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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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JUNE, 1890.

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ART. I. — RECENT HOSTILE CRITICISM ON THE  
AUTHORITY AND POSITION OF THE OLD TESTA-  
MENT SCRIPTURES.

OF the recent criticism of the Old Testament Scriptures, none seems to me just now of so much importance as that which bears upon the genuineness of the Mosaic records. And of this a very valuable portion is not professedly hostile, but is the work of men who take great interest in the Scriptures—as well they may, for their vast antiquity, the nature of their contents, and the paramount influence which they have exercised, and still are exercising, not merely on the Semitic races, but even more powerfully on the leading Aryan nations of the world. But the interest these critics feel is that of scholars, and is of the same kind as that taken in the Vedas, the Zend-avesta, and the sacred books of the Buddhists. The Jewish Scriptures are not regarded by them as having any Divine authority, but must pass through the same crucible as the texts of Confucianism or the Koran.

Now, we have no right to complain of this, nor even of the free handling which necessarily follows. If our books are Divine, they will pass through the fire unhurt. We could not place them there. Their proper use to us is for our edification and personal growth in grace; and when we feel that our souls are fed and nurtured by them we are content, and do not care for a scientific analysis of that which sustains our spiritual life. But, none the less, we may be glad that there is going on an accurate, minute, and most painstaking examination of every line and word of Holy Scripture, and may feel sure that the final result will be to clear away difficulties, and establish the authority of the Scriptures upon a firmer basis; for many an error and false interpretation will be removed, and the truth made more plain. What we have a right to demand is, that

one kind of evidence shall not monopolize attention to the exclusion of everything else. Now, the work of these critics is subjective. They examine in the belief that they can find out everything for themselves by the patient examination of the text of the Scriptures, and they weave elaborate theories, which often are wonderfully plausible and clever. But generally these theories live for a few years only, and then perish for ever. What, for instance, has become of the theory elaborated by that intellectual giant Ewald? All Germany bowed down before it a very few years ago, and now it has passed away into the limbo of oblivion. The evidences of our faith are cumulative, and cover a vast field. From their very vastness the defence is often for a time carried on under a disadvantage, because the attack is made on one selected point, and this is treated as if it settled the whole matter; and only gradually do things arrange themselves in proper proportion. But in one respect this subjective criticism is very valuable; for our knowledge of Holy Scripture has been largely increased by it, and elevated in tone and spirit, and much which used to harass thoughtful minds has been explained, and become in many cases a support to, and not a difficulty for, the faith. If unfriendly, it has been an examination of the Scriptures themselves, and the more close the search, the richer are the treasures that are sure to be disclosed.

This examination was not only inevitable, but it was also certain that it would follow the same lines as those laid down in classical matters. These are chiefly two. The best-known example of the first is the Wolfian hypothesis, which took the "Iliad" of Homer to pieces, and argued that it was a piece of patchwork composed of remnants of several independent poems. After several years of intellectual battling, the result has been wittily summed up by an eminent Oxford man in these words: "The poems of Homer were not written by Homer, but by another man of the same name who lived at the same time and in the same place." The other method was that followed by Niebuhr, who took the early books of Livy to pieces and constructed out of them a new Roman history. He employed in his task much patient labour, years of thoughtful study, and great natural powers, including a lively imagination. His work was received with unbounded applause, and a general consent that all ancient history must be Niebuhrized. A few years have rolled onward, and the general conclusion now is that Roman history is certainly more interesting, and probably more true, as written by Livy, than as made into a puzzle by Niebuhr.

Now, as Isaiah is the greatest poet of the Old Testament, it followed, as a matter of course, that he should be treated as

Wolf treated Homer, and he cut in twain. Tradition says that this was the treatment he actually received from King Manasseh, who ordered him to be placed between two boards and sawn asunder. But it was soon found that so much of the last twenty-seven chapters ascribed by the new critics to the "great Babylonian unknown" was written in a mountainous country, and not in alluvial plains, such as those on each side of the Euphrates, that this easy theory had to be given up. German critics at least examine one another's theories, and do not repeat them on mere assumption. Nevertheless, they will not acknowledge that there could be but one Isaiah, and the current view in Germany now is that what passes under his name is a mere anthology of "elegant extracts"; as if any nation ever produced a series of anonymous poets whose works all reach so grand an elevation, and are all marked with the same high qualities. Zachariah has been dismembered with equal ruthlessness; but the industry and learning and acumen of these scholars has not been rewarded with success, and matters remain much as they were, except that the careful examination of the works of these prophets has ended in our understanding them better, and being less liable to be carried away by the plausibility of the next theory woven by German speculativeness.

Now, both these methods have been applied to the Mosaic records; for they have been cut into fragments, and a new history of the origin of the Jewish people has been framed out of them. Personally, Moses well-nigh disappears. All that Mr. Gore, in "*Lux Mundi*," seems inclined to leave to him is the "Ten Words," and some ceremonial enactments respecting the Ark and Tabernacle. The Pentateuch, so sharply separated from every other book of Holy Scripture by the universal testimony of antiquity, is lumped up with the Book of Joshua, the Domesday Book of the Israelites, and we have a Hexateuch instead. Now, surely, if the Book of Joshua had ever formed part of the same volume as the Mosaic writings, there would have been some trace of it either in the Samaritan Pentateuch, or in one of the Targums, or in the Versions, the Septuagint, the Peshito-Syriac, and the Vulgate. We might even have expected some notice of it in the apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus, which is of great value for the criticism of the Old Testament Scriptures. The testimony of all these authorities contradicts this confident assumption of modern critics, and proves that there was always a vast gulf of difference between the Mosaic writings and any and every other book of the Old Testament.

The Samaritan Pentateuch is written in the old character used on the Moabite Stone and in the inscription carved in the subterranean channel of the Siloam aqueduct at Jerusalem, and carries the Pentateuch back to the days of Nehemiah. The history

narrated in chapter viii. of the Book of Nehemiah shows how antique was both writing and language to the returning exiles, who had ceased at Babylon to use their old classical language, and adopted in its stead an Aramaic dialect similar to that in which the Chaldee Targum is written. As the richer Jews remained in large numbers at Babylon, we may feel sure that many copies of the Law of Moses remained in their possession, and would be greatly venerated. The first deportation of the Jews to Babylon was the removal of the best, the most religious, and the most educated portion of the population, who were needed by Nebuchadnezzar for the peopling of his huge city, and they took their treasures with them. There could be no tampering with their sacred books after the dispersion of the people over so wide an area. And yet we are told that these national treasures were the work of Moses in the sense only that they contained some small substratum of Mosaic legislation, and so they must be parcelled out, and an approximate date discovered for each of the fragments. The legal enactments, accordingly, are mapped out into three main divisions, of which the first, contained in Exod. xx.-xxiv., and recapitulated in chap. xxxiv., is called by the critics the Covenant Code, and is ascribed to the reign of Jehoshaphat; the second, which they call the People's Code, contained in Deut. xii.-xxvi., is assigned to the days of Josiah; while the third, called the Levitical or Priestly Code, contained in Lev. xvii.-xxvi., is alleged to be of a date subsequent to the times of Ezekiel, and to have grown out of the prophecies concerning the restoration of the Jews and the rebuilding of the Temple, contained in the latter part of his writings.

Now, all these codes are written in classical Hebrew, a language lost during the Captivity, and you have to assume that no linguistic change took place between the days of Jehoshaphat and those of the exile. The same assumption of an unchanging language has to be made by those who talk of a "great Babylonian unknown" who wrote the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah. Now, just at this time the Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford, Mr. Margoliouth, has published an essay on the place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic literature. We possess this book in three versions, Greek, Syriac, and Latin, of which the two former versions are independent of one another, and the Latin largely so. The date of the work is about 200 B.C., and when Mr. Margoliouth and the late Dr. Edersheim set themselves to what they supposed to be the easy task of reproducing the original Hebrew from the three translations, they found, to their surprise, that pure classical Hebrew had no words to express the terms used in Ecclesiasticus. They had to go to Rabbinic Hebrew, where alone they found the phrases and words required. Now, we all know that the Hebrew of Jeremiah is

that of a language in its decadence. The Hebrew of Ezra and Nehemiah is known as Middle Hebrew. Here is a New Hebrew fully formed. And, to use Mr. Margoliouth's own words, "If by 200 B.C. the whole Rabbinic farrago, with its terms and phrases and idioms, was developed, and was the classical language of Jerusalem, and the medium for prayer and philosophical and religious instruction and speculation, then between Ben-Sira (who wrote the Book of Ecclesiasticus) and the books of the Old Testament there must lie centuries; nay, there must lie in most cases the deep waters of the Captivity, the grave of the old Hebrew and of the old Israel, and the womb of the new Hebrew and the new Israel." Now, Mr. Margoliouth's conclusion is confirmed by very much in the Old Testament Scriptures, and we shall doubtless soon have the whole question of the growth and inner history of the Hebrew language carefully examined; and we may hope, as one useful result, that the craze of referring most of the Psalms and other parts of Holy Scripture to the times of the Maccabees will be condemned to oblivion, unless some linguistic peculiarities can be appealed to in justification of what up to this time has been mere assertion.

As regards the general question of the authenticity of the Mosaic writings, I may refer my readers to a tract published for me by the Religious Tract Society in their series of "Present-Day Tracts," in which I have shown that the whole range of thought and knowledge in the Pentateuch belongs to the desert, and not to Palestine, and have, moreover, called especial attention to the position of the tribe of Levi. Its lot, dispersed among the other tribes, without any endowment of land except a few homesteads, proved to be equivalent to permanent poverty and exclusion from political power. Ezekiel, in his new law, would have remedied this state of things. In chap. xlv. he assigned to the priests a splendid inheritance of land adjoining the sanctuary, while the Levites were to be endowed with the district bordering on it, and were no longer to be scattered everywhere as teachers, but were simply to be ministers of the temple. Now, in Deut. xxxiii. 8-11 we find that Moses is represented as regarding the position of the Levites as one of special privilege and blessing, and he puts prominently forward their office of being the teachers of Israel, which high duty, though almost ignored by Ezekiel, was the very purpose for which they were deprived of property and power. But as we read the history of Israel in the land of their possession we find few, if any, traces of their having set themselves to discharge the duties which Moses had assigned them. Had they done so, and been able, as the result, to maintain the supremacy of the worship of Jehovah, they would have held the happy position which Moses had intended for them. But they never seem to

have had any enthusiasm for their task, and so the piety, both of Levite and people, sank lower and lower, until idolatry well-nigh crushed out the worship of the one true God.

And as true religion lost its power, so the tithes and offerings intended for the maintenance of the Levites remained unpaid, and at a very early date poverty was their general lot. At all events, we find no less a person than the grandson of Moses content to be priest to the idols which Micah the Ephraimite had set up. Moses had been "king in Jeshurun"; his grandson takes a very equivocal position for need of bread. And the story has been preserved in Judg. xvii., xviii., almost accidentally, as the main purpose of the narrative is to record how the old Canaanite high-place at Dan became the centre of idolatrous worship, even while the conquest of the land was going on. A number of Danites, looking out for a settlement, recognised while on the march the young Levite, and regarding him—as well they might, considering his high lineage—with almost superstitious reverence, they took him with them, with his full consent, and also Micah's images and ephod; and as soon as they had conquered the heathenish sanctuary, they set them up there. And thus, strange to relate, the descendants of Moses became priests at one of the most sacred of the old Canaanite shrines, and continued to minister there until Shalmaneser took the ten tribes into captivity. We could not possibly have a more wonderful illustration of the vast gulf between the expectations of Moses and the actual state of things which followed upon the conquest of Canaan.

But it may be said that the substitution of the name of Moses for that of Manasseh in Judg. xviii. 30 is a mere deduction of the Old Testament revisers. I answer that this is not so, but that the name *Moses* is that written in the Hebrew text. To save the feelings of the worshippers, who would be shocked at hearing that a grandson of Moses so disgraced his ancestry, the name was read in the synagogues Manasseh, and the change was indicated to the officer whose business it was to read by the letter N<sup>1</sup> being written over the word. The Massorites note that this N is suspended, and it is not, therefore, to be written on a level with the rest of the word. As the vowels in Hebrew are a modern invention, and as the very difficulty in reading Hebrew consisted in the uncertainty about the vowels, this suspended N would suffice as an indication to one instructed by the scribes of the change he was expected to make. But what a picture does this give us of the poverty of the Levites at a period so soon after the conquest of Canaan! And when would the Law-giver's own tribe and family have

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<sup>1</sup> Nun.

accepted a position so inferior to that of the rest of the tribes, except at a time anterior to the actual subjugation of the promised land, and when their minds were still upborne by the lofty expectations of Moses himself?

But, it may be asked, Does not this involve the idea of the failure of the Mosaic legislation? I answer "Yes" and "No." The Jewish people never, either as a Church or as a nation, fulfilled the expectations of Moses. The prosperity, and even the political existence, of Israel was made to depend upon the piety of the people, in which case they were to be defended from evil, and made to enjoy earthly good by a special providence and direct manifestation of Jehovah's power. They never were true to their God, and their immorality was so gross that the tribe of Benjamin narrowly escaped complete extermination at the hands of their brethren for their licentiousness as early as the days of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron. Inferior as was the kingly power ideally to the theocracy, it was, nevertheless, the one thing that saved Israel from annihilation. But is not the Christian religion, quite as truly as that of the Old Testament, the setting forth before men of an ideal perfection, after which they are to strive, even if absolutely it be unattainable? Unlike all other religions, Judaism and Christianity were both of them religions of the future. The theocracy is the picture of God's perfect government of a holy and religious people. Now, we can well believe that the possession of so high an ideal of a perfect government would have a very considerable practical effect upon the well-being of the nation; but its attainment was no more possible then than it is now. It no more became a reality than Isaiah's two portraits of an earthly paradise, or Ezekiel's picture of the new temple. But the purpose of the Jewish Church in old time, as of the Christian Church now, is to raise the hearts of the people from the low standard of morality and religion existing around them to the nobler and more perfect ideas of faith and practice taught them in their sacred books. If we regard the Jews as a nation merely, the Mosaic legislation was a failure. If we regard the Jews as a Church, it did not fail; for it saved the world from ruin, and the Jewish Church was the Divine preparation for the Church of Christ. The course of all heathen nations has been irrevocably downwards—first to unbelief, and then to immorality and despair. In Judaism, as in Christianity, there has always been the power of recovery. When corruption seems to have sapped all vital power, if men go back to the Scriptures, a national repentance becomes possible, and religion again revives. You will look in vain in heathen history for such a restoration of faith as was wrought by Samuel or by Elijah. And such revivals are common matters of Christian experience;



for no Christian nation can fall beyond the power of recovery. Let it go back to the old wells of living water, and faith and holiness will once again blossom as the rose.

But to return to the Mosaic records. We are asked: "If Moses wrote the Pentateuch, how do you account for finding in it two accounts of creation and two of the flood? What, too, do you say to the existence in Gen. xxxvi. 31-43 of a list of the dukes of Edom up to the days of the kings of Israel?" Now, to take this last point first, it is no new phenomenon lately discovered, but one long known and recognised. It does not settle the date of the Book of Judges, that in the passage referred to above it is recorded that the posterity of Moses were priests to the tribe of Dan until the day of the captivity of the land (Judg. xviii. 30); nor of the Books of Samuel, that we are there told that in virtue of the gift of Ziklag by Achish to David, that village remained the private property of the kings of Judah unto this day (1 Sam. xxvii. 6). The Jews were well acquainted with this fact, and explained it by the tradition received among them, that Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue were inspired by God to undertake the duty of what we should call editing the sacred books, and the notes that we should put into the foot of the page were placed in the body of the text. The Jews are careful to add that from that day onward no change whatsoever has been made in the text of the Old Testament Scriptures, and their care of the Holy Oracles committed to their keeping is an admitted fact. But it is probable that in the earlier days, when manuscripts were rare, and to be found only in the Temple, or in the colleges of the priests or the schools of the prophets, copyists and scribes thought that they were doing a good work in bringing up the information to a later date, and that what we call interpolations are possible. Such interpolations are known to exist in many manuscripts of the New Testament; and, as regards the Old Testament, we have to do with writings of vast and extraordinary antiquity. It is a mistake to subject such writings to the rules and canons of criticism which are the result of our having now to do with printed books. But, fortunately for us, the substantial agreement of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, and the other early versions with the Hebrew text gives us a trustworthy guarantee that we have it just as it was received by Ezra and Nehemiah at the return from Babylon.

With regard to the supposed two accounts of creation and of the flood, and the dismemberment of the Pentateuch according as the prevalent name for the Deity is Jehovah or Elohim, I have space for only a few general remarks, which I must confine to the Book of Genesis. Now, how did Moses, whom I still believe to be its author, write this wonderful book? It refers to

events long anterior to his times, of which personally he could know nothing. Was it, then, directly communicated to him by inspiration? Or was it a compilation from written documents, in the same way as the Books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles? Now, the answer to this question is to be found upon the very face of the Book of Genesis, except as regards the history of creation in Gen. i.-ii. 3. As long ago as the seventeenth century the great evangelical commentator Vitringa (born in 1659) showed that, excepting, as I have said, the first chapter, all the rest of the Book of Genesis claims to be a compilation. For it consists of a series of narratives called in the Hebrew "generations." As every Hebrew scholar knows, the word means a history, preceded by a genealogy leading up to the person whose history is detailed. And thus in Gen. ii. 4—iv. 20, where the narrative begins with the words "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth," no accurate Hebrew scholar would expect to find a history of creation any more than when he reads in Gen. xxxvii. 2, "These are the generations of Jacob," he expects to find a narrative of that patriarch's life. "The generations of Jacob" is the title of the history of Joseph; and as Adam and Eve had no earthly parentage, and as creation was for their sakes, a brief summary of creation forms the proper introduction to the account of Paradise and to what befell the first man and woman therein. It is not an account of creation, nor could it so be called except by that numerous body of critics whose first qualification for their task is an absolute ignorance of the language in which the Old Testament is written. It is interesting to notice that St. Matthew, who wrote for the Hebrews, calls his Gospel "The Book of the Generations of Jesus Christ." In our phraseology we should say "The Book of the History of Jesus Christ;" but the genealogy forms so important a part of every Oriental narrative that it gives the title to the whole.

Now, if Moses compiled the Book of Genesis from written records, there is nothing surprising, first of all, at our finding corresponding narratives in the oldest literature in the world, nor, secondly, at there being verbal discrepancies. We know that these exist even in the New Testament, and do not affect the question of inspiration, but simply show that it gave no magical power, but left each writer free in the use of his natural gifts. And if Moses combined two narratives of the flood, there was no reason why he should reduce them to the same level, and settle whether there went into the ark "two and two of all flesh," or whether the clean animals went in by sevens, though the other was the usual rule. Similarly, two narratives are combined in the history of David's combat with Goliath, and the variations are startling. It is the rule of God's dealings with

man that His providence interferes as little as possible with our free will; but when all is said that can be said, these occasional discrepancies produce no more actual result than the thirty thousand different readings said to be found in manuscripts of the New Testament, and which affect to so small an extent the general accuracy of the text.

The other is a more important question—namely, What were these records, and whence comes this agreement between them and the narratives found in the old Accadian literature? Now, this literature flourished at Ur of the Chaldees, and we find that this city, wherein Abraham dwelt, was a great trading emporium, and that the art of writing was so common there that ordinary bargains and mercantile transactions were recorded on tablets of clay, specimens of which are to be found in great numbers in our museums. Now, if Abraham took written records with him when migrating from Ur, all is intelligible; and it is remarkable that the agreement between the Accadian legends and the Book of Genesis ceases in Abraham's time. For the narrative of the invasion of Palestine by Chedorlaomer and his vassal kings is not found in Accadian inscriptions, but in those of Assyria. There is a vast difference, indeed, in the nature of the two literatures. The narratives of the Book of Genesis are pure, holy, deeply religious, and acknowledge but one God; the Accadian legends are impure, polytheistic, and often intensely silly in their details. There must have been a vast interval of time between the narratives in their pure form and their debasement to the Accadian level.

Descended from Shem in a direct line, and through a succession of men who in every case were the first-born, Abraham would have in his possession all the records and genealogies of his race. But could he have brought those records with him into Canaan? I see no difficulty. Abraham was a great chieftain, and his migration was that of a powerful clan, strong enough to maintain itself at Haran, which was on the very war-path of the empires on the Euphrates, and able in Canaan to defeat Chedorlaomer and his confederate kings. Nor would there be any difficulty in their being preserved and handed down to Moses. In Canaan Isaac and Jacob were mighty princes, as Abraham had been, and the latter returned in time to be present at Isaac's death and share his possessions. And to Egypt they went leisurely, under the protection of Joseph, the real ruler of the land, who took such fostering care of them that they soon grew to be a terror to the Egyptian kings.

If Moses compiled the Book of Genesis from the records and genealogies preserved by Abraham and the heads of the house of Israel, it becomes easy to understand how the wonderful information it contains was preserved and placed at his disposal; and surely he would intend the book as a preface to some such a

history as that which follows in the rest of the Pentateuch. If he did not write it, we may well ask the critics not to content themselves with picking holes, but to explain to us whence these narratives came, what was the common source of them and of the Accadian legends, who, too, it was that combined these genealogies into a connected narrative, and why these records cease at the time of Moses, and Exodus is written upon an entirely different plan.

And if in our days difficulties—I will not say multiply, for really they decrease—are more ably marshalled and more learnedly set forth, it is a comfort to know that the vast increase of modern knowledge clears away with it many an objection. A short time ago it would have seemed absurd to think of Abraham carrying written records with him, handed down to him through a succession of patriarchs of the family of Shem. Already we know more of the literary skill of those old days. We know that writing materials, both of papyrus and prepared skins, were carried far and wide as articles of commerce by the caravans. We know that the Canaanites had a manufactory of these skins at Debir, and that the Hittites, whose very existence used to be scoffed at, were famous scribes, and constantly appear as the writers of Egyptian records. Only a month or two ago the newspapers were telling us of the discovery at Ilaheen of two documents written on papyrus: the one a settlement of property said to be dated 2550 B.C.; the other a will dated 2548 B.C. They are in syllabic, and not in picture writing, and belong to a people in a high degree of civilization; for the will leaves property to the wife—a privilege which the Israelites never seem to have possessed, though they could, under certain restrictions, will their property to their sons (Deut. xxi. 15-17). The date of these documents is anterior to the date of the flood according to the current chronology, by which it is placed in 2348 B.C.

But I cannot now enter upon this and many other subjects of great interest which rise up before the mind when writing, however cursorily, on so noble a theme as that of the Mosaic Scriptures. I will only add two brief remarks. The first, that nowhere in any sacred book will you find so noble—ay, and so Divine—an account of creation as that prefixed to the Book of Genesis. Surely that man must have a dead mind who can see in it only an occasion for fault-finding. The second, that this book, compiled from these old records, and intended, possibly, by Moses simply to give the Israelites some knowledge of their past history, and of God's gracious purpose for them, contains nevertheless the germ of every truth unfolded in the rest of the Bible. All is there. And herein I see true inspiration, and bow myself reverently before God making Himself manifest to His creatures.

R. PAYNE-SMITH.

## ART. II.—THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

(Concluded from p. 445.)

Epitome.—Chaps. viii., ix., x. 1-18.

SUCH a high priest have we. In place of the old priests, tabernacle, covenant, we have a new priest, tabernacle, covenant; more perfect, of which the old were but a shadow. Of such new covenant, with a law written in the hearts, our Scriptures speak. The old, therefore, is passing away.

The first covenant had its ceremonial worship, sacred vessels, furniture, sacrifices; its holy of holies, into which the high priest entered once a year to make atonement. All this was typical. Christ is our High Priest, who has entered once for all into the holy place, that is, heaven, having obtained for us eternal redemption. It is a cleansing of conscience, not merely an outward cleansing of the flesh, that we have through Him, to serve the living God; a deliverance from sin that leads to salvation. The law had but a shadow of good things. Really the blood of victims could not cleanse and perfect the offerers: else why repeated? And psalmist and prophet testify to this, that another covenant should be made, laws written in the heart, and sins so forgiven and forgotten, that no further sin-offering should be needed. This has been effected by the one perfect offering of Christ.

## Notes.

Chap. viii. 2, τῶν ἁγίων.—Unquestionably our versions are right in rendering this “the sanctuary.” Cf. ch. ix. 3. In 1 Kings viii. 6, τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. Westcott quotes (not as agreeing) some fathers who took it to be masculine, “of the saints.”

Chap. ix., τὸ ἅγιον κοσμικόν.—Which is substantive, which adjective? Both Authorised Version and Revised Version take κοσμικόν as the adjective, put after its substantive as tertiary predicate (Revised Version), which implies especial emphasis. If κοσμικόν be the adjective, it must be thus emphatic from its position. And there is a strong consensus among commentators old and modern to interpret κοσμικόν as “worldly.” In spite of this weight of authority, I incline to the opinion of Bishop Middleton (rather cavalierly dismissed by Farrar as “mistaken”), that κοσμικόν is the substantive, ἅγιον the adjective; that κοσμικόν means *ornamentum* (perhaps *ornatum* would be better). Middleton shows that the very Greek word is transliterated into Hebrew and used to signify “ornamenta”; that the Coptic Version had something which is rendered in Latin by “sanctum splendorem.” τὸν ἅγιον κόσμον was conjectured by

Wakefield, "the sacred furniture," as "suitable to the context"; but the established text may mean exactly the same.

There appears to be no need, at the beginning of this list of the outward furniture and ceremonies of the tabernacle, to emphasize the adjective "worldly" as opposed to "heavenly or spiritual." Very little authority is there for *κοσμικός* in this sense. Tit. ii. 12, "worldly lusts," is the only New Testament passage; "lusts of the outer world, the non-Christian world." But that is explained by the whole passage, and of course it is granted that *κόσμος* is used of "the world" in this sense. A passage of Josephus is quoted as bearing on this; "both Josephus and Philo speak of the Jewish service as having a universal, a 'cosmical,' destination," says Westcott. Philo may have meant something as catholic and wide as this: I have not his work to refer to, and must confess to knowing little of him. But this meaning of "cosmical" is far from being the same as "worldly, earthly, transitory," as opposed to "heavenly." And the passage of Josephus (B. J., iv. 5, 2) appears to me (as it did to Middleton and to Burton) to point quite the other way. It is: *οἱ τὴν ἱεράν ἐσθῆτα περικείμενοι καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς θρησκείας κατάρχοντες*. He is speaking of the priests in their priestly robes, who led the public worship. Who could suppose the writer here to be saying that this was "cosmical," comprehensive of all the world, or "worldly," terrestrial as opposed to heavenly and ideal worship? He is contrasting their sacred priestly robes and beautiful worship with their fate, "cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts." Surely *κοσμικῆς* here means "ornamental, with outward ornaments, furniture, beautiful vessels and the like." And *τὸ κοσμικὸν* may express all this. The neuter of almost any adjective with the article may be used as a substantive. Thus verse 1 is a short summary explained by verses 2-5.

Chap. x. 1, *σκιάν*.—In Coloss. ii. 17 *σκιὰ* is opposed to *σῶμα*. As contrasted with *εἰκὼν*, *σκιὰ* is "the outline or sketch in flat;" *εἰκὼν*, "the image or form in solid." Plato uses *σκιαγραφία* for "sketch or outline."

Verse 1.—Two readings here—the singular *δύναται*, and the plural *δύνανται*. Such a harsh ungrammatical phrase as the plural makes requires overwhelming MS. authority. Tischendorf reads *δύναται*. If "they can never," who are "they"? It is explained "the priests," the subj. to *προσφέρουσιν*. On the whole, it is better to retain the singular. And so Westcott judges, who has a special note on this reading of verse 1.

*εἰς τὸ διηνεκές*. Certainly to be taken with *τελειῶσαι*, as a comparison of the passages shows, cf. verses 12, 14, and vii. 3. In each case it is of the one sacrifice once offered, perfect and sufficient for ever. Comparing vi. 20 with vii. 17, 21, 25, we

see that the phrase is about equivalent to *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Symmachus, in his version of Ps. xlv. 18 and xlvii. 15, uses it where the LXX. have *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος*; the adverb *διηλεκῶς* he also uses several times. Westcott points out that *εἰς τὸ δ.* "expresses the thought of a continuously abiding result . . . uninterrupted duration," while *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* expresses "absence of limit." As far as I know, the exact phrase, *εἰς τὸ δ.*, is not found in classical authors. Homer uses the adjective of the far-reaching roots of a tree, of the whole long back of a victim. The adverb is also found in classical authors.

Verse 5, "a body didst Thou prepare."—The Hebrew has "mine ears hast Thou opened." This last has been explained as referring to the boring of the ear of one taken as a servant (Exod. xxi. 6), so that it would mean "Thou hast made me Thy servant." Christ was made a servant by taking a human body; hence the LXX. and Hebrew in a way express the same. But Gesenius explains the Hebrew to mean "Thou hast made me to hear, revealed to me, and made me understand Thy will." And *σῶμα κατηρίσω* may surely mean "Thou hast given me a body fitted to serve Thee with." Certainly the whole gist of the Psalm is, "Obedience before sacrifice." And the writer of this Epistle is pressing this same as the lesson established by Christ. "He taketh away the first" (sacrifice, etc.) "that he may establish the second" (obedient doing of God's will). The Psalmist, in effect, says, "My ear is open to hear," or "My body is ready to serve with all its members, my delight is to do Thy will." Such also is Christ's spirit.

Westcott's excellent note, too long to quote, confirms me in this view (written before his book appeared).

#### *Epitome.*—Chap. x. 19-39.

Therefore approach boldly, believingly, hopefully, by the new way opened by Jesus; cleansed in conscience, mindful of good works, of Christian worship. Knowing the truth, it were a terrible thing to sin against knowledge. Your former acts of kindness and endurance encourage hope that you will go on so. Be patient still, and you will receive the promised reward. Let us not be of the fearful and shrinking (whom the prophet rebukes), but of those who have faith.

#### *Notes.*

Verse 22.—Having received of baptism both the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace.

Verse 24, *παροξυσμόν*.—The only other use of the noun is in Acts xv. 39, of St. Paul's contention with Barnabas. But of course there is no reason why there should not be a "sharpen-

ing" for good, as is shown by the passages quoted by Westcott, especially that from Isocrates—*μάλιστα δ' ἂν παροξυνθείης ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων*.

Verses 26-31 (compare with vi. 4-8), *ἀμαρτανόντων*.—All-important is the *present* tense of the participle, "while any wilfully go on sinning against light." Thus Westcott: "The argument assumes that the sacrifice of Christ is finally rejected and sin persisted in. The writer does not set limits to the efficacy of Christ's work for the penitent."

Verse 27.—*πυρὸς ζήλος* appears equivalent to *πῦρ ζηλοῦν*, "a fierce eager fire." For it cannot mean "a desire (in any) of fire." The fire is personified and credited with feeling. To this same effect is Theophylact's *ὄρα πῶς οἶον ἐψύχωσε τὸ πῦρ*. Compare also the phrases, "a jealous God," "a consuming fire."

Verse 34, *τοῖς δεσμοῖς*.—Plainly some special prisoners and persecutions are referred to. The other reading, *δεσμοῖς μου*, would make the writer a sufferer.

Verse 38, *ὑποστείληται*.—In Acts xx. 20, 27, this verb is used of "keeping back," "shunning to speak out all." The LXX. uses it several times for "to shrink back, to fear." The metaphor is nautical—"to lower sail."

#### *Epitome*.—Chaps. xi., xii.

What is Faith? That which makes the future and unseen real to us. Faith is the very mainspring of all. By Faith the Old Testament saints won their triumphs. Look at the many examples. Faith it was in God, in the unseen, in God's promise, which yet they did not fully receive in life. All these saints are witnesses, evidence to God's truthfulness in helping them, and therefore evidence that He will help us. Be patient, therefore. You have these examples; you have, above all, Jesus through suffering attaining to glory. Trials you have had, but not so severe as might be. And chastening is a part of fatherly love. Be of good courage. Follow after righteousness, peace, holiness. You are called to a heavenly Zion, the city of God; reject not Him that speaketh. A kingdom sure and unshakeable is open to us; but we must hold fast the grace given to us, and serve God with holy fear, remembering that He can also punish.

#### *Notes*.

Chap. xi. 1., *ὑπόστασις*, "substance."—Undoubtedly better here than "assurance" of the Revised Version. It would hardly be any description or bringing out of the characteristics of Faith to say it was "assurance," which is nearly the same thing. The margin of the Revised Version has "the giving substance



to," which is well enough, but is rather explanation than translation. No doubt *ὑπόστασις* is used for a mental state sometimes; but, as Westcott says, "It is difficult to suppose *ἔλεγχος* can express a state," and "*ὑπόστασις* and *ἔλεγχος* must be co-ordinate." Westcott's note deals well and thoroughly with the passage.

Verse 2, *ἐμαρτυρήθησαν*.—Both the Authorised Version, "obtained a good report," and the Revised Version, "had witness borne to them," need some explanation, the latter being, however, more distinct. The "report, or record, or witness" is in Scripture, in God's word, and in verse 4 God Himself is termed the "witness." Through faith the saints of old were accepted of God and recorded as being'so.

Verse 3.—Through Faith comes "the conviction that the visible order, as we observe it as a whole, has not come into being by simple material causation . . . there is a divine power behind."—Westcott.

Verses 15, 16.—If they had merely been thinking with regret of any earthly home, and meant any return thither (to Mesopotamia, *e.g.*), they might have returned; but as it is, they seek a heavenly home.

Verse 19, *ὅθεν κ.τ.λ.*—The Revised Version translates "received him back;" and certainly *κομίζεσθαι* is often used of recovering. The clause *ὅθεν . . .* is then not part of Abraham's thought, not the ground of his faith, but an assertion of the writer. Most early commentators so take it; others take it to refer to the birth of Isaac, born to Abraham and Sarah in their old age; cf. *νενεκρωμένου* in verse 12 and Rom. iv. 19—"And not being weak in faith, he considered not his own body now dead . . . neither yet the deadness of Sarah's womb." Abraham believed God could even raise Isaac from the dead, for he had (in a figure) so received him when born. Did we know St. Paul to be the writer, we should feel sure that this was the meaning of this passage. But anyhow the balance seems to be in its favour. For if the reference be to the deliverance of Isaac from the altar, it amounts to this: "Abraham believed God was really able to raise him from the dead, and from the dead figuratively he did receive him;" *i.e.*, as Westcott well puts it, "something came to pass far less than he was able to look forward to"—a weak conclusion. But if it be of Isaac's birth, the clause gives "the grounds of the patriarch's expectation," . . . "the giving of a son beyond nature included a larger hope." That *κομίζεσθαι* may mean simply "to receive" is plain from verse 39. And in a relative clause the Greek aorist frequently has the force of our pluperfect.

Verse 21, *προσεκύνησεν*.—This was when he made Joseph promise to carry back his bones. But faith was equally shown

in this assurance that his descendants would return to Canaan as in his previsions about Joseph's sons.

Verse 39.—“The promise” expresses the complete whole, the final consummation; not quite the same as “promises” without the article in verse 33 and in vi. 15. Abraham obtained a partial fulfilment of the promise in Isaac's birth, the old saints obtained promised victories, etc., but the perfect fulfilment of the promise was for all together in Christ.

Chap. xii. 1.—“Cloud of witnesses”—*i.e.*, of saints—who bear testimony to what God has done for them, and will therefore do for his saints always. Not simply “spectators”: with the figurative setting in which it occurs the word suggests this, and may include this, but does not chiefly mean this.

τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.—From this passage we get “besetting sin,” meaning “a man's favourite sin.” But it does not mean this here; it is “sin” generally, whatever be the exact interpretation of ἐπιπερίστατος.

Verse 3.—The Revised Version reads εἰς ἑαυτοῦς, “sinners against themselves;” *i.e.*, “persons who sin to their own ruin.” We at once think of Numb. xvi. 38—“sinners against their ὄψιν souls” (or lives). But the LXX. there is very different. It cannot but think that for the sense εἰς αὐτὸν or ἑαυτὸν is better. Christ could endure that sinners should speak against Him; you must expect and endure opposition. Tischendorf reads αὐτόν.

Verse 15, ὑστερῶν.—There is no need to supply the verb “there be” here; ἐνοχλῆ may serve as verb for both participles. The phrase in Deut. xxix. 18 is ῥίζα ἀνω φύουσα ἐν χολῆ καὶ πικρίᾳ. Of this the last four words are put more briefly by πικρίας before ῥίζα, and ἐνοχλῆ is not part of the memory quotation. Its similarity to ἐν χολῆ, therefore, is accidental. The verb παρενοχλεῖν occurs in Acts xv. 19.

Verse 17, μετανοίας.—It is (*me judice*) impossible that μετανοίας can mean “of working a change in Jacob's mind;” the repentance must be Esau's. In him (as may be in others) such change of mind as would undo the past and avert the consequences was impossible; so we commonly say, when a consequence is inevitable, to one who has brought it on: “Oh, you cannot change your mind now; the result you first chose must come.” The passage does not in the least teach that forgiveness from God's mercy is ever hopeless.

“The consideration of the forgiveness of his sin against God, as distinct from the reversal of the temporal consequences of his sin, lies wholly without the argument.”—Westcott.

αὐτήν—*i.e.*, εὐλογίαν.

Verses 18-29.—The visible terrors of the Christian law are not such as those of Sinai, yet is the majesty as great or greater,

and determined rejection as surely punished. The whole passage is no exact quotation from Exod. xix., but a description of the scene by one familiar with the LXX. Version, who could use the Greek language with a force at least equal to that of the Septuagintal translator.

Verse 18, *ψηλαφωμένω*.—This word means “to feel about, grope about,” especially in the dark. In Gen. xxvii. 12, 21, it is used of Isaac’s feeling Jacob; in Job v. 14, *ψηλαφήσουσιν ἴσα νυκτί*; in Acts xvii. 27, St. Paul uses it of men feeling after God in heathen darkness; Aristophanes, *Ρακ.* 691, *πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐψηλαφῶμεν ἐν σκοτῶ τὰ πράγματα*. The word certainly appears to suit better with the common reading, *ἔρει*, than as an attribute of the fire. Fire is not naturally described as “felt after.”

Verse 25.—The word *παραίτησθητε* seems to refer to verse 19 above and to Exod. xix. 19; where the Israelites begged to hear no more the voice of God. Not that this fear was their chief sin; rather their refusal to obey afterwards. With Christians refusal to hear God’s voice in mercy will lead on to disobedience and punishment.

Verse 26, *ἐσάλευσε*. Cf. Acts iv. 31; xvi. 26.—The word expresses the wavy, rocking motion of an earthquake. Æschylus, at the end of the *Prometheus*, writes: “*καὶ μὴν ἔργῳ κοῦκ ἔτι μύθῳ χθῶν σεσάλευται.*”

Verse 27.—“Only once,” because the old would pass away with the shaking; the new would remain unshaken and unshakeable.

#### *Epitome.*—Chap. xiii.

Finally, take some practical precepts. Be mindful of kindness, hospitality, purity. Shun covetousness; be content. Respect your leaders and teachers; follow their examples. Christ is ever the same: be not ye fickle waverers. Christianity is not a matter of ceremonies and meats, but of grace. Christ, to sanctify us, offered Himself a pure sacrifice; offer we ourselves, our words and deeds to God. Such a sacrifice of kind deeds is acceptable to God. Obey your rulers. Pray for us. I hope soon to visit you, with Timothy. Greetings from all about me to you all. Grace be with you. Amen,

#### *Notes.*

Chap. xiii. 4, *τίμιος ὁ γάμος*.—Is the indicative “is,” or the imperative “let it be,” to be supplied? If indicative in this verse, then it should also be so in verse 5. There is a very similarly constructed passage in Rom. xii.—*ἡ ἀγαπή ἀνυπόκριτος. ἀποστύγοντες τὸ πονηρὸν κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ . . . εὐλογεῖτε.*

A substantive with predicate, a string of participles, an imperative. Our Authorised Version has there, "Let love be without dissimulation." But the indicative appears quite as good: "Love (true Christian love) has no dissimulation in it." And the participles may be linked together and run on to the imperative: "Hating evil, cleaving to good, etc., bless ye your persecutors." In this passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews the older authorities are for the indicative. Against this it is said that *ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος* must be "let your . . . be." This is not so certain. Why should it not mean "The character which befits you, the true Christian character, is free from the love of money"? To which is subjoined, with a slight but defensible anacoluthon (as the words have expressed "you are to be uncovetous"), "content. . ." It is argued that the reading *πόρνους γὰρ* almost requires the imperative. It rather makes for it, but it does not compel it. "Be faithful to marriage vows, for God will punish transgressors in this," is consistent enough; but also very good sense is "Marriage is honourable and pure, for it is *πόρνοι* and *μοιχοὶ* that God will punish." This declaration of the purity of marriage appears to me much more likely to be dwelt on as important, than the precept to be faithful to the marriage vow. Also, it may be doubted whether *ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος* can express this last. Certainly, it is more obvious to take these words as Primasius (quoted by Westcott) does: "Torus talium conjugum est immaculatus, id est sine macula criminis."

Verse 10, "We have an altar."—Does this refer to the Eucharist? Strong authorities say it does; it is often quoted so. Yet there are great objections to this view. (1) Had an opposition been intended between "we" who have the altar and "those who serve the tabernacle," surely *ἡμεῖς* would have been written. (2) The whole three verses institute a parallel between Christ's offering of Himself and the sin-offering (Lev. vi. 30), of which the priests, "those officiating in the tabernacle service," were not allowed to eat. Thus it is, "We Hebrews have a sacrifice on the altar of which none is allowed to eat, it is taken outside and burned. Jesus suffering outside the gate fulfils this type." The writer has said that meats did not profit (verse 9). And in one sacrifice, and that the most typical of Christ, the meat was not eaten. (3) If in verse 10 there were meant a contrast, "We Christians have a sacrifice of which the Jews may not eat," it is not easy to see why this is said. It is neither connected with the assertion of the unprofitableness of meats, nor with the comparison in verses 11, 12. Westcott gets the emphasis and contrast from the position of *ἔχομεν*, and says: "The statement presents a contrast to some supposed deficiency. Christians, as such, so it appears to have

been urged, are in a position of disadvantage; they have not something which others have. The reply is, 'We have an altar.'" But where is the evidence for any such assertion about the Christians? Westcott also urges that λατρεύειν is distinct from and contrasted with λειτουργεῖν. I fail to see any strong contrast; λατρεύειν may be used either of priest or people. And in chap. viii. 5, to which Westcott refers, λατρεύουσιν is used of the priests, and with their λατρεία the more excellent λειτουργία of Christ is compared, verse 6. In fine, though no one can reasonably deny that the Eucharist was spoken of as a sacrifice, and the holy table came to be termed by a kind of analogy an altar, the New Testament elsewhere does not call it so, and I doubt whether there is any reference to it here.

Verses 13-16.—Jesus was crucified outside the earthly city; we, too, must leave this, and with Him seek the heavenly city. And our sacrifice is praise and thanksgiving, and a life good and imparting good to others.

To Dr. Westcott (whom we welcome as a learned and worthy successor to the see of Durham) the Church owes much already for thoughtful and scholarly works. And in his recently published book on the Epistle to the Hebrews he fully maintains his reputation. It will be for English scholars the book on the subject. To do justice to its merits requires more than the mere end of an article, and a more thorough study of the work than has (to myself) hitherto been possible. From all that I have read, the notes seem eminently learned, thoughtful and reverent. The preliminary matter is excellent.

The Epistle will always possess an interest second to none in the canon. Dr. Westcott well says: "Every student of it must feel that it deals in a peculiar degree with the thoughts and trials of our own time." . . . "The difficulties which come to us through physical facts and theories, through criticism, through wider views of human history, correspond with those which came to Jewish Christians at the close of the Apostolic age, and they will find their solution also in fuller views of the person and work of Christ. The promise of the Lord awaits fulfilment for us in this present day as it found fulfilment for them: *In your patience ye shall possess your souls.*"

W. G. GREEN.



## ART. III.—JOHN HANNAH.

*John Hannah: a Clerical Study*, by J. H. Overton, Canon of Lincoln, and Rector of Epworth. 1890; Rivingtons.

WE congratulate Canon Overton upon a remarkable achievement. He has given to the world a distinct and vivid portrait of a man who well deserved a fitting memorial. Canon Overton has received assistance from men of mark who knew Archdeacon Hannah well, and the paradox of his introduction, which states the reason why a memoir is in this case justified, is amply vindicated. Interest and instruction, as Canon Overton says, can be afforded from the lives of men who never rose to the highest places in the Church, as well as in the case of men who have been placed in positions they might naturally have shrunk from filling. Dr. Hannah would have been in his place as a Bishop, a Dean, or the master of a college. Fate had, however, other things in store for him; but wherever he was, there was the note of distinction, courage, and high-souled feeling. These are not common qualities, and it is well that there should be preserved in such a record as Canon Overton's a memorial of a man of whom the late Mark Pattison could say, with emphasis, that the mental stimulus he had received from Hannah and another distinguished Fellow of Lincoln, Dr. Kay, was the best part of his education. We already owe much to Canon Overton. His account of William Law has done much to revive a taste for the works of an author too little read, and too much forgotten. We hope that this brief but admirable sketch will send some readers to a study of Dr. Hannah's "Discourses on the Fall, and its Results," and the Bampton Lecture, which contains many important truths too much lost sight of by some recent writers, on the "Relation between the Divine and Human Elements in Holy Scripture."

John Hannah was born at Lincoln in 1818. He was the son of a very eminent Wesleyan minister, who considered himself in no ways hostile to the Church. The resolution to join the Church of England, taken in early life, made no difference in the cordial attachment of father and son. John was the only survivor of eight children. A fondness for poetry, and especially for early English poetry, early developed, may possibly have kept Hannah from the highest place in technical scholarship; but, on the other hand, it gave a real colouring to the rich culture which was his distinguishing characteristic in later years. Many years ago the writer of the present notice met on the Continent one who had known Hannah when he was the pupil of Mr. Lancelot Sharpe, and who declared that his schoolfellows would, with one voice, have pronounced him to be a proper

person to edit the *Quarterly Review*, even before he had become an Oxford undergraduate. Hannah was fortunate in being elected a scholar of Corpus. The traditions of the college were pure and high. The literary tastes, however, were never suppressed. His life on the whole was one of retirement. But to have gained the place he did, in a singularly brilliant "First-Class," is an evidence of real work, which must often have been pursued under difficulty. Whatever may have been the defects of his scholarship as a boy, there were no weak places visible when Hannah came to instruct others, and a high tribute to his keen acumen as a careful student of Plato was accorded to him by the late Charles Badham, certainly one of the best Greek scholars of his time. Oxford was at this time a place of great interest. Controversy was in the air, and the anxious father saw with apprehension certain tendencies which alarmed him; but the sound moderation and good sense which distinguished Hannah through life preserved him from the falsehood of extremes. The picture which Canon Buckle, of Wells, gives of Hannah's kindness as a friend, and his keen delight in literature, is a very pleasing one. A Fellowship at Lincoln was only held for a short time. Hannah married early the sister of his friend Canon Gregory; and shortly after his marriage he accepted the cure of a small village near Woodstock, where he gathered pupils round him, and threw himself into his new occupation with extraordinary energy. This mode of life was, however, soon abandoned; and he returned to Oxford and became, for many years, the leading "science and logic coach." It is impossible to say what Hannah did for his pupils. As one of them used to say: "We owe him our 'Firsts,' and we owe him ourselves." Long after he had left Oxford his "Notes upon the Ethics" were copied and recopied, and gave instruction to many who never saw even his face. Had he remained at Oxford he must, in a few years, have obtained a more dignified position than that of an ex-Fellow with a large body of attached pupils. But in the year 1847 the Rectorship of the Edinburgh Academy was vacant, and, though Dean Mansel, Canon Rawlinson, and Sir Francis Sandford were in the field, Hannah, who was not yet thirty, was wisely elected. He was a first-rate schoolmaster, and had a real pride in his work. The task of Rector was by no means an easy one, and it was sometimes difficult to steer amongst the shoals of Edinburgh society. Bishop Terrot, who had a most unfeigned admiration for Hannah's genius, used to say that a good fairy had been present at his birth and said, "Be a perfect Rector at the Edinburgh Academy." He had many distinguished men among his pupils. The old charm of Edinburgh society had not quite passed away, and cultivated lawyers found in Hannah a

congenial companion. Occasional sermons, preached in the chapels of the Scottish Episcopal Church, added greatly to his reputation, and no one was surprised that, after seven years of Edinburgh life, he should be urged to accept the wardenship of Glenalmond College. Here began a new phase in his remarkable career.

The college was in financial difficulty, but the new Warden showed remarkable power of management. The staff was loyal on the whole, and, though the first ten years were not altogether easy, difficulties were overcome, and skill and temper had their reward. During the last years of his stay at Glenalmond sorrows overtook him—in 1867 his venerable father passed away, and his only daughter died in 1870. His resignation of the wardenship had been sent in shortly before her death. A residence at Oxford had been thought of. The living of Middleton, vacant by the promotion of the present Bishop of Chichester, was declined, and at Lutterworth Dr. Hannah would have found retirement were it not for the offer of the important vicarage of Brighton, which came to him before he had actually been appointed to the place for ever associated with the memory of John Wiclif. It was no easy task, at the age of fifty-two, to bring order and method into the work of the vicarage of Brighton. At the time when the Bishop of Chichester offered Dr. Hannah the appointment, many thought that a mistake had been made. But events proved how sagacious and discriminating the patron's choice had been. Canon Overton's account of the way in which the new vicar conducted his vessel through a sea of difficulties is accurate and complete. The unwieldy parish was well divided, and the fairness and justice of the new vicar's decisions established for him a position such as few rectors or vicars have ever attained. Mr. Stapley, who knew the difficulties of the work, has contributed to the pages of the memoir a clear and distinct account of the comprehensive plans and careful method which were conspicuous during the years of Dr. Hannah's vicariate. His power of preaching developed in a way which took many of his old friends, who had thought the style somewhat academic, entirely by surprise. The Bishop of Chichester has given an admirable estimate of Hannah's preaching and power: "A man so devoted to his holy calling, so pious, so learned, with so vivid an intellect, could not fail to preach ably and acceptably. But he was eminently a teacher, with singular aptitude for imparting the knowledge which he possessed." It may, perhaps, be added that the extreme intellectual eagerness of Dr. Hannah, sometimes outrunning his power of expression, was the only drawback to his attaining the very first place among the preachers of his day. In the small volume of sermons published when he was Warden of Glenalmond, there are some



admirable discourses, which exhibit his characteristics as a preacher most remarkably. Students desirous of seeing how deep subjects, such as "Scripture Accommodation" and "Life Eternal," can be treated as addresses from the pulpit, could not do better than study the first and last sermon in this little volume, only, we fear, occasionally to be met with in second-hand booksellers' catalogues. There is something almost pathetic in the hard fate of many volumes of excellent sermons, unknown except to diligent students alive to real merit. The author of "Papers on Preaching," the late Mr. Davies, attempted a good work in reviving interest in the sermons of Bradley, Cooper and Wolfe, and, had he lived, he intended, we know, to ask permission from Archdeacon Hannah to reprint several of these sermons as models for his younger brethren in the ministry. The present Vicar of Brighton would, we believe, confer an obligation on many were he to select for publication some of his father's matured thoughts on the interpretation of Scripture.

We have no time to dwell on the many labours of the Vicar of Brighton. In the work of the archdeaconry, to which he was appointed by the Bishop, he took great delight. Wherever he went he raised the standard of restoration, and he had no false delicacy in declaring his opinion as to the pew system, and the neglect which he sometimes witnessed in remote places.

In November, 1887, after seventeen years' work as vicar, he resigned his cure. It was hoped that a few years of rest and leisure might be granted to him, but in a few months he passed away from his life of "undoubting faith and cheerful performance of his Master's work." Those who counted it one of the highest privileges of their lives to spend a few days in his company, and to feel invigorated from contact with his keen intellect, his acute judgment, and his extraordinary impartiality in dealing with theological questions, felt they were indeed poorer when they heard of his departure. Canon Overton has done well in printing, at the end of this volume, the last sermon preached at the parish church of Brighton. Dr. Hannah, as he wrote that sermon, may have had in his recollection a touching scene, of which he was himself a witness, when John Henry Newman preached for the last time in Littlemore Church, the famous sermon on the "Parting of Friends," which had for its text "Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the evening." One of the last compositions he penned was a contribution to the pages of *THE CHURCHMAN*, "Christianity without Christ," as full of point and vigour as any of his papers previously published.

We venture to think that a higher distinction than that of Vicar of Brighton and Archdeacon of Lewes ought to have been bestowed on one who was in every sense a real worthy of the English Church.

G. D. BOYLE.

## ART. IV.—THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

*(Concluded from page 432.)*

III. Is there anything in the writings which have come down to us from Christian antiquity tending to the support of the one theory or the other?

We do not indeed think that the argument from Scripture stands in need of support from the writings of uninspired teachers in early times. We believe the evidence from the oracles of God to be quite conclusive. Nevertheless, all will acknowledge that *some* weight belongs to the corroborative witness of those who ought to be able to testify to the faith they had received from the Apostles—the faith once for all delivered unto the saints.

Much—too much, a great deal—has been made of the alleged divergence of views concerning Christ's death to be traced in the writings of the ancient Fathers.

That the atonement of Christ's death was regarded from different points of view by Christians of old time, and that varying aspects of this mystery presented themselves to the thoughts of different minds—this should only have the effect of emphasizing the certain truth that a consensus of Patristic teaching testifies to the assured faith of all the early ages of Christianity in the truth and reality of the Atonement; the objective fact accomplished by Christ's death; the deliverance wrought; the victory won; the debt fully paid; the ransom-price laid down; the condemnation all removed; the sinner's sin quite taken out of the way of the sinner's return to the God of his salvation. And to this we will venture to add, that when attempts have been made to depreciate the value of this Patristic testimony by casting anything like obloquy on the view prevailing among some of the Fathers of the Church—the view of Christ's death as a ransom taken by the devil—it has been too readily assumed that this view is one of unmixed error—the evidence of grievous misconception, of obvious incompetence to deal with such a subject. We must even venture to suggest that, underlying the strong antipathies to this view, there may be a want of due recognition of the real personal agency of Satan in the world—of the certain Scriptural truth than he is the accuser of sinners, and the agent of God's judgments on men; that all evils in the world, physical, moral, and spiritual, are works of the devil; that the power and dominion of death are his.<sup>1</sup> And, while admitting that in some of the

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<sup>1</sup> We cannot do more here than refer to a few texts, the study of which will, we believe, enable the reader to substantiate what is stated

writings of the Fathers there may be found adhering to this view unscriptural notions, or notions which go beyond the warrant of Holy Writ, and that in others an unscriptural prominence may sometimes be given to this teaching, we must venture to maintain that the teaching itself rests on a thoroughly Scriptural basis. A great truth may be looked at from different points of view. And the divergence of aspect does but tend to give a certain real stereoscopic solidity to the one truth seen the same, though not alike, through separate glasses.

But the question with which we are now immediately concerned has to do with the testimony of Christian antiquity to that view of the atonement of Christ's death in which it is seen as the vicarious penalty of the sinner's sin. It is freely acknowledged that the teaching of this doctrine does not stand out so conspicuously and prominently in repeated didactic statements of the Fathers as some modern teachers would seem to desire. Is this to be accounted for by saying that such a notion was alien from their thoughts, and excluded from their faith? or may it be accounted for by supposing that it was received without question, and assumed as accepted in the belief of those who were called by Christ's name? We shall be constrained to come to the conclusion that it *did* underlie the teaching of the ancient Church, and was accepted without question in the faith of early Christians, if we can find anything like distinct traces of such a doctrine here and there occasionally, and no rejection or repudiation of such a doctrine anywhere.

The following citations will suffice, we believe, to satisfy every candid mind that there are clear and unmistakable traces of this teaching to be found in the writings of Christian antiquity.

Clemens Romanus writes :

For the love which He had to us, Jesus Christ, our Lord, gave His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh, and His life for our lives (τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν) (ch. xlix., p. 150, edit. Lightfoot).<sup>1</sup>

Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, writes in language which is thus paraphrased by Bishop Lightfoot :

I am a devoted slave of the Cross. It is a scandal to the unbeliever, but salvation and life to us. In it the boast of this world's wisdom comes to nought. Such was God's scheme for our redemption (§ 18, vol. ii., sect. i., p. 74).

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above : John xiv. 30, 31 ; xii. 31, 32 ; Luke xxii. 53 (with Col. i. 13) ; John xviii. 8, 9 (with xvii. 11, 12) ; 2 Cor. xii. 7 ; 1 Cor. v. 5 ; Heb. ii. 14 ; Luke xiii. 16 ; xi. 21 ; Wisd. i. 13 ; ii. 24.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Irenæus, as quoted below, p. 476. See Dressel's note and S. Smith's "Pœna Vicaria," p. 49. Wotton says : "Ex sententia utriusque patris Jesus Christus Dominus noster dedit τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν."

Barnabas (if the epistle is his which has passed in his name) speaks of Christ enduring to give His flesh to destruction, that we might be purified in the forgiveness of our sins, which is in the blood of His sprinkling. Again he says that the Son of God could not have suffered but on our account—His suffering being the offering of sacrifice for our sins (§ 5, p. 20, edit. Cunningham; also § 7, p. 34).

Polycarp speaks of Christ's enduring unto death for our sins (which is the strong root of our faith), and of His bearing our sins on the tree (He is the earnest of our justification), and enduring all things that we might live in Him ("Ad Phil." I., pp. 906, 907. Vol. ii., sect. 2, of Lightfoot's "Apos. Fathers," 1885; also § 8, p. 920).

Justin Martyr speaks quite clearly of the Father's will that His own Christ should take upon Himself the curses of the whole human race<sup>1</sup> ("Dial. cum Tryph.," § 94, 95, 96).

Again he speaks of Christians as purified, not by the blood of goats or sheep; or the ashes of an heifer, or the offerings of fine flour, but by the blood of Christ and His death, who died for this (see Bp. Kaye's "Account of the Writings of Justin M.," p. 78).

In the well-known Epistle to Diognetus it is said:

Himself took on Himself the burden of our sins, Himself delivered over His own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy One for the wicked, the innocent for the guilty, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal: for what else could expiate our sins but His righteousness? In whom could we wicked and impious men be justified save in the Son of God alone? O sweet exchange! (*ὁ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς*).<sup>1</sup> O unsearchable operation! O unexpected blessing! that the wickedness of many should be covered by the One righteous, and the righteousness of the One should justify many unrighteous ("M. Op. Just. Mart.," p. 238. Hag. Com., 1742).

Melito of Sardis says:

There came a ram for the slaughter instead of Isaac, the just man, that Isaac might be loosed from his bonds. This ram, being put to death, ransomed Isaac. In like manner the Lord, being slain, saved us; and being bound, set us free; and being sacrificed, became our ransom.<sup>2</sup> (in Routh's "Rel. Sacr.," vol. i., pp. 123, 124, 2nd edit.).

<sup>1</sup> We believe that few who read this extract without prepossession will fail to agree with Dr. Saumarez Smith in regarding it as surprising that anyone can deliberately shut out the idea of "substitution" from such a passage as this. See "Pœna Vicaria," p. 51.

Bähr refers to a remark of Münscher, in which the epithet "strong" is applied to this passage, from its appearing so expressly to indicate the ideas of substitution and judicial suffering; but he adds that it is not a whit stronger than certain passages in the New Testament. We readily admit the truth of his assertion, but cannot allow it to deduct from the natural and obvious sense either of this epistle or of the Sacred Scriptures. See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1861, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Blunt well observes ("Early Fathers," p. 419) that here "Christ's sacrifice is clearly designated as *vicarious*: Christ substituted in our stead, as the ram was in Isaac's."

Clemens of Alexandria, like Melito, sees a figure of Christ's sacrifice in the offering on Mount Moriah, "redeemed as we are from destruction by the Lord's blood" ("Pæd.," i., c. v. ; Op. Tom. i., p. 111, edit. Potter). And, again, he speaks of Christ's willing to suffer "in order that by His passion we might live" ("Stromat.," iv., § vii., Tom. i., p. 583). And, again, he represents the Saviour Himself as saying, "I paid thy death which thou owedst for thy sins" ("Quis dives salvetur," § xxiii., Tom. ii., p. 948).

Irenæus speaks of Christ's blotting out the handwriting of our debt, and nailing it to His cross, "that even as by a tree we were made debtors to God, so also by a tree we might receive remission of our debt" ("Contra Hæreses," Lib. v., cap. xvii., c. 1170, edit. Migne. See also cap. xvi., c. 1168). And, again, in very similar language to that of Clemens Romanus, which is probably borrowed from him, he speaks of the Lord having ransomed us by His own blood, and given His life for our lives, and His own flesh *instead* of the flesh which is ours—*τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν* ("Contra Hæreses," Lib. v., cap. i., c. 1121, edit. Migne). See above, p. 474.

Tertullian calls the death of Christ "the single hope of the whole world," and elsewhere he speaks of it as "the whole weight and benefit of the Christian profession, which the Apostle makes the foundation of the Gospel, of our salvation, and of his preaching" ("Adversus Marcionem," Lib. iii., § 8, Op. p. 401, edit. Rigaltius, and "De Carne Christi," § 5, p. 310).

He declares that God spared not His own Son that He might become a curse for us, and, after quoting Isaiah liii., says of Christ that He was delivered up unto death, even the death of the cross, and all that He might make us His own by purchase—delivering us from sins—*ut nos a peccatis lucraretur* ("De fugâ in persecutione," § 12, p. 541).

Origen speaks of God's justice as manifested in the redemption of Christ. He affirms that God's justice forbade His justifying the unjust. But the intervention of a propitiator comes in by God's appointment, that those who could not be justified by their own works might be justified by the faith of Him ("Com. in Ep. ad Rom.," Lib. iii., Op. Tom. iv., c. 946, edit. Migne ; p. 513 of edit. Ben.).

Again, Origen speaks of Christ as alone able to take upon Himself (on the cross which He endured for all apart from God) the burden of the sin of all, and (explaining Isaiah liii.) speaks of the punishment due to us (*ἡ ὀφειλομένη ἡμῖν κόλασις*) being laid upon Him, that we might have peace (Com. Tom. ii., "In Joh.," p. 364, edit. Huet. Colon., 1785).

Again he declares there is only One who has been able to give a ransom in exchange (*ἀντάλλαγμα*) for our soul already lost, even He who hath bought us with His own precious blood

("Exhortatio ad Martyrium," § 12, Op. Tom. i., c. 580, edit. Migne; p. 282 of edit. Ben.).

Cyprian declares that all the hope of the Christian lies in the tree. He adds: "The servant of Christ hails the symbol of his salvation. Redeemed by the tree to life eternal, by the tree he is advanced to his crown" ("Ep. lxxvii," Op. c. 328, edit. Baluzius).

He says Christ gives His saving grace by undergoing the death of the cross, by redeeming the believer at the price of His blood, by reconciling man to God the Father, by quickening the mortal in heavenly regeneration ("Ad Demetrium," c. 442).

He speaks of Christ as wounded that he might heal our wounds, as in bondage that He might bring bond-slaves to liberty, enduring death that He might give immortality to mortals ("De opere et elemosynis," c. 475).

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, who deposed Arius, regards the Incarnation of Christ as for this purpose: "In the cause of redemption to give life for life, blood for blood, to undergo death for death" ("On the soul and body" in Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xiv., p. 362). "Christ," he says, "by dying, hath discharged the debt of death to which man was obnoxious" (p. 362). Again: "He hath given Himself up as the price of our salvation" (p. 356). "One submitted to the judgment, and many thousands were absolved" (p. 362).

Still more distinct is the language of Eusebius. He speaks of God as putting down to His account (or assigning to Him) all our sins (*ἐπιγράψας τὰς πάντων ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίας*),<sup>1</sup> and laying on Him the curse which in the law of Moses is adjudged . . . and putting upon Him for our sakes all the punishments which were due to us (*πάσας αὐτῷ δι' ἡμᾶς τὰς ἡμῶν ἐπηρητημένας τιμωρίας ἐπιθεῖς*) ("Demon. Evang.," Lib. i., p. 38, edit. Paris, 1628). He calls Him the *τίμιον λύτρον* of Jews and Gentiles, the *ἀντίψυχον* of all men (p. 37), the *τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἀντίψυχον*. He speaks of His passion as all *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς* (p. 37). Again, He speaks of His enduring for our sakes punishment (*τιμωρίαν*

<sup>1</sup> There need be no contradiction seen between the teaching of Eusebius here and his speaking elsewhere of our Lord's sufferings "as inflicted not by His Father, but by His human and spiritual enemies." See Acts ii. 23; iv. 28; and 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8; and Isa. liii. 6-10; and Luke xxiv. 26. The fact that Christ's blood was shed "not by a priest's sacrificial knife, but by the blade of a soldier's *pilum*," does not in any way detract from the significance which we are taught to assign to it when we throw the light of God's counsel upon that strange scene on Calvary. (See Dr. S. Smith, "Pœna Vicaria," p. 12.)

So the language of Justin Martyr and of Tertullian concerning Christ, as made "a curse for us" by human malice (see "Rudiments of Theology," p. 270, 271), will be found to present no contrast with the natural interpretation of Gal. iii. 13.

ὑποσχών) which did not belong to Him, but to us, because of the multitude of our transgressions, and so procuring the remission of our sins, as receiving for our sakes death, and transferring to Himself (εἰς αὐτὸν μεταθείς) the shame due to us, and drawing upon Himself the curse which was our due; as so uniting Himself to us, and us to Himself, as to make our sufferings His own (τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη ἰδιοποιούμενος), Lib. x., p. 467; and, again, as taking upon Him our transgressions (τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνειληφώς), p. 495.

Still more valuable and important is the evidence of St. Athanasius. Brief extracts can very imperfectly represent the cogency of his witness. It can only be apprehended by a study of his treatises as a whole. He says of Christ:

‘Ὅθεν ὡς ἱερεῖον καὶ θύμα παντὸς ἐλεύθερον σπλιν, ὁ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔλαβε σῶμα προσάγων εἰς θάνατον, ἀπὸ πάντων εὐθὺς τῶν ὁμοίων ἠφάνιζε τὸν θάνατον τῆ προσφορᾷ τοῦ καταλλήλου ὑπὲρ πάντας γὰρ ὧν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκότως τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, ναὸν καὶ τὸ σωματικὸν ὄργανον προσάγων ἀντίψυχον ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἐπλήρου τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ (“De Incarnatione,” ch. 9, Op. Tom. i., Part I., p. 44. Patav., 1777).<sup>1</sup>

Again he speaks of two marvellous results of the Incarnation,

To wit, that the death of all should be accomplished (ἐκρηλοῦτο) the Lord’s body, and that death and corruption should be brought to naught by the conjunction of the Word (διὰ τὸν συνίοντα λόγον ἐξηφανίζετο). For (he adds) death was a necessity, and there must be a death on behalf of all, that the debt due from all might be paid<sup>2</sup> (ὡὰ τὸ παρὰ πάντων

<sup>1</sup> Archdeacon Norris translates, “fulfilled all that the law of holiness required in His death,” and appends a note to this translation, “The idea is that of a vicarious satisfaction of the law of holiness—‘vicarious’ by virtue of the Incarnation, i.e., by virtue of His incorporation of manhood with Himself.” But it must be observed that “the law of holiness” is not in the text of the original at all. It might better be translated, “God the Father.” Compare the words προσῆγε τῷ Πατρὶ (as quoted by Archdeacon Norris in p. 288), and see note below, p. 480). And the vicarious character of the transaction is clearly connected with the death of Christ. The vicarious satisfaction, in the teaching of St. Athanasius, is certainly not in the Incarnation of Christ, but in His death. And the vicarious satisfaction of His death was the very purpose of His Incarnation. τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν ἀπάθεια ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν ἀθανασία ἐστὶ (“De Incarn. et Contra Arianos,” § 5, Op. Tom. i., par. ii., p. 698, edit. Ben. Patav., 1777. The treatise is Athanasian, if not Athanasii. See “Library of Fathers,” later treatises, pp. 143-145). Elsewhere Athanasius calls “the death of our Redeemer” “the day of salvation” (“Festal Epistles,” p. 47, Oxford, 1854). Mark the words, ἀντὶ πάντων θανάτῳ παραδιδούς (quoted by Norris, p. 288); and again, ἀντὶ πάντων ἱκανὸν τῷ θανάτῳ (p. 290); and again, προσάγων ἀντίψυχον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπλήρου τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ.

If death is acknowledged as the *pena* of sin, how is it possible to eliminate from this teaching the doctrine of *pena vicaria*?

<sup>2</sup> It is quite a mistake to suppose that in the view of Athanasius sin is *only* “a corruption of nature requiring to be cured,” as distinguished from Anselm’s view, in which it is “a debt to God’s honour requiring to be paid” (Norris, p. 309). Elsewhere, teaching of the purpose of the

ὄφειλόμενον γένηται). Wherefore the Word, seeing He could not die, being immortal, took to Himself a body capable of death, in order that He might offer it as His own instead of all (*ἀντὶ πάντων αὐτὸ προσενέγκη*), and that, by His own suffering for all, He might by that which came upon His body (*διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιβασιν*) destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil (*ibid.*, ch. 20, p. 52).

Again, he gives as the first reason why Christ's death should have been the death of the cross, that He had to bear away the curse which was ours, and that to be the curse He must receive the death of the curse (*εἰ γὰρ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην κατάραν ἦλθεν αὐτὸς βαστάσαι, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως ἐγένετο κατάρα εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐπὶ κατάρᾳ γενόμενον θάνατον ἐδέξατο* ;). *Ibid.*, ch. 25, p. 55.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in a very noteworthy passage, says that on account of the enmity caused by sin, and God's appointment of death for the sinner (*ὥρτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα ἀποθνήσκειν*), one of two things must, apparently, follow—either that God must be true to His word, and all men perish (*ἢ ἀληθεύοντα Θεὸν πάντας ἀνελεῖν*), or else that out of His love to man He should make void His sentence (*ἢ φιλανθρωποῦμενον παραλύσαι τὴν ἀπόφασιν*). Then he bids us behold the wisdom of God, in that He has both held inviolate the truth of His sentence, and at the same time given free exercise to His philanthropy. And how? The answer is: "Christ bore our sins in His body on the tree, that we by His death, dying to sins, should live unto righteousness." And all this is put before us in explanation of the truth that Christ "made peace by the blood of His cross" ("Cat. xiii.," § 33, Op. p. 199, edit. Toutée).

And in another scarcely less memorable passage he speaks of Phinehas putting an end to the wrath of God by slaying the evildoer, and then asks, "Shall not Jesus bring to naught God's wrath against men, by—not slaying another, but—delivering up Himself as a ransom in exchange (*ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον παραδούς*)?" ("Cat. xiii.," § 2, p. 183).

Ephraem Syrus, quoting the words "Cursed of God is he who is hanged on a tree," says :

This curse, then, Christ took upon Him when He willed to die for us upon the cross . . . That which the Jews meant for evil, Christ turned to good, and by enduring the curse which was undeserved (indebitā maledictione) He abolished the curse which by reason, of the transgression

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Incarnation, he speaks of Christ, *ἀνοθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὀφειλήν ἀποδιδούς* ("Orat. contra Arianos," ii. 66, Op. Tom. i., par. i., p. 423). So St. Augustin, "Pergit ad passionem, ut pro debitoribus nobis quod Ipse non debebat exsolveret" (quoted by Norris, p. 301). We may not think that God's appointment concerning sin may be adequately stated in the formula "by an inviolable law, *what is corrupt must die*" (Norris, p. 293). The sentence of God's law is, rather, "that which sinneth shall die." And so "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Rom. v. 12). And this is fully recognised by Anathasius. See Tom. i., par. i., p. 424, 52, 45.



of the law, was our desert (nobis debitam) ("In Josh.," cap. viii., Op. Tom. ii., p. 125, edit. Venet.).

Elsewhere he speaks of Christ as paying the debt of Adam (Adami debitum solvit), and enduring the cross that by the tree He might deliver him who by the tree had fallen (*Ibid.*, p. 732, sermo ii.).

There is a notable passage in the commentary of St. Basil the Great on Psalm xlviii. In the LXX. parts of verses 7 and 8 read thus: οὐ δώσει τῷ Θεῷ ἐξίλασμα ἑαυτοῦ, Καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ.

After dwelling on the universal bondage to the common enemy of all through sin, and the need, therefore, of a ransom (λυτρῶν χρεία), which cannot come from man, he quotes from Rom. iii. 23: "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Then he goes on to warn against looking for redemption to any mere man, to anyone but the God-man, who alone can give to God a propitiation for us all (μόνος δύναται δοῦναι ἐξίλασμα τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν), "because," he adds, "God hath set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood" (Rom. iii. 25). Then, after referring to the history of Moses, who could not give a propitiation for his own soul, he says that one thing has been found of sufficient value for all men (πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀντάξιον), which has been given for the ransom-price of our soul (εἰς τιμὴν λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν), even the sacred and most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He shed for us all. Then, after turning to the Divine nature of Christ, he leads us to mark the impossibility of redemption save by the advent of One who could turn the captivity of the people, not with ransoms nor with gifts, as it is written in Isaiah, but by His own blood (referring to Isa. lii. 3). Then he adds, showing how the payment of that redemption price acts upon our condition as a propitiatory with God for His enemies:

Οὗτος δὲ οὐχὶ ἀδελφούς ἡμᾶς ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμᾶς γενομένους τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, οὔτε ἀνθρώπος ψιλὸς ὢν ἀλλὰ Θεός, μετὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἢν χαρίζεται ἡμῖν καὶ ἀδελφούς ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεύει. ἀπαγελλῶ γὰρ, φησὶ, τὸ ὄνομα σοῦ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου. ὁ οὖν λυτρωσάμενος ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν μὲν τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ σκοπῆς, οὔτε ἀδελφός οὔτε ἀνθρώπος· ἐὰν δὲ τὴν ἐκ χάριτος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγκατάβασιν, καὶ ἀδελφούς ἡμᾶς ὀνομάζει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καταβαίνει, ὃς οὐ δώσει τῷ Θεῷ ἐξίλασμα ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου παντός. οὐ γὰρ ἰλασμοῦ δεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτός ἐστιν ἰλαστήριον <sup>1</sup> (Op. Tom. i., pp. 180, 181, edit. Garnier).

<sup>1</sup> The value of this extract—beyond showing how thoroughly the objective reality of the Atonement is assumed as underlying the Christian faith—consists in this, that it is one of those examples which show clearly how the Fathers regarded the deliverance from Satan's captivity by the one sufficient Ransom-price as all resulting from the change of our relationship towards God. The blood of Christ is *therefore* the ransom-price of our release, because it is that which make our propitia-

Epiphanius speaks of Christ accomplishing our salvation no otherwise than by His passion (*ἐκτός πάθους*), by His dying for us and offering Himself for our souls, a sacrifice to the Father, cleansing by His blood, and rending the handwriting which was against us ("Adv. Hær.," Lib. iii., Tom. ii., ch. xxii.).

He also speaks of Christ as bearing our sins upon the tree (the curse being assigned to crucifixion), giving Himself on our behalf, buying us with His blood, releasing us from our curses by His body (*Ibid.*, Lib. ii., Tom. ii., ch. lxxviii.).

St. Ambrose guards against so understanding the saying, "The Word was made flesh," as if the Divine Word had been turned into flesh, by quoting what is said of Christ, that He did no sin, and yet was called "sin." So He is said to be a "curse," not because He was turned into a curse, but because He took upon him (suscepit) our curse ("De Incarn. Dom.," cap. vi., § 60).

Again, he speaks of us as debtors under a hard usurer, who will be satisfied with nothing less than the death of the debtor. "Then," he says, "came the Lord Jesus and laid down His death for the death of all, and poured out His blood for the blood of all" ("Ep. Cl. I.," Ep. xlii., § 7). And, again, he says of Christ that He made satisfaction to the Father (*satisfaciebat Patri*) for our sins ("In Psalm. xxxvii. Enarr.," § 53).

St. Jerome explains Christ's being wounded for our iniquities by His being made a curse for us that He might release us from the curse. And he expounds "the chastisement of our peace was upon Him" by saying that what for our sins we ought to have borne He suffered for us, making peace by the blood of His cross ("In Isa.," Lib. xiv., cap. liii., Op. Tom. iv., c. 620, edit. Vallarsius. Venet., 1767).

St. Augustin as good as says that we may as well deny that Christ died as deny that He was accursed. He regards the saying that He was "made a curse for us" as equivalent to the saying that "He died for" us.

Christ (he says) took upon Him our punishment without our guilt (*Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum*), that so He might bring to nought our guilt, and make an end of our punishment (*ut inde solveret reatum nostrum, et finiret etiam supplicium nostrum*) ("Contra Faustum," Lib. xiv., cap. v., Op. Tom. viii., c. 266, edit. Ben. Paris, 1688).

Again, he says:

Rightly (merito) is the sinner's death, coming out of the necessity of

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tion with God. We were bondmen of the devil when we were enemies of God. When by the blood of Atonement we are enemies no more, made to be the Brethren of Him Who redeemed us, then we are as by a redemption-price delivered from the bondage of the evil one.

The ransom and the propitiation are the same. The blood of Christ is the ransom-price in view of our relation to Satan and his bondage. It is our propitiation in relation to God (see above, p. 473).

condemnation, broken up (soluta) by the death of the righteous, coming out of the voluntary work of compassion (ex misericordiæ voluntate) ("De Trin.," Lib. iv., § 4, Op. Tom. viii., c. 812).

Again, he says that Christ took upon Him our sins, not cleaving to them, but bearing them in like manner as Jacob took upon him the kid's skin :

Therefore (he says) death in our Lord was the evidence (signum) of the sins of others, not the punishment of His own (non poena propriorum) . . . So taking upon Him the sins of others, He says, "*Quæ non rapui, tunc exsoluebam, id est, peccatum non habens moriebar*" ("Serm. cccxi., De Resur.," § 16, Op. Tom. v., c. 1414, 1415).

St. Chrysostom uses an illustration—such an illustration as in the mouth of a modern preacher would probably incur the imputation of Calvinism, such a one as very commonly is condemned now, and might be very justly condemned if it were set forth as expressing *the whole truth* of the Atonement. But what we are specially concerned to observe is that it could never have come out of a mind in the view of which the doctrine of *vicarious penalty* did not occupy a prominent place. It could not have lived in an atmosphere which was not pervaded with the notion of substitutionary representation, and forensic justification by the non-imputation to sinners of sins imputed to the Righteous One, and willingly borne by the Redeemer.

Let the reader judge of his words :

As when one is condemned to die, another, having no guilt, by electing to die for him (ἐλέμενος θανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου), draws and delivers him from his penalty (ἐξαρπάξει τῆς τιμωρίας αὐτοῦ), even so did Christ do. For, seeing He was not subject to the curse which belongs to transgression, He took upon Himself that other curse [i.e., the curse belonging to one hanging on a tree] instead of this [i.e., the curse of transgression], that He might bring to naught the curse of the transgressors (ἀνεδέξατο ὁ Χριστὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνης ταύτης, ἵνα λύσῃ τὴν ἐκείνων) ("In Gal. c. iii.," Op. Tom. x., p. 700, edit. Montfaucon).

Elsewhere, also, St. Chrysostom teaches very clearly that the Atonement was effected, not by the Incarnation, but by the incarnate Saviour's taking upon Him, and receiving from the Father (when we were the children of His wrath), the punishment and the curse which were due to us (τὴν τιμωρίαν τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο) ("In Asc. Serm.," § 2, Op. Tom. ii., p. 450, edit. Montfaucon).

But another illustration of St. Chrysostom is even more observable. "Adam sinned and died. Christ sinned not and died." How is this strange thing to be explained? He answers that it was in order that he who sinned and died might be delivered from the bonds of death by Him who sinned not and died. And then he adds that it is a thing which often happens in the case of debtors. One owes money to another,

and has nothing to pay, and is therefore bound. Another, who owes nothing, but is able to pay, lays down the payment, and releases the debtor. Then from this illustration he turns back at once to the case of Adam and Christ.

Adam (he says) owed the debt of death, and was held captive of the devil. Christ owed no debt, and was no captive. But He came and paid the debt of death (*κατέβαλε τὸν θάνατον*) for him who was held captive, that He might release *him* from the bonds of death ("Hom. in S. Pascha," Op. Tom. iii, p. 754, edit. Montfaucon).

Cyril of Alexandria teaches that though Christ was righteousness itself (*αὐτόχρομα δικαιοσύνη*), the Father made Him a sacrifice (*σφάγιον ἐποίησεν ὁ Πατήρ*) for the world's transgressions. Thus Christ was numbered with the transgressors, enduring the lot suitable for transgressors (*ψῆφον ὑπομείνας τὴν τοῖς ἀνόμοις προποδεστάτην*). He explains that the lot of the world's inhabitants was that they must needs endure death—for sin (*τὸ χορῆσαι παθεῖν τὸν θάνατον*), and that the Word was made flesh, and made like unto us under sin (*σύμμορφός τε ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑφ' ἁμαρταν*), and *endured the lot which was ours* (*τὸν ἡμῶν ὑπέστη κλήρον*). He regards this as the explanation of the saying of St. Paul that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man; and declares that Christ-made His own soul (*τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν*) to be an exchange given for the life of all (*τῆς ἀπάντων ζωῆς ἀντάλλαγμα*). He adds: "One died for all, that we all might live to God, being sanctified and quickened by His blood, and *justified freely by His grace*" ("Ep. XLI.," Op. Tom. x, c. 209, edit. Migne).

Theodoret teaches that since human nature owed a debt which it could not pay, the Lord Himself, in His wisdom, arranged for the payment, so delivering human nature. He appeals to Isaiah and St. Paul as witnesses to this truth, the one before, the other after, both by the utterance of the same Spirit. He explains that we owed the endurance of chastisement and penalty (*παιδείαν καὶ τιμωρίαν*. See LXX. of Isai. liii. 5), but that, instead of our having the experience of this, our Saviour endured this, and so gave to us peace with God. Thus, he says, Isaiah both shows us *the sufferings* of our salvation (*τὰ σωτήρια πάθη*), and teaches us the cause of those sufferings. And then he quotes St. Paul's teaching: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us."—And in that word "for us" he bids us see how He, owing nothing, and free from all sin, paid what we owed, obtained liberty for us who lay under ten thousand debts, by reason of which we were held in forced bondage, and bought us by laying down the price of His own blood.

He further explains that this is the reason why the death Christ died was the death of the cross. *That* death was an

accursed death, and our nature, by reason of the transgression of the law, was an accursed nature. So He takes on Himself the new curse, and brings the other to nought by being slain in injustice. He, being under no curse, endured the death of the sinners, and so was able to say to the great enemy: "Thou art taken in thine own snares, and thy sword has pierced thine own soul; thou hast digged a pit and art fallen into the midst of it. Thou hast had power over those that had sinned; but thou hast laid thy hand on One who had done no sin. Therefore yield up thy power, and depart deprived of thy tyranny. I will deliver all from death, and that not as a work of compassion only, but of compassion combined with justice (*οὐκ ἀπλῶς ἐλέω χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ἐλέω δικαίῳ*). I have paid the debt of human nature, and can now destroy the just hold of death, because I have endured the unjust hold of death"<sup>1</sup> ("De Providentiâ," Orat. x., Op. Tom. iv., pp. 666-672, edit. Schulze).

St. Leo writes: "The compassion of the Trinity so divided among themselves the work of our restoration (*divisit sibi opus nostræ reparationis. misericordia Trinitatis*)—that the Father should be propitiated, the Son should propitiate, the Holy Spirit should inflame the soul (*igniret*)" ("De Pent., Sermon. III., 'Hodiernam,' In Hept. Præs.," p. 76, c. i.).

Again, he teaches that God, being both righteous and compassionate, so ordered the matter of providing medicine for the sick, reconciliation for the guilty, and redemption for the captives, that the sentence of just condemnation might be broken (*solveretur*) by the righteous work of the Redeemer ("De Pass. Dom., Sermon. v., In Hept. Præs.," p. 51, c. ii.).

Again, he regards this as the result and purpose of the Incarnation, that man might attain glory through shame, incorruption through punishment (*incorruptio per supplicium*), life through death ("Sermon. xix., De Pass. Dom., In Hept. Præs.," p. 67, c. ii.).

Gregory the Great speaks of the Redeemer as without fault taking upon Him (*suscepit*) the punishment (*pœnam*) of our fault (*culpæ*) ("Moral. XIII.," c. xxx., § 34, Op. Tom. i., c. 429. Venet., 1744).

He constantly treats of the Atonement in relation to the justice of God, asking, *e.g.*, how God can be just if He condemns Him to whom no punishment is due; and answering that He could never have delivered us from the death which was our due except by taking upon Himself the death which was not His due.

<sup>1</sup> The above does not pretend to be a translation. It aims only at being a substantially accurate representation (greatly abbreviated) of Theodoret's teaching in this oration. The same may be said of the sayings of other Fathers, as given in the text. Similar teaching will be found frequently recurring in the writings of Theodoret.

Therefore (he adds) the Father in His justice, *in punishing the just, orders all things in justice* (justum puniens, omnia juste disponit), because by this method He justifies all things, viz., in that He condemns for sinners Him Who is without sin (eum, qui sine peccato est, pro peccatoribus damnat); so that herein all the elect things might attain to the height of justice, in that He Who is over all has borne the condemnation of our injustice (damna injustitiæ nostræ sustineret) ("Moral. III.," cap. xiv., § 27, Op. Tom. i., c. 84, 85. Venet., 1744).

Again, he says it was expedient that the death of a Just One dying unjustly should bring to nought the death of sinners dying justly ("Moral. XXXIII.," cap. xv., § 31, Tom. i., c. 1095).

To these brief extracts<sup>1</sup> we will only add the following very remarkable testimony to the belief of the early Church, which has been, we think, strangely overlooked:<sup>2</sup>

After the space of three years, and at the commencement of the fourth; so He draws near to His bodily passion, which He willingly undergoes on our behalf. For the punishment of the cross is what was due to us. But if *we* had all endured the cross, we had no power to deliver ourselves from death. . . . But He, the Saviour of all, came, and the punishments which were due to us, He received into His sinless flesh, which was *of us, instead of us, and for our sakes* (τὰς ἡμῖν χρεωστούμενας τιμωρίας εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναμάρτητον αὐτοῦ ὑπέδεξατο σάρκα). This is the Apostolic and approved faith, which the Church has received from the beginning, from the Lord Himself, through the Apostles, which has been handed down by tradition from one generation to another, and which the Church sets on high, and holds it fast, now and for ever<sup>3</sup> (Mansî, Tom. ii., c. 876. Florence, 1759).

Could we desire to add anything to the clearness of this testimony? Could anything be added to its force?

It is from the work of Gelasius of Cyzicus, on the Council of Nicæa, a work which is of no historical authority. But whether these improbable dialogues were written merely as a theological exercise, or with a design to pass them as a true narrative, in

<sup>1</sup> Many more might be added.

Chrysostom's expression, ἀντιφρόπος τῆς πάντων ἀπωλείας, may surely be said to imply all that is contended for in the text. See Dr. S. Smith's "Pœna Vicaria," p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, referred to in "Pearson on Creed."

<sup>3</sup> Assuredly no fair interpretation can possibly divest this passage of the teaching of imputation, substitution, and *pœna vicaria*.

When Archdeacon Norris wrote "the idea of imputation . . . is a theory shocking to the conscience, and unknown to the Church until the sixteenth century" (p. 48), he must have been thinking of a sense of imputation, of which Thulock said: "Such an imputation could not be spoken of; it could not be effected" ("On Heb.," Diss. ii., vol. ii., p. 288, edit. 1842). It is surely not in this sense that the word is used in the theology of the Reformation, as expressing a doctrine taught in the Scriptures, and upheld by the Fathers.

Is it possible to have a clearer statement of imputation (in the only sense which is contended for) and *pœna vicaria* than the following comment on Isa. liii. ?—Καθὼς λέγει Ἡσαίας, αὐτὸς τὰς μαλακίας ἡμῶν ἀφεί, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται. Ὡστε οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὀδυνᾶται, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐγκατελείφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας

either case the writer would certainly not have set down as the acknowledged faith of the Christian Church what would be recognised by Christians as altogether alien from their belief.

Much additional evidence to the same effect might be added, but it is confidently believed that what has already been adduced is amply sufficient for the purpose we have in view.

It is not intended to deny for a moment that errors early began, stealthily and silently, to creep into the practice and teaching of the Christian Church which had an undoubted tendency to dethrone and supersede this view of the atoning death of Christ—errors the prevalence and power of which in after-ages did indeed avail to cast this doctrine into the shade, and to reduce it to the position of a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water to minister to the growing superstitions which were gradually clinging round a mistaken sacerdotal system. All the more striking and forcible, therefore, is the evidence of the doctrine of *pœna vicaria* still existing and making itself manifest in spite of what was tending to stifle it. And the fact of its survival becomes, therefore, all the more cogent a witness to this—that its origin is to be traced, not to the thoughts of man's wisdom or human invention, but to the true fountain-head of Divine revelation, to the oracles of God, and to the faith once for all delivered to the saints.

Weeds and thorns grew apace which struck their roots deep into the natural heart of man—thorns whose nature it was to choke the good seed of God's Word. But this teaching of *substitution and imputation*—the *pœna vicaria* of the incarnate Son of God—the dying of the Just for the unjust, was found to lift up its head and manifest its vitality in spite of all its manifold adverse surroundings.

But it may be alleged that, after all, these Patristic teachings show clearly that this doctrine, however distinctly held, was

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παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν κόσμον ("De Incarn. et Contra Arianos," § 2, In Athan., Op. Tom. i., par. ii., p. 697, edit. Ben. Patav., 1777).

But very much to be observed is another saying of St. Athanasius, in which he speaks of Christ taking upon Him our curse, even as He took upon Him our human nature: τὸ γὰρ παρὰ τῆ Ἰωάννη λεγόμενον, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διάνοιαν, καθὼς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τούτου δυνατὸν εὐρεῖν· γέγραπται γὰρ παρὰ τῆ Παύλω, Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γέγονε κατάρρα, καὶ ὡσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς γέγονε κατάρρα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνεδέξατο κατάρραν, εἰρηται κατάρρα γεγονέναι· οὕτω καὶ σὰρξ γέγονεν οὐ τραπεῖς εἰς σάρκα ἀλλ' ὅτι σάρκα ζῶσαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβε ("Ad Epictetum Epist.," § 8, Op. Tom. i., par. ii., p. 724, edit. Ben. Patav., 1777). Is it possible to maintain that the idea of imputation and of *pœna vicaria* is not present here?

Yet, again, Athanasius writes: Οὐ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦλθε τελεῖσαι ὁ Σωτὴρ· ὅθεν οὐκ ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ οὐκ εἶχε γὰρ ζωὴ ὧν ἀπετίθετο τὸ σῶμα· ἀλλὰ τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδέχετο, ἵνα καὶ τούτων ἐν τῆ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι προσελθόντα τέλειον ἐξαφανίσῃ ("De Incarn.," § 22, Op. Tom. i., par. i., p. 53. Patav., 1777). If death is the *pœna* of sin, will anyone contend that there is no idea of imputation and *pœna vicaria* here?

held in combination with other doctrines which tend materially to modify its difficulties.

And we are quite ready to reply that if there has been anything like a tendency in modern times to separate this doctrine from associated truths—truths associated with it as well in Holy Scripture as in the writings of the Fathers—this tendency is very much to be deprecated.

The hypostatic union of two natures in Christ, what is now sometimes spoken of as the solidarity of Christ with the human race, His summing-up (*recapitulatio*) of humanity in Himself, the victory of the incarnate Deity over death and hell for us, the mystical union of the risen Saviour with all the members of His mystical body (the *unio mystica capitis et corporis*), and the regenerating power of the truth of the Cross, its Divine efficacy to crucify the old man in the human heart, the perfecting of human nature in its union with the Divine—these are truths which, in the Christian faith, and in their bearing on the doctrine of the Cross, must never be dishonoured. Do we, in insisting on the truth of the atonement of Christ by giving Himself to be the burden-bearer of our sins, His giving Himself an *ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων*—do we wish to make light of these truths, or of their connection with the truth of the Gospel of Christ? Surely it is sufficient answer to say—God forbid!

To the theological student the true doctrine of the Cross is a complex and many-sided doctrine indeed. It has its side of Divine mystery. It has its marvels and miracles. It is a Divine teaching full of Divine riches of grace and wisdom and power. What mind of man has ever sounded its depths? What human eye has ever scanned its heights? What heart of man has ever reached the circumference of its wisdom?

But, still, all this in no wise withstanding, we must never cease to insist on the truth that those who would enter truly into the deeper and higher teachings of the Cross of Christ, and be taught to know its power in the school of Divine experience, must first of all submit to accept the simple truth of the Saviour dying for sinners, that sinners may be justified freely (*δωρεάν*) by His blood—the simple truth of the Atonement as seen on the side which is turned to the sinner's faith, as it is seen in its adaptation to the condemned sinner standing guilty before God—the truth that we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins. First of all we must receive the truth of Atonement by *pœna vicaria*; we must receive it in its simplicity, as it is hid from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes. The Christian who would truly be able to say that by the Cross of Christ "the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world" must first be content as a condemned sinner to



believe in Christ crucified *for him*, and so must be taught by the Spirit of God to say, "I live by the faith of the Son of God, Who loved me and gave Himself for me." If the truth of Christ's death *for us* be hampered, and its simplicity marred by attempts to condition it or confuse it by requiring first death *in us*, crucifixion in our own souls, a spiritual dying to sin and living unto God—just so far will there be a real marring and hampering of the very power—the only power by which the old man is crucified with Christ—that the body of sin may be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.

In vain shall we strive with many strivings to learn aright the blessed lesson of "Christ *in us*," for life, for holiness, for victory, for power; if we refuse to learn the lesson of "Christ *for us*," for atonement, for justification, for peace, and rest for our souls. He, Who alone is our life and our salvation, *He* has to say to each believing heart, "If I *wash* thee not, thou hast no part with Me." For an increase of spiritual power, and higher experience of the resurrection life of Christ, our souls want no new doctrine of sanctification, but a new hold of that old doctrine of justification which is the power of God unto salvation, and a deeper, much deeper, rooting in the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge.

It should be added that the view we have of God's dealings in respect of sin and sinners in the Atonement of Christ is not the whole view of the matter. That free justification bought at such a cost, and offered to guilty sinners in such wondrous grace—it stands before the sinner's soul as an open door. At that door none can enter in for him. The entrance of none other can avail instead of him. His individual responsibility is here. The grace of the Gospel has been brought to him by the redeeming work of another, to which he could contribute nothing at all. This grace comes of the work all of another, not of himself at all. The obedience of the Gospel must come of himself alone (howbeit it comes all of the grace of God), not of another at all.

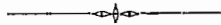
The offer of Divine peace, the beseeching litany of reconciliation, comes from heaven above, and comes only because of this, that, in His love and pity for the lost, God made Him to be sin for us Who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him. The acceptance of reconciliation can come only from the heart of the sinner whose ear has been opened by grace to hear the prayer, "As though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, Be ye reconciled unto God." The responsibility of this reconciliation is a responsibility in which each human heart must needs stand alone.

The religion of Christ is pre-eminently the religion of salvation. That salvation is full of marvels—strange and wondrous things, which it never entered into the heart of man to conceive. And

these marvels will always be a stumbling-block, a *σκάνδαλον*, to the natural heart and intellect of man. Marvels, because they are marvellous, are hard to receive. But when the soul—humbly receiving God's testimony concerning our "earthly things," the things of our sin, our ruin, our death—has revealed to it by God's Spirit the "heavenly things" of Christ's redemption, so marvellously adapted to our need, then the marvels of our difficulties are turned into marvels of Divine grace and wisdom and love. And we recognise that it could only have been by marvels, with difficulties and Divine workings very strange to us, the working of thoughts and ways higher than our thoughts and ways, that condemned sinners, the children of God's wrath, could have been made the children of grace, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son.

The working of that which is not human at all, but all Divine, is to be seen in providing the salvation, the food which the sinner man, in his great need, could never provide for himself. But the hungering and the feeding, the thirsting and the drinking, is that which pertains and must pertain to each individual soul, in which no other soul can share or co-operate. In this matter every man should prove his own work, that he may have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: "For every man shall bear his own burden" (Gal. vi. 5).

N. DIMOCK.



#### ART. V.—THE REFORM OF CONVOCATION.

*(Concluded from page 401.)*

REFERENCE was made last month to the efforts of the Lower House of the Southern Convocation to bring about a better representation of the clergy in Convocation, and we saw the difficulties which stand in the way of that reform being effected by the body from which it might most naturally be looked for, namely, Convocation itself. We will now proceed to consider the question of its being carried out by one of the other three authorities who were mentioned as possibly having jurisdiction in the matter, namely, the Archbishop, the Crown, and Parliament.

It has been suggested that the Archbishop of the Province, as President of Convocation, has an inherent power of summoning to it such of the inferior clergy of his Province, either in person or by their proctors, as he may from time to time think proper. He has, no doubt, a certain power and jurisdiction as to the constitution of the Lower House of Convocation. While, on the one

hand, it has been held that the Courts of the land will take cognizance of and determine disputes respecting the rights of individuals to vote at an election of proctors to sit in that House (*Randolph v. Milman*, Law Rep. 2, Com. Pleas, 60 ; 4 *ib.*, 107), it has been decided, on the other hand, that the Archbishop, as president, has the absolute and uncontrolled right of determining all disputed elections to the House, and that the Courts have no power to overrule or even call in question his ruling in reference to them (*The Queen v. The Archbishop of York*, Law Rep. 20, Queen's Bench Div., 740, cited last month). As a matter of fact, when new dioceses and new archdeaconries have been created, he has summoned to Convocation not only the Bishops and Archdeacons of the newly-formed ecclesiastical divisions, but also proctors for the clergy within the newly-constituted dioceses. This has happened in the Southern Province with respect to the dioceses of Truro, St. Albans, and Southwell, and the archdeaconries of Oakham, Kingston-on-Thames, Southwark, Bodmin, Cirencester, and the Isle of Wight. In so acting, however, the Archbishop has merely interpreted and carried out the existing law and custom of the realm, and his conduct, therefore, cannot be urged as a precedent to warrant him in departing from that law and custom. It is true that the royal writ directing the Archbishop to summon Convocation does not prescribe the mode in which the inferior clergy are to be represented in it ; but the understanding come to in 1315, and the uniform practice of succeeding centuries, have established a method of complying with the writ from which it would, to say the least, be perilous in the extreme for the Archbishop to deviate. It may be safely concluded that no Primate would venture, of his own authority, to summon to Convocation an increased number of proctors for the parochial clergy, when the step, if challenged, could scarcely fail to be set aside as illegal. Nor could we wish it to be otherwise ; for it would be a serious matter in theory, and one which in practice might conceivably lead to grave mischief, that the composition of Convocation should be liable to alteration from time to time at the arbitrary discretion of a single individual, however exalted his position.

But if the Archbishop cannot reform the constitution of Convocation, has the Crown power to do it by an act of the Royal Prerogative ? The affirmative answer to this question has a little, though not much more, to be said for it than could be urged in favour of the view which we have just dismissed as untenable. In tracing back, as we did last month, the present representation of the inferior clergy in Convocation to the *Præmunientes* clause inserted in the Parliamentary writs at the end of the thirteenth century, we admitted that the Sovereign was the author of the precise details in the form and

extent of that representation which have continued down to our own day. But it by no means follows that, because the Crown inaugurated them then, it has, therefore, power to change them now. The Crown in the same century prescribed the original number of knights of the shire and burgesses who were to represent the counties and boroughs in Parliament. But the notion that in the present day the Sovereign could at pleasure alter the composition of the House of Commons is, of course, too absurd to be even suggested; and the fact that the prerogative no longer survives in reference to Parliament furnishes a strong ground for concluding that it is equally gone in reference to Convocation. At any rate, after a non-use of six centuries, they would be bold, not to say rash, Ministers who should advise the Sovereign to exert it now. The Royal Supremacy does not assist in the matter; for that can only be exercised in a constitutional manner, and the whole question is whether such an exercise of it as is under discussion would be constitutional or not. To repeat the remark with which we closed the consideration of the Archbishop's possible jurisdiction, it is surely for the interest of the Church that the Sovereign should not be deemed to have the prerogative power of changing the constitution of Convocation, since its exercise would never be hailed with universal satisfaction, and might at some future time be attended with positive abuses.

All other avenues, therefore, being closed, we are driven, in the last place, to look to Parliament as the body by the authority of which a reform of Convocation can be effected. This is the view expressed by Lord Selborne in the Memorandum which was mentioned last month; and it is this view which the Convocation Committee, in the Report to which reference was also made, have strenuously endeavoured to overthrow.

It is suggested in the memorandum (they say) that the only power competent to reform or extend Convocation is Parliament. To this your committee emphatically demur. If there is no precedent for Convocation passing a canon having reference to its own representation, there is certainly no precedent for Parliament interfering with its structure, and such an interference would be productive, it is believed, of the most lamentable and far-reaching results. . . . Your committee, in conclusion, would declare their unanimous judgment that it would be far wiser for the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury to continue as it is than to request or to accept the aid of Parliament, even in order to secure the much-desired increase of the representation therein of the parochial clergy (Fourth Report of the Committee of the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation on Election of Proctors to Convocation, pp. 25, 26).

Whether the power of reforming Convocation resides elsewhere or not, it cannot, of course, be for a moment questioned that, as a matter of law, Parliament possesses that power; and

though we may be tolerably sure that Parliament will not interfere except by the express desire of Convocation, yet if, under any combination of circumstances, it were to take the oppressive step of exercising the power against the wish of Convocation, it would not be possible for the Lower House to refuse "to accept the aid" of the Legislature, or to repudiate the reform which was thus thrust upon it. On the other hand, the Convocation Committee have not exaggerated the inexpediency of procuring from Parliament an alteration in the constitution of Convocation. We may remember that, according to Lord Coleridge, Convocation is "as old as Parliament, and as independent" (see above, p. 396). It would not only be derogatory to the body itself, and destructive of its independence, but also damaging to the interests of the whole Church, for the structure of Convocation to be remodelled by the civil Legislature. While it is impossible to agree with the opinion of the Committee as to the power of Convocation to reform itself, it is equally impossible to disagree with their view as to the undesirability of that reform being effected by Parliament. It would be decidedly objectionable for Parliament to enact the details of any new representation of the clergy in Convocation; but it would be scarcely less objectionable for Parliament to pass an Act expressly empowering Convocation to settle those details. In either case the reformed body would rest upon a Parliamentary basis. It would be thenceforward no longer possible to speak of Convocation as being equally independent with Parliament itself. Its ancient and venerable *status* would have been sacrificed and lost for ever.

Are we, then, shut up to this dilemma, that the only advisable mode of improving the representation of the clergy in Convocation is impracticable on account of its actual or supposed illegality, while the only practicable method of procuring that improvement is so inadvisable that the idea of resorting to it cannot for a moment be entertained? So, apparently, thought the Convocation Committee in 1885; and so, too, thought the recently-appointed Committee of the House of Laymen, when they presented their report, which was mentioned last month. In that report they expressed it as their opinion that no effectual reform of Convocation could be carried out without the intervention of Parliament, and therefore they did not consider it expedient that further action should be taken at present. But is this view correct? Is there not a middle course open which will relieve us from the spectre of illegality on the one hand and the ogre of expediency on the other? I venture to think that there is. In order that the constitutional difficulties may be removed, while at the same time the independence and dignity of Convocation are maintained unimpaired, I would

suggest that Parliament should be asked to pass, not an Act altering the constitution of Convocation, nor even an Act purporting to confer on Convocation the power of making this alteration, but a declaratory Act affirming the inherent power of Convocation to make, with the Royal assent and license, canons for altering its own constitution.

How, it may be asked, would such an Act differ in substance from an Act empowering Convocation to reform itself? Is not the distinction between the two merely one of form and language? By no means. The substantial difference between a merely declaratory Act and an Act which effects some alteration in the law of the land is clearly recognised in our jurisprudence. Blackstone, in the Introduction to his "Commentaries on the Laws of England" (sect. 3; vol. i., p. 86), mentions certain respects in which Acts of Parliament differ from one another, and then proceeds as follows:

Statutes also are either *declaratory* of the common law or *remedial* of some defects therein. Declaratory where the old custom of the kingdom is almost fallen into disuse, or become disputable, in which case the Parliament has thought proper *in perpetuum rei testimonium*, and for avoiding all doubts and difficulties, to declare what the common law is and ever has been. . . . Remedial statutes are those which are made to supply such defects and abridge such superfluities in the common law as arise either from the general imperfection of all human laws, from change of time and circumstances, from the mistakes and unadvised determinations of unlearned (or even learned) judges, or from any other cause whatsoever.

As might be expected from the nature of things, declaratory Acts are of comparatively rare occurrence in our Statute Book. The greater number have been passed in connection with the marriage law; to remove doubts which have arisen in particular cases as to the validity of marriages, owing to the place or circumstances or form of their solemnization. But there have also been declaratory Acts on important constitutional subjects. In 1766 a statute of this nature was passed, declaring the subordination of the British colonies and plantations in America to the Imperial Crown and Parliament of Great Britain. In 1783, after the establishment of Grattan's Parliament in Ireland, the right of the Irish people to be bound only by laws enacted by that Parliament was established by a declaratory Act. Again, in 1865, an Act was passed for removing doubts respecting the validity of divers laws enacted, or purporting to have been enacted, by certain colonial legislatures, and respecting the powers of those legislatures. This Act contains, among other provisions, a clause to the effect that every colonial legislature shall have and be deemed at all times to have had full power within its jurisdiction to establish courts of judicature and to alter the constitution of those courts; and that every representative colonial legislature shall

have, and be deemed at all times to have had, full power to make laws respecting its own constitution and its powers and procedure in matters relating to the colony under its jurisdiction. These instances furnish appropriate precedents for a declaratory Act on the subject of the power of Convocation over its own constitution. The form of such an Act would be somewhat as follows :

Whereas doubts have arisen as to the power of the Convocations of the Provinces of Canterbury and York to make canons, constitutions, or ordinances with respect to the representation of the clergy in such Convocations : Therefore, for removing all doubts respecting the same, be it declared by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, etc., that the Convocation of each of the said Provinces has power to make canons, constitutions, or ordinances with respect to the representation of the clergy of the Province in such Convocation, so as every such canon, constitution, or ordinance be made with the Royal assent and license.

The passing of such an Act, so far from being the assertion of a claim on the part of Parliament to control the power of Convocation in the matter of self-reform, would be a distinct disclaimer and repudiation by the Legislature of any such right of interference. It would be similar in kind (though more efficacious, because absolute and indisputable) to a judicial decision that no such right had ever existed, and that the power of reforming its own constitution was inherent in Convocation, subject, of course, to the license of the Crown. If Convocation would not be compromised by a judicial declaration on the subject in its favour, it is difficult to see how it could be injured by a similar declaration of the High Court of Parliament, which would at once set the matter finally at rest, without liability to challenge or appeal.

While these pages have been preparing for the press the matter has again received the attention of the House of Laymen of the Province of Canterbury. It was mentioned last month that the Committee which had been appointed to investigate the subject reported to the House in February, and that the House referred the matter back for reconsideration. They presented their further report to the House on May 9, but were unable to arrive at a different conclusion than that which they had previously expressed. They reported that no reform of Convocation could be effected without the intervention of Parliament, either by direct legislation or else by removing the doubts which beset the subject. They did not consider that at the present time Parliament could be asked, with any hope of success, to pass either an enacting or a declaratory statute which should have the effect of enabling Convocation legally to reform itself, and they consequently recommended that no immediate step should be taken in the direction of the desired reform. In this recommendation the House of Laymen acquiesced.

Unless Convocation are prepared, to some extent, to accept the aid of Parliament, and Parliament, on the other hand, may be expected to render that aid in such a manner and form as will not be distasteful to Convocation, it is useless to stir in the matter. We can only wait and hope that unforeseen circumstances may hereafter arise which will open a way for a solution of the present deadlock.

In this position of affairs it seems hardly worth while to enter upon a detailed consideration of the lines on which the reform of Convocation would properly proceed if the obstacles in the way of its being undertaken were removed. A brief indication of them, however, will not be out of place. Three objects have to be kept in view: (1) To redress the balance between the two classes, which for convenience may be called that of the nominative and that of the elective members; (2) to apportion the representation among the dioceses with some regard to size and population; and (3) to secure a representation for the unbeneficed clergy. The first two of these points have already received the attention of the Lower House of the Southern Province. That House has not suggested any reduction in the nominative members. But it is proposed that the number of elective members shall be raised from 48 to 104. This would still leave the others in a majority of eight; and to many persons the scheme will, therefore, seem wholly inadequate. To those, however, who do not regard exact numerical and proportional representation as necessarily in every case an absolute panacea, the proposal will probably commend itself for its moderation. Excess of caution will certainly be an error on the right side; and it must be remembered that if the power to effect a reform be once clearly recognised, and the precedent for it established, it will always be possible afterwards to repeat the process upon bolder and more sweeping lines, if that course appears desirable.

With regard to the second point, the clergy of each diocese in the Southern Province at present return two proctors, irrespective of the size or population of the diocese or the number of clergy within it. The diocese of Bangor, in which there are 141 beneficed clergy, having the charge of less than a quarter of a million of souls, has an equal representation with that of London, in which the number of benefices is 511, and the population nearly three millions. If we take the total number of clergy unbeneficed as well as beneficed, the discrepancy is still more startling; for the number of curates employed in the Welsh diocese is only 80, while in the Metropolitan diocese it is 638. It is evident that no reform will be satisfactory which does not, to a certain extent, remedy this anomaly. In the scheme of reform which has been approved by the Lower House,



a different number of proctors is assigned to the various dioceses. The increased number of 104 proctors would provide one representative for about every 145 of the parochial clergy in the Province, including those who are unbeneficed; and though the admission of the latter to the franchise has not been contemplated, the readjustment of the representation has been framed, roughly speaking, upon the basis of making this provision. Thus, to mention again the two dioceses at the opposite extremities of the list, it is suggested that London should send seven proctors to the reformed Convocation, and Bangor two.

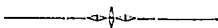
The third point, that of the representation of the unbeneficed clergy, has not as yet been touched by the Lower House of Convocation. While proposing that the number of proctors for each diocese should bear a rough proportion to the total number of clergy, unbeneficed as well as beneficed, in the diocese, it has not been suggested that the unbeneficed clergy should be admitted to a voice in their election. This has been owing, not to any prejudice against the curate class, but to the idea that while the other features of reform could be adopted without the sanction of Parliament, the admission of the unbeneficed clergy to the Convocation franchise clearly could not, as involving too serious a change in the constitution of the body. Not that the *Præmunientes* clause in terms confined the representation of the clergy to those who held benefices. But the licensed curates had not then sprung into existence; so that the incumbents of benefices were, as a matter of fact, the only original electors, and when the race of unbeneficed clergy appeared at a later date, they never obtained a footing in the representation. When, however, Convocation once accepts the fact that all the three points of reform stand in the same position in respect of their constitutional bearing, and that the two first are not one whit more easy of accomplishment than the third, we may conclude that it will adopt as part of the programme of reform the concession of the franchise to the unbeneficed clergy, who form about one-third of the whole number. The question will then arise whether the franchise should be extended to deacons, and whether the unbeneficed clergy, deacons as well as priests, should be admitted to vote for the same proctors as their beneficed brethren, or should be separately represented.

Into these points it is at present clearly premature to enter. The point to which would-be reformers of Convocation have at present to direct their energies is not the shape which the reform shall take, but the removal of the two great obstacles which lie in the way of any reform, namely, the avowed unwillingness of Convocation to seek the aid of Parliament, and the anticipated unwillingness of Parliament to grant the aid if solicited. Unless.

Convocation will abandon its *non possumus* attitude in this respect, we must clearly be content to remain as we are, and accept the attendant disadvantages of the situation. The extent of these was strikingly illustrated in one of the discussions which took place in the London Diocesan Conference at the end of April. A proposal was brought forward of altering the law of the land so as to permit changes in the Rubrics to be effected by the Convocations of the two Provinces, provided the changes, after being published for a twelvemonth, were ratified by the Queen in Council, and laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament for forty days without evoking an adverse address to the Crown from either House. This proposal had been approved by both Houses of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and by the House of Laymen of that Province; but it was strenuously opposed in the Conference, and was rejected by a very large majority. The principal cause of this rejection was, no doubt, as the speeches in the discussion indicated, the consideration that the Convocations as at present constituted were not satisfactorily representative of the Church. One distinguished and influential member of the Conference went so far as to say that to entrust such a power as was proposed to assemblies which could not be regarded as forming an adequate legislative body for the Church would be almost a criminal act.

But it may be asked, What would be the use of Convocation applying to Parliament? Parliament would never entertain a proposal which would open the way for Convocation reforming itself. So it seems to be assumed; but the experiment remains to be made; and till it is made the issue cannot be certainly known. This is not the line of action which has been adopted by enthusiasts on other subjects. They have not waited to approach Parliament till they had a probable chance of carrying their measures. Session after Session they have persistently introduced their proposals, with the absolute certainty of rejection. Undaunted by defeat, they have persisted, and in many cases their pertinacity has been ultimately crowned with success. If there were a little more of this dogged determination in pressing ecclesiastical legislation upon the attention of Parliament, we should have less cause than we have in the present day to lament the continuance of recognised, but unremedied, blemishes in the Church of England.

PHILIP VERNON SMITH.



## Reviews.

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*Canon Harford Battersby and the Keswick Convention.* By TWO OF HIS SONS. Seeley and Co.

THE publication of this memoir is opportune at a time when many are inquiring, "What is the Keswick Convention, and what is its teaching?" The life of Canon Battersby, the virtual founder of the Convention, to a great extent supplies an answer to this question and similar ones.

The greater part of the volume is devoted to an outline of the early years and subsequent ministerial work of Mr. Battersby prior to the foundation of the Keswick Convention. Yet this period must be understood before we can follow the subsequent connection with the Convention, which is the central point of interest in the book. The life of Canon Battersby is the life of a man of deep spiritual convictions; no ordinary life, but one which combined practical common-sense and distinct ability with an intense spirituality. Perhaps at times there may have been too great a preponderance of what we may call "spiritual introspection," but it was throughout an introspection of deep humility, and while creating dissatisfaction with "self," led him on to find that "resting faith" which resulted in a profound peace.

Entering Balliol in 1841, he found himself in the midst of "the Oxford Movement," a movement which at the time, and for some short period after his leaving college, attracted him considerably. The earnestness and devoutness of its leaders made a great impression upon him; so much so, that when in 1847 he was ordained, his first curacy was under High Church auspices.

The two years spent at Gosport, his first sphere of labour, were marked by a contest in Mr. Battersby's mind between the Evangelical and Tractarian systems; and at the close of the period he found himself differing fundamentally from his colleagues in doctrine and practical teaching.

In 1849 he accepted a curacy at St. John's, Keswick, under the late Rev. Frederick Myers, a clergyman of wide sympathies and eminent intellectual power. In 1851 he succeeded Mr. Myers as vicar, and Vicar of St. John's, Keswick, he continued until his death in 1883.

The full change in his views on Church principles dates from his connection with St. John's, and he writes in his journal just prior to his leaving Gosport: "I am persuaded, on the whole, of the truth of Protestant principles; Anglo-Catholicism I believe to be inconsistent and untenable by an honest mind." Referring to the reproach often brought against clergy of Protestant principles that they are unlearned, he adds: "Let me also endeavour to wipe off the reproach of ignorance, which, I fear, must attach to me now, by diligence and perseverance in my studies."

The chapter entitled "Pastor in Parochia" gives us a most interesting account of Canon Battersby's work at Keswick. Deeply instructive is

the view he held regarding the position and responsibilities of a clergyman in charge of a parish. It must be no sinecure, no mere routine of ministerial work; the work of a pastor must embrace all the varied interests of his parishioners. Secular and spiritual wants alike are to engage his attention, and yet nothing is to be so secular that it cannot also be spiritual. He writes in his journal (a book which must teem with valuable and suggestive thoughts and hints):

"I have . . . to watch over all the institutions in the parish, to have "an eye to everything which can affect the spiritual or temporal well-being of the people of the parish; for I am, or shall be, an officer of "the State, as well as of the Church. Yet let me beware of making too "much separation between secular things and spiritual . . . the Christian "minister ought to be first and foremost in all things which concern the "intellectual and social welfare of the people . . . in short, he ought to "use his influence every way, wherever he can, to set everything on a "right footing as regards its spirit and aims, and to promote its preservation in the same."

Nor did he fail in this high ideal. Library, Lecture Hall, Mechanics' Institute, all witnessed to his interest and activity. Yet all was subordinate to one aim; "My business with the people is to make them Christians." And he spared no effort in his endeavour, nor was he wedded to mere conventional forms. "If the people will not come to Church, the Church must go to the people."

But the portion of the memoir which is, perhaps, the most interesting, though the whole book is deeply so, is that which gives us an insight into the spiritual life of Canon Battersby, and the course of events which led up to the founding of the Keswick Convention.

A sense of the need of union among Christians seems to have been forced gradually upon him. He writes, September 30th, 1851:

"The tone of piety is very low amongst us. The friends of truth, "such as they are, are disunited. They give a feeble light singly; they "do not strengthen one another's hands, nor attempt to rally round the "standard of Jesus."

Attendance later on at the May meetings in London caused him "to feel how good it was for men, who were working in the same cause, and on the same lines, to meet together for mutual encouragement and strengthening one another's faith." The growth of this conviction led to the founding of "the Evangelical Union for the Diocese of Carlisle," mainly designed to foster spiritual life by means of gatherings for the clergy and laity at one centre for two days for prayer and fellowship.

It was in such a frame of mind that Canon Battersby came into contact with another movement. In 1873 came the controversy on "holiness through faith." That phrase was the title of a series of articles published in a weekly religious paper. There was much to condemn in the position taken up in those articles; their tendency was towards a doctrine of sinless perfection, not towards a life of victory, which results from the grace given to realize that sin lies under condemnation, and is to be treated accordingly, while at the same time the Christian never forgets that

it is present, though its doom is settled and its dominion broken. While there was much in the teaching of this movement which Mr. Battersby could not but regard as dangerous, he was yet greatly impressed by it. He had a longing for a higher experience of victory and rest. His words are, "I feel again how very far I am from enjoying that peace and love and joy habitually, which Christ promises." It was the sense of need of rest which led him to attend the Oxford Convention in 1874. The definiteness of purpose and directness of aim in the speakers struck him. It was here that he entered into a newer and higher state of spiritual experience, which he himself described as a passing "from a seeking to a resting faith." Under date September 3rd, Oxford, he writes :

"Have been too much occupied to write in this since Monday, but it has been an eventful time for me. *I believe I entered into a rest of faith on Tuesday evening, which I have not known before.* . . . I said to myself, Has not my faith been a seeking faith when it ought to have been a resting faith? and if so, why not exchange it for the latter? And I thought of the sufficiency of Jesus: and said, 'I will rest in Him!' and I did rest in Him. I said nothing to anyone of this, and was afraid lest it should be a passing emotion; but I found that a presence of Jesus was graciously manifested to me in a way that I knew not before, and that I did *abide in Him*. In the morning I awoke with a sweet sense of His blessed presence and indwelling, which has continued in measure since."

The Rev. Handley C. G. Moule, in his preface to this memoir, alluding to this event says :

"Canon Battersby, in 1874, made what to many another man also has been a discovery of supreme importance, the discovery of new trust. . . . I venture to think his experience strikingly illustrates what has been strikingly said, that the great need of the soul and of the Church in these latter days is 'not new truth, but new trust.'"

The result of this change was some time later the issue of a printed circular signed by Canon Battersby and Mr. Robert Wilson, of Broughton Grange, inviting "Christians of every section of the Church of God" to meet at Keswick for "three days' union meetings for the promotion of practical holiness." So the first Keswick Convention was held; and every year since has witnessed a similar, though far more numerous, gathering.

Canon Battersby passed away to his rest on July 23rd, 1883, the day fixed for the Keswick Convention of that year.

The memoir of the life thus briefly sketched will be read by a wide circle of readers, and it will well repay them. The writers have gathered together the most striking incidents and letters, and the two hundred pages of the volume are filled with the most interesting and markedly instructive matter. Amid much in the present time that is either defective or extravagant in doctrine and in method, it is refreshing to find the record of a life marked by common-sense and practical religion, and yet of a spirituality so deep, so consecrated, so inspiring.

GEORGE NICKSON.

*Our Tithe Deeds.* A Defence of the Church against Disendowment; being a reply to Mr. Miall's book, "Tithe Deeds of the Church of England to her Endowments." By Rev. MORRIS FULLER, M.A., Rector of Ryburgh, author of "Our Established Church," "Pan-Anglicanism: what is it?" "Church of England: its History and Claims on the Nation;" "Court of Final Appeal;" "Lord's Day, or Christian Sunday;" "Life, Times, and Writings of Dr. Thos. Fuller," etc. Pp. 375. Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh.

This is a timely work, and should do good service. The learned author has seen what is the present need, and has carried out his purpose on judicious lines with great ability. A defence of the Church against *Disendowment*, the volume is dedicated to the Earl of Selborne, author of the "Defence of the Church against *Disestablishment*." Its object is to show that the Church's "tithe deeds" to her endowments and fabrics are unimpeachable; in other words, to refute the "national property" argument. Accordingly, beginning at the beginning, Mr. Fuller deals with the rise of the tithe system in the Christian Church, and then proceeds to the origin of tithes in Anglo-Saxon days. His remarks on the Anglo-Saxon Charters—in particular that of A.D. 854—are admirable, and the whole of this chapter is clear and telling. The fifth chapter is on the Norman period. In the sixth and two following chapters the alleged tripartite division of tithes and the Poor Law System in relation to the Church are dealt with. Each branch of the subject is handled, and so far as we have observed, with precision and point. We regret that lack of space prevents us from giving so good a book a worthy notice. One of the useful appendices, we may add, contains a letter from Lord Bramwell, about landlords; "the tithe-owner's title is as good as the landlord's."

One portion of the work will be turned to with special interest just now, namely, that which relates to the Bill now before the House of Commons; it admits the difficulties of the case, and answers the question, What is to be done; now, and later on? First of all the Government Bill must pass.

In his preface Mr. Fuller points to the fall in the annual value of tithes. According to the prophets, in three years they will be down to 72, and are never likely to rise above 80 again. This means that £100 of tithe is to-day worth only £78 1s. 3½d., a deduction of nearly 22 per cent. This represents untold misery to those clergy who have no private resources, and carries discouragement and dismay into thousands of parsonages. It must be confessed that the clergy are bearing their losses with a dignified and uncomplaining resignation. Something, however, will have to be done sooner or later as to their maintenance, and the present generation of Church people must be taught that they can no longer fall back, as they have been accustomed to, upon the piety and munificence of their forefathers, but they must themselves contribute of their substance to the stipends of their clergy. Meantime can nothing be done to alleviate the "present distress" and take off some of the fiscal burdens from the clergy? Mr. Fuller calls attention to the mode of assessing and rating the incomes of the clergy. It must be borne in mind that of all the parishioners in any parish none are so heavily taxed for the relief of the poor as its incumbent. The *official stipends* of the clergy are subject to burdens from which the members of other professions are exempt, to wit, the army and navy, the civil and

other services whose stipends are paid out of the Imperial Exchequer. The taxes on the endowments of the clergy, *other than* income tax and those usually paid by occupiers, amount to £714,043 per annum. And not only is the whole of the *tithe* rated for the relief of the poor, but all *other local* charges, such as Highway and School Board rates, are *levied on the same basis, i.e.*, the old assessment for the poor, with the result that the clergyman, with or without even a pony-chaise, often pays more highway rate than the squire who can afford to keep many horses, or the farmer and miller who send their lumbering teams and heavy waggons over the same roads to their detriment, an injustice which the late Mr. Fawcett recognised and would have endeavoured to amend. Surely some readjustment of this basis of taxation would bring some relief to those who are bearing this distress so bravely, and it would be an act as graceful as equitable. The clergy are *overtaxed*—more highly taxed than any other class in the community. Nothing should be left undone, adds Mr. Fuller, which could possibly bring about a better state of things.

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## Short Notices.

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*High Days of the Christian Year.* By the Very Rev. ANDREW TAIT, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., Provost of Tuam. London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh.

THIS work may be best described as a series of homilies on Church seasons, and it is impossible to speak of them too highly. They are up to the mark, thoughtful and earnest. We quote a fine passage on materialistic theories :

Dr. Tyndall in 1870 was pleased to say that "not alone the exquisite and wonderful mechanism of the human body, but the human mind itself—emotion, intellect, and will, and all their phenomena, were once latent in a fiery cloud;" and Professor Huxley speaks of "nature's great progression from the formless to the formed, from the inorganic to organic, from blind force to conscious intellect and will." This is what is understood by the development theory—a theory which sets aside all notion of a personal Creator, and which is alike subversive of the first principles of physical truth, as it is contrary to the precepts of religion. If man's constitution be only the result of a process of development from inorganic to organic life; if we, in common with the plant or the lower creation, be only the result of the action on matter of forces governed by inexorable law, where is the room left in such a theory for duty, responsibility, or a future state? We may, therefore, expect the faith of the philosopher not to rise higher than his tenets; and accordingly we hear him propound his creed, when, alluding to the prospects of the religion of humanity, he says: "Here I touch upon a theme too great for me, but which will assuredly be handled by the loftiest minds when you and I, like specks of the morning cloud, shall have melted into the infinite azure of the past." If the theory of the evolution of living forms from non-living matter, in the early stages of the earth's history, be the philosophic faith of the nineteenth century, and if the only hope it can inspire is that we shall all pass away "into the infinite azure of the past like streaks of the morning cloud," then what remains for us but to adopt the Epicurean maxim, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die"?

It would be easy to add to the above many other passages of equal merit; but we must content ourselves with the following :

Can the example of patient endurance, such as Stoicism taught, open up a vista through the clouds which overhang the mystery of life, and point us to a bright

and glorious immortality? Utterly impossible; and all imitative religion, which has not a basis in the Atoning love of Christ, is no better than pious trifling, the superficial veneer which hides the weakness and imperfections of a heart still estranged from God. Blot out the atonement of the Cross, and the music of heaven should cease, angel harps which are attuned to sound the praises of redemption should be silent for ever, and the Church on earth should clothe herself in robes of mourning, while darkness would return as at the beginning, the presage and prelude of that outer darkness which means utter and absolute exclusion from the presence of God.

*Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.* Malachi, with notes and introduction by the Ven. T. T. PEROWNE, D.D. Cambridge University Press.

The notes are scholarly and to the point. On ch. i., ver. 7, the Archdeacon aptly quotes from Calvin: "Sacerdotes debuerant illa omnia rejicere, et potius claudere templum Dei quam ita promiscue admittere quæ Deus tibi offerri prohibuerat." This is followed by an equally apt one from Dr. Pusey, and later on, with reference to the interpretation of "incense" and "offering" (ch. i., ver. 11), we have the entire passage of Justin Martyr brought forward, which proves that he referred the words "to prayers and giving of thanks . . . as the only sacrifices which are perfect and acceptable to God."

*A Story of the Church of England.* By I. F. London: S.P.C.K.

This story is pleasantly told, giving a sketch of the Church to the times of Wycliffe. It is written from the Anglican standpoint. In speaking of the doctrine of our Church with respect to the Holy Communion, we note that after the words "verily and indeed taken" the following words, "by the faithful," are omitted, which in a new edition should be added.

*Marginal Notes.* By LELAND NOEL. London: Hatchards.

Notes on sundry passages of Scripture, thoughtful and suggestive; a *multum in parvo*.

*The Promised King.* The Story of the Children's Saviour. By ANNIE R. BUTLER, Author of "Stories from Genesis," etc. With a coloured map of Palestine, and thirty-eight illustrations. R.T.S.

An excellent gift-book.

*The Life and Work of Mary Louisa Whately.* By E. J. WHATELY, Author of "Memoir of Archbishop Whately." The Religious Tract Society.

We heartily recommend this readable and informing book, a "little Memorial Sketch" of one who laboured for thirty years in Egypt.

*The Book of Psalms.* Oxford, at the University Press.

An edition of the Psalms according to the Revised Version. It is well printed and nicely got up.

In the *Expository Times* (T. and T. Clark) appear, as usual, some interesting brief Notes. One refers to Professor Margoliouth's "Essay on the Place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature."

The *Girl's Own Paper* contains an admirable article on Bees, "A Girl's own Apiary"; thoroughly practical.

A capital paper in the *Cornhill* describes the ways and doings of Rats.



## THE MONTH.

THE second reading of the Irish Land Purchase Bill was carried by a majority of eighty, after a speech by Mr. Balfour of remarkable debating power.

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech on Dr. Cameron's motion, has at last pronounced for Disestablishment in Scotland.

The majority on the second reading of the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (which this year openly interferes with ecclesiastical law) was 67.

At the Rochester Diocesan Conference, the "Churchmen in Council" resolution was carried; but in London it was rejected, after an impressive speech against it by Dr. Wace.

Archdeacon Denison, in his *gravamen* and Charge, has pronounced a strong censure on "Lux Mundi."

At the consecration of Bishop Westcott, in Westminster Abbey, the sermon was preached by Dr. Hort.

Mr. Stanley has been heartily welcomed in London at enormous and distinguished meetings.

At a special meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Society the New Code was criticised and commended.

In an article on the annual meeting of the S.P.G., the *Guardian* refers to the appeal for the Corean Mission made by Bishop Corfe :

No one who knows the unselfish enthusiasm which animates the supporters of the C.M.S., and the noble work which is being done for it in such regions as Equatorial Africa, or the extreme North-West of Canada, can doubt that, were such an appeal as Bishop Corfe's made by the Church Missionary Society, volunteers would come forward in at least sufficient numbers. If the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is to depend for support mainly upon the High Church section in the country, it may at least fairly expect that when an opportunity is given, under the most direct sanction of the spiritual authorities of the Church, for a special manifestation of self-sacrifice and devotion, High Churchmen, who at home are certainly not deficient in these qualities, should come forward to accept the task.

The Bishop of Wakefield has written to his rural deans saying that, although the forthcoming judgment of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Bishop of Lincoln's case will have no legal force in the Northern Province, it will have great moral weight, and he trusts that his clergy will carry out its decisions.

Canon Liddon has declined the see of St. Albans.

In the *Record* appears, as usual, an excellent report of the May Meetings. At the Bible Society anniversary a remarkable speech was made by the Archbishop of York.