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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_churchman\\_os.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php)

THE  
CHURCHMAN

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FEBRUARY, 1891.

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ART. I.—“THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE BIBLE.”

*The Foundations of the Bible.* Studies in Old Testament Criticism. By  
R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890.

CANON GIRDLESTONE'S new book has many qualities which call for hearty commendation. Although it is not intended to be an *eirenicon*, yet, if the author is conducting war, he conducts it with a rare and admirable freedom from asperity; exhibiting throughout an enviable familiarity with the many subjects which he has occasion to discuss, and a no less enviable power of selecting topics of importance, and explaining them with lucidity and method. The *Times* reviewer of “Lux Mundi” (November 13, 1890) already recognised that the articles in the *Record* out of which this book has grown were a contribution of no ordinary importance to a subject which since the publication of “Lux Mundi” has been more than ever on the public mind. The price of the book renders it accessible to all students, and its author has provided that all may read it with interest and profit.

Canon Girdlestone's position in relation to the criticism of the historical books of the Old Testament is stated on p. 193 as follows:

“We allow that Genesis is a compilation, and that the writers of the original materials from which it is composed may have presented the traditional information that came into their hands in different ways, with different names for God, and from different points of view; but we believe that all these variations were patriarchal, and that the book, as we now have it, is in the main as Moses and his immediate followers have left it. Again, we allow that there are different

"codes included in the legislation of the Pentateuch, but we believe that they were all delivered to Israel through Moses in various stages of the wilderness wanderings, and we see no reason, literary or otherwise, for regarding any of them as fabrications of a later age.

"Similarly we regard the Book of Joshua as a compilation, issued in all probability under the authorization of Phinehas and the elders of his time, and we believe that it presents an authoritative account of the way and degree in which God fulfilled the promises made to the patriarchs and to Israel. The rest of the historical books we take to be compilations from contemporary accounts, mainly from the work of prophetic writers, such as Samuel, the compilers themselves being persons whose authority must have been recognised when the books were issued, the final authorization of the whole being probably due to Ezra. This is the old traditional view, and to it we adhere."

The concessions here made to criticism are of such a nature that the author may well identify his view with the traditional view. His method is to show that each period presupposes what from the tradition we should expect it to presuppose; and then to apply to the tradition a variety of tests, topographical, linguistic and historical. At any rate, the line of defence here maintained is not of the kind which forces him who maintains it to ask whether he "have not a lie in his right hand." And since, as the author points out, such external evidence as has come to light "has all gone one way," there is good hope that many of his propositions may some day receive fuller confirmation than they now possess. Perhaps many who believe most confidently in the authors whom criticism has evolved, "the A, B and C of the Germans," would feel some surprise if the reality of their existence were confirmed from some external source. In the "Knights" of Aristophanes, a play acted in the year 424 B.C. (line 635), a speaker invokes a number of strange deities, all of them patrons of folly, among whom are the *Βερέσχεθου*, *Bereschethi*. Bothe, an editor of no great merit, but of some genius, says on that word (the import and origin of which are wholly unknown), *There was a time when I derived this word from the Hebrew Bereschith, and thought that the Jews were ridiculed as Bereschethi by the Babylonians and Persians, as people who were constantly repeating the word בְּרַחֲשֵׁית, with which their Pentateuch commences; and that a faint rumour of this usage having reached the Greeks, the foolish and superstitious were generally called Bereschethi.* This explanation, though in some details it may have to be modified, seems in the main quite satisfactory and convincing. Doubtless among the

400,000 slaves who worked in Athens at this time were some of those, or the descendants of some of those, whose exportation into “Javan” rouses the indignation of the Prophets. That, then, which in after-days was “foolishness to the Greeks,” is here for the first time ridiculed as a slavish superstition by the same poet who ridicules the deities of the Thracians and the Scythians. But if in the year 424 the first word of the Pentateuch was so familiar on Jewish lips that it could either serve as a nickname of the people or as the title of their religion, the document which contains that word cannot then have been very recent. The superior importance of positive evidence to negative, of authoritative tradition to hypotheses best calculated to explain the facts, will probably in the advance of criticism be more recognised than it is now.

Without, however, entering further into the critical questions involved in the “Foundations of the Bible,” the reviewer may call attention to some passages of special interest.

An argument sometimes urged by those who annul the distinction between false and true prophets, and reject the Israelites’ interpretation of their own history, is that it is against nature and experience that people should be so blind to their own interest, and so ungrateful, as the Israelites represent their ancestors to have been; and another argument closely connected with this, and urged against the antiquity of the law, is, that had the law existed it would have been obeyed; and that from the disregard of it which the historical books exhibit we may justly infer that it was not known. To the first of these an eminent German writer has replied that these matters cannot be settled *à priori*; that cases of children maintaining a course of ingratitude and disobedience towards affectionate parents are far from unknown; that what is true of individuals is not wholly impossible in a race. The second of the above arguments is interestingly dealt with by Canon Girdlestone in the following passage (p. 139):

“None of these things prove the non-existence of the law, but they reflect gross discredit on the priesthood; and they make it impossible for us to believe that the later priests could have invented any of the Pentateuch codes and attributed them to Moses, stamping thereby their own predecessors with everlasting disgrace.

“The case is somewhat, though not altogether, similar to that of the New Testament. Our Lord legislated for the future. A large part of His legislation—*e.g.*, the Sermon on the Mount—contemplated a state of things which we have never yet seen carried out. Much of the New Testament teaching was gradually ignored, and finally superseded by a

"debased religion. The finding of the Law by Hilkiah is like the reading of the Bible by Martin Luther, and a Reformation followed in each case, tending to bring men back to the study of earlier documents. It cannot be denied that the Mosaic legislation was practically, to a large extent, a failure, but theologically it gives us a hopeful ideal. The same is true of Christianity to some extent. The adherents of this religion of peace keep millions of soldiers ready for war, and the professed followers of One who impoverished Himself and sacrificed Himself accumulate wealth and live selfish, luxurious lives."

Peculiar interest attaches to chapters x. and xi., where cases are collected of notes which were added by readers to the original documents, and "are silent witnesses to the antiquity of the text on which they comment." The distinction between these and parentheses by original writers is pointed out by Canon Girdlestone (p. 66), but not sufficiently observed by him in his treatment of this subject; to the latter class rather than the former belong the theological notes (pp. 72-74), and even the interesting notice (p. 70) of Num. xiii. 22, that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt"—a note clearly addressed to persons who were acquainted with that date and used it as a standard. It may be added that the extremely irregular and arbitrary nature of these glosses (*e.g.*, in Gen. xiv., *Bela* is glossed both in verse 2 and verse 8, but *Emek hassidim* only in verse 3; in verse 14 the difficult word *הניכוי* is interpreted, but not *וירק*) seems strongly in favour of the author's opinion that they are the product of accident rather than of conscious editing.

We might have wished that the subject of the high places had received fuller treatment than the author allots it (pp. 146, 147), in consideration of the important place which the argument drawn from it occupies in the works of the school which this book is meant to answer; the notice of them, however, is interesting, and may be quoted in part:

"We must evidently draw a distinction between two classes of high places which originally existed side by side. The Patriarchs set up altars wherever they worshipped God, and probably they were on the hills, worship being then conducted in the open air. When Israel re-entered Canaan it would be natural that they should have numerous centres of worship, and that they should feel specially attached to the sacred places of their ancestors at Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, and elsewhere. But the Canaanites also had their altars and high-places, and the danger would be that Israel should worship at these, and so be led into adopting heathen rites. Accordingly the law ordered that all Canaanite high

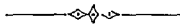
"places should be destroyed, (Num. xxxiii. 52). But did it forbid all worship whatsoever except at one place? That would be a strange regulation. It is clear on the one hand that Moses predicts the establishment of a great religious centre where God's name should be specially honoured, and Solomon referred to this fact when he dedicated the Temple; but it is not equally clear that all local worship was forbidden."

The observations on the varieties of language employed in the Bible (chapters xxii.-xxiv.) will be found both temperate and prudent. It is interesting to observe that the question of the employment of different names of God has, with the progress of criticism, become one of secondary importance. This is not the only case in which the observation that gave rise to a series of inquiries has, in the course of those inquiries, had to be modified or abandoned. The value of this criterion becomes necessarily weakened as soon as it is supposed that the use of one or other name was not unconscious, but intentional. Moreover, the observations on p. 188 show us that the variation of the names of God was a matter in which the earlier scribes allowed themselves considerable licence—licence which all critics assume to be the explanation of certain phenomena, and of which the limits are wholly unknown. The analogy from the New Testament adduced on p. 156, perhaps not for the first time, will appeal to common-sense: "The comparative usage of Jesus and Christ in the New Testament affords a convenient analogy, and there is no more reason in the nature of things for dividing out the Book of Genesis amongst several writers according to their use of one or other name of God, than for parcelling out various sections of St. Paul's Epistles on a similar ground." When, however, the author observes (p. 158) that "Elohim sets forth God as the Putter-forth of force, whilst Jehovah sets Him forth as the Speaker to the spirit and the faithful Promiser," we may, at least, doubt whether the writers, each time they used these familiar names, were conscious of the attributes which each of them expresses.

There are a few points of detail on which some scholars may differ with the learned writer. Is there any ground for interpreting the name צפניה "God is darkness," seeing that the first part scarcely means "darkness" in Hebrew, and we know that "with Him is no darkness at all"? Surely the old interpretation, "whom God has preserved," or "may God preserve him," is more in accordance both with linguistic usage and with theology. We should fancy that the "peculiar term used for the engraving of signets, פתח" (p. 20) was clearly Egyptian; *phōth* (for *pōth*) is used regularly in the

Coptic Bible for "to engrave," and it is usual in such cases to regard the Egyptian word as the earlier form. In "the sixteen or eighteen corrections of the scribes" (p. 184), the number should rather have been left indefinite; Geiger's celebrated "Urschrift," although it needlessly and fancifully multiplied the number, nevertheless proved, even to sober judges, that this enumeration is imperfect. "*Azazel*, or the scapegoat" (p. 160), suggests an identity between the two, which it is not likely that the learned author would maintain. For the most part, however, the accuracy both of the statements and of the typography of this book leaves nothing to be desired.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.



## ART. II.—THE MARRIAGE LAWS.

THE condition of the laws relating to marriage has been complained of for many years past. The marriage laws of different parts of the United Kingdom differ from one another materially; and the differences often cause inconveniences; but it would lead us too far to discuss these. I shall limit myself in this paper to those laws which affect us of the Church of England only.

These need reform, as is admitted on all hands. The most complete information on the whole subject will be found in the Report of a Royal Commission bearing date 1868. That Commission was composed entirely of statesmen and lawyers—Mr. S. H. Walpole, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Hatherley, Lord Cairns, Lord Selborne, Dr. Travers Twiss being leading names. No ecclesiastic had a place on it. Since that date several projects of law have been framed for the purpose of giving effect to recommendations of the Royal Commission, the latest of them being a Bill drawn up by the Bishop of London, and discussed in both Convocations last spring; but as yet nothing has been done.

It is the requirements preliminary to marriage which seem to demand our first and special attention.

Marriages to be solemnized in church must be preceded by banns, by special license, by ordinary license, or by superintendent registrar's certificate. The special license is issued only by the Master of the Faculties of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Its effect is merely to set aside the usual restrictions as to residence and time and place of solemnization. It is a survival of the Papal times, for the Archbishop of Canter-

bury possessed the power of issuing these extraordinary indulgences only as "Legatus Natus" of the Pope, and the power was reserved to him by 25 Hen. VIII., c. 21, and continued by 4 Geo. IV., c. 76, which is the principal statute governing our marriage law at present. The special license is costly, about £30, and is only granted in exceptional cases. It is consequently not much used; there were 21 issued in 1887, 23 in 1888, 24 in 1889.

The superintendent registrar's certificate of publication in his office may also be obtained in lieu of banns by those who prefer it; and this method finds not a little favour in some parts of the land. In the district where I now reside it is, perhaps, as common as banns. In 1887 it was issued for marriages in church to 3,451 couples, in 1888 to 3,296, in 1889 to 3,327. Doubts have been expressed as to whether a clergyman *must* or only *may* solemnize a marriage on production of this document. It would certainly seem from 18 & 19 Vict., c. 119, s. 11, that there is a discretion in the matter; but I for one strongly advise that no difficulty should be made. The clergy, I think, ought in the interests of morality and religion to accept and act on the certificate.

Ordinary licenses are issued by the Diocesan Chancellor in the Bishop's name, and merely dispense with the publication of banns, and are valid only for that diocese. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, can issue from Doctors' Commons an ordinary license, available in any church of any diocese in either province in virtue of the pre-Reformation jurisdiction just alluded to. This license is subject to the same conditions in other respects as a license granted by the diocesan authority, and costs somewhat more.

Banns still remain the usual method of proceeding; about 90 per cent. of the marriages in church are "after banns." Very serious objections exist to this method. Banns are intended as a security against clandestine and unlawful marriages. And no doubt originally, when our parishes were nearly all small, when everyone might be known to the incumbent, and certainly to his neighbours, and there was but one place of worship, to which all were required by law to resort, then banns served the purpose sufficiently well. In these times banns not seldom serve as a cloak for those very proceedings they were designed to prevent. Persons desirous of concealment "procure their banns to be published in populous places, where they do not usually live, and are not personally known, and where the clergy have neither the leisure to seek nor the means of obtaining accurate information concerning them" (Report, p. vi.). Moreover, such is the number of names rapidly read out after the Second Lesson in



some of our large churches, that it is almost impossible to identify particulars, and the recitation of them causes an inconvenient and unseemly interruption of Divine service. Nor is this all. The publicity given by banns, where the congregation listens to them at all, is distasteful to many. It leads to personal annoyances in some cases. It leads occasionally to demands for largesses or hospitalities which the newly-married can badly afford. Evidence has shown that the notoriety of banns has deterred some from marriage who ought to have been married previously. There can be no doubt that the greater quietness and secrecy of the registrar's office is a great recommendation in many cases. I can give a clear proof of this. A newspaper in the North of England began to publish in its columns the names of couples put up in the registrar's office. The effect was to check marriages in that office, and to send people back to the church. Such pressure was brought to bear upon the newspaper that the practice was discontinued. (See *York Journal of Convocation*, April, 1890, p. 133.) I have heard in some cases that the civil registrars, or their agents, use influence or persuasion to induce parties to be contented with a civil marriage.

Marriages by ordinary license have declined steadily for many years past. In 1863 there were out of a total of 136,743 marriages in church, no less than 19,298 by common licenses; whilst in 1888, out of 142,263 church marriages, those by such license were 10,378; and in 1889, out of a total of 149,356, only 10,261 were by license. The intermediate years show a falling off year by year. Possibly expense may have had something to do with it; the times have of late been hard. But the chief reason has been fashion—fashion alleging that to be married after banns is more rubrical. This, however, is due assuredly to misunderstanding, and a rather perverted misunderstanding, too. No doubt banns are mentioned in the rubric to the Marriage Service, but that rubric itself is not the one authorized either by Church or State. The Act of Uniformity, which had the Prayer-Book of 1662 sanctioned by Convocation amongst its schedules, directed the banns to be published “in the time of Divine Service, immediately before the sentences for the Offertory.” This was altered, by the Oxford University Press I believe, without any authority of Parliament, or Convocation, or Bishops, or anybody else, to its present form in 1809; and the alteration has found its way—a very curious fact—into all editions of the Prayer-Book now published. The reason alleged was to bring the rubric into conformity with the Marriage Act, 26 Geo. II., c. 33. The authorities of the Press, however, quite mistook the purport of the Act, which was not

at all to alter the time of publication of banns from that formerly appointed, but merely to require them to be published after the Second Lesson at evening service, when—as in those days was not uncommon—there was no morning service in the church at all. Hence so high a legal authority as Sir Edward Alderson expressed a doubt in 1856 whether the publication of banns after the Second Lesson instead of after the Nicene Creed is valid in law. It can hardly be questioned, however, that the marriage following such publication is valid; and in these days, when the service in the forenoon often consists of Matins, Litany and Sermon, following upon an early administration of the Holy Communion, probably the right course would be to publish the banns after the Second Lesson. Any irregularity of this nature might involve the censure of the officiating minister, but would not be suffered to impeach the marriage. Still, the publication of banns after the Second Lesson in a morning service, when there is an offertory to follow, would seem to be in strictness a contravention of Church order, and to be married after such publication to be by no means an exemplary act of obedience thereto. A license, anyhow, is purely an act of the spiritual power, abundantly recognised by ancient Church law and practice. It is, in fact, merely an ecclesiastical dispensation setting aside the ordinary requirements of statute and canon as regards certain preliminaries of marriage.

There is, however, a “business” reason why marriages which may affect the devolution of property or be otherwise important in the interests of posterity should always be by license. They can be so much more easily traced. A license is only granted on affidavit; the affidavit itself is filed in the diocesan registry, and carefully preserved. The names are ledgered and indexed; and the marriages by license can thus always be surely and easily referred to. No such security exists as regards marriages by banns. If the church in which the marriage is solemnized be forgotten, a thing which may easily happen, especially in these days of constant locomotion and change, there is no means at the diocesan registry of giving assistance. Hence those urgent advertisements we sometimes observe, and handsome offers to parish clerks and others who can discover the record of some marriage on which perhaps an old estate or a mass of savings may depend. The record wanted is wanted because the marriage has taken place after banns, and consequently nobody knows where to look for it. Since 6 & 7 Will. IV., c. 86, the general registry at Somerset House may be able to render help which there was no means of giving in former days; but I have no information on this point.

Various proposals have been made for reforms in those particulars to which I have adverted. The Commissioners of 1868 and others subsequently have suggested the removal of the stamp duty on licenses, 12s. 6d., which of course must always, so long as it lasts, interfere with their general use. Some uniformity in the fees charged for licenses is also desirable. In the Dioceses of Chester and Liverpool a license, including the stamp duty, costs £2. In the Diocese of Durham it costs £2 12s. 6d.; in some dioceses £3 3s. Uniformity in this matter ought to be established by law; and considering the greater security of this method, licenses ought to be cheapened as much as possible and their use extended. Considering that the Chancellor of the Exchequer now receives only about £6,000 per annum from this source, he might perhaps, if pressed, see his way to remit the duty, as not many years ago he did on the cognate instruments called faculties.

In view of the difficulties which beset the whole subject of the legal preliminaries of marriage, some good men have advocated the Continental system. This system makes a complete separation between the civil contract and the religious ceremony. The former is compulsory, the latter quite optional. The former must take place before a purely civil officer, and is identical for all citizens. They can, if they so please, follow it up by any religious solemnities that they approve, or by none at all.

This method recognises, what is undoubtedly the fact, that marriage is essentially a civil contract; and that all the State needs to do is to secure that this contract, the most important of all on which two human beings can enter, the very basis of society, should be placed beyond the reach of fraud and doubt. This is effectually secured on the Continental system by the requirement in all cases of certain simple and uniform preliminaries. For some years I was myself inclined to think that some such system would be the best reform of our own marriage laws. It would enable us most readily to get over the excessive inconveniences of having different systems of constituting the most important of relations in countries like those within the four seas, so closely allied by natural and political connections. The Continental system is simple, certain, and uniform. But longer experience and maturer reflection have altered my views in this particular. The reasons are various, but I will only refer to what seems to me the paramount necessity in these times more than ever of strengthening and consecrating the civil bond by the sanctions of religion. One great danger of the age is its growing secularism. Merely civil marriages, which are permitted as an alternative by the present law, are steadily, if not very

rapidly, on the increase. The sad proof may be seen in the returns of the Registrar-General, to which I may premise that the total number of marriages in proportion to the population has been steadily declining for several years past until 1889. Now, there were of civil marriages in

1879	-	-	21,769	1885 <sup>1</sup>	-	-	25,851
1880	-	-	24,180	1886 <sup>1</sup>	-	-	25,590
1881	-	-	25,055	1887	-	-	27,335
1882	-	-	25,717	1888	-	-	27,809
1883	-	-	26,547	1889	-	-	29,779
1884	-	-	26,786				

Now, I am not prepared to say that the State is wrong in tolerating secular marriages at all; and I know that the causes for the increase as shown by these figures are various. Just now I quote the figures simply to show that unless we wish such marriages to become the rule, rather than the exception, we had better not proceed to reform our marriage law on the Continental system, but rather try to build on the foundations of the existing law, encourage to the very utmost the celebration of marriage by duly authorized ministers of religion, and respect in so doing the habits and sentiments of the great majority of our people. We must try to improve our present system as regards Church marriages, and at the same time we ought to be willing to lend a hand to remove any grievances which our Nonconformist friends experience in the present state of the law as it affects them.

One principal improvement would be to introduce an alternative to banns. The Royal Commission was decided on this point. They deem it sufficient that the notice of an intended marriage should be given, accompanied by the necessary declarations, to the minister of religion before whom the marriage is to be solemnized. The Committee of the Lower House of York Convocation, which dealt with the subject in April last, prefer that the entry should be made in a marriage notice-book kept for the purpose, which should be open to inspection on demand. It is important also that a proper form should be provided by law, setting out the particulars to be declared by the parties intending marriage, and this form ought to be annexed to any new Marriage Act. The form ought to state the condition, age, residence, time of residence, and so on, as does the form which the civil registrar at present has to see filled up and attested in cases where his services are called in. It is a very

<sup>1</sup> Remarkably small number of marriages altogether by all methods in the years 1885, 1886.

serious defect in our law as it is at present, that the parish clergyman has no express power to require any information from parties giving in banns, except their names, places of residence, and length of residence. A notice such as is proposed would, in fact, give a better security against clandestine or improper marriages than banns at present afford. And if it be objected that the notice given in, entered in the notice-book, and kept, of course, with other parish books in the vestry, would be a secret way of getting married, let us observe that it is not at all more so than the procedure by license, or than that through the registrar's office is now. It might, however, be well that the notice should be transmitted to the diocesan registry, and a certificate obtained thence that no objection had been made. Let us note what the law aims to prevent. It seeks to stop marriages contracted without the knowledge of those who have a natural or legal right to information. What banns afford is at best a notoriety, just such as was obtained and objected to when first the Act establishing civil marriage was passed. Then the names were read out at meetings of the guardians of the poor. This was distasteful for just the same sort of reasons as banns are to some, and was speedily altered by 19 & 20 Vict., c. 119, to the present requirement, merely an entry of the names in the superintendent registrar's notice-book and office. I can see no reason why parallel requirements should not serve as well for church marriages. A notice in the banns-book kept in the vestry is as public for all practical purposes, or might easily be made so, as a notice hung up in the civil registrar's office.

A church marriage can only be solemnized in the church of the parish in which one if not both the parties reside. The civil registrar's certificate holds for any chapel in his district: greater liberty in this matter ought to be allowed to Churchpeople. Irregularities of all kinds are of constant occurrence from persons desiring to be married in one church whilst the law consigns them absolutely for such purposes to another. And this inconvenience is multiplied in districts where divisions and subdivisions of parishes go on frequently, and go on sometimes without any consent, or even knowledge, of the laity who are concerned. There can be no valid reason, where notice is given to the incumbent or incumbents of the parish or parishes in which the parties reside—and thus the usual safeguards are provided—why the area of choice as regards the church should not be extended. And it should be a well-known area. The diocese is so; the archdeaconry or rural deanery is not always so.

Fees need more effective regulation in some districts. In

no case ought the total cost for a marriage by banns, or any alternative method instead of banns, to exceed the cost of an alliance contracted in the registrar's office. There, I believe, the total is 6s. And I think that 1s. when the notice is given in, and 5s. at the solemnization in church, is enough. "A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband," a text which some associate with the 5s. in question. Originally the fee was an offering; I suspect that "the tokens of spousage" required by the old books, which became "the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk" in the second Prayer-Book of King Edward, were usually appropriated by the officiating minister, and were intended so to be, and thus custom made the offering into a fee. No doubt the fee is now a debt, and can be claimed at law. But I much doubt whether the old plan was not the better, and I am sure that the excessive fees which used to be levied for marriages in church, and which sometimes are levied still, are one cause amongst several which send the bridegroom to the registrar's office.

The general principles on which reforms should proceed in the law of marriage, so far as it concerns the Church, will, then, be these :

- (1) An alternative plan to banns for publication of the necessary notices.
- (2) More specific information when banns are given in.
- (3) A greater choice as regards churches.
- (4) A reduction in the cost of licenses.
- (5) A more general regulation of fees, such as would take away everywhere any temptation to resort to the merely civil ceremony for economy's sake.

Whatever may be thought as regards such details, or any of them, we shall all be agreed, I think, in desiring that, subject to the necessary safeguards, every facility and encouragement should be given to solemnization of marriage in the sanctuary. We all know that marriage is the contract on the faithful observance of which the happiness and the virtue of the community depend more than they do on any other.

We all know that the breach of its obligations entails infinite miseries and mischiefs, not only on the parties principally concerned, but on their offspring. It cannot be of happy omen that this contract should be so commonly, and so more and more frequently, treated as a merely secular transaction, just like a bargain for property, or even the purchase of a dumb creature. Such ideas cannot prevail without injury to the respect and honour for the female sex which is one of the characteristics and glories of Christianity—I think we might even say without injury to morals. The plain words of the New Testament, and the universal sentiment of the Christian

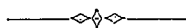
Church, have invested marriage with a sacred character and a deep religious significance. The regulations of our Church have fully recognised this. She requires that matrimony should be solemnized by one in priest's orders. Indeed, up to the last revision of the Prayer-Book in 1662, the office was always and by law concluded with an administration of the Holy Communion. This, indeed, was at that date so far modified as that the sacrament is no longer necessarily included in the solemnities of marriage, but the rubric still declares at the end of the service that "it is convenient that the newly-married persons should receive the Holy Communion at the time of their marriage," and it is therefore evident that the parties can claim to be communicated then and there. In fact, the Psalm introducing the second part of the service, and following the actual nuptials,—which, by-the-bye, ought to be transacted "in the body of the Church," as the rubric says,—is really nothing but the introit, the only survival from the introits which were provided in the first English Prayer-Book of 1549 for every celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In truth the "Form of Solemnization of Matrimony" underwent at the Reformation less change than almost any other of the mediæval offices. It is therefore plain on the face of it that a deacon ought not to be allowed to solemnize matrimony. He has no commission to do so in the rather specific and thorough enumeration of his duties rehearsed at his admission to office; and no less an authority than Lord Chief Justice Tindal stated in 1843 that serious doubts might be entertained as to the validity of a marriage at which the officiating minister was a deacon only. Independently of such legal considerations, it undoubtedly pertains to the dignity of the office that it should be performed by one in full orders. And nothing, surely, can be more plain than the duty which lies upon us to maintain to the uttermost every particular which in any way touches the estimation and reverence due, according to Holy Scripture and the Prayer-Book, to this ordinance and the state of life to which it is the consecrated introduction. Our duty as Churchmen is clear. We must exert ourselves to remove any serious obstacle that may hinder these pious and wholesome principles from commanding the general allegiance of our people.

THOMAS E. ESPIN.

By way of illustration the following Table, compiled from official returns, is appended, which shows the marriage rate, and the various modes in which marriages have been contracted for ten years past.

Year.	Total Number of Marriages in England and Wales.	According to Rites of Church of England.					Total.
		By Special License.	By Ordinary License.	By Banns.	By Supt. Registrar's Certificate.	Not Stated.	
1880	191,965	43	13,920	119,819	3381	498	187,661
1881	197,290	62	13,505	123,267	3637	524	140,995
1882	204,405	75	13,280	128,761	3517	469	146,102
1883	206,384	63	12,981	129,734	3740	482	147,000
1884	204,301	68	12,188	128,107	3523	458	144,344
1885	197,745	69	11,551	124,387	3399	507	139,913
1886	196,071	48	11,072	123,643	3324	484	138,571
1887	200,518	21	10,654	126,100	3451	381	140,607
1888	203,821	23	10,378	128,302	3296	364	142,863
1889	213,865	24	10,261	135,372	3327	372	149,354

Year.	Not according to Rites of Church of England.					
	In Registered Places.		Quakers.	Jews.	Civil Marriages in Supt. Registrar's Office.	Total.
	Roman Catholic.	Other Christian Denominations.				
1880	8210	21,394	57	463	24,180	54,304
1881	8784	21,922	56	484	25,055	56,295
1882	9235	22,768	70	513	25,717	58,303
1883	8980	23,260	58	539	26,547	59,384
1884	8783	23,726	61	601	26,786	59,957
1885	8162	23,130	49	640	25,851	57,832
1886	8220	22,969	47	674	25,590	57,500
1887	8611	23,259	57	649	27,335	59,911
1888	8632	23,667	51	799	27,809	60,958
1889	8988	24,302	73	867	29,779	64,509



## ART. III.—NOTES AND COMMENTS ON ST. JOHN XXI.

## No. 2.

SO the seven disciples set out for their evening's fishing, and spent that summer night in vain efforts on the lake. "*And that night they took nothing.*" No doubt many a well-known favourable place was tried, now the nearer now the further shore, the deeper and the shallower waters. Most of them were experienced fishermen, and they were at work where the prey was then, as now, abundant. But "*that night they took nothing.*"

It was not an unprecedented disappointment. Some three years before they had passed a similar night (Luke v.), the



night which ushered in the day when some of them received from their Friend and Teacher the call which changed their whole after-life:—"Master (*ἐπιστάτα*), we have toiled all the night and taken nothing; nevertheless at Thy word I will let down the net." There was *that* precedent at least to be remembered; and perhaps there were other occasions when they had borne the burthens of a fruitless night, though the emphasis with which these two experiences are recorded seems to say that such a night was not an ordinary incident. It was as it were part and parcel with the miraculously fruitful morning.

Certainly it was a providential preparation for it. The true Son of Man (Psa. viii. 4) ruled the waters and their tribes all that night through. "The fishes of the sea, and whatsoever walketh through the paths of the sea"—of them we read in that Messianic oracle that they are part of His dominion. Let us remember, as most certainly St. John means us to do, that it was He who that night willed the hours of frustration and failure. The providence and decree of Jesus Christ deliberately and effectually disappointed His dear disciples' hopes and efforts. The weary hands, the aching eyes, the baffled skill, He had to do with it all. It was the Lord.

It is well worth our while to bear this in mind for our own help. Not seldom the servant of God is called upon to use his best skill and strength *apparently* in vain; to labour unmistakably in vain as regards *immediate* successes. Not always, indeed; in many cases not very often; but certainly, upon the whole, not very seldom. Such experiences should always lead us to self-searching, to see what may perhaps be the reason of failure in *us*, in our spirit toward others, or towards the Lord, or in our ways and means of labour. But when, as in His presence, we may humbly believe that in these respects His will is being done in us and by us, and yet we seem to "spend our strength for nought," then let us remember the night spent on the Galilean lake, and be reassured. We shall yet find that the disappointment is in providence as much a blessing as the success is; in fact, a part of the success, its prelude and preface.

Could the Seven have foreseen, however dimly, their Master's presence the next morning, and realized, however faintly, that He was in those dark hours already acting upon them and around them, would it not have lightened all the burthen indescribably? All vexation would have vanished out of the delay, simply because of their consciousness of the life, the will, the love of their Saviour and their God.

It would seem however (ver. 4) that they had no such forecast: "*When daybreak was now come, Jesus came and stood*

on the beach (the eastern beach, as we gather from the evident solitude of the place); *the disciples however did not know that it is Jesus.*" No; they did not know it, even John did not know it, till the miracle, the *σημείον*, was fairly done. We gather that the undefined transfiguration of our Lord's appearance, so often hinted at in the Resurrection narratives, was here also operating to delay their recognition. But we may also infer that their minds as well as eyes were at fault; they were not on the *qui vive* to see Him; or surely the first sight of any solitary figure on the beach would have at once suggested the question, Is it not the Lord?

We can do little more than note this peculiar unconsciousness of the Apostles. Like other instances of their oblivion or "slowness of heart," it speaks truth and fact by its very unlikelihood *a priori*, and by the perfect *naïveté* of the record of it. It is precisely unlike an invention. If an invention, it would be of course the invention of a later generation, when these fishermen were already viewed with the deepest reverence as the builders and rulers of the Christian community. Would an artificial picture of their conduct, drawn at such a date, have taken the line which the Gospels do take, the line of freest description and criticism of their slowness and fallibility of perception? The thoroughly human, imperfect, provincial character and conduct attributed as a fact to the Apostles in the Gospels has thus a precious value as internal evidence of the genuineness of the record. Again and again be it said, the picture is not a composition, it is a photograph. It is not an ideal; it is life.

So here we have not a company of non-human beings, seen in "the light that never was on sea or land"; their every faculty always awake to Christ and to heaven. We have a group of men, engrossed for the time with the expectations and disappointments of common work, toiling on from hour to hour, very tired no doubt by the morning, their senses all strained and aching, bewildered and forgetting.

Ver. 4. When now it was dawn, then in the pale rising light, where the eastward hills rise ridge over ridge towards Trachonitis, throwing their deep and misty shadows towards the water, then and there the Risen *Jesus stood upon the beach, had come and stood upon the beach*, the *αἰγιαλός*, the pebbly or sandy margin of the crystal water. How had He spent the night? Had He walked upon the deep, as long ago, though now unseen? Or had He been traversing in the quiet hours the scenes which in the days of His mortality He had frequented with His blessed presence? How total our ignorance is before such a question! The reality, the literality, of the life of the Risen One we know; blessed be the name of His

Father. We know that our Redeemer lived, and liveth. But of the conditions of that life of His literal and bodily Resurrection we know, in detail, almost nothing. It is enough, however. The holy narratives lift the veil high enough to show us a Saviour present, accessible, identical, perfect God, perfect Man; alive in all His love and power, and saying to us, "Ye shall live also."

He stood upon the shore, a solitary figure, seen over the white water, a hundred yards or so from the larger boat. Peter and John were in that boat, and saw, but neither of them recognised. Busy perhaps with some last haul of the empty net, or listless and inobservant with fatigue, "*they knew not that it is Jesus.*"

Ver. 5. "*So Jesus says to them, Children, you have not any fish?*" *Μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε;* The *μή* implies the supposition that they had *not* taken anything.

*Παιδία*, "*Children.*" The word is used almost as "lads" might be used now, importing (as some similar phrases amongst our poor people do) only neighbourhood and friendliness, not necessarily a paternal superiority. We may observe that it is not "*my children,*" and that scarcely ever, if ever, does the Saviour—at least in the days of His flesh—address His followers as *His children* at all; John xiii. 33 is not an exception.<sup>1</sup> They are His brethren. "He is not ashamed," hard as it sometimes is, for joy, to believe it, "to call us brethren;" His *Father's* children. This, however, is by the way. The word *παιδία* here would be understood as merely a kindly expression on the part of the unknown visitor.

St. Chrysostom, who tends as an expositor to a very simple and even homely explanation of details, thinks that Jesus may have put this question meaning to speak as *an intending purchaser* (*ὡς μέλλον τι ἀνεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν*). It may be so. But the other suggestion seems to fit more naturally into the scene—that the question was as from a man looking with friendly interest on what was manifestly a moment of fruitless toil. Faint and disheartened those boatmen may well have *looked*, as they trailed the slack net. "*So you have had no success, then?*"

Thus the voice came from the shore, audible and articulate as ever it is over water. "*They answered Him, No,*" the brief reply of tired men.

Ver. 6. "*Then He said to them, Throw your net on the right side of the boat, and you will find.*"

The two men acted at once upon the words. No doubt

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<sup>1</sup> In Heb. ii. 33 the "children" are *God's* children entrusted to His Son. See the context.

there was a spell upon them; for when JESUS speaks it is more than words. But the supernatural spell acted, as is almost always the case, through nature. Partly the non-resistance of fatigue, partly the faint hope of success by any means; partly and perhaps chiefly the thought that the stranger from his standpoint might see a cause for his confident words which they could not see—these may have been the motives. Possibly too there came over them a vague and indefinable sense (we all know what that is like) of a previous occurrence of the whole event; each step was in the footmarks of the past.

"So they threw; and now strength failed them to draw, such was the quantity of fish." Here, by the way, is an incidental touch of accuracy. This inability to draw in a net which though full was not extraordinarily full (ver. 11) shows that the hands were few; and it perhaps suggests that the hands were also tired.

Only two pairs of hands—only Peter and John.

Wonderful pair of friends! More and more, in the narrative, do they appear together. Essentially different in natural character, they are now however drawn irrevocably side to side. Each has a brother, who is also a chief Apostle; but Peter and John are somehow more than brothers to each other now. We shall see yet more striking proof of this before the chapter closes; but let us here note the fact. And let us remember how affectingly all these records of the loving union of Peter and John, *written by John*, answer that shallow and trivial insinuation of the sceptic that this chapter was written with the poor purpose of making Peter less and John more prominent than before.

And now these two men, drawn thus together, made thus for ever one in the love of Jesus, go on to act, each in his way. John sees, and Peter moves.

Ver. 7. "*So that disciple whom Jesus loved says to Peter, It is the Lord.*" He saw that it was Jesus. Probably his eyes saw nothing new; it was the same figure standing there, the same just visible face. But the σημεῖον waked his soul to conscious insight with his eyes; and he knew who it was—THE LORD.

In passing we may notice that title, as sweet as it is reverently solemn, which after the Resurrection seems to become the habitual designation of the Risen One, THE LORD. Let us note the word, as thus employed by the beloved one, by John; by him who delights to tell us, with holy simplicity, that Jesus had been pleased to admit him to a peculiar personal intimacy. Yet even for John Jesus is THE LORD. And will it not be ever thus with us also, as we grow in

knowledge and in love of Him? Intimacy between sinner and sinner may often lead to diminution of respect; intimacy between the redeemed sinner and Jesus Christ, the more He is known as He is, can only lead to a deeper, a more unreserved reverence and adoration. Dost thou very dearly love Him? Hath He very wonderfully made manifest to thee His love for thee? Then surely to thee above all others He will be known and worshipped as THE LORD.

Thus John beheld Jesus. He saw the Son of God. He was conscious of His Person and Presence, which but for that insight were but the person and presence of a chance passer-by upon the lonely beach.

*"So Simon Peter, hearing that it is the Lord, girded on his outer coat, for he was naked, and threw himself into the lake."*

He *heard* who it was; he did not look, it seems, to verify the hearing. The tone of John spoke for itself, and this was what, for Peter, brought the soul to look, to see the Son of God. Are we not reminded that often, very often, the calm, happy certainty shown by some beloved and trusted friend with regard to the Saviour's life, and love, and power, proves to the soul (perhaps in some hour of perplexity or bitterness) its own truthfulness? It shines out direct, an evidence of Christianity, a manifestation of Christ. "He knoweth that he saith true, that ye may believe."

Peter now acts in his own way upon the words of John. Two sides of his remarkable character come out; an almost impetuous devotion to his Master, and a most keen consciousness of his personal unworthiness to be in his Master's presence. He was naked, *γυμνός*. That is to say, in all probability, as frequent usage illustrates the meaning, half-clad, wearing nothing but an under-tunic. However, he was so attired that he could not choose to appear so before "the Lord." And he wraps the outer coat around him, the *ἐπενδύτης*, the large overcoat for storms, and cold nights. And "*he girt it well round*," *διεζώσατο*. It was a simple but true expression of profound reverence, the same spirit which had once (Luke v. 8) prompted him to cry, "Depart from me." But that spirit was more enlightened now, for Peter's resistless impulse now is to draw near. He knew now, not that Jesus was less awfully holy, but that His very holiness made it necessary, and blessed, for Peter to be quite near Him. And it is so still. Jesus Christ would not be the SAVIOUR were He not infinitely holy. But He *is* the Saviour, and being so He must be actually approached, actually touched, by the sinner who so much wants Him. And the sinner now, as Peter of old, as he comes and touches will remember both truths—that indeed His name is Holy, and that to come

actually to Him, to nothing intermediate, but to Him, is not rashness but obedience, not presumption but salvation.

"*He threw himself into the lake,*" leaving John alone in the great boat, while the other disciples, now close beside that boat in the tender, the *πλοιάριον*, were hauling the net to shore. He threw himself in, and crossed the hundred yards of water, swimming and wading (we seem to see the silver spray of the plunge and the eager passage), to find himself as soon as he can be at the feet of the Prince of Life. Yes, he must be as near as possible, and as soon as possible, to Him whom he had denied a few weeks ago, over and over, but who had nevertheless gone on to die for him and rise again.

What that first moment's interview was, we are not told. The whole group of seven were now on land. The five had assisted John to bring boats and net to the shore; and then apparently at once, without hauling *up* the net, but leaving it fast to the boat, full of its struggling prize, they had stepped out and drew near the Lord.

And now, in the solitary place, beside Him, they see a meal already preparing. A fire, a coal fire, was already there; and beside its ruddy flame fish was set for eating, and the bread was ready. Manifestly there was mystery, if not miracle, in this provision, and He near whom they stood had something to teach them by it. Was it not the lesson of His independence of them, and yet care for them, and fellowship with them? It is this at least. And now He bids them add their own to His—their own, which however was His also; for what they had just caught He had by His will given them. They were to bring it, however: "*Bring some of the fish which you have just taken. So Simon Peter got up*" (from the beach into the boat), and standing there hauled the net in. It was quite full, quite full. And all the fish were large. And Peter counted the number over; we seem to hear his voice as he "tells the tale"; a distinct and definite report, no round number—"one hundred and fifty-three." It was a large haul for that one cast-net; and yet "*the net had not been torn.*"

St. Peter's work and his account of it is done; and then again the solemn reticence of the Lord is broken, and He calls them to a meal around Him.

The details of ver. 12 and those which follow on it we must consider another time. All I attempt to do now as we shut the book once more is to recall the reality of the blessed scene. We look on it once more; the sun comes up over the hills, and turns the gray waters into gold. And there—look along the shore from where we stand—there is that group around the flame under the steep slope above the beach. Eight persons; seven mortal men, sitting down to their food,

and in the midst of them One who is also, and supremely, Man; visible, palpable, no illusion; the risen, the ever-living Jesus.

Let us turn away thankful, if we have again indeed seen HIM; Him living then, and therefore "alive for evermore"; alive now, loving, watching, present, now. I well remember, though long years have passed, how at a time of great mental and spiritual trial I found by God's great mercy peculiar help in just this way from this very scene, as it invited me to realize afresh this mysterious but actual personal life and presence of Jesus Christ.

There, in the sight of Him, is peace. To see and know Him living, living after He had for us "poured out His soul unto death," is the solution of doubts, the banishment of fears, the conquest of passions, the strength of the soul. From amidst that group of disciples He still says, to us to-day, "Fear not; you indeed are mortal, sinful, feeble, helpless; but I am the First and the Last; I am the Living One. I was dead, but behold I am alive for ever, alive for you, with you, in you, to the endless ages."

Jesus, such His love and power,  
Such His presence dear,  
Everywhere and every hour  
With His own is near;  
With the glorified at rest  
Far in Paradise,  
With the pilgrim saints distress  
'Neath these cloudier skies;  
With the ransom'd soul that flew  
From the cross to heaven,  
With the Emmaus travellers two,  
With the lake-borne seven.  
Lord, Thy promise Thou wilt keep,  
Thine shall dwell with Thee,  
And, awaking or asleep,  
Thus together be.

H. C. G. MOULE.

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#### ART. IV.—THREE RECENT HISTORIES OF ISRAEL.<sup>1</sup>

THE movement of Christian thought in the last few years has resulted in placing Old Testament questions very much in the forefront. Either in deference to argument or yielding to the drift of the time, men of all shades of Christian opinion have been repeating the demand that old views require

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<sup>1</sup>This article is adapted from a paper read before the Cambridge University Clerical Society in 1890.

to be modified or restated, that science and reason alike claim a relaxation of the restrictions which ecclesiastical tradition put upon the conception of Israelite history, and the treatment of Old Testament literature. Unfortunately it is less often stated in what way modification is to find expression. Unfortunately, too, the cry to "move with the time" is rarely accompanied by any definite step in a new direction. Talking without action produces on Christian thought the same deadening effect that it produces upon the mind. "Going over the theory of virtue in one's thoughts, talking well, and drawing fine pictures of it; this is so far from necessarily or certainly conducing to form a habit of it in him who thus employs himself, that it may harden the mind in a contrary course, and render it gradually more insensible." Bishop Butler's *dictum* respecting "passive impressions" applies only too truly to the attitude of many towards the Biblical problems which perplex us. Satisfied with echoing the cry for progress, they have no intention of acting upon it. The "passive impression" grows weaker by repetition. They are hardly conscious that their attitude is neither that of candour nor of courage. Anxious and thoughtful laymen, who feel weighing upon them the same pressure of intellectual movement, who look eagerly to see its influence upon their appointed teachers in religion, cannot fail to entertain the meanest opinion of those who ostensibly approve of a modification of traditional views, but will not so much as lift a finger in order to give practical proof of their sincerity.

There are, of course, those who deny that any modification of traditional opinion, in respect of the books of the Old Testament, is at all necessary. To them the spirit of the age is as the spirit of Antichrist; and to move in religious thought is almost tantamount to the negation of religion itself. There were many such also in the sixteenth century, tenacious of prejudice, distrustful of "the New Learning," suspicious of scholarship and criticism, and confident in the authority of ecclesiastical tradition in matters of science and history, no less than of Scriptural interpretation.

But the great mass of believers are in their hearts convinced that the forces of Christian intellect must either march with the movement of the age or renounce their claim to control the conscience of the world. They are prepared to face all facts, strong in their faith that the Lord will provide. They only wish to be honest; they only wish not to place stumbling-blocks in the way of the weak or the inexperienced; they only insist that man-made tradition upon the history of the letter of Holy Writ is not to be placed on the same level of doctrinal importance with the essentials of the Christian revelation.



They are, however, very liable, in an exaggeration of open-mindedness, to be dragged to an opposite extreme of promiscuous concession.

At a time when men's minds are thus peculiarly impressionable on questions of the Old Testament, it may not be inopportune to approach them from a somewhat less pugnacious quarter than is usual. A reference to three important histories of Israel which have recently been published on the Continent may not be without instruction and interest. They will at least serve to indicate the opposition towards which we may be drifting between the possible line of advance in Christian criticism and the line of irreconcilable and arbitrary speculativeness.

The first of these histories that we shall notice is that by Professor Bernhard Stade, of Giessen, the well-known Hebrew scholar and accomplished editor of the *Zeitschrift f. d. Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. His "History of the People of Israel" came out in parts in Oncken's Series of Universal History (Berlin). The first six numbers (1881-1886), constituting vol. i., a book containing 711 closely-printed large octavo pages, brought the history down to the period of the exile. Of vol. ii. (1888) Stade contributed the first 269 pages, dealing with the history to the beginning of the Greek period, the remainder down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus being written by Oscar Holtzmann.

Nothing has been spared to make this important work complete and attractive. Maps, illustrations, facsimiles are freely introduced: not only the history, but the religion, the literature, the antiquities of Israel are discussed at length. In scope and pretension it takes the lead of all previous histories.

In matters of criticism Stade is well-known as one of the foremost among the extremist school. No one can deny that in his treatment of the literature of the Old Testament he is bold and uncompromising in the application of his canons of criticism. In accordance with the principles which he lays down, he is compelled to deal in the most summary fashion with the earlier pages of the biblical narrative. Not only the Patriarchs, but even the sojourn in Egypt (ed. 1) are relegated to the limbo of untrustworthy fable. The personality of Moses scarcely survives this process, and only emerges from the gloom in a shadowy, hesitating way. The religion of Israel is considered as possibly having taken its rise in that obscure period; but the proper history of the nation is made to date from the beginnings of the monarchy.

It is the merit of Stade's work that he is so profoundly im-

pressed with the function of Israel in the history of the world as the originator of pure religion. With real enthusiasm and intense seriousness of purpose, the historian follows out his investigation into the religion of Israel, tracing it from the seed of Jehovah worship, in the mists of the nomadic period, following it through the triumph of the earlier prophets over Baal worship and the establishment of a national Jehovah worship, until at last the ideal of the prophets becomes stereotyped in the legalism of Ezra and the Scribes.

As might be expected from one of his school of criticism, he has no doubt that the mass of the priestly legislation is post-exilic, and that the description of the Tabernacle is a literary fiction, invented in imitation of the plan of the Temple. Similarly the theophany on Sinai is treated as an imaginative picture, expanding in accordance with the teaching of later times the tradition which accredited the rise of a purer belief to the influence of Moses or the Kenite clan, of which Stade considers Moses may have been a member. This heritage of purer belief, evolved out of the ancestor-worship of yet more remote prehistoric times, at first a faint spark amid the general blackness of degraded and demoralizing superstitions, was fanned into flame by the intellectual influence, the untiring zeal, and the authoritative office of Israel's prophethood.

Of Rénan's "History of Israel" we have at present two volumes,<sup>1</sup> which have appeared in an English translation (Chapman and Hall). The first volume (1888) is divided into two books, book i. being entitled "The Beni-Israel in the Nomad state down to their Settlement in the land of Canaan"; book ii., "The Beni-Israel as fixed tribes, from the occupation of the country of Canaan to the definitive establishment of the kingdom of David." The second volume (1889) is also divided into two books, book i., "The One Kingdom," and book ii. "The Two Kingdoms," the history being brought down to the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom.

The two volumes together would fill about half of one of Stade's volumes. Like all that Rénan writes, there is much in this instalment of his history which is interesting and suggestive in illustration of the Biblical narrative. With his facile style and wide knowledge of Semitic literature, it could hardly have been otherwise. But his repellent tone of self-assurance, his frequent flippancy, and not seldom his despicable moral taste make it almost an impossibility to read his volumes with patience.

From his way of referring to questions of criticism, we are

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<sup>1</sup> The third volume has been published since this was written.

inclined to agree with the judgment of an acute observer, that Rénan's criticism savours of intuition rather than of research. In his preface he says, in a somewhat off-hand manner (p. xxi.), "During the last twenty years more especially, the problems relating to the history of Israel have been dissected with rare penetration by Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, Nöldeke, Wellhausen and Stade. I assume that my readers are familiar with the works of these eminent men. They will find in them the explanation of a number of points which I could not treat in detail without repeating what has already been said by these writers." He also recommends his readers to study "Dillmann on the Pentateuch," but gives no sort of hint that such a study might very possibly lead to different results from those accepted by Wellhausen and Stade. We are no doubt tempted to do him an injustice, and to suppose his methods superficial and wanting in seriousness. His tread is too light, his movements too agile; he is, in a word, ill-suited to the heavy-marching order of the German scholars.

Although he starts with the general assumption that no incident in Israelite history before the time of David has the support of any trustworthy evidence (vol. i., Intro., p. xvi.), he is able to enjoy the freedom from any hard and fast rules, and exercises his privilege by describing the nomad life of the early Israelites out of his own imagination, aided by his acquaintance with Arabic literature and hints supplied by the Book of Genesis. The picture is graphically drawn, and many of his inductions are ingenious in the extreme. He is pleased, we are glad to observe, to allow that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt, and to grant the probability that they were led by a man named Moses. But the arbitrary manner in which he selects some materials and rejects others in his game of history-building, may be exemplified by the following passage, which has been taken almost at random: "Among the fables with which this legend teems none is more improbable than that of a pursuit of the fugitives by the Egyptians, ending in a hopeless disaster to Pharaoh's army. Owing to the dynastic weakness of Egypt, the rule of the sovereigns was little more than nominal in the Isthmus, and a fugitive who had got beyond the Bitter Lakes was certain of his freedom."

His view of Israelite religion will be best understood from his contention that Jehovah-worship is undistinguishable from the religions of neighbouring tribes until the period of Elijah and Elisha. His description of the Hebrew Jehovah is coarse and repulsive; the wilful manner in which he gives the most material meaning to words of ordinary poetical metaphor is only intelligible on the supposition of an unworthy "animus."

The real form of Jahveh, in fact, was never human. He was a kind of dragon, roaring thunder, vomiting flame, causing the tempest to howl; he was the universal "rouah" under a globated form, a kind of condensed electric mass. . . . Sometimes two large nostrils were dilated over the smoke of the sacrifice in order to inhale it. On other occasions the God was seen to ascend from the flame of the sacrifice. . . . He was particularly quarrelsome. He was to be met with in the deserted parts of the country which he preferred; he attempted to kill you, he thirsted after your blood. Or else one fancied that one was struggling with him in a nightmare. One perspired and exhausted oneself against an unknown force. This lasted all night long until day broke. Then one awoke enervated, having struggled against Jahveh or his Maleak.

We have given this repulsive extract at some length. Our own judgment upon this and similar passages is that they vulgarly and perversely materialize the simple language of the patriarchal narrative. In their gratuitous travesty of Hebrew religious metaphor they remind us of a style too familiar, alas! in atheistic leaflets written by violent and uneducated men, but inconceivable from the pen of any man of poetic discernment or refined taste. The passage which is quoted above will enable readers of *THE CHURCHMAN* to decide whether prejudice against such a work is not justified.

We need not expend many more words upon this book. As might, perhaps, have been expected, Rénan depicts David in the blackest colours, and concludes the first volume with a sneer, which reveals that his real purpose in throwing stones at the person of David is to cast ridicule on the faith of those whose trust is in "great David's greater Son." We learn from these pages how grievously Ahab has been calumniated by "the Jahveist historians"; that he was "a remarkable sovereign, brave, intelligent, moderate, devoted to civilized ideas." Describing the conflict between the prophets and the dynasty of Omri, he asserts that "in the struggle between these demoniacs and the monarch, the latter was usually in the right." We feel that a writer is reckless of his dignity when he compares a prophet to "a sandwich-man" in the streets. For the lack of reverence we find but an indifferent substitute in the inventiveness, which can, *e.g.*, describe minutely the mechanism of a little instrument called by the Israelites "Urim and Thummim," which had hitherto baffled the curiosity and the researches of scholars, before this history appeared.

The first volume of Kittel's "History of the Hebrews" (Gotha), which appeared in 1888, deals with the history down to the period of the Judges. This little work offers a striking contrast to both the histories which we have just been noticing: It is absolutely free from pretentiousness of any kind. Its

style is simple and solid; its methods are dry and scholarly. It is a book for students, not for the general reader.

It opens with an introduction, containing a useful sketch of recent Pentateuchal criticism, and concluding with a dissertation upon the country, soil, climate, and fauna of Palestine. In the history proper Kittel's process of investigation is methodical, and at first sight cumbrous; it is certainly not popular. He breaks ground by an inquiry into the available literary materials. For this purpose he goes into the problem of Pentateuchal criticism, and discusses dispassionately the age and relative priority of the component elements. Having arrived at certain definite conclusions, he examines one by one the form and substance of the tradition preserved in the different documents; he then by a process of comparison endeavours to determine the nucleus of historical material.

He applies these methods to the age of the patriarchs, and then to the life of Moses and the wanderings in the wilderness, supplementing his inquiry by a special investigation of the Mosaic period and the historical character of the lawgiver himself. Passing on to the Book of Joshua, he deals with it in a less searching manner; but it is only after an analysis of the text that he proceeds to review the main incidents narrated in the book.

It cannot be doubted that Kittel's work must prove ponderous and unattractive in the estimation of that exacting and fastidious person, the general reader; but to the special student it offers peculiar advantages. The ground is well cleared in advance before a step forward is taken. The continuity and original independence of the different documents are exposed to view. Their individuality can be appreciated; and the claim put forward that the evidence of the Pentateuch gives a fourfold testimony, and not a single voice, is made at any rate intelligible, if not convincing.

Kittel belongs to the school of moderate critics, which we associate with the names of Riehm, König, Dillmann, and Baudissin, which in England is so ably represented by Canon Cheyne and Canon Driver, and from which we look for ever-increasing support to the cause of truth in the Church of Christ, in their union of free and fearless scholarship with the fullest recognition of the claims of a Divine revelation. Accepting in its main outline the distribution of the Hexateuch into its component documents, Kittel and his school differ widely from the position taken up by Stade as to the value of the evidence of the early books upon the primitive history of Israel, and as to the recognition of the existence of the priestly legislation before the age of the exile. Thus, while Kittel is quite prepared to admit the infusion of later legend into

the patriarchal and Mosaic narrative, he maintains stoutly the personality of the patriarchs and the historical character of the narrative both of the sojourn in Egypt and of the wonders of the exodus. Again, while allowing that the details of the tabernacle possibly reproduce the characteristics of a later and more solid structure, he feels that the evidence is convincing that the early Mosaic worship centred round the ark of the covenant and the tent of the congregation.

Putting aside from consideration the more popular and less scientific work of Rénan, let us take the histories by Stade and Kittel as illustrating the treatment of Israelite history by the extreme and the moderate schools of criticism respectively. Perhaps we are not at first much attracted by either. It is natural that we should be startled and repelled by Stade's sweeping and arbitrary treatment of the literary problem. But there is no trifling in his tone, as in Rénan's. There is intense earnestness, and intense sympathy with the religious problem; there is keen effort after mental identification with the times and customs which are portrayed; there is common-sense and reasonableness of historical judgment, which save him from giving way to the ridiculous outbursts of Rénan. It is natural, again, that we should be repelled by Kittel's dry and graduated methods. But his tone is sober, reverent, and candid. He concedes nothing without weighing the reasonableness of the concession. He takes nothing for granted. He takes infinite pains to examine the evidence for and against each controverted point.

By comparing these two critical histories of Israel, we shall be able approximately to discern the amount of agreement and difference in matters of principle between these two scholars and between the opinions which they fairly represent.

Both scholars, it goes without saying, are agreed that a history of Israel must rest upon a perfectly free and unprejudiced use of the extant materials; that to the historian the books of the Old Testament must be as other books of antiquity for purposes of criticism and research.

Both are agreed in recognising in Christianity the goal of Israel's development. Both are agreed in accepting the compilatory origin of the historical books of the Old Testament, and differ only in details as to the correct identification of the original documents. Both are agreed that the aim of the Hebrew narrative is not so much to give an exhaustive and consecutive history of the nation, as to record the origin and progress of its religious life; that religious teaching, rather than annalistic completeness, being the purpose of the records: these describe epochs in the progress of the national religion

rather than furnish any complete chronicle of national events. Both are agreed in recognising a gradual development in religious knowledge, or, as we should prefer to say, in the Divine revelation vouchsafed in and through the chosen people.

Turning next to the points of difference, we need not here do more than mention that in the important, though technical, question of the antiquity of the priestly legislation there is a grave disagreement between them. We only now call attention to two subjects, involving most important principles, upon which the difference of opinion between these two historians and their respective schools seems to be of vital importance. The one is literary, and relates to the credit to be attached to the ancient documents which have preserved the earliest traditions of the history; the other is religious, and relates to the philosophical principle that should interpret the progress of religious thought in the Israelite people.

(a) Stade, as has been hinted above, could scarcely repose less confidence than he does on the Israelite traditions of the pre-monarchical age. He starts with the accepted principle that the credibility of a narrative varies in inverse ratio to the number of the years between the occurrence and its written record; the longer the interval, the smaller is the credibility of the narrative, because the greater the scope for exaggeration, distortion and invention. He then seems to make the rash assumption that the latest chronological notice in a work represents the full measure of its historical value; and, on this hypothesis, has no difficulty in making short work of the evidential value of the reputedly earlier historical books of the Old Testament. No history, he contends, is trustworthy which does not rest on contemporary or almost contemporary sources. The earliest writings in the Old Testament which satisfy this test are the prophets Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah. These, then, he takes to be the norm by which he can test the credibility of all tradition earlier in date, and from their century he feels he can move forward confidently. On these prophetic writings he first finds himself standing, as it were, on firm ground; any earlier traditions are in his opinion only accidentally embedded in later legend. Old Testament history, he contends, is not the history of Israel, but only one aspect of the nation's history, constructed so as to harmonize with the later stage of the religion of Jehovah. The amplification of the history, superimposed by the hand of priests and prophets for the sake of religious edification, has concealed from view the true structure of the history. The object of the historian is to disentangle the few threads of real antiquity from the accumulated conglomerate of later times.

Kittel has no hesitation in admitting that the most ancient

traditions of Israel have been transmitted to us with the religious colouring of a later time. But he retains a much more tenacious hold of the historical outline of the patriarchal and Mosaic period, which, under Stade's treatment, threatens to vanish away. He claims in effect that the latest revision of a work does not in fairness present the only chronological standard of its historicity. The value of a writing as evidence is undoubtedly impaired by the accretion of another century. But it is not destroyed. And it is the province of modern criticism to furnish such an analysis as will in some measure disintegrate a composite record into its more ancient and more recent elements. Kittel is convinced that the application of such sober historical analysis leaves us with a residuum of trustworthy material containing a not incomplete record of the beginnings of the Israelite people. Where there is agreement between the different documents out of which the extant literature is composed, there the historian moves with greater confidence; where only a single thread of tradition preserves the record, there the evidence is proportionately weaker or requires to be supported from other sources. In other words, the historical value of tradition must not be hastily sacrificed on account of the composite structure of its extant literary form.

(b) The other point of difference between these two historians is of even more profound importance, for it is concerned with the governing principle of the religious development in the people of Israel.

Stade, if we mistake not, is of opinion that the faith of Israel had its roots in the fetish, ghost, or ancestor worship of the early Semitic races; that the first germ of something more noble may have been due to the influence of a Moses; but that the chief factors in the evolution from a degraded materialism into a pure and spiritual religion were the prophets of the age, whose chief representatives are known to us as Elijah and Elisha. This process of evolution reached its climax in the system of worship elaborated by Ezra and his contemporaries, who hoped by means of a stereotyped symbolism to give perpetuity to the triumphant Jehovistic religion of the prophets. The traditional idea of a complete revelation in the days of Moses, covering the requirements of all moral, religious and social life, and detailing a complete scheme of worship and ritual for the embodiments of these precepts, is rejected root and branch as unhistorical, as the happy fiction of a late phase of Judæan religion. To use a metaphor, the curve of development, it is contended, is uniform and continuous from the elemental to the final stage, from the earliest conception of a Divine Being to the authoritative



enforcement of Levitical Judaism in the name of the God of Israel. It is claimed that the conception which places at the outset of Israelite religion the most complete scheme of morality and the most ornate system of worship, contradicts the recognised order of development in all known religions; and that the best explanation of the laws in the Pentateuch is found in the theory that the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), the Deuteronomist, and the Priestly writings correspond respectively to the epochs of the Prophets, of the Exile, and of the foundation of Judaism by Ezra.

Kittel, so far as he touches upon these points, keeps well within the bounds of historical probability. Strongly insisting upon a line of development in religious thought, he is very far from demanding that it should maintain a uniform progress. He adheres to the view of a definite revelation, and deems that the testimony is irrefragable, which points to the life and work of Moses as the supreme initial epoch of Israelite religion, as well as of Israelite nationality. He points out, however, that there is a law of decay as well as of growth, and that the reproofs administered to the people by the prophets Hosea and Amos for faithlessness, irreligion, and disobedience, presuppose the existence of a pure worship of Jehovah at a much more remote age than the days of Elijah. So far as the laws are concerned, he readily grants that whether Covenant Laws, Priestly or Deuteronomic, the form in which we have them carries with it evident signs of revision and later accretion; while alleged differences between, for instance, Deuteronomic and Priestly laws are the natural result of a comparison between a hortatory people's law-book and the regulations of the priestly class. Most emphatically it is contended that, granting the great fact of a Divine revelation (whether vouchsafed little by little, or at once in complete manifestation), we must acknowledge the inevitable strength of the temptation to relapse into the degradations of Canaanite worship. Surely this tendency to relapse into lower forms of religion is not rendered more improbable by its being in agreement with the traditional representation of Israelite history.

We have now carried far enough the comparison between the two schools of Biblical criticism represented in the treatment of the early history of Israel by Stade and Kittel. It is possible that what has been said will only deepen the conviction of some of our readers that the methods of modern criticism stand condemned by the differences which divide its principal representatives. We will venture, however, on the basis of this inquiry, to add a few words to illustrate the position of those who, while convinced that the extreme school of criticism are not, so far, warranted by the evidence to hand, are equally

convinced that blank acquiescence in traditional views would be as incompatible with honesty as it seems to be irreconcilable with reasonable scholarship.

It seems to be a supposition neither irreverent nor unreasonable, that the Hebrew Scriptures, although the inspired instrument of revelation, and ordained to prepare the way for the coming of the Saviour of the world, should nevertheless be compassed with the imperfections belonging to their age, and incidental to the methods of their composition. To be clothed with Divine grace is not the deification but the sanctification of our earthly powers; and there is no sanctification of human work, which either separates it in character from the generation that it serves, or severs it from the limitations and imperfections that it has inherited. Similarly, any theory which admits in any degree, however limited, the principle of the incorporation, by compilation, of a variety of miscellaneous writings into a book that was received into the sacred canon first of the Jews, and afterwards of the Christian Church, must lead us to expect that the Divine message lies in its spiritual teaching as a composite whole, rather than in any absolute perfection inherent in its component parts, or in its literary form. The familiar difficulties, whether of Genesis or of Chronicles, are inseparable from the human conditions of their compilation. The Divine Spirit which overruled the selection of these chosen witnesses for Revelation neither purged them first from the weaknesses of their origin nor protected them against defects of human treatment in the process of compilation or in the stages of subsequent revision. The message is Divine, but not the messenger. The lamp of God's Word burns true and bright, though the oil be prepared by human hands and be unprotected from the dust of human industry. The prophet and the scribe, even more than the Apostle who "was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter" may say that in their case God's "power is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my weaknesses, that the strength of Christ may rest upon me" (2 Cor. xii. 5, 9).

To take only one concrete example, it is surely not unreasonable to acknowledge the presence of national religious colouring in the presentation of historical facts. The decree of Cyrus for the restoration of the Jews is recorded as if expressed in the language of an ardent believer in Jehovah. But Cyrus was no Jewish proselyte: he was not even, as recent discoveries seem to show, a monotheist like Darius the Persian, but, on the contrary, an idolater and a devout polytheist. In spite of this, however, our confidence in the

Biblical story is not shaken. It would rather have been open to suspicion, if its tone had been free from the national leaning of its composers.

So far as the doctrine of development is concerned, we gladly recognise its operation in the expansion of religious ideas in Israel respecting the nature of the Deity, the relations of sin and suffering, human responsibility, the future state and the doctrine of the resurrection. But we are quite unable to concede, that the development of religion in Israel is to be explained either in its origin by any theory of spontaneous evolution, or in its progress by any theory of uninterrupted and evenly-continuous expansion. In its origin we require the recognition of Revelation; in its progress we require the recognition of relapses and deviations. It is in the world of religious thought as it is in the physical universe: we desiderate in the most remote time the supreme event. The implanting of the seed of revelation in the chosen family corresponds to the primæval communication of life; and after germination the line of its development is subject to the ordinary retardations and tendencies to degradation arising from the renunciation of common religious responsibilities as in the days of the Judges, or from the aspirations after earthly empire as in the days of a Solomon, or from the externalizing influences of a barren ritual in the days of the prophets.

Touching, lastly, on the question of the priestly legislation, are we not sometimes apt to forget that laws of worship existed in Semitic races before the days of Abraham, and that many an indigenous usage (*e.g.*, circumcision and sacrifice, to mention the most obvious) received not, as we are accustomed to suppose, its origin, but its new and spiritual significance, from the ordinances of Israel's worship? There is nothing elevating in ritual divorced from the true spirit of its symbolism. Levitical ceremonial had many points in common with the pagan worship of Moab or of Edom; and, as the prophets frequently testified, the unspiritual ritualism of the Israelite was not the least among the causes of his spiritual backsliding. So far as the rules, which regulated the life of the priests and the intricacies of public worship, became insufficient for the needs of later generations or altered circumstances, so far we may surely believe they would receive modification and alterations. There is nothing to show that before the age of Ezra variation in ritual or ceremonial was regarded as any very heinous offence. The spirit, not the letter, of such regulations was most insisted on by the prophets. Their preservation would depend on the faithfulness of the priests, to whom was entrusted the

maintenance of the worship, and the decision between the clean and the unclean. The priestly laws are not, therefore, to be confounded with an inviolable charter in the period before the exile. But after the exile the case was altered. The formation of the people into a religious community, the dispersion among the Gentiles, the institution of the synagogue—these and many other causes made it necessary that rules, which had been the rubrics of Levitical ceremony and the heritage of the priestly order, should become the possession of the people at large, the standard of their nationality, and the safeguard of their worship in a foreign land. From that time forward the appeals in literature to the authority of the priestly laws are as frequent as they had previously been rare.

The age of an Ezra is not the age of creative or originating power, but rather of conservative and devout veneration. We expect from it, not the manufacture of new systems, nor the creation of a perfectly harmonious and homogeneous ritual, but the faithful and servile preservation of all that was extant and ancient, regardless of petty divergencies and absorbing apparent contradictions; and in this expectation we are not disappointed.

In these questions, as in certain others, there is plenty of room for latitude of opinion. There is room for the policy of "live and let live." It is better for us who are among the younger labourers in the Church to express our thoughts openly and honestly, and not to conceal them. Let us at least deserve the confidence, if we cannot hope for the approbation, of many who dread criticism. We have no fear of consequences, for Christ is to us, too, all and in all. Our individual views are nothing; we seek only intensely for the truth. We cannot rest in a position that seems to us one of half-truth, or in an attitude that may savour of insincerity towards the brother who has been confronted, and, perhaps, been overthrown, by similar difficulties. Fruitful in joyfullest hope, and true in tenderest consolation, is the thought in which all can rest, that the Saviour of the world has blessed to our usage the sacred food of the Word, which his servants, the prophets and saints of Israel, were privileged to make known unto men. That He condescended thus to make use of the weak work of man's hand that came forth from the storehouse of the family of Israel, conveys to my mind, as it were in a figure, the key to the solution of a great mystery, the reconciliation of the weakness of the letter with the presence and power of the indwelling Spirit.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

## ART. V.—HOSPITALS.

HOSPITALS, as we see them now, had no existence until a very recent period in the history of the world. It seems that the credit of first establishing hospitals must be accorded to the ancient Bhuddist kings of India, who flourished some five hundred years B.C. And especially to the Bhuddist king Asoka. The stone edicts of this sovereign yet remain, evidencing that he ordered hospitals and asylums for the sick to be formed at various places throughout his dominions. But Brahminical superiority soon afterwards reasserting itself, the Bhuddist institutions were suffered to decay. For the learning of the times was scrupulously kept within priestly sects, and the holy Brahmins could not be polluted by such contact as ministration to the sick involves. When the Mahomedans attained to power in India, although physicians were attached to the Mogul court, and to the camps of the great sirdars, or chiefs, there is no record of hospitals having been established. It remained for the British-India Government to give hospitals to Hindustan, and the duty has been performed with liberality. There is scarcely now, throughout the length and breadth of India, a village even, of any size, where the hospital or dispensary is not an established institution, fast being supplemented by special hospitals for females.

Neither does it appear that hospitals were considered necessary by the ancient Greeks. We know there were physicians and surgeons in those days, for Homer said, "a physician being wounded, requires a leech's aid." Æsculapius was the god of the medical art, of whom Pluto complained that he diminished the number of the sick. Then there were the sons of Æsculapius—Machaon, "the matchless leech," who cured Menelaus, and sucked the poison from the wound of Atrides; and Podalirius, more skilled in medicine than in surgery—but both physicians in the Greek army, and both "divine possessors of the healing art." The certainty that there were chirurgeons and physicians who made the healing art a business, renders it strange that we have no record of Greek hospitals. The same "perils did environ those who meddled with cold iron" in ancient times as now. There were the Theban war, the siege of Troy, the wars of Cambyses, the battle of Marathon, and the memorable Thermopylæ. Neither was the number of men engaged in such wars contemptible. The text of the "Iliad" teems with descriptions of bleeding wounds, at which even "the great Agamemnon shuddered as he saw!" Then there were the Olympian games, and the doings of the gladiators, who were obliged to murder each other for the double purpose of steeling the hearts of the

young men, and affording amusement to the populace. There must therefore have been abundance of work for the surgeon and physician in these ancient times, when, although "a wise physician, skilled our wounds to heal," was regarded as "more than armies to the public weal," hospitals were not considered necessary.

Referring to Rome, Pliny says that during the first five hundred years of Rome's existence, the practice of medicine was forbidden, and professors of the healing art were banished. What a paradise ancient Rome must have been for the "Peculiar People" of the present day, who so foolishly decline all measures for the relief or cure of disease! Cæsar does not mention civil hospitals, but the conqueror who wrote "Veni, vidi, vici!" was too clever a general to neglect the care of the military sick. Cæsar would not have answered a recommendation of his chief surgeon, as a British general of modern times is authentically stated to have done, by a coarse refusal—"a neglect which," continues the narrator, "before the year was out cost the general his life." Hyginus Grammaticus describes the *valetudinarium* in the Roman camps, and the same is referred to by Vegetius Flavius. We have also authentic data that four *medici* were attached to each company of soldiers. And Velleius Paterculus, in his account of the expedition to Germany, describes the provision of physicians, and of other requisites for the sick of the army, as in such profusion, that only home and domestics were wanting. The earliest Roman civil hospital appears to have been instituted by Valens in Cæsarea, A.D. 364; and very soon afterwards another was established in Rome, by the lady Fabiola. Julian, about the same period, decreed the formation of hospitals in various places, also of hospices for the reception of travellers. There is also mention of at least two other ancient hospitals, one instituted by Jerome at Bethlehem, about 340, and one by St. Chrysostom at Constantinople, about 407.

Passing to this country, we do not find any mention of hospitals in Pearson's "History of England during the Early and Middle Ages." Neither does Lappenberg refer to hospitals in his "History of England under the Norman Kings." The earliest British hospitals of which we have record were founded by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1080: one for lepers, and one for other maladies. A curious regulation of the latter hospital was, that any person giving to patients food except that ordered should be deprived of benediction. That regulations against giving patients food in addition to that ordered by the physicians are necessary now was proved quite recently in a London hospital. A boy recovering from

typhoid received fruit brought by his mother, from the effects of eating which he died.

The Knights-Hospitallers, or Knights of St. Lazarus, were a semi-military, semi-religious order, traced back by Belloy to Palestine, in a very early period of the history of the Church. They appeared in England in the reign of King Stephen (1105), established headquarters at Burton, and founded various stations, or hospitals, one being St. Giles's in London. First they undertook the care of the sick generally. Then a large number devoted themselves to what was called leprosy, and at last there was a sect of the order who were all lepers, and were obliged to elect a leper as the grand master. The Rev. Mr. Jessop, in his "Village Life in England Three Hundred Years Ago," details how, at the outskirts of every town, there were crawling about emaciated creatures, covered with loathsome sores, called by the name then applied to all affected with ulcers, boils, skin diseases, etc.—viz., lepers. The sick, however, were not altogether uncared for in these early times, for every monastery had its infirmary. But after the Reformation some of the monastery and Church property was more directly appropriated for the use of the sick, culminating in the initiation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, St. Thomas's, Bethlehem, popularly corrupted into Bedlam, Bridewell, and Christ's; formerly known as the five royal hospitals.

Perhaps when the former condition of the medical profession is considered, reasons will be forthcoming why the care of the sick remained so long in the hands of the priesthood, and why hospitals were not sooner established. The earlier physicians worked by conjuring and charms. "Hax! pax! max!" was an old medical charm against the effect of a mad dog's bite; and the ejaculations "Och! och!" were held to be curative of other maladies. The old physician was as often as not a pseudo-astronomer or alchemist. At a still more recent date the physicians, with their black silk stockings and gold-headed canes, loved to surround themselves with the mystery which the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* cast upon them. The surgeon was looked down upon by the physician, for the surgeon was also a barber. But physicians were not always free from the taint of barber's work, for the poor physician was portrayed by Cotgrave, 1655, as able to "clarifie your blood, surfle your cheek, perfume your skin, tinct your hair, enliven your eye!" It is rarely we see in the writings of the most cultivated men of former times an allusion to the medical profession without a sneer. Thus in Luther's memoirs it is stated "the lame, halt, blind, deaf, dumb, and natural fools are possessed by devils. Physicians who pretend to treat such infirmities as resulting from natural causes are mere quacks, and totally

ignorant of devils." Dryden wrote: "He 'scapes the best who, nature to repair, takes physic from the fields." Shakespeare has his "caitiff wretch" of an apothecary. Addison wrote of doctors: "This body of men may be described like the British army in Cæsar's time. Some of them slay in chariots, and some on foot. If the infantry do less execution than the charioteers, it is because they cannot be carried so soon into all quarters of the town." Churchill said: "Most of the evils we poor mortals know, from doctors and imagination flow." Garrick wrote of a physician of the time: "His physic a farce is." Another author called medicine "physic's deadly pill." Byron called medicine "the destructive art of healing." Douglas Jerrold, ridiculing Latin prescriptions, wrote: "We should like to hear a few general practitioners indulging in a quiet chat on Sir James Graham's new medical bill in the vernacular of the Cæsars!" Dickens's sketches of Mr. Bob Sawyer and Mr. Ben Allen were not calculated to raise the profession in public estimation. Another writer, whose name it is not worth recalling, thus stigmatized the profession in doggerel:

Nigh where Fleet ditch descends in sable streams,  
To wash his sooty Naiads in the Thames,  
There stands a structure on a rising hill,  
Where tyros take their freedom out to kill!

"Custom hangs on us as heavy as frost, and deep almost as life," and the custom of sneering at the medical profession—once carried on with an aggravating persistence equalling that of Poe's raven—has not even yet quite died out. For a few weeks back one of the principal London dailies, mentioning the number of medical men attracted by the announcement that Dr. Koch had discovered a cure for consumption, also observed that Koch would materially lessen the death-rate in foreign countries by alluring all doctors to Berlin. Old customs, like old false religions, take a deal of killing. But a joke of the kind is rather out of time, and does not even create a smile. Burke once said: "Obloquy is a necessary ingredient in all true glory." (*En passant*, it may be observed that while sincerely hoping Dr. Koch has discovered a cure for consumption and allied maladies, we fear that experience will demonstrate the reverse.)

Before 1815 no examinations were considered necessary as passports into the profession. Anyone who choose could set up as a doctor. And the Archbishop of Canterbury had the power of conferring the degree of doctor of medicine, until the Medical Act of 1858 finally disposed of this absurd privilege. It is scarcely surprising that we have records of such ridiculous procedures as the grant by the British Parliament to a Mrs.



Stevens of £5,000 for the discovery of a cure for stone in the bladder, which was afterwards found to consist of small doses of liquor potassæ in veal broth!

Times, however, are now certainly changed, and the medical profession may claim to rank among the most highly educated. No profession has made such rapid educational strides. Diseases are cured which were formerly regarded as fatal, and successful operations are performed which even our fathers never contemplated. The most acute and educated intellects are engaged, skilfully and assiduously, in the search for "those truths of science, waiting to be caught, which float about the threshold of an age." Instead of five hospitals, there are now in the Metropolitan limits alone 238, affording beds for 6,000 sick people. More than 46,000 indoor patients are received annually, and a much larger number of out-door patients is attended to. And here it must be observed that a large proportion of the work is performed gratuitously by the medical profession. There are many hospitals and dispensary physicians and surgeons who, neither directly nor indirectly, receive other remuneration for their time, skill, and labour than that pleasure and peace of mind which arises from doing good. Gratitude is comparatively rarely, not even hollow thanks always, accorded to the medical attendant. But if anything goes wrong the unfavourable result is oftentimes attributed to the treatment. Patients and their friends do not remember the observation of Napoleon: "L'homme meurt partout." Nor do they recognise the fact that nature is more concerned in the preservation of the species than in the protection of the individual. Hudibras well said that in sickness God and the doctor are adored, but when in health the one is forgotten and the other slighted. Bonvart, on entering the sick chamber of a French nobleman, was addressed by his patient: "Good day to you, Monsieur Bonvart; I feel quite in spirits, and think my fever has left me." "I am sure of it," the doctor replied; "the expression you used convinced me of it." "Pray explain yourself?" questioned the nobleman. "Nothing is easier," was the answer. "In the first days of your illness, when your life was in danger, I was your dearest friend. As you began to get better I was your good Bonvart. And now I am Monsieur Bonvart. Depend upon it, you are quite recovered!" The following anecdotes further illustrate the treatment doctors sometimes receive. A farmer desired a country practitioner to visit a patient, a relative, in a village some distance away. As the illness did not appear urgent, the doctor proposed going in the morning. "That will not do," said the farmer. "I want you to go now, because I want a lift home, and to hire a trap would cost more than your

visit!" Another country practitioner was asked by an inn-keeper to visit a sick relative. The doctor hired a conveyance from the innkeeper, who charged him one shilling more than the doctor demanded for his attendance!

The question has arisen whether the hospital system has not attained too excessive proportions, especially by the frequent institution of special hospitals. It is advanced that new hospitals have been frequently founded for the treatment of special diseases, and this without reference to the provision already available. There is no doubt that the maladies which many special hospitals profess to receive could usually be as well, or better, treated in general hospitals, in some of which there are special wards. A suggestion was made some time ago that in future no institution should be admitted to participate in funds contributed by the public unless a good case could be made out, showing that it had been founded in response to local needs, and "not as the mere branch-surgery of some enterprising practitioner," and not unless the benefits conferred bear some proportion to the expenses incurred. If the 238 hospitals of London could be reduced to one-half by judicious concentration, there would be annually an immense saving in the cost of administrative staffs.

It is a well-known melancholy fact that the Metropolitan hospitals have latterly been suffering from want of funds. In a recent periodical there were thirty advertisements from hospitals in want of money. Even Guy's Hospital, after repeated appeals, did not raise sufficient to enable it to continue all the services to the sick of which it is capable; and no one came forward, as William Hunt did in 1831, who gave £193,789 to this hospital. Considering the present impoverished condition, a call for a Parliamentary inquiry into the management of the hospitals was, therefore, not misplaced. The necessities of the Metropolitan hospitals may be traced to several causes. First, there is the absorption of considerable public and private funds, subscriptions, and donations, by the special hospitals above referred to. Secondly, many people go to the hospitals who could afford to pay a medical man. A recent writer observes that "a working man or a small tradesman is expected to have his own baker and to pay for his beer, but to have no family doctor to whom he can look in a moment of emergency or a time of sickness, . . . while there are highly-educated medical men willing to serve the poor on moderate terms." Perhaps this, however, is too severe, for there are working men and small tradesmen to whom the payment of a doctor would mean deprivation of some other necessity of life. But when we are told on good authority that one in four of the population of London seek medical relief at the hospitals,

we must agree with the writer quoted above that under such circumstances "the demoralization of the people proceeds at an ever-quickenning pace." Some time ago Dr. Woods observed: "If it is admitted that the hospitals and similar institutions are treating the vast numbers that their returns evidence, there is no doubt that they are pauperising the people." Thirdly, the hospitals are used by a number of people who, on account of their extreme poverty, ought to apply to the parish for their relief. A hospital should certainly not be converted into a poor-house. Again, many persons are retained in hospitals—those with fractured limbs, for instance—until able to work. But a patient, after the surgeon has done all he can for a fractured limb, requires time for the consolidation of the bone. This period should not be passed in a hospital, but in some special parochial institution, so that the hospital-bed may be free for some other acute case. We are aware that a great deal has been done by the authorities of some districts for the relief of the destitute sick. As an example, the Marylebone Infirmary at Notting Hill, under the able superintendence of Dr. Lunn, may be referred to. Upwards of 700 beds are here provided for the destitute sick, and the infirmary, being a modern structure, is very well suited for the purpose. But so many persons suffering from acute maladies are necessarily received, that even this large institution cannot be what is required—viz., a parochial convalescent home. Fourthly, as pointed out by Mr. Burdett, there is no established system of hospital accounts. The cost of a patient varies much at different hospitals, and figures rendered do not convey a clear notion of how money is expended. Some hospitals spend more than £100 on each bed occupied per annum, while other hospitals spend a little over £20. Mr. Burdett divided 56 of the Metropolitan hospitals into 6 groups: 21 spent more than £100 on each bed occupied during the year; 3 spent more than £90; 6 more than £80; 11 more than £70; 9 more than £60; and 6 more than £50. It is significantly added that of the 21 spending more than £100, 19 are special hospitals, and they are small. Every hospital should publish annually accounts framed in exactly the same manner, which should be submitted to some central authority. Dr. F. Mouatt, in an address delivered last November to the Royal Statistical Society, advocated the constitution of a Hospital Board for London, after the example of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. The Indian system might well be adopted. Each hospital furnishes the surgeon-general accounts and registers of patients, drawn up on the same plan. These are elaborated in the surgeon-general's office into one report for the informa-

tion of Government. The number of patients, cash-balance, receipts under different headings, and the total income of every hospital, are shown; also the expenditure under the heads establishment (sub-divided), medicines, diet, wines, bedding, clothing, building or repairs, investments, total expenditure, and cash-balance. It is, therefore, easy to ascertain the average cost of a patient, not only under all heads, but also under any particular heading.

There is no doubt that hospitals are more popular now than they were in bygone years. We can recollect the time when many people objected to become inmates of hospitals, because they were afraid of contracting some other disorder; or they feared being experimented upon; or they thought they might come under the tender mercies of some youthful doctor; or because they might be made the subjects of clinical teaching to students "walking the hospitals." If such fears linger in the minds of any of the present generation, such fears are superfluous and unnecessary. It is essential that youthful and even aspirant doctors should be employed in hospitals, both to assist in the work and to gain knowledge and experience for the benefit of coming generations. But the system is such as to leave little, if any, chance of the most careless or ignorant neophyte doing injury; and as regards a patient being made the subject of clinical teaching, he may rest perfectly sure that if this is the case, his malady will be investigated with more than ordinary care, and his treatment will be conducted with the utmost skill and attention. Personally, we would rather be treated in a hospital to which a medical school is attached than in one where there are no students. Doubtless trials of new medicines have been made in hospitals, but medical men do not experiment, first, without the full consent of the patient; and, secondly, without being fully assured that no evil consequences will result. As regards the contraction of other maladies, infectious cases are now isolated, and none but the nurses and medical officers incur risk. Our hospitals are infinitely better sanitated than they were in former days. It certainly cannot be asserted that the earlier condition of hospitals was, sanitarily speaking, satisfactory. In this respect they partook somewhat of the condition of the gaols and prisons as described by Pringle, Howard, and others, overcrowding, want of ventilation and of cleanliness, being the principal evils. The times, indeed, wanted other aid; for even Dr. Johnson said of clean linen: "And I, sir, have no passion for it!" A medical practitioner of bygone years, protesting his patient was dirty, received as reply: "We have done our best to keep him tidy, and if you had only seen him last Sunday, when he was washed and shaved, you really

would have said he was looking well?" Medical men, especially military physicians and surgeons, long since recognised the evil effects of massing together great bodies of sick in general hospitals, thereby generating a hospital atmosphere. Hence Pringle's recommendation of separate regimental infirmaries, the germ of the separate pavilion system of the present day. Dr. Moseley long since wrote: "It is a solecism on economy to have a bad hospital"; and Larry said he would rather treat his patients under a hedgerow than in a crowded hospital.

It is remarkable that during the first fifty years of the present century, with the exception of a paper by Sir George Ballingall, in the "Cyclopædia of Practical Surgery," nothing appears to have been published regarding the construction of hospitals. But in 1856 Mr. Robertson read a paper on the subject before the Manchester Statistical Society. After that the matter was much discussed in the *Lancet*, the *Builder*, the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, and in other periodicals. As regards military hospitals, especially, a painful impression was made during the Crimean War, leading to the fruitful exertions of Miss Nightingale, Lord Herbert, Dr. Sutherland and others. Dr. Farr and Miss Nightingale, indeed, questioned whether hospitals as existing had not destroyed more lives than they had saved. Next appeared a paper by Sir J. Simpson, in 1869, on "Hospitalism," which term implies the hygienic evils which huge and colossal hospitals involve. Simpson wrote that hospitals become deteriorated by long use, and he advocated small wards, and the segregation of all surgical cases. Many of Simpson's conclusions have, however, been questioned. Mr. T. Holmes says septic diseases are not more common in hospitals than out of them, if the institution is properly ventilated, if perfect cleanliness is observed, and if there are no careless surgeons, house-surgeons, or nurses. The urgent necessity of ventilation, cleanliness, and care in hospitals, is apparent from the following observations recently made by Mons. Tarnier. He found that one micro-organism in one cubic metre of air is the proportion at the summit of a mountain; in the Parc de Montsouris, 480; in the Rue de Rivoli, 3,480; in the Hôtel Dieu, 40,000; in the Pitié, an older hospital, 319,000. But dust, it appears, is the great conveyer of micro-organisms, and in the hospitals the proportion of germs in a gramme of dust was so high that counting was found to be impossible. Much must assuredly be claimed for the antiseptic dressing of Sir Joseph Lister, by which micro-organisms in the atmosphere are prevented coming into contact with wounds. It is true that some are of opinion that perfect cleanliness in every direction is the most

important point. But to render security doubly sure, it is essential that both precautions should be taken. Surgeons certainly have not yet acquired the dexterity of the photographer, who, as expressed in the vernacular, as rendered by Mr. Punch, "will take yer head off for sixpence, and yer ole body for a shilling!" But when we know, as a fact, that great surgical operations are now ten times more successful than they used to be; and when, owing to the exclusion of infectious cases, we know that "catching" a disease in a general hospital is almost unknown, it must be admitted that the present condition of our hospitals is as satisfactory as most human contrivances can be. This has been accomplished by improved construction, better ventilation, segregation of infectious diseases, perfect cleanliness, the use of antiseptics in various manners, and knowledge and training, which ensures and implies care, on the part of attendants.

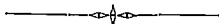
The following is what a hospital should be: 1. A standard of medical and surgical science and practice, and a means of promoting a knowledge of both. 2. A model of economical arrangement, and of scientific sanitary appliances. 3. A pattern of the mode of managing the sick.

Miss Nightingale once observed, that if hospitals are intended for the cure of the sick, they would not be built in towns. Doubtless the atmosphere of the country is less tainted than town air. But, unfortunately, we must have hospitals in towns, and particularly in this overgrown London. There is, however, an increasing admirable system of hospitals having their own convalescent institutions in the country, or at the seaside, to which patients in need of such change may be sent. It would indeed be well if every hospital had its convalescent institution, or cottage hospital, as a branch. Of course this would require more money. But what may be effected by individual exertion has recently been detailed by Mrs. Black, in a paper published in the *Queen*, and entitled "How I began my Cottage Hospital in 1872," at Northam, Southampton. Meeting with a diseased person, Mrs. Black collected a sum of money sufficient to support him and his family for four months, during which period a cure was effected. Many similar cases then applied, and a room was hired at 6d. per hour. But ever-increasing numbers soon outgrew the tiny room, and funds coming in justified the renting of a small house in 1874. In 1880 a house was purchased, which is now the permanent St. Mary's Cottage Hospital. The annual report, dated October, 1890, shows 374 patients cured, and 159 remaining under treatment; the expenditure being £335. For 14s. per week one patient can be received, boarded and treated. Mrs. Black acknowledges the services

of the surgeons, Dr. F. Hall and Dr. H. Hall, "who, amidst a large practice, most philanthropically attend."

"The poor ye have always with you" was said two thousand years ago. Time was when the richer classes took little more interest in, and had little more in common with, the poorer classes than if they had been an inferior order of beings. And it is even now easy to bear the ills of others with fortitude. Even now many are not sufficiently alive to the enormous and incomparable evils arising from sickness and its too frequent result—poverty. The workman toils on as long as strength permits. At last some organ gives way, and the unfortunate sufferer is unable to work. As a consequence, the wife and family are often reduced to starvation. There are many ways of doing good with money. But we can scarcely imagine a better method than seconding the endeavours of hospital physicians and surgeons in the cure and relief of disease. And this notwithstanding the admission that the hospitals are oftentimes resorted to by those who should not receive aid from such institutions. The rich have not only the inducement to give which comes of the pleasure of giving, but they have a direct interest in the support of hospitals. For hospitals are schools of education of the rising generation of practitioners, and of extended experience of the present generation. When overtaken by sickness the rich will be probably attended by the one, and their children by the other class. Not only the sick poor, but the sick rich, constantly benefit from the teachings of hospitals. In conclusion, it may be remarked that all information about existing hospitals is contained in the "Hospital Annual," edited by Mr. Burdett.

WILLIAM MOORE.



#### ART. VI.—THE LATE HERO-WORSHIP OF DR. NEWMAN IN ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE cultus of Cardinal Newman that was exhibited in England six months ago is undoubtedly a remarkable phenomenon, which deserves to be carefully examined. Our cousins on the other side of the Atlantic were astonished by it, by its fervency, by its permanence, and by its universality. Was it creditable or discreditable to the English Church and nation?

The first thing that strikes us about it is its generosity. For the last half of his life Dr. Newman had been assailing the Church of England with insults and disingenuous argu-

ments, and had put himself outside the flow of English life, which he looked upon as a spectator whose sympathies were elsewhere; and yet Churchmen, and men who belonged to no Church at all, vied with one another in praising him with effusive volubility. Why was this? In the case of Churchmen it was mainly because they would not forget the first half of his life, and the benefits which they believed they had received from him in their own spiritual life and in the defence which he then made of Christianity and of the Church of England. In the minds of many there was a belief that in old days he had been hardly treated, though they did not know exactly how. When he left the Church of England he had raised a pathetic cry, and had persuaded people that he would willingly have stayed where he was, had he been allowed to do so; and he possessed that art which men who attain to popularity alone have, of persuading people, however different in their sentiments, that he would have agreed with them had it not been for unfortunate circumstances which, against his will, compelled him to occupy a position that prevented him from disclosing his real convictions.

Another large class looked upon him with favour because, by becoming a deserter from the Church of England, he had led very many to believe that the difference between one faith and another was unimportant, and had in this way strengthened the hands of theological liberals, to whom he became dear as an antagonist of the institution which to them represented the maintenance of dogmatic faith in England. High Churchmen, Broad Churchmen, antagonists to the Church, and indifferentists, all thus conspired to praise him, and of course he had the lavish laudation of the members of the special body that he had joined, which has a greater influence over the organs of public opinion, owing to its resolution and narrowness, than according to its numbers and talent it ought to have.

Are the words "insults" and "disingenuous arguments" too strong to apply to Dr. Newman's manner of dealing with the Church of England? No one will say so who has weighed the polemical works that have proceeded from his pen since he became a member of the Church of Rome. What is it but a gratuitous insult to say that he dispenses with the trouble of examining into the claim of the English clergy to be a validly-ordained ministry, for it is sufficient to look at them to settle the question—and that from a member of a Church a leading member of which but the other day acknowledged that in a whole diocese in Italy there was not one of the clergy, whether bishop or priest,



that was leading a chaste life?<sup>1</sup> What could be more disingenuous than to construct an argument against Kingsley on the hypothesis that Liguori only allowed equivocation in extreme cases, and then to withdraw the hypothesis in an appendix without withdrawing the argument founded upon it; or than to defend the modern Román doctrine of Mariolatry against Pusey by citing a passage of Irenæus containing a misreading, which gave it the appearance of serving the purpose, and then, as before, to acknowledge the misreading in a note a hundred pages further on, without abandoning the argument founded upon it? Again, what are we to say of a controversialist instructed in history who declares the executions in Elizabeth's reign to be equal in atrocity with the massacres of Provence, and the *auto-da-fés* of Spain, and declares the Inquisition to be a Spanish, not a Roman Catholic, institution?

But all these things—we do not pause to enumerate them—were forgotten and forgiven. The English Church was like the sleepy lion in the picture, which would not be waked up and be made angry, however much his foes might run their spears into him. No doubt it was unkind of an old friend, and it could not be denied that he was unfair; but it was Newman, so let it pass.

The selection of Dr. Newman for excessive praise is not only an injustice to his comrades of past years. It is wrong in itself, for it ignores the great fault of his life. If we select for extravagant laudation a man whose most conspicuous act is in our eyes a wrong act, we are condoning that act, and excusing it so far as we are capable of doing so. A man may have many faults which, in the general estimate of his character, we may put comparatively aside, on account of other qualities. A man may have done bad acts, which may have been so overshadowed by good deeds that we may forgive and forget the former. But when the one act that is most remarkable in a man's life—the act by which he will live in history—is in our judgment a wrong act, we are no longer at liberty to give him our approbation, for he has become in the face of the world the living embodiment of that act, and to give him our praise is logically to justify it. Now, the act which distinguishes Dr. Newman from his compeers, and by which he will be known in future biographies, is his abandonment of Protestantism for Popery, Anglicanism for Romanism. Unless we can justify that act in itself, we have no right to make a hero of the man who performed it. It is not enough to be able to point to palliating circumstances. These may excuse the man

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<sup>1</sup> Curci, *Vaticano Regio*.

to a greater or less degree, but they cannot make a hero of one who failed in the supreme moment of trial.

Extravagant laudation in such a case is not only unjust to others and wrong in itself, it is also dangerous in the highest degree. For it leads men to regard with indifference the act for which their hero is remarkable, and it will be well if indifference does not lead on to approbation. *Decipit exemplar vitis imitabile.*

A consequence of the hero-worship which we have lately witnessed was singularly manifested in the public press a few weeks after its intensity had abated. A question arose, entirely unconnected with Dr. Newman, as to a child's education, and astonishment was expressed that its present guardian should make the efforts that he did to prevent the child being brought up "in the religion of Cardinal Newman." Because it was Cardinal Newman's religion, it must be all right, or at least not objectionable. This is the logical outcome of the praises bestowed on the Cardinal, or, if not the logical outcome, the result which certainly will follow. And yet "Dr. Newman's religion" is that which our fathers, in their outspoken way, denounced as Popery.

Has it really come to this, that in the nineteenth century it should be a question in the Church of England whether the system of Romanism or that of the Church of England is the best for English children to be educated in, and for English men and women to profess? Was the Reformation a huge mistake? Did Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley foolishly throw away their lives without cause when they chose the stake before the Mass, and thus kindled a light which they fondly hoped would never be put out?

"The Reformation in England," writes Bishop Cleveland Coxe, "preserved our catholicity, saving us from the innumerable manufactured articles of Roman credulity. To that event the Anglo-Saxon race owes all that distinguishes it from the Latin races in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, in Mexico, and Brazil. But if the career which I have criticised was true to God, to the Scriptures, to the Creeds, and to the Gospel in its purity, then that Reformation was a curse, and not our blessing and our glory. If Newman was right, then the martyrs of Oxford and Smithfield were criminals, and those who deluged France with the blood of St. Bartholomew's Day were saints of God, and blessed was the Te Deum which the Pope sang in Rome to praise the Most High for a massacre that astounded the world. Mary the Bloody should have reigned as long as did Elizabeth, and her husband, Don Philip, should have sent the Duke of Alva to England to duplicate the cruelties with which he decimated populations in the Netherlands and horrified mankind. Yes, and the Inquisition should have been established in London, as it was in Madrid, and the Armada, which God dashed to pieces after the Pope had blessed it, should have been permitted to reduce our forefathers to the abject estate of the populations of nearly all the Latin colonies in America" (Annual Address, 1890).

If it be so, that the old battles must be fought over again, in God's name let them be fought, not declined as unsuitable to the spirit of the age. Protestantism has nothing to fear in its encounter with Popery. Our present danger rather is that we shall slide unconsciously out of one into the other, from not realizing the vital differences between them, and through being beguiled by the roseate colours with which imagination and craft have combined to invest our hereditary foe. "Speak gently of our sister's fall," sang Keble; but that was at a time when there was no danger in doing so, for the centrifugal instincts were strong enough then to overcome the attraction naturally exerted by so vast a body as Roman Christendom. "Pray for unity," said Pusey, when as yet men only contemplated unity in the truth, and therefore such prayers were harmless to themselves. "Do away with barriers between Christians and Christians," say amiable enthusiasts on one side, and all classes of indifferentists and latitudinarians on the other, unconscious that the permanent gain of such policy must be with those who are ready to receive but never to make concessions. There is a manly firmness in the tone of the Caroline divines, and, we will add, in the earlier Tractarian school, which contrasts favourably with the tenderness to error which would yield up the faith for fear of hurting feelings, and for the sake of indulging a spurious charity. "First pure, then peaceable," is the Scriptural order.

Is it, or is it not, an important thing whether, when the alternative is offered to us, we deliberately choose to belong to the Church of England or to the Church of Rome? What is it that the Church of Christ has been instituted for? Probably the answer that we should all give is, to maintain truth and to sanctify conversation. We do not believe that the Church can invent or discover or create new truths: we believe that its office is to preserve truth once for all delivered and revealed to the world by our Master Christ and His Apostles. Anything not so revealed is no part of the Christian faith, and if any part of the revelation is so developed as to be out of proportion with the other parts, truth, which depends on the due proportion of part to part, is so far lost. But if we compare the faith of the existing Roman Church with the once-revealed faith contained in Holy Scripture, and testified to by the early Church, we find the two faiths essentially different. The ordinary *practice* of uneducated Roman Catholics appears to consist in assisting at the mystical acts of their minister as he makes an offering for their sins day by day and week by week, in winning over to their side the goodwill and favour of some unseen powers, who will conciliate God in their behalf, and in unquestioning obedience to the precepts of their Church as

promulgated by its supreme governor, the Pope, or his inferior officers, the bishops and priests. The Roman Catholic *faith* is found in the three creeds, and in an especial manner in the creed of Pius IV., which contains the doctrines by which the Roman separates itself from the Catholic Church, and also in the dogmas promulgated by Pius IX. in our own lifetime. Would it be nothing, then, to have to believe (as the creed of Pius IV. requires), instead of the spiritual presence of Christ in the Holy Communion, that the bread is changed in substance into Him, and that He is eaten with the mouth and teeth? Nothing, to have to believe that the never-to-be-repeated sin-offering of Calvary is renewed by every priest who celebrates Mass? Nothing, that, contrary to Christ's command, the cup should be removed from the hands of laymen? Nothing, to have to profess that Christ instituted seven sacraments of the Gospel, although it is historically certain that He did not? Nothing, to have to believe that the souls of the faithful are, on their death, cast into a place of suffering, from which they are delivered by other people's merits and by Masses bought for money? Nothing, to have to address prayer to departed men and women, and to worship the images of God and the saints with the same worship as is addressed to their prototypes? and to pay adoration to their relics? Nothing, to have to regard tradition, not only as a valuable help for the interpretation of Scripture, but as a co-ordinate source, with it, of our knowledge of God's will, other sources being revelations made to saints or through the Bishop of Rome? Nothing, to consider salvation a prize won by man, God's grace assisting him, instead of a free gift of God for Christ's sake, involving after-responsibilities? Nothing, to have to declare the Roman the mother and mistress of all Churches, though it is historically certain that she is not? Nothing, to have to say that any other was free from sin, original and actual, beside our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Nothing, to have to regard a mortal man infallible whenever he declares himself to be speaking *ex cathedra*, and to have to bow down to him as the one Bishop and earthly ruler of the Church of Christ?

The burden of all these false doctrines, and many more growing out of them, unknown to Scripture and to Christian antiquity, is gratuitously placed upon their own necks by men who relinquish the Church of England for that of Rome, and, as a make-weight, they do not receive a single truth in addition to those with which they were already furnished; for they already possess all the articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Holy Scriptures, and summed up in the three creeds.

In respect to piety and the sanctification of life, we refrain from

drawing a comparison as to the morality of Roman Catholic and Protestant nations, because the difference between them may be plausibly said to depend upon other causes besides their religion; but if we find a low tone of morality in books authorized by either of the Churches, we have a right to charge that Church with being the cause of the state of morals to which its teaching naturally leads. The morals of St. Alfonso de' Liguori are the morals of the Church of Rome, and the morals taught by him are those which were satirized by Pascal in his "Provincial Letters." When Pascal wrote they were peculiar to a school within the Church of Rome; now they have been extended to the whole body by having been adopted by Liguori, the Doctor of the Roman Catholic Church, whose every word is approved by her. Cardinal Wiseman has told us with satisfaction that the saint's mild theology rules the decisions made in every confessional in England.

Would it be nothing to adopt as our own the moral theology of Liguori? Are we prepared to adopt the Italian, in place of the English, standard of truthfulness? May we, that is, be guilty of moral falsehood in deceiving our neighbour provided only that we do not do it by a material falsehood—that is, provided that we ourselves can put some true meaning on our words, though our neighbour understands them differently? Would there be no moral fibre lost to the nation if the Church taught that any man who had a reason for doing so might utter any false statement that he would, provided that he prefaced his sentence with the words "I say," and took care to mean in his own mind that he was only uttering the sounds that followed those two words, although the person whom he addressed believed him to be making a solemn affirmation of a fact? (*Theol. Mor.*, iv. 151). Would our courts of justice be what they are if witnesses on oath, who knew that the accused had committed a crime, were bound to deny that he had committed it unless there were other half-full proof to the fact? (*ibid.*, iv. 154). Would our households be improved by an unfaithful wife being justified in denying her sin to her husband as soon as she had been absolved from its guilt by the priest in confession (*ibid.*, iv. 162), and by the son being permitted to steal from his father from £12 10s. to 15s. every two months (*ibid.*, iv. 543), and by servants being allowed to make compensation to themselves by secret purloining if they are conscious that their wages are lower than they ought to be? (*ibid.*, iv. 524). Would our honesty be improved by altering "Thou shalt not steal" into "Thou shalt not steal more than an amount varying according to the person from whom the theft is made, from ten shillings to five pence"?

(*ibid.*, iv. 527). There are other departments of morals which we willingly pass by (*ibid.*, iv. 471), where the Anglican standard is incredibly higher than the Roman, and that for the good reason that the Church of England is content to inculcate principles derived from the Holy Scriptures, and the Church of Rome lays down a code of laws and rules drawn up by the ingenuity of men who are themselves affected by their age and their surroundings.

If it be said, "Oh, but these things would be no trial to you if you were once a Roman Catholic, because then you would adopt the judgment of that Church instead of your own, on the grounds of its inerrancy and infallibility," let us see what that implies. It implies that in morals you either cannot distinguish right from wrong, except by the help of the moral theologians, or that if you do recognise one thing to be right, and another thing to be wrong, you are yet bound to say that the wrong is right and the right is wrong, if ordered by authority, rejecting thus the supremacy of conscience. For example, if a thief charged with his crime were to say, "I say that I saw my neighbour commit the theft," would the human conscience have nothing to say as to the quality of that assertion until the unerring Church had told him whether it were right or wrong? And if the unerring Church told him that it was right, must he accept her judgment, and refuse to believe it wrong? In the second alternative he would have to smother his conscience; in the first he would have no conscience at all. Is this the state to which we wish to reduce mankind? It may be said, "But the Holy Roman Church never could say that such an assertion was justifiable; it is prevented by its inerrancy from doing so." But it has done so. We have already shown that when we have a reason for it we may say anything that we like provided that we preface our statement by the words "I say that," and then mean in our own minds that we are "saying," *i.e.*, uttering the following words, whatever they may be and whatever construction the hearers may put upon them; and as to the "reason" required for such form of speech, personal convenience, regard for reputation, fear of deserved punishment, or any such cause, is all that is wanted.

The case with regard to truth is the same as that of morals, with the exception that whereas the theory of inerrancy in morals is the destruction of the human conscience, in the matter of doctrines, it is the *sacrificio dell' intelletto*, and involves the notion to which Newman and Manning have hardily committed themselves, that we are incapable of understanding the events of history, except by the intervention and interpretation of the Pope.

How, then, are we to deal with the argument derived from Dr. Newman's example? It is no new difficulty. It has existed in almost every age in the Church, and will continue to emerge. So much so that it has become a proverb that the teacher's error is the disciple's temptation. We may go back to Tertullian and the argument of Vincentius Lerinensis. Tertullian's case is, indeed, a very apt illustration. Tertullian was a high and noble-minded man, ready to do battle or to die for the faith of the Church, remarkable for his literary power, greatly admired by his contemporaries, but he carried one side of the orthodox doctrines into an extreme. He had, by the natural constitution of his mind, an inclination towards asceticism. This inclination grew upon him, till at last it put on such exaggerated proportions as to drive out the faith and practice of the Church. His ascetic affinities led him to give up his position as an orthodox Churchman and go over to Montanism, where his natural inclinations could have full sway without being thwarted and restrained. Thus the man who had been the champion and the hero of the Church deserted her and became the ornament of the Montanist sect, which he enriched with the learning that he had brought from the Church, while he assailed the Church with the bitterness that he had borrowed from his new allies.

Vincentius instances Origen and Tertullian as men whose gifts and excellencies made their examples a temptation to their contemporaries, who were led by admiration of them to follow in their steps.

We do not enter into the question whether Vincentius's view of Origen is right or wrong. What he says is that he was a man of many gifts—rare, singular, strange; of great industry and patience, quick of wit, unrivalled in learning, so sweet of speech that honey seemed to drop from his mouth, so forcible in argument that he could make anything seem easy of acceptance; surrounded by friends and pupils who were ready to err with Origen rather than be right with anyone else; and that by and through these gifts he led many astray. To Tertullian he attributes similar qualities, and then adds:

And yet this man after all these things, this Tertullian, I say, not holding the Catholic doctrine, that is, the universal and old faith, being far more eloquent than faithful, changing afterwards his mind, did that which the blessed Bishop Hilary in a certain place writeth of him. "He discredited," quoth he, "with his later errors his worthy writings;" and he also was a great temptation in the Church. (*Common.*, c. xviii.)

And surely a great temptation it is, when as he whom you think a prophet, a disciple of the prophets, whom you esteem a doctor and maintainer of the truth, whom you have highly revered and most entirely loved, when he suddenly and privily bringeth in pernicious errors, which neither you can quickly spy, led away with prejudice of

your old teacher, nor can easily bring your mind to condemn, hindered with love to your old master" (*Ibid.*, c. x.).

Newman's most fervent admirers may find a singular appositeness in some of Vincentius's words.

FREDERICK MEYRICK.

## Notes on Bible Words.

### No. V.—"REQUESTS."

IN Philip. i. 4, for "in every prayer (*δέησι*) . . . making request"<sup>1</sup> (*τὴν δέησιν*), read *supplication*: "in every supp. . . making my supp." (Ellicott). (The article before *δέησιν* refers it back to the previous *δέησει*, says Lightfoot.)<sup>2</sup> Compare Ephes. vi. 18: "With all (every form of) prayer and supplication praying."

In Phil. iv. 6: "By your prayer (*τῆ προσευχῆ*)<sup>3</sup> and your supplication (*τῆ δέησει*)<sup>4</sup> let your requests (*τὰ αἰτήματα*) be made known unto God." [Présentez vos demandes à Dieu en prières et en supplications.]

For *τὸ αἶτημα* see Luke xxiii. 24; R.V., "Pilate gave sentence that *what they asked for* should be done."

Derived from *αἰτέω*, the asking of the *Will*,<sup>5</sup> we understand *τὰ αἰτήματα* as the things desired—what the Will puts forward;<sup>6</sup> or, the subjects of our supplication (*materia δέησεως*, Beng.). See Ps. xxxvii. 4: "He shall give thee the desires (*αἰτήματα*) of thine heart." [On the Heb. a paper will be given in another CHURCHMAN.]

See Matt. vii. 7: "Ask (*αἰτεῖτε*), and it shall be given you." Cf. xxi. 22. James iv. 3, "Ye *ask* (request for yourselves) and receive not."

See the noun and verb in 1 John v. 15: ". . . whatsoever we *request* (*αἰτώμεθα*) we know that we have the (petitions, A.V.) *requests* (*τὰ αἰτήματα*) which we (desired, A.V.) have *requested* from Him."<sup>7</sup>

On "requests," see that charming book "Praying and Working," also Hooker, vol. i., p. 567:

Petitionary prayer belongeth only to such as . . . stand in need of relief from others. We thereby declare unto God what our own desire is, that He by His power should effect.

<sup>1</sup> Wyclif has "a bisechyngne." Meyer renders *δέησις* "entreaty."

<sup>2</sup> In Rom. i. 10, "making request" is *δεόμενος*. Ps. xxi. 2, "request (*δέησον*)."

<sup>3</sup> *πρ.* (*precatio*) is the general word for "prayer"; comprehensive: *δε.* (*rogatio*), special, implies sense of need. The former, says Bishop Lightfoot, points to the frame of mind in the petitioner, the latter to the act of solicitation. In *τὰ αἰτήματα* the *several objects* of *δέησις* are implied.

<sup>4</sup> By the specific prayer offered up when the occasion may require it.—Ellicott.

<sup>5</sup> Crenier. To ask for things; something to be *given*. Compare 1 Cor. i. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Petitions* (see Archbishop Trench) for particular boons. "Every longing of the soul is to be laid before God"—every desire "made known" toward, or before God. He knows; but He will be "entreated," enquired of, pleaded with. Ezek. xxxvi. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Bishop Alexander (S. Com.) gives: "The desires that we have desired from Him." The Bishop of Derry also remarks on the two conditions of prayer in these verses (14 and 15)—*confidence* (*παρρησία*, freely speaking; courage), and harmony with God's will.



In the *Quarterly Review*, just received from Mr. Murray, appear four review-articles, viz., the last volumes of Mr. Lecky's "History of England," Döllinger's "Studies in European History," Mr. Reid's "Life of Lord Houghton," and "The Life and Letters of Adam Sedgwick." In reading the last-named our readers will do well to turn back to the article on Professor Sedgwick in a recent *CHURCHMAN*, by Canon Carus, and also to Dr. Plummer's paper in this magazine touching Döllinger's Lectures on Louis XIV. and Madame Maintenon. The *Quarterly* is right, we think, in saying that Döllinger "rates too highly the Stoic pride which made Louis XIV. play with such admirable dignity the part of the King." "Ethics of the Day," "The New Code and Free Education," and "The Elevation of the Working Class," are very readable and helpful.

In *Blackwood* "A Tale of a Secret Mission" is concluded, and "Lord Brabourne on the Parnell Imbroglio" is admirable. "The Problem of the Slums," a well-meaning paper, hardly up to *Blackwood's* standard, rather too readily endorses General Booth's figures.

In *The Church Sunday School Magazine* appears the paper in a recent *CHURCHMAN*, "Reminiscences of a Country Parson." The *Guardian*, in noticing the *Sunday School Magazine*, remarks: "The 'Reminiscences' are not only entertaining, but afford food for thought."

*The Prayer Book, with Plain Song and appropriate Music*, edited by Dr. Monk (W. Clowes and Sons), a very interesting work, will be noticed in our next number.



## THE MONTH.

THE death of Archbishop Thomson has left a great blank; and those who knew best the strength and nobility of his character, and who, moreover, perceive the perils of the Church just now, most deeply lament his loss, and the sermons of Bishop Thorold and Archdeacon Blakeney will, we hope, be published.

The *Record* says:

Dr. Thomson's death robs the Church of a leader it can ill spare. For the Archbishop, despite his decided Protestantism, was no party man. He ruled his diocese with vigour and with vigilance, and if he seemed to ignore the claims of any, it may be taken for granted that he did not stay his hand without inquiry and full knowledge.

The Archbishop's hold over the rugged and often impracticable natures of the Yorkshire working-men was really remarkable. It is very doubtful whether any other prelate has ever been so popular with artisans. Yet he never wheedled or flattered them, and he never spared their vices. The Working-men's Meetings at the Church Congress were the Archbishop's idea, and no speaker was more popular at them.

With very general approval Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, succeeds to York. Sheffield, we hope, will become a city.