.

Some few years ago, on Primrose Day, the *Standard*, in a capital article on the patron saint of that day, suggested to its readers that the Conservative party should endeavour to catch the spirit of their late leader, Lord Beaconsfield, and not merely to cling to a few phrases used by him, or tenaciously to hold on to certain accidental surroundings that had been associated with him, as these were not the essence of his teaching. This piece of advice, given in a political organ to its own party, is most applicable to members of our Church, or, indeed, to the supporters of any great religious movement. No man can be a good Churchman who does not carefully distinguish between the mere accidentals and the essentials, which influenced those moving spirits who had so much to do with handing down to us that system of which true Churchmen are all so deservedly proud. Let the shallow-minded fight about the mere accidentals that were associated with the great Reformation movement in England, but let those who aspire to be good Churchmen see that they catch the spirit of the movement—that spirit which urged on its great leaders.

To trace the history of that movement would be to detail the gradual encroachments of the apostate Italian Church, which corrupted the great national Church of this country. Space does not permit of such a detailed investigation. Enough for us to know that the simple Gospel proclaimed by Jesus Christ and the primitive Church had been quite lost sight of, having been buried beneath a heap of human traditions. It might have been said of the priests of that time, as our Saviour said of the Jewish priests, "In vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." A mere mechanical form of religion was in existence, which practically had little, if any, effect on the daily lives of the people. The

minutest details of worship were attended to; and the more complicated they were the better, for then the less could the laity understand them, and the more dependent the ordinary people had to be on their priests. But the reaction set in, the chains of priestcraft were burst asunder at the Reformation, and the Bible was once more restored to the laity. Two great armies existed at that time. One was the Church of Rome, headed by the Pope, fighting to uphold sacerdotalism, and to keep down the laity; and the other was led by Luther, Cranmer, Melanchthon, Calvin, Zwingle, and Knox, who were opposed to Romish superstition. The Protestants were composed of many distinct allies rather than of one disciplined force. They differed among each other on certain points of secondary importance, but they were all thoroughly agreed on the main question of an open Bible, the position of the laity, and the simple Gospel of Jesus Christ. On the Continent and in Scotland, so great were the difficulties of the Reformers, and so inveterate the opposition of the Bishops, that in spite of the expressed wishes of all the different leaders, it was impossible to carry on the ancient institution of Episcopacy as it existed. In England reforming Bishops quietly took the place of those who were Romish, and all that was not considered to be absolutely opposed to the Word of God was retained, while no importance was attached to matters of secondary consideration. Good churchmanship in those days consisted in loyalty to the doctrines of the early Christian Church, and not to mere ecclesiastical forms of government; and good Churchmen were distinguished by their willingness to recognise good in others, even though they did not pronounce the same ecclesiastical shibboleth. In later ages there happened to this army of allies that which so often takes place when separate armies are united to fight a common foe. As soon as the conflict was over the allies fell out among themselves, and, losing sight of the original object which united them, they fell into the error of their opponents, and gave attention to trifles. Rome ever exaggerated the importance of mere ecclesiastical machinery and details of worship. The whole spirit of the Reformation was to call away attention from such secondary and external matters, however important in themselves, to the fundamental doctrines of Christ; but in the more degenerate days that followed, forms of government and ecclesiastical machinery assumed an undue predominance in the eyes of the contending factions. It would, however, be a libel on the originators of the movement that resulted in the complete disentanglement of our national Church from that of Rome to say that the spirit that actuated these later squabbles was the spirit of true churchmanship. We do not

find among the original leaders any unreasonable weight attached to mere questions of ecclesiastical government, and the most complete harmony existed between Episcopilians in England and Presbyterians and other divines on the Continent. The episcopate, as a historic fact, suited the condition of affairs in England, but it had not been possible to the reformers of the Continent; but this was not allowed to be a cause of discord and division, as the following facts will show.

In 1567 we find a joint letter, dated Feb. 6, signed by the Bishops of London and Winchester, addressed to the ministers of the Church at Zurich, in Switzerland, in which it says: "We commend you, brethren, to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we pray to preserve you in safety, and your churches in peace, so long as possible. Salute your brethren and all your fellow ministers at Zurich in our name." Archbishop Cranmer also said that, in his opinion, "Bishops and priests (presbyters) were no two things, but both one, in the beginning of Christ's religion."

The martyr saint, Bishop Hooper, writing to Bullinger in Switzerland about Archbishop Cranmer, says:¹ "The Archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a license for teaching is not granted to them, and in these his sentiments respecting the Eucharist are pure and religious, *and similar to yours in Switzerland.*"

Wickliffe, who died in 1387, whose teaching so very much influenced the fathers of the Reformation, said: "I boldly assert one thing, viz., that in the Primitive Church, or in the time of St. Paul, two orders of the clergy were sufficient, that is, priest and deacon. In like manner, I affirm that the presbyter and bishop were names of the same office."

In 1583 Archbishop Whitgift was made Primate of England by Queen Elizabeth, and he wrote: "I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in Holy Scripture to the Church of Christ. I do not deny that the Scriptures do express particularly everything that is to be done in the Church, or that it doth put down any one sort of form and kind of government of the Church to be perpetual for all times, persons, and places, without alteration."

One very strong proof that the Church at the time of the Reformation, and soon after it, held broad, catholic views on the subject of Episcopacy exists in the fact that three Presby-

¹ Vol. ii, p. 161, "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," by Dean Hook.

terian divines were consecrated bishops without any reordination. On Oct. 21, 1610, John Spottiswoode, "Parson of Calder," was consecrated Archbishop of Glasgow, Andrew Lamb at the same time being consecrated Bishop of Brechin, and Gawin Hamilton made Bishop of Galloway. They were consecrated in the chapel of London House by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath. One of the consecrating prelates, the Bishop of Ely, did not at first want to ordain the three Presbyterian divines. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was present, maintained¹ "That thereof there was no necessity, seeing where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise that it would be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches." As the other prelates supported the Archbishop, the Bishop of Ely acquiesced, and assisted at the function. This consecration of Presbyterian divines to be bishops speaks volumes for the views that existed in 1610 on the relationship of Episcopalianists to those who were outside their communion.

But we get even a stronger argument from an existing letter written by Bishop Cosin, showing what the views of the Church were at that time. He was a High Churchman of the extreme narrow type of Laud, having been very much influenced by his exaggerated views, and so not likely to favour non-Episcopalianists. But when asked by a person named Cordel as to whether he should communicate in France with Roman Catholics or Huguenots, he replied that he should advise him to communicate with the Huguenots under protest against the irregularity of their orders, "considering that *there is no prohibition of the Church against it*, as there is against communicating with Papists, and that well founded upon Scripture and the will of God." Bishop Cosin in 1661 played a very leading and active part in the Savoy Conference.

It has, however, been asked why it was that the Fathers of the Reformation admitted Roman Catholic priests to our communion without demanding that they should be reordained, but would not allow this privilege to non-Episcopalianists? The answer, however, is obvious. They were most anxious to bring over Roman Catholic priests into our Church, and reordination would have no doubt prevented many from coming over. This policy was a wise one, for, as a matter of fact, an enormous number did thus join our Church. At that time there was remarkably little non-Episcopalianism in existence in England, however it may have been in Scotland, and there certainly

¹ Spottiswoode's "History of the Church and State of Scotland," Book vii., p. 514.

were no powerful, well-organized non-Episcopalian Churches such as now exist. So that practically in England there were no non-Episcopalians from which to recruit, and as the communication between England and Scotland was not what it now is, that country was not looked upon as a recruiting field for our clergy. But though the Scotch Church in 1603 had a Presbyterian form of government, Episcopacy not having been introduced till 1610, yet in the 55th Canon, which was drawn up in that year, it was recognised as a Church just as much as was the Episcopalian Church of Ireland. The words of the Bidding Prayer contained in that Canon are as follows: "Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church; that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland." It would indeed be difficult to define in better words Christ's holy Catholic Church than to call them "the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world," as this embraces Episcopilians and non-Episcopilians alike.

This 55th Canon, after all, is only in exact agreement with the ancient "Te Deum" which we sing every Sunday, and which contains that truly catholic expression, "Thou hast opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers," an expression which also embraces those who do not hold our Episcopalian orders. Article XIX. in our Prayer-Book also teaches exactly the same truth, when it defines a Church to be "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." It is possible to read any meaning into these words, but the obvious, simple reading is, that the Church is composed of "faithful men" or "believers," without any reference to whether they are Episcopilians or not.

In 1689, in spite of all that Archbishop Laud had done to circulate exaggerated views on the subject of the Episcopacy, the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation in their address to King William III. acknowledged their non-Episcopalian brethren on the Continent when they said: "We doubt not that the interest of the Protestant religion in all other Protestant Churches *which is dear to us* will be the better secured under your Majesty's Government and protection." (Quotation from the Journals of Convocation by the Archbishop of Armagh, 1867.) Did space permit many more quotations might be made to show what an excellent feeling existed originally between the Episcopalian Church of England and the non-Episcopalian Churches of the Continent. That ill-fated prelate, Archbishop Laud, who afterwards paid the

penalty of his erroneous judgment and unwise zeal by his death on the block, was, according to the great historian Hallam, rebuked, in 1604, by the University of Oxford for saying that there could be no Church without bishops. But even he held nothing like the extreme views of some of the clerical party of this present time. It is only fair to his memory to record the fact that in his conference with the Jesuit, Fisher, he says: "Apostolical succession is a great happiness where it may be had visible and continued, and a great conquest over the mutability of this present world. But I do not find any one of the ancient Fathers that makes local, personal, visible, and continued succession a necessary sign or mark of the true Church in any one place"; and again in another passage: "Most evident is it that the succession which the Fathers meant is not tied to place or person; but it is tied to verity of doctrine."

After the death of Laud his narrow teaching practically ceased to exist. Within the last fifty years, however, Newman and Manning have revived them in the Oxford Movement, so closely associated with their names. They very consistently left the Church of England, as they found her communion too broad, catholic, and evangelical. Their narrow ecclesiastical views, however, did not cease to exist in our Church with their departure to a more congenial atmosphere in the bosom of the Romish Church. Speaking generally, however, the laity as a body have never accepted these extreme views which are of such recent origin. There are, of course, some laymen who out-herod Herod, and are more clerical than the clergy, but at present they are in the minority. The laity see too much of evil in life to care to ostracize a man for his ecclesiastical views. A religious layman meets with little enough sympathy in his daily life, and so he gladly extends the right hand of fellowship to any brother he meets who, like himself, is trying to wage war with sin, and petty distinctions as to whether he is an Episcopalian or not are not allowed to come between them. Unfortunately, however, it is not the minority, but the majority of the clergy who hold these exaggerated views on the subject of the Episcopacy. It is, however, only fair to the clergy as a body to say that a strong minority does exist among them who take a more generous, comprehensive view of Christianity. One has but to mention the names of such men as the following, to show even in recent times what powerful men, both spiritually and intellectually, have been found in the minority: Archbishop Tait (Canterbury), Archbishop Thompson (York), Archbishop Whately (Dublin), Bishop Lightfoot (Durham), Dean Alford (Canterbury), Dean Stanley (Westminster), Dean Howson

(Chester), Dean Goode (Ripon), Dean McNeil (Carlisle), Dean Law (Gloucester), and many other saintly scholars. Not only do the Evangelical and Broad Church sections utterly repudiate such notions, but even some of the more moderate High Church school shrink from the logical conclusions of their own theories, and are most kind and courteous in their dealings with non-Episcopalians.

It is always a cause of pain to have to oppose a body of men for whom in many things one has great respect. One cannot see the earnest devotion which characterizes so many of our clergy, and the spirit of self-sacrifice which so many of them exhibit, without rejoicing at the enormous improvement which has taken place in recent years among them as a body. Indeed, it is the zeal and earnestness that makes one regret all the more that so much of it is misdirected into wrong channels, and wasted in the vain attempt to resuscitate the worn-out creeds of mediæval times, which, in this enlightened age, the laity will not allow to be forced upon them.

It is not altogether a cause for surprise that while the laity are so indifferent, yet that the clerical mind should attach so much importance to such minor details as ecclesiastical government, forms of worship, etc. The clergyman is a specialist, and the error of specialists in general is that of exaggerating one particular thing, and perhaps that is the reason why caution in the Word of God is given: "Mark them which cause divisions among you." Temperance reformers, students of prophecy, and other good men who have devoted themselves as specialists to the consideration of one question, are apt to become narrow on that particular question, and to attach an undue importance to the one subject which occupies their mind. Ecclesiastical government forms such an unimportant detail in the life of the average layman, and his mind is engrossed with so many other things, that he is less likely than the specialist to hold exaggerated views on the subject. The more one looks at the question, the more convinced one becomes that much of the talk that goes on at the present time about good churchmanship is based on a complete misunderstanding of what the true principles of our Church are. Many are loyal to a church of their own conception, who are entirely out of sympathy with the spirit that prompted the leaders of the Church, who actually fought in the battle at the time of the Reformation. The Prayer-Book accepts the historic episcopate, but there is not a single passage which says that the episcopate is necessary to the existence of a Church; nor is there a passage which authorizes its members to unchurch those who have not, like ourselves, adopted an Episcopalian form of government, nor to sneer at the sacraments adminis-

tered by those who have been duly ordained by their own Church authority. Like the Jews of old, the majority of the clergy have exaggerated the benefits of their ecclesiastical system, and need to be reminded of the words which our Saviour spoke to His disciples: "Ye know not what spirit ye are of."

In order, therefore, to answer the question which heads this article, it may be well to point out six characteristics to show what does *not* constitute good churchmanship, and then to turn from the negative to the positive, and to show an equal number of points which characterize a good Churchman:

1. Good churchmanship, then, does not consist in denouncing those who for some reason or other do not see their way to accepting Episcopacy as their form of Church government, and thus making sad those whom God has not made sad.

2. Good churchmanship does not consist in cutting one's self off from earnest men who are doing a good work, because they do not accept our views of Church government.

3. Good churchmanship does not consist in estranging good and holy men who are in their own way successfully waging war with the world, the flesh, and the devil, but have not Episcopalian orders.

4. Good churchmanship does not consist in mistaking the scaffolding for the building, and valuing the means rather than the end.

5. Good churchmanship does not consist in being suspicious of everyone else who is engaged in fighting the battle with sin, suffering, and sorrow, because they do not fight in our way.

6. Good churchmanship does not consist in refusing on special occasions to worship with others, simply because they do not use our beautiful liturgy.

Having considered the negative side, and having seen what does not constitute a good Churchman, it may be well to pass on to the positive side, and to look at the characteristics of a good Churchman, who takes the Bible and the Prayer-Book for his guide, and not merely the prevailing opinion of clerical circles:

1. Good churchmanship does consist in valuing our own ancient order and liturgy, without unchurching those who do not belong to it, and thus falling into the very errors of the corrupt Romish Church which our ecclesiastical ancestors opposed.

2. Good churchmanship consists in loyalty to the Bible and the Prayer-Book, recognising at the same time that if, in any case, the two ever come into conflict, the former alone is to be accepted as the final court of appeal, in accordance with

Nos. VI. and XX. of the Articles of Religion in our Prayer-Book.

3. Good churchmanship consists in the cultivation of a large-hearted catholicity, and in the recognition of sound doctrine in other ecclesiastical bodies, even when they do not hold our form of government.

4. Good churchmanship consists in distinguishing between essentials and non-essentials, and giving to each their proper place.

5. Good churchmanship consists in loyalty to those principles which caused our ecclesiastical ancestors to throw off the yoke of Rome, and to recognise as allies all who have that object in view.

6. Good churchmanship consists in looking upon all ecclesiastical government and forms of worship as means to an end, and not the end itself, and in valuing the pure water of life, whether we come across it in a beautiful silver flask or in a simple earthen pitcher.

SETON CHURCHILL.

ART. V.—THE SANTAL MISSION.

THE Annual Report of 1863 says: "The Rev. E. L. Puxley has been suddenly compelled to visit England for the recovery of his health. Upon his departure, the Rev. W. Storrs removed from Lucknow to superintend the work."

Mr. Storrs has written the following account: "We came down from Benares in a steamer. It was Sunday morning when we reached Rajmahal. Mr. Puxley's elephants met us and a palki carried by some bearers. The elephants were very old, and rather slow beasts; one was said to be 100, and the other 130, years old; and the elder one, when she got into deep mud, had always a great difficulty in getting out again. It was on September 27th, 1863, a fearfully hot day, and the palki bearers had to rest over and over again. At last we reached Talihari. There was no furniture in the house, and our things did not come up; and had it not been for Shital Catechist and his good wife, I do not know what we should have done. It was a strange Sunday; no church, no service, no quiet, and the people came and stared at us as if we were wild beasts. At last we gradually settled down. My time was principally spent in learning the language, which I picked up simply by learning sentences off by heart, and was able in a few months, by stringing numbers of sentences together, to give an address, which included all the necessary Gospel truths, and found that the people could understand me when

I could scarcely understand a word that they said. I began at once to visit the little village schools in the neighbourhood, taking Bhim, Ram Choron and Sham with me. In this way my knowledge of Santali increased. It was in April, 1864, that one Sunday, after preaching in Hindi to the boys in the school, that Ram Choron (a Hindu, but one who was brought up from infancy among the Santals, and thus knew their language as if it were his own mother-tongue) followed me back to the bungalow, and begged me to baptize him. After a few days Bhim made the same request; a man named Suphal, too, from a near village came forward, but he understood so little that I was obliged for the present to put him on one side. However, on May 15th, 1864, Sunday, in the afternoon, amidst a crowd of gaping heathen, with the Christian teachers and heathen school boys ranged round, I baptized Ram Choron and Bhim in the spring which is just below the hill on which the present church stands. A few months afterwards Sido came forward; he was very young and delicate, but most terribly in earnest about it. The news spread all over the district. Many of the training school boys were removed; but, on the whole, wherever we went, we found the people not so much irritated as interested by what had occurred. Soon after this Mr. Puxley returned from England, and I moved slowly through the district preaching the good tidings everywhere. My children were all so ill, and I was in such weak health that, having been nine years in India, it was thought advisable for me to go home. Whilst I was in England, Mr. Puxley baptized several more of the training school youths, and the first village Christians among the Santals. At the end of 1866 I returned, and found that Mr. Puxley had been obliged to leave for England; fever had so weakened him by its continued attacks that it was thought advisable for him to leave as soon as possible. A few months after my return the great wave of blessing came; at a number of distant places people asked for baptism, and the people seemed most really in earnest, and everywhere God gave us His blessing."

Mr. Storrs, writing on November 2nd, 1867, says: "I have been immensely encouraged during these few days by seeing the way Christianity is spreading. I have had the happiness of baptizing about seventy persons since last Sunday. On this day week I rode to Chuchi and spent a long time in examining inquirers, and on the following evening (Sunday) I went again and baptized them—I think about forty souls. They had already undergone a little trial of scoffing and petty persecution. Tuesday and Wednesday I spent in examining candidates for baptism and confirmation, and the next evening, under the shade of a gigantic cotton-tree, baptized twenty-one

more souls in the pretty river Gumani. On Friday I examined some more in a village three miles distant, and baptized them the next day among some rocks in the river—twelve souls.

“December 8th, 1867.—Bishop of Calcutta’s confirmation. A good number came—ninety-six—all of them from a distance of at least twenty miles, many of them from at least forty, bringing their food with them, being two days on the road here. Bishop Milman, having inspected the site for the church, said that he had never seen a place which seemed so exactly made to build a church upon.

“December 30th.—This afternoon I baptized more than twenty people. How happy ought I to be! Oh, how many missionaries would give anything to have the encouragement which God has given me! I stand, I look, I wonder. There are now nearly four hundred Christians, where three years ago there were but three.”

Writing at the end of 1869, Mr. Storrs says: “As to evangelistic work, it seems to me as if we scarcely had any in this mission. Almost all our time is taken up with work among the Christians. I regret two circumstances. One is the decrease in the number of baptisms. This has been very marked during the last few months, and the number of inquirers is at present small.” The other was that circumstances compelled him to be absent from the mission just at this time.

As regards the character of the Christian community, we quote the following independent testimony of a well-educated Free Church native minister, the Rev. J. Bhattacharjya:

“The words of the prophet—‘The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose: it shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice with joy and singing’—may be said to have been literally fulfilled in regard to Taljhari, which, but a few years ago, was a barren desert, but which is now turned into what may be termed ‘The garden of the Lord.’ A beautiful church is now in the course of erection, which will give an additional charm to the place. But the most beautiful sight, which refreshes the heart of the Christian, is the body of Santal converts, who, a short time ago, were no better than the wild beasts of the forest, but who have, under the benign influence of Christianity, become distinguished for gentleness, meekness, humility, sobriety, and other Christian virtues. There is such a marvellous change in them that even a most superficial observer cannot help noticing and admiring it.”

Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces of India, paid a short visit to Santalia. He was so cheered by what he saw that he wrote to the Church

Missionary Society offering them 1,000 rupees for every new European station they would set on foot in the Santal country. Another of the Santal missionaries, who had been obliged to leave the work on account of the loss of his wife, and his own failing eyesight—the Rev. W. Shackell, a Fellow of Oxford—also offered a like sum for the same purpose. In consequence of these offers two new stations were built, viz., Dhorompur and Bhagaya, and the number of workers increased.

On February 4th, 1876, Ram Choron was ordained deacon by Bishop Milman, as pastor for the Santal Christians. He was, as we have said, the first to be baptized, became one of the earliest helpers, and having acted as an evangelist and catechist, he was chosen to become the first ordained pastor of the people he had influenced by his example when he boldly put on Christ at baptism.

On September 9th, 1877, the Rev. H. Davis died at Hiranpur. One, writing of this sad event, says: "Our brother, worn out with a disease which must have been growing upon him stealthily, one day, after a hard day's work at translations into Santali, laid down his pen and said to his Bengali munshi: 'I cannot do more; I am very weary.' It was Thursday. On the following Sunday, September 9th, he entered into rest. We in Taljhari, only twenty-five miles distant, received no intimation of it till Monday morning. A party of three of us at once set off, and notwithstanding the rains and the floods, were able to reach Hiranpur the same evening, in time to see the lifeless form of our departed brother and to assist in the interment. A very large number of people assembled together. Christians came from all parts of the Hiranpur district. In consideration for the Christians who had assembled, the Santal language was chosen for the burial-service. We sang, though sadly, his own translation into Santali of the well-known hymn, 'Work for the night is coming.' Many were the expressions of grief and looks of sadness even from the heathen, who seemed then to be, in human sympathy, brothers and sisters, though not so *in Christ.*"

The Church Missionary Society's Report of 1881, speaking of this mission, says: "The Santal mission has suffered by the illness and enforced absence of some of its missionaries. The Rev. J. Tunbridge was sent away for some months invalided to a hill station, and just as he was returning to his work his wife died. The shock brought a renewal of his own illness, and he was ordered home. The Rev. R. Elliott has also come to England in very weak health. The Rev. A. Stark and family were obliged to go to the hills for several months; and the Rev. E. Droeze, for a similar cause, had to be absent from Bhagulpur for some time."

The absence of medical aid and the isolation of the missions indeed are great hindrances to the conservation of health. When Dr. Davis was taken ill at Hiranpur there was no other European near; his poor wife nursed him alone, and as she was imperfectly acquainted with the language, it was all the more difficult to obtain help. A doctor was sent for, but he arrived at the nearest railway-station many hours after Mr. Davis's death. The wife was alone with her dead all Sunday night, and the next morning had to give orders for making a coffin and digging the grave. It was in the height of the rains —this added to the desolation; and God alone knows the awfulness of those hours. Strangers in a strange land. But it is for Christ's sake, and He is always near.

It may be interesting to know that in the year 1811, Mrs. Sherwood, the wife of an English officer serving in India, wrote the missionary story of "Little Henry and his Bearer." She wrote in her diary: "I have thus a time of leisure given to me to indulge in writing and reading. I am also solaced with the company of the Rev. Henry Martyn, who is in and out of our house every day."

"May 29th, 1811.—Finished my MS. of 'Henry and his Bearer,'"¹

Let us now transcribe a small portion of this book:

"Now it happened about this time that Henry's mamma had occasion to go from Dinapur to Calcutta, and as she went by water, she took Henry and his bearer in the budgerow with her. When the boat came to anchor in the evening, Henry used to take a walk with his bearer; and sometimes they would ramble among the fields and villages for more than a mile from the river. Once, in particular—it was in one of those lovely places near the Rajmahal Hills—Henry and his bearer went to walk. The sun was just setting, and a cool breeze blew over the water, which so refreshed the little boy that he climbed without difficulty to the top of a hill, where was a tomb. Here they sat down, and Henry could not but admire the beautiful prospect which was before them. On their left hand was the broad stream of the Ganges winding round the curved shore till it was lost behind the Rajmahal Hills. Before them and on their right hand was a beautiful country abounding with corn-fields, clumps of trees, thatched cottages, with their little bamboo porches, plantain and palm trees, beyond which the Rajmahal Hills were seen—some bare to their summits, and others covered with jungle, which even now afford a shelter to tigers, rhinoceroses, and wild hogs.

"Henry sat silent a long time. At last he said: 'Boosy,

¹ Published by the Book Society, 28, Paternoster Row, price twopence.

this is a good country—that is, it would be a very good country if the people were Christians. Then they would not be so idle as they now are; and they would agree together, and clear the jungles, and build churches to worship God in. It will be pleasant to see the people when they are Christians all going on a Sunday morning to some fair church built among those hills, and to see them of an evening sitting at the door of their houses reading the *Shaster*. I do not mean your *Shaster*, but our *Shaster*—God's Book.' "

Those words, written eighty years ago, describe, in almost prophetic language, the present result. The scene of the pious wish was about ten miles from Taljhari. There is now a magnificent church standing on the summit of one of the Rajmahal Hills, whilst here and there, scattered all over the very country described as the one on which Henry was looking, are more than fifty village churches. Of these we hope to speak more particularly in our next paper.

F. T. COLE.

ART. VI.—THE SHARE OF PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION IN THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

IT is not proposed in this sketch to estimate all the different forces which produced the Reformation. To perform such a task in any detail would be a long and very tedious business. In the days of personal government, when the House of Tudor reigned, the individual character and initiative of the Sovereign counted for much, and would have to be taken into reckoning. The Reformation was in different ways profoundly influenced by Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. And besides the general tendencies which moved the age, we should have to reckon the work of different privy councils and committees, the personal impress of great leaders and thinkers, and here and there the action of a Pope or a Legate. But it is enough for one essay to call up to remembrance the tone, temper, and work of the two great Constitutional bodies, Parliament and Convocation, in their effect on that momentous and unparalleled national struggle which continued between the year 1529, when the Reformation Parliament first met, and 1571, when subscription to the Articles was enforced by the Parliament of Elizabeth. No half-century in our history is fraught with more inestimable consequences; for it was during that short period that the national Church of England, which for some hundreds of years had submitted to Romish doctrine and discipline, deliberately, and through the trial of fire and sword, discarded both, and

returned to the example of Holy Scripture and the Primitive Church.

The first sign of the coming storm was the attempt of the Commons in 1513, the fourth year of Henry VIII.'s reign, to prevent persons committing sacrilege, murder, and robbery, from claiming exemption from civil courts by reason of their ecclesiastical office. The Romish bishops and abbots were at this time a majority of the House of Lords, and they were able to make the Act ineffectual.

In 1515 the imprudence of Convocation in attacking Dr. Standish, the King's Advocate, who defended this highly just and expedient Act of Parliament, first gave King Henry VIII. the notion that he was over all causes ecclesiastical and civil supreme; no new doctrine, but in accordance with the great Acts of William the Conqueror, Edward I., Edward III., and Richard II.

The legal foundations of the Reformation were laid by the Parliament of 1529. It abridged the exorbitant fees for probate exacted in the Bishops' Courts, and it prohibited licenses from Rome for the plurality of benefices and for the farming of ecclesiastical appointments. No consultation of the clergy had preceded this Act; it would obviously have been useless; but Convocation warmly protested. It was not without vigorous opposition on the part of the Lords, and skilful management on the part of the King, that the terrible scandal of clerical pluralities was brought to an end and the Act passed.

The Parliament met again next year, in 1530; many of its members addressed a remonstrance to the Pope for not forwarding the King's divorce; and in answer to a snub from that quarter, Parliament passed an Act ordaining that all Proctors and Pardoners going about in any country without sufficient warrant were to be regarded as vagrants, to be drawn on two successive days through the next market town, and whipped at the cart's tail.

Then came the tremendous conviction of the whole clergy of England under the Act of Praemunire for having attended the synod summoned by Cardinal Wolsey as Legate at Westminster in 1523 without the authority of the King. The judges held that the whole clergy of the land, their liberties and goods, lay at the royal mercy. The Convocation of Canterbury compounded for £100,000, which would be equal to a million sterling in the present day; the Convocation of York for £18,000, which would now be about £180,000. The clergy were informed that the money could not be accepted unless they formally acknowledged the King's supremacy, a constitutional doctrine which had been forgotten in the re-

actionary times which followed the reign of Richard II., but which, as we have seen, King Henry VIII. had reasserted in 1513.

After long negotiations, Archbishop Warham informed the Convocation of Canterbury that the King would accept the wording, "The singular protector, the only and supreme lord, and, as far as is permitted by the law of Christ, even the supreme head." "He that is silent," said the Archbishop, "seems to consent." The conclusion was better than they had expected, and no voice was raised in opposition. Thus in silence the agreement of the clergy was given. The Convocation of York, over which Tunstal of Durham presided in the absence of an archbishop, offered a longer resistance, and their pardon was not granted till the following session. "The royal supremacy," says Professor Burrows, "which did not become the law of the land till 1534, the true era of the Reformation, simply reproduced the laws of William the Conqueror, Edward I., Edward III., and Richard II. The King was not turned into a Pope; but no laws were to be made touching religious matters without his consent. The supremacy was claimed, and has been treated ever since in authoritative documents, not as anything novel, but as an inheritance of which the Crown had been recently defrauded by popes and clergy. It was anti-papal rather than pro-regal; it was a synonym for 'Anglican liberties.' The King and Parliament were to be replaced in their true position as Guardians of the Establishment. Lord Clarendon has well expressed it thus: 'Henry applied his own laws to govern his own people, and this by consent of his Catholic clergy and Catholic people.' It is true that the clergy would not have submitted if they could have helped it; but, the Constitution once reasserted, it was not long before an unwilling assent changed its character with the more intelligent of the body; and at any rate it was a valid assent, subsequently ratified unexceptionally."

The complaint of the Commons to the King on March 18, 1532, illustrates the abuses and feelings of the time. The clergy had made laws without consent of King or laymen, and as these were in Latin, nobody knew what to obey. The lawful proctors in the courts were so limited in number that unbiased defence could not be obtained. Fines and the like were vexatious and tyrannical. Fees were excessive. The Sacraments were sold. The Bishops promoted "certain young folks, calling them their nephews and kinsfolk," while "the poor silly souls which should be taught in the parishes were left, for lack of good curates, to perish for want of instruction." Holidays were too numerous, and on them "many great,

abominable, and execrable vices and wanton sports were used and exercised." Imprisonment by Bishops *ex officio*, without witnesses, prevailed, and even if afterwards release was granted, there was no redress. Laymen were entrapped into profession of heresies by skilful questions on insufficient evidence, and heavily fined and punished.

The Bishops entrusted their reply to Gardiner; but it was so flimsy that he was obliged to apologize to the King. The Lower House of Convocation then took up the question, and drew up a paper, which, however, conceded nothing, as the clergy were still to be judges as to which of their laws were to be excepted from the King's control.

The King sent down a reply to Convocation by his almoner, Bishop Fox. Three articles were to be subscribed: (1) No constitution or ordinance should thereafter be enacted by the clergy without the King's consent; (2) a committee of thirty-two persons should be appointed to review the ancient canons, and to abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to the King's prerogative and onerous to his subjects; (3) all such canons should stand good when ratified by the King's consent. On May 16, 1532, was accordingly voted the celebrated Submission of the Clergy. The King in those days represented the whole of the laity; and there can be no doubt at all that some such measure was necessary, to curb the intolerable spiritual tyranny by which the old system was disgraced.

The clergy themselves were groaning under the exactions of the Pope, which, in the case of Bishops, amounted to the whole of the first year's income, besides enormous fees. The same Convocation accordingly petitioned the King to abolish this grievance, adding: "Forasmuch as all good Christian men be more bound to obey God than any man, and forasmuch as St. Paul willeth us to withdraw ourselves from all such as walk inordinately, it may please the King's most noble majesty to ordain in this present Parliament that then the obedience of him and his people be withdrawn from the see of Rome, as in like case the French King withdrew the obedience of himself and his subjects from Pope Benedict XIII., and arrested by authority of his Parliament all such annates." This was entirely in accordance with Henry's wishes, and a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords abolishing the annates, but proposing to retain five per cent. on Papal bulls of investiture if the Pope will consent to the change. If not, then the Bishops may be consecrated without him, and the clergy may disregard his excommunications, interdictions, and inhibitions. The Pope refused, and the whole change became the law of the land.

In 1533 was enacted the famous statute for the Restraint of

Appeals. The Act declared that the Crown of England was imperial, and the nation a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal, to all manner of folk, without restraint or appeal to any foreign prince or potentate; the body spiritual thereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, to declare and interpret by that part of the body politic, called the spirituality, and now commonly called the English Church; and that there had always been in the spirituality men of sufficiency and integrity to declare and determine all doubts within the kingdom, without the intermeddling of any exterior power; and that several Kings, as Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., had by several laws preserved the liberties of the realm from the interference of Rome. Appeals were only to lie from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, or the Dean of the Arches, except in the case of the King and his heirs, who had an appeal from the Archbishop to the Upper House of Convocation, or Synod of Bishops.

In 1534 Parliament ratified the Submission of the Clergy, two years after it had been made, and provided for the appointment of the thirty-two Commissioners who were to draw up a code of canons.

The same Act ordained an appeal from the Archbishop, in case of the failure of justice, to the King's Court of Chancery.

Another Act of the same date regulated the appointment to bishoprics, by election by the Chapter after nomination from the King. In the next reign another Act ordered Bishops to be appointed directly by letters patent without election. That again was repealed by Mary, and the statute of Henry being revived by Elizabeth, is now the law of the land.

Another Act of the same Parliament made Papal dispensations illegal. The two Archbishops were to have the power instead. The King was to have the power to visit monasteries and colleges. The Act also stated: "That the King and Parliament did not intend by it to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the very Articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom, and in any other things declared by Scripture and the Word of God necessary for salvation."

A tyrannical provision of this Parliament did not last long. It was a reinforcement of the supremacy, and claimed far more than had been granted. It ordered that the King shall have full power to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction ought to, and may be, lawfully reformed,

most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm, any usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

This memorable session of 1534 also invested the King with the right to first-fruits and tenths, which the clergy hoped were abolished when they were taken from the Pope. These afterwards became the fund known as "Queen Anne's Bounty." A provision was also made for the appointment of suffragan Bishops, instead of Wolsey's grand scheme of twenty new sees.

In the last session of 1534 Convocation honourably distinguished itself by unanimously petitioning the King to fulfil his promise of causing the Scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue by honest and learned men, with a view to their being delivered to the people. It also voted that the Roman Bishop has no greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign Bishop. That was the form of the Canterbury vote; York varied it by a reference to Holy Scripture.

In 1535 an instrument was passed under the Great Seal which had the consent neither of Parliament nor Convocation. It gave visitorial power over the whole Church of England to Thomas Cromwell, the King's vicegerent, and to his deputies. The whole liberties, powers, and privileges of the Church of England appeared to be swept away. The Bishops' power of visitation were in the meantime suspended. But this exorbitant power was only exercised over the monasteries, and even that exercise was legally authorized by Parliament. The tremendous claim was only put forth in order to overawe, and not for actual use.

Between 1536 and 1539 various Acts of Parliament were passed for the suppression of the monasteries. These had an important bearing on the historical development of the Reformation, but they do not affect the constitutional growth of the Church of England.

In 1536 Convocation passed the Ten Articles, which mark a distinct advance in Reformation doctrine. They recognised the Christian faith as contained in Holy Scripture and the three creeds, interpreted according to approved doctors of the Church and the four holy Councils. They retained auricular confession and absolution, the real corporal presence, images, the honour of saints second to the honour of God; but grace, remission of sins, and salvation cannot be obtained but of God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ. As to purgatory, it was good to pray for the lessening of the pains of the departed, but they could be helped neither by the Pope's pardon nor by masses. No mention is made of the four

assumed sacraments of Orders, Confirmation, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction. The same Convocation diminished the number of holidays, and disapproved of the Pope's summons to a General Council at Mantua, which afterwards became the Council of Trent, on the ground that the sovereigns of each Christian nation ought first to be consulted.

The "Institution of a Christian Man; or, The Bishops' Book," which treated of the visible and invisible Church, showed that the episcopal office is a grade of the presbyteral, dropped the cultus of saints, and declared that the Ave Maria is not a prayer, was drawn up in 1537 by a committee of Bishops and divines, under the authority of a synod of Bishops of both provinces.

A reaction was now at hand, which lasted till the end of the reign.

By the year 1539 the King had become enraged by the censures passed on the English Church by the Lutheran divines resident in England, and he prevailed on Parliament and Convocation to pass his terrible Six Articles, which asserted transubstantiation, communion in both kinds not to be necessary, celibacy of the clergy, perpetual obligation of all vows of chastity, private masses to be commendable, and the necessity of auricular confession. Death by burning was the penalty for impugners of transubstantiation. The marriage of priests was dissolved; if they married again they were to be hanged. Proportional punishments were designed for various offences. A reactionary period had now set in which lasted till the end of Henry's reign.

The same Parliament enacted that the King's proclamations were to have the force of Acts of Parliament. It also empowered the King to erect sees and appoint Bishops by letters patent.

At this point the fall of Cromwell, who had recommended the detested marriage with Anne of Cleves, struck terror into the reformers. The joint Convocation of York and Canterbury was compelled to declare the marriage null and void in 1540.

In the Parliament of 1543 a reactionary law was passed condemning Tyndall's translation of the Bible, forbidding all books contrary to the Six Articles, prohibiting plays, interludes, and ballads on Scriptural subjects, forbidding the reading of the Bible to all under the degree of gentility, allowing the expositions of doctrine set forth by the King, but exempting the laity from capital punishment for heresy. The milder provisions of the Act were due to Archbishop Cranmer.

In 1545 Parliament conferred on the King the property of collegiate churches, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities

and guilds. The number of these was no doubt excessive, but the act was one of spoliation. Henry's death occurred too soon to allow of the result of great mischief, but the seed produced an evil harvest in the time of the Council of Edward VI.

At the same time Convocation was preparing for the reform of the service-books. In 1543 Cranmer brought a message to Convocation that "all mass-books, antiphoners, portiuses, in the Church of England, should be newly examined, corrected, reformed and castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles and responses; that the names and memories of all saints which be not mentioned in the Scripture or authentical doctors should be abolished and put out of the same books and calendars; and that the services should be made out of Scripture and other authentical doctors." A committee of both Houses was appointed to carry out this correction. In 1544 the Litany was remodelled and authorized in English. It was sung for the first time by the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral on October 18. In the last year of his reign the King, acting, it is said, in agreement with the King of France, authorized the Archbishop to turn the Mass into a Communion.

The first measures of the reign of Edward VI, such as the renewed confiscations of ecclesiastical property, the general royal visitation of the kingdom, and the campaign against images, were enacted by the Lords of the Council, proceeding on the authority of Acts of Parliament passed under Henry. Edward's first Parliament met in 1547, and in conjunction with Convocation at once ordered reception in both kinds. The second Act abolished *congé d'érire*, and ordered the appointment of Bishops by letters patent. In the ecclesiastical courts writs were to run in the King's name, and not the Bishop's. By a more wholesome Act everything declared treason and felony during the late reign which had not been treason and felony before was restored to its original character.

The repeal of the Six Articles Act set free the Convocations to proceed with the improvement of the services. They now asked that the Committee of Thirty-two be revived; that the clergy may be present in Parliament by their representatives, or else that no provisions relating to the Church be passed without their concurrence; that the work done by the joint committee for remodelling the services may be laid before them; and that some allowance be made during the first year of an incumbency in respect of first-fruits. Not much attention appears to have been paid to these requests. The joint committee were working at Windsor, and on March 8, 1548, came forth a proclamation establishing a new Communion

Office. A considerable state of confusion followed. In November of the same year the committee of divines completed the first service-book, and with the approval of Convocation it was laid before the two Houses of Parliament. To facilitate its acceptance, a grand debate was previously held in Parliament on December 14, in which Archbishop Cranmer greatly distinguished himself. After some opposition from eight Bishops of the old learning, it passed the Lords on January 15, 1549, and the Commons on January 21. The book was used in London churches on Easter Day, April 21, and throughout the country on Whit Sunday, June 9.

The first Convocation of this reign restored the right of the clergy to marry without a dissentient voice, and Parliament enacted a corresponding law in the same year as the First Prayer-Book.

In 1549, after the fall of Somerset and the rise of Northumberland, an Act was passed ordering the destruction of all the old service-books: antiphons, missals, grails, processions, manuals, legends, pies, "portuasses," primers in Latin and English, couchers, journals, ordinals; and of all remaining images in churches, except those who had never been considered saints. Henry's primer was excepted, but the invocations of saints carefully blotted out.

Another Act of 1549 empowered the King to appoint thirty-two commissioners for the revision of the Canon Law; but this never finally bore fruit.

Another Act provided for a new ordinal, which had been omitted from the Prayer-Book as not of pressing necessity. Six prelates and six other men learned in God's law were appointed to draw it up. Later on it received synodical authority.

In a meeting of Convocation towards the close of 1550, certain objections were made to the Prayer-Book of 1549. In the absence of complete records, it appears probable that Convocation authorized a review of the book, and that the same committee of divines who had drawn it up now made the alterations. The result was the Prayer-Book of 1552, which Calvin disliked as much as that of 1549. The alterations are too familiar to be here enumerated. In the absence of record, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Convocation approved of its own work. Parliament met on January 23, and Convocation next day. Copies were carefully prepared for formal presentation. The Act of Uniformity authorizing the new book passed both Houses of Parliament on April 6.

The destruction of the records of Convocation of this period is singularly unfortunate, as we have to trace its work by

inference and reference. The question has arisen whether the Articles of Belief prepared by Cranmer as a sequel to the Prayer-Book received the formal sanction of Convocation. Different views are taken by different historians. It is true that the Parliaments of Somerset and Northumberland showed a still more usurping disposition than those of Henry VIII.; "but there is good reason to believe," says Archdeacon Perry, "that the Articles were submitted to Convocation. For not only does the copy of them bear in its title the express assertion that they were agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned men in the Synod of London in the year of our Lord 1552, but it is evident from the delay in their publication, and in exacting subscriptions to them, that something was being awaited. This must have been the assent of Convocation, as the King and Council had approved them before November 24." The Articles having been ratified by the King, were published by his command, May 20, 1553. The majority of the Loudon clergy subscribed, and they were sent to the Universities for subscription. The example of London would be followed by that of other dioceses. The synodical approval of the Articles, which appears quite clear, carries with it the sanction of the second Prayer-Book and the ordinal, as the thirty-fifth Article gives complete and emphatic approval to both.

On the death of Edward, Mary proceeded at first according to the precedents of the late reign, by proclamations and Acts of the Council. Her first Parliament met on October 5, 1553, when it was proposed to repeal all the Acts of the late two reigns affecting the Queen's mother and religion. This was acceptable to the Lords, but not to the Commons. Parliament was prorogued. In the second session it was proposed to confine the repeal to the Acts of Edward VI. regarding religion. The annulment of the divorce passed at once, the repeal only after a "marvellously violent debate of eight days." Nine Acts of Parliament were abrogated by it, including the two Acts of Uniformity of 1549 and 1552. The Act directed that all such divine service and administration of the Sacraments which were most commonly used in England in the last year of King Henry VIII. shall be revived and practised after the 20th of December next following, after which time the officiating in any other service is forbidden.

Convocation showed itself singularly willing to return upon its own acts. Many of the dignified clergy had fled beyond the sea, and the reforming Bishops were confined to their houses; but we are surprised to find the whole body, except five, signing an acceptance of transubstantiation. No evidence could be stronger of the predominant influence of leading

spirits, and the torpidity and indifference of the mass of ordinary men on most subjects.

Mary again proceeded by proclaiming injunctions of a very drastic character. In April, 1554, her second Parliament and Convocation met. Convocation prepared test-questions which were to be put to the reforming Bishops, with a view to their conviction of heresy: "(1) In the Sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the Divine word spoken by the priest, there is present really, under the forms of bread and wine, the natural body of Christ which was conceived by the Virgin Mary, also His natural blood. (2) After consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance except the substance of Christ, God and man. (3) In the Mass is the life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins both of the living and the dead." It was on these questions that the reformers were burnt.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

(*To be continued.*)

Short Notices.

Fragments in Baskets. By Mrs. BOYD CARPENTER. Pp. 223. Price 3s. 6d. Isbister and Co.

Two charming volumes have come from the Palace at Ripon. Mrs. Boyd Carpenter's consists of twelve very interesting allegories, setting forth important truths of our spiritual nature. They show originality of thought, close observation of nature, and real spiritual insight. The style is pleasant and poetical. No reader will be content to leave the book unfinished. It would be a capital work for reading aloud, and is sure to bring wholesome suggestion and comfort to many.

The Son of Man among the Sons of Men. By the BISHOP OF RIPON. Pp. 308. Price 5s. Isbister and Co.

This volume has all the fascination of the Bishop of Ripon's wonderful gifts of fancy, imagination, and reflection. It consists of twelve studies of characters with which our Lord had to do: Herod, Pilate, Judas, Peter, Thomas, Matthew, Nathaniel, Nicodemus, the Sick of the Palsy, John the Baptist, Bartimæus, and the Restored Demoniac. The Bishop's expansion of his materials are not in any sense padding, but full of fruitful reflection on the circumstances, illustrations of the principles implied, suggestions of what might probably have been really the case, and deep knowledge of human nature. To speak of the beauty of the style is needless. The lessons of the book in the direction of a reasonable and well-grounded Christian faith are of permanent value.

The English Church in the Nineteenth Century. By CANON OVERTON. Pp. 342. Longmans.

Canon Overton has added another to his great series of historical works on the modern Church of England. The present volume embraces a period the details of which are little known, and which is often mis-

represented : between the years 1800 and 1833. He gives a particularly interesting account of the Evangelicals of this period, evidently largely from his own personal knowledge and traditions. We cannot think, however, that he is right in accepting the assumption of the decline of Evangelicalism ; still less, of course, in seeking reasons for such a decline. In face of such facts as the marvellous growth of the Church Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Bible Society, and multitudes of other agencies, philanthropic and religious, besides the greatly increased numbers of Evangelical clergy, there is no ground whatever for such a supposition. They have not of late years received much patronage, and other parties and movements have made more noise, but they are still the real life and soul of the Church of England.

History of Dogma. By DR. ADOLPH HARNACK. Translated by Professor E. K. MITCHELL. Pp. 567. Price 7s. 6d. Hodder and Stoughton.

This translation is a useful help to the theological student. The well-known work itself is written from the rationalistic point of view with a strong Evangelical substratum.

The first chapters appear particularly arbitrary. For instance, it is asserted that in the early days of Christianity facts were produced outright continually in the history, such as the ascension of Christ, the descent into hell, and His miraculous birth. There seems no good reason why we should accept some facts and reject others given on the same authority. But when Professor Harnack is once launched into the indisputable history of the Christian Church after the Apostolical age, his diagnosis becomes highly interesting, and is helpful in determining the forces which have produced the various developments of the Christian Churches. Into the question of English Christianity he does not enter.

Church Folk-Lore. By REV. J. E. VAUX. Pp. 339. Price 10s. 6d. Griffith, Farran and Co.

This is a most interesting collection of survivals of pre-Reformation superstitions in various parts of the country. There are interspersed also customs which have prevailed at various times since the Reformation, but which are not in general use.

As an antiquarian and historical study the book is most amusing ; but from the Christian point of view the sooner most of these habits and ideas disappear the better. There is an interesting Appendix of the Church services performed in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Protestantism of the Prayer-Book. By DYSON HAGUE. Pp. 228. Price 2s. 6d. Church Association.

Many have, before now, desired accurate information when they have been told in a tone of patronizing superiority that the Prayer-Book teaches pre-Reformation doctrine. In the present volume that information is given with accuracy and succinctness. The principles of the Reformation are traced in the age when the Prayer-Book was compiled and in the men who compiled it ; in Morning and Evening Prayer and Litany, in the Communion Service, the Baptismal, and Occasional Offices. A chapter is devoted to the difference between the doctrine of Absolution before and after the Reformation. Auricular Confession is shown not to belong to our Church. There are also valuable Appendices on the Canon of the Mass, the Eastward Position, the so-called Ornaments Rubric, the Mixing of Wine and Water, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the opinions of Dr. Samuel Wilberforce and Dr. Pusey on Private Confession, and, lastly, an Appendix on Apostolical Succession.

This manual is learned and temperate, and will be generally welcomed as a most timely support to the adherents of the Reformation, some of whom may, perhaps, be momentarily bewildered by the repeated asseverations of the anti-Reformation party.

A Handy Book of the Church of England. By EDWARD CUTTS, D.D.
Pp. 439. S.P.C.K.

This is a book of historical and cotemporary statistics clearly arranged, and in a readable form. It contains a large amount of very useful information. After several chapters giving the historical data of various periods in the life of the Church, there is a valuable one on its constitution, another on its property, another on the History of Church Tithes, Voluntary Income, Synods (including the three at Lambeth), and all kinds of branches of Church work. There are Diocesan Histories, with complete lists of Bishops, an account of the Colonial Church, Nonconformity, Church Societies, and other allied subjects. Our readers will not agree with a paragraph on the Defects of the Reformation on p. 74, nor with an astonishing sentence on the Evangelical Revival on p. 88 : "Its faults were, the undervaluing of creeds, sacraments, and, indeed, the whole system of the Church ; and one undoubted result of it was a wonderful increase of Dissent."

A Review of Canon Knox Little's "Answer to Archdeacon Farrar." By J. T. TOMLINSON. Pp. 63. Price 6d. Church Association.

In this very valuable pamphlet the learned controversialist, Mr. J. T. Tomlinson, points out the assumptions which Canon Knox Little is obliged to make in his recent pamphlets in order to prove Auricular Confession, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Real Presence, and the Sacerdotal View of the Ministry to be the doctrine of Scripture and of the Prayer-Book. Such assumptions are, for instance, that the righteous man in St. James's Epistle means the minister, or that the ministry of God's Word means the Word as part of the ministerial act of conveying the grace of absolution. Mr. Tomlinson's matter is extremely condensed, and it is to be hoped that he will some day put it into the form of a permanent treatise ; but as it stands it is an invaluable handbook against the extraordinary and groundless conclusions which now pass for arguments in the easy, confident, and contemptuous fluency of Ritualistic writers.

This tract should be disseminated through every parish in England.

The Log of a Sky-Pilot. By Rev. T. S. TREANOR. Pp. 256. R.T.S.

This is a worthy companion of that most popular book, "The Heroes of the Goodwin Sands." Mr. Treanor has been well advised in giving to the public notes of his work of the last fifteen years about the Downs, the Goodwin Sands, and other parts of the English Channel. It is a noble vindication of the work of missions to seamen, and will be read with the greatest interest. The class of men to whom Mr. Treanor addresses himself are full of every kind of interest ; and as England imports £100,000,000 a year in food alone, without mentioning our exports and the enormous aggregate of our other imports, which go to make up the national prosperity, we owe a debt that never can be paid to the thousands of brave men who bring all this wealth and sustenance to the country.

MAGAZINES.

We have received the following (February) magazines :

The Thinker, The Expository Times, The Religious Review of Reviews, The Review of the Churches, The Newbery House Magazine, The Anglican

Church Magazine, The Church Missionary Intelligencer, The Weekly Churchman, The Evangelical Churchman, The Church Family Newspaper, The Church Sunday-School Magazine, Blackwood, The Cornhill, Sunday Magazine, The Fireside, The Quiver, Cassell's Family Magazine, Good Words, The Leisure Hour, Sunday at Home, The Young Man, The Girl's Own Paper, The Boy's Own Paper, Light and Truth, The Church Worker, The Church Monthly, The Church Missionary Gleaner, Light in the Home, Awake, India's Women, The Parish Helper, Parish Magazine, New and Old, The Bible Society's Gleanings for the Young, The Bible Society's Monthly Reporter, The Zenana, The Cottager and Artisan, Friendly Greetings, Little Folks, Our Little Dots, The Child's Companion, Boy's and Girl's Companion, The Children's World, Daybreak, Day of Days, Home Words, Hand and Heart, The Home Visitor, and The Jewish Herald.

THE MONTH.

TO not a few of the more extreme supporters of the Ritualistic movement the English Prayer-Book has become a very ill-fitting dress, the characteristic points of the Reformation unfortunate, and the name of Protestant disgusting. They live in the same spiritual atmosphere as the Roman Catholics, and are familiar with their devotional works. The sense of the primary importance of the outward and visible Church is stronger in them than the idea of national independence or of Scriptural truth. The transition, therefore, to the ancient and unreformed body is to them both easy and natural. The same developments of tradition which have taught them much of their doctrine may just as reasonably account for the infallibility of the Pope and the immaculate conception of the Virgin. For Ritualists to speak of "the Italian Schism" is somewhat childish, for before the Reformation Rome claimed and obtained the obedience of the whole of Western Christendom. To those for whom outward unity, orderly development, complete organization, and unbroken tradition are of supreme value, the ancient unreformed Catholic Church, with its 193 millions of adherents, presents irresistible attractions. Four more of the extreme men have taken the perfectly manly and honest step of joining the communion with which they are in real sympathy: Mr. Chapman, formerly Rector of Donhead St. Andrew, Salisbury; Mr. Macklem, Curate of St. Cuthbert's, Earl's Court; Mr. Wood, Chaplain to H.M.'s Forces; and Mr. Briggs, Curate of All Saints, Plymouth.

With reference to the proposed statutory use of parish schoolrooms for the purpose of parish councils, the Archbishop of Canterbury points out with great clearness and force the interruption which would occur to the admirable social work which in innumerable instances is being carried on every night of the week in these buildings:

"In thousands of parishes the schoolrooms will be available, and I do not doubt that the managers will place them at the service of parish councils. But there are also thousands of parishes whose schoolroom is in the fullest use several nights in every week. These uses are partly educational and partly devoted to developing the social and moral interests of the place. Among such constant uses are the instruction of pupil teachers, holding of examinations, technical classes, Bible classes, classes for communicants and candidates for confirmation, of different sexes and ages, temperance meetings, bands of hope, boys and Church ads' brigades, committees, societies, choir practices, entertainments, and

lectures for the parish. All these take evenings in addition to the night-school evenings, which are not to be invaded. For years the Church has been promoting social good, and those are the applicable means. While, therefore, the schoolroom can and will in many places be readily lent, larger places in which all this work is going on would find it postponed, suspended, and paralyzed if the school is to be at the mercy of all candidates for a parish council for no one knows how many nights, and for the series and mass of other uses specified. But those larger places are precisely the places in which other rooms are available, and to appropriate schoolrooms universally by statute to all those fresh uses would be arbitrarily to stop much of the best work in the larger places."

The following was the form in which the resolutions on intemperance finally left the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury at the recent session :

1. That this House trusts that some legislative measure may speedily be passed which shall largely diminish the number of places in which intoxicating liquors are sold.
2. That this House would welcome a further limitation of the hours at which public-houses may be opened on Sunday.
3. That this House is of opinion that there is need of some legislative measure for the compulsory registration and stringent control of clubs where intoxicating liquors are sold.
4. That this House regards the continuance of the legal provision granting licenses to grocers for the sale of intoxicating liquors as prejudicial to the cause of temperance, especially in the case of women.
5. That this House expresses an earnest wish that some organization in connection with the Church of England Temperance Society should, if possible, be established in every parish, and specially commends such efforts for promoting devotional meetings, and the use of intercessory prayer for the advancement of temperance, as are provided by the Prayer Union of the society.
6. That this House invites the serious attention of the parochial clergy to the subject of intemperance among women.
7. That this House commends the " Band of Hope" movement to the parochial clergy, and all concerned with the education of the young; but especially urges the importance of connecting it directly with religious life and training as a help to the fulfilment of the baptismal vow.
8. That this House considers it to be a matter of urgent importance to provide some further arrangements for keeping together those of both sexes who have passed out of the younger age of those in the " Bands of Hope."
9. That this House recognises with pleasure the increasing interest in temperance manifested in our training colleges, and trusts that steps will be taken to sustain and deepen that interest.
10. That this House respectfully urges the subject of temperance, as affecting the entire social life of the nation, upon the consideration of all connected with the Universities, the public schools, and the middle and upper schools generally.
11. That this House desires to express its sense of the importance of the subject of the temperance work of the Church having a due place in the training of candidates for holy orders in the theological colleges, as affecting the efficiency of their future ministerial work.
12. That this House understands the word temperance in the above resolutions in the same sense in which it is understood by the Church of England Temperance Society, as including alike the temperate who are and who are not abstainers from alcoholic liquor.
13. That this House urges upon all Churchpeople the desirability of encouraging all measures that indirectly tend to withdraw people, and more especially young men, from the temptations that are presented by public-houses and by drink.
14. That the foregoing report and resolutions be conveyed by the Prolocutor to the Upper House, with the respectful request that his Grace the President and their Lordships the Bishops would lend their legislative, social, and religious influence to the furtherance of every means calculated to remove this long-continued and intolerable evil of intemperance.

The great annual gathering of Evangelical clergy, held at Islington in January, was as crowded, enthusiastic, and hopeful as any previous

meeting. The subject of the addresses was the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments. One of the chief papers was read by Prebendary Wace, Principal of King's College. It was on "The Word Ministered." He maintained that nothing had been established to invalidate the truth of the Old Testament Scriptures. Attention had been drawn by modern criticism to the personal characteristics which marked the books of the Bible and to the special circumstances of their composition, and in this respect it had produced a very beneficial effect. What they needed to realize and to keep ever before their minds with the utmost distinctness was that in the pages of the Bible, in the utterances of Prophets and Apostles, they were listening to the communings of God with the soul of man, to the interchange of word between the talker in heaven and His children on earth. Important papers were also read by Mr. Knox, of Aston, on the "Sacrament of Baptism," and by Mr. Dimock and Mr. H. E. Fox on the "Lord's Supper."

Lord Derby has laid the foundation-stone of the new church of St. Gabriel, Huyton Quarry, near Liverpool. A bequest of £2,000 was made for this purpose by the daughter of a former vicar, and the balance of £2,000 has been raised by local subscriptions.

The Bishop of Oxford has reopened the church of Enborne, Newbury, which has undergone a thorough restoration, for which the late vicar, Mr. Johnson, left £1,000.

The fund for the restoration of the great church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, one of the sole survivors of the vast collegiate churches which once made London the most beautiful ecclesiastical city in the world, has now reached £33,000, one of the latest contributions being £100 from Lord Burton. Mr. H. T. Withers has given a window at the cost of £635, and Mr. F. Wigan has undertaken to restore the south transept window, the largest in the church.

Mr. John Corbett, of Impney, Droitwich, proposes to contribute the whole of the cost (about £4,000) of the restoration of St. Michael's Church, Stoke Prior, Hertfordshire.

The Church House has received an anonymous donation of £500 towards the building fund; two benefices in East Yorkshire have been permanently augmented by the Archbishop of York's Fund, donations equal to the grant having been given in each case by Sir Tatton Sykes; a new church has been built and endowed at Littlewick, Berks, by Miss Ellis, of Waltham Place, Maidenhead, at a cost of £15,000; the Additional Curates Society have received an anonymous gift of £2,500, as well as another of £1,000; Mr. Jackson, of Barton Hall, Preston, has bequeathed £200 to the Manchester Church Building Society, £1,000 to the Barton Memorial Church Schools, £2,500 for rebuilding Barton Church, £500 for the augmentation of the benefice, and £1,000 for St. John Baptist's, Broughton; and Mrs. Foot, of Hanbury Vicarage, Burton-on-Trent, has bequeathed £500 for the endowment of almshouses, £50 each for the churches at Compton Valence, Longbredy, Hanbury, Woolland, and Nice, and £50 each to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Bible Department of the S.P.C.K., the Church Missionary Society, and the Vaudois Church.

The Bishop of Liverpool has issued a very interesting and encouraging document on the growth of the work in his diocese since it was formed in

1880. At that time there were 180 incumbents, now there are 205; then there were 120 stipendiary curates, now there are 195; then one archdeacon, now two; then six rural deans, now ten. Since 1880, 386 men have been ordained; in the preceding ten years the number ordained for the same area was 183. In 1880 lay agency was at a very low ebb; now the diocese has 6,519 Sunday-school teachers, 51 Scripture-readers, 31 Bible-women, 70 voluntary lay-readers, and 1,900 enrolled lay-helpers. In 1880 the Church of England Temperance Society had only 2 paid agents, now 17. One striking feature of the diocese is that it has in highly successful working order a Sustentation Fund for annually supplementing the incomes that are more than usually insufficient. During last year the value of 19 benefices was increased; and, to speak generally, no incumbent in the diocese received less than £200 in that year. Of what other diocese can this be said?

The Diocese of Llandaff, embracing the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, has an area of 797,864 acres, and a population of about 900,000, the largest number of souls in any of the four Welsh dioceses. The number of parishes is 251, the churches nearly 300. The licensed lay-readers are 53. The number of those confirmed in 1893 up till December 7th was close on 4,000. During the last 42 years the Llandaff Church Extension Society have spent £47,000; and they are maintaining 51 stipendiary curates at an annual expenditure of about £1,450. They have also spent about £11,500 in building places of worship, and £1,300 in exhibitions to promote a higher education for Welsh-speaking candidates for Holy Orders.

The Diocese of Ripon has an area of 1,384,472 acres, and contains a population of 1,021,895. It has 357 parishes and one chaplaincy. The number of sittings in consecrated churches is 171,162. There are also 192 unconsecrated mission churches and mission-rooms, of which 20 are in Leeds. The number of lay-readers is 81. The number of church elementary schools is 361, with accommodation for 93,131.

The interesting and historical little Diocese of Sodor and Man has 61 clergy licensed to officiate; 33 parishes, with an income of £5,433, or about £164 apiece. During the first ten months of 1893, 293 persons were confirmed. In 1892 and 1893 the following sums were spent: Church building and restoration, £3,240; parsonages, schools, and mission work, £554; endowments, £900.

The Bishop of Durham and his assistant, Bishop Sandford, have during the year 1893 confirmed no less than 5,867 candidates, of whom 2,323 were boys and men, 3,544 girls and women.

The Bishop of Gloucester sets the Canadian scheme aside as impracticable. His advice to his diocese in a recent charge is as follows:

My counsel is, therefore, of a mixed character. To the managers and supporters of our country voluntary schools I do earnestly say, strain every nerve to meet present requirements. They are commonly not unreasonable. Sanitary arrangements have greatly been overlooked, and when once properly dealt with will not be a recurrent source of expense. Face these pressing difficulties. Stimulate by the urgency of your applications the augmentation of the fund for your help that is now being raised in the diocese, and do not give over-much credence to the faint-hearted assertions that these requirements will continually be recurring. Common-sense will put an end to them when common-sense can honestly show that they are arbitrary and unnecessary. To those connected with town schools where there is a School Board the counsel I have just given must be somewhat modified, as the circumstances are essentially different. It may be thus briefly expressed—*Persia atque obdura*, until it become clear, beyond all doubt, that no legislative alteration—either that which I have mentioned, or some

similar adjustment—can possibly be hoped for. Then, and not till then, think of yielding to what can no longer be resisted. My sincere belief is that last hour will not come.

The Episcopalian population of Scotland (Roman Catholics, of course, are separately reckoned) is stated to be nearly 100,000 (one-fortieth part of a population of 4,000,000), 37,800 of whom are communicants. These figures remind us of the curious disproportion in the present day between communicants and members of religious bodies, a disproportion entirely unknown to the Primitive Church.

Obituary.

WILLIAM JOHN BUTLER, D.D., died at his Deanery of Lincoln on January 14th at a ripe age, after a short illness, of heart disease, pleurisy, and other complications. He was a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and took his degree in 1840. He had a high reputation as a classical scholar, but circumstances prevented him from going out with honours. He was ordained in 1841 to the curacy of Dogmersfield, Hants, and was afterwards Curate of Puttenham, Surrey, and Vicar of Wareside, Herts. It was by the Dean and Chapter of Windsor that in 1846 he was made Vicar of Wantage, with which place, and with the sisterhood founded by him, his name is inseparably associated. He was one of the foremost champions of the party inaugurated by Dr. Newman, on its parochial side. While his tone was somewhat that of a cultivated man of the world, he devoted himself with dauntless energy and devotion to his ideal of a parish priest. He was a man whose courage amounted almost to audacity, and his activity to real heart-felt zeal. His temper was affectionate, his manners popular, his will inflexible. In 1872 he was made honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, from 1873 to 1885 Proctor in Convocation, in 1880 Canon of Worcester, and in 1885 Dean of Lincoln, in succession to Dr. Blakesley. He was an impressive and original preacher, a vigorous and able administrator, and an unswerving supporter of Church elementary education.

Robert Ruthven Pym, who lately died within forty-eight hours of his wife's death, was one of the most prominent, generous, and faithful of the laymen in the National Church in the Diocese of London. He was an eminent banker, whose keen judgment was much trusted, and had for many years been a partner in the house of Coutts. He was treasurer of the Middlesex Hospital, and took a leading and active part in a great number of other philanthropic institutions. In the days when Canon Liddon's unrivalled eloquence drew unparalleled crowds to St. Paul's Cathedral, the huge towering form of Ruthven Pym was invariably seen acting as a voluntary steward to find the congregation places. His shrewdness was only equalled by his kindness, and his life was one of unselfish devotion to duty.