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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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MAY, 1892.

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ART. I.—MODERN OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

No. III.—KUENEN.

DR. ABRAHAM KUENEN, whose recent death has called forth many expressions of sympathy, is a learned and laborious critic. He belongs to that school among the Jews which, as in the case of Ewald and others, has emancipated itself from the traditions of the elders, and has subjected the Old Testament Scriptures to a treatment as free as that of their Christian confederates. We do not, it is true, find the same irreverence of tone in Kuenen as in Wellhausen, nor does he go quite to the same extent in boldness of assertion. But we find the same tendency to dogmatic assertion, the same repetition of assumptions made by others in the place of scientific demonstration. As it is on the general agreement of critics like these that the new English criticism is content to rest its case, some instances of Kuenen's method will now be placed before the reader, that he may be able to decide for himself on the weight to be attached to his authority.

In the discussion of the standpoint from which he approaches the question of the religion of Israel, he frankly admits that a belief in the supernatural origin of their religion is common to Christians and Jews. But then, as he goes on to observe, the adherents of other religions are animated by the same convictions in regard to their religious systems. And "if we look upon those other religions as so many manifestations of the religious spirit of mankind, are we not," he asks, "bound to examine the Israelite and the Christian religions also from the same point of view?"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Religion of Israel," p. 6.

This question he answers in the affirmative. He regards the modern view of the equality of all religions in regard to Divine inspiration as "the natural fruit of knowledge and development, of the entire intellectual work of Europe during the last century."<sup>1</sup> Now, of course, this is a perfectly fair position to be taken up by an inquirer *ab extra*. It is even the duty of every believer in Christ who has leisure and opportunity for the task to investigate the claims of Judaism and Christianity to the unique position they profess to occupy—to the possession of "truth in a sense entirely special and peculiar."<sup>2</sup> But in these days we need to be specially reminded that this is altogether an inquiry from without. It is an inquiry in which the Christian himself, when he feels it his duty to undertake it, places himself for the time on the same platform as the unbeliever. It is altogether distinct from the development of the Jewish and Christian idea, which, as Kuenen himself admits, involves as a fundamental postulate the claim for their religious systems of a special supernatural origin. Let it not then be forgotten that these critics, as has been observed in the first of this series of papers, start with a denial of one of the fundamental principles of all Christian theology, that which asserts that God in a special way spoke by Moses and by Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup> We are bound to scrutinize very closely any system which is built upon the agreement of critics like these. We do not deprecate the fullest possible inquiry into the evidences of Christianity. But when, satisfied of the justice of its claims, we proceed to investigate critically the phenomena of Holy Scripture from the standpoint of Christian faith, we cannot assume as postulates the assertions of men who reject the foundation on which our investigation proceeds. We cannot at once investigate Scripture from a Christian and a non-Christian standpoint. We cannot, for instance, at once admit and reject the possibility of miracles, or the accuracy, on all essential points, of a narrative supposed to be inspired. It is here, it would seem, that the arguments of our English critics are vitiated. They are built upon the conclusions of men who start from axioms which Christians deny. And it is the endeavour to accept those conclusions, while the principles on which those conclusions are reached are not formally accepted, which constitutes the danger of the new tendencies in English theological thought—a danger to which, in their recoil from the narrow literalism of past days, many excellent

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<sup>1</sup> P. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "If we must go down to the root of the matter, we are compelled to affirm that, wittingly or unwittingly, critics have been influenced by a growing disinclination to regard the Bible as *unique*."—Girdlestone, "Foundations of the Bible," Preface, p. v.

men among us are not yet sufficiently awake.<sup>1</sup> Kuenen tells us plainly that the "belief in Israel's selection" to be the special repository of Divine truth is not "in harmony with the experience we have accumulated for centuries."<sup>2</sup> Now this belief of the uniqueness of Judaism and Christianity, be it observed, does not rest on criticism alone. It rests on a large induction from the past and present moral and spiritual condition of the world. Our "present knowledge of lands and nations" leads us to conclusions the exact opposite of Kuenen's. Thus the argument from criticism must be far more thorough and convincing to compel our adhesion, who have been led on other grounds to form a strong opinion in regard to the supernatural character of the revelation which the Scriptures enshrine, than will be required by men who have no antecedent convictions of that kind with which to part. The "general consent" of critics who assume the falsehood of the principle which Kuenen admits to be a fundamental one in our "sacred records," and whose whole system is based on that assumption, will therefore of necessity be an object of suspicion to us who start with an hypothesis the exact opposite of theirs. And the position of those excellent but, we must believe, mistaken men, who admit the supernatural character of the Jewish and Christian revelation, and then proceed to investigate the documents which contain it on the principles of those who deny that supernatural character altogether, cannot possibly be very secure. The Christian, we repeat, may investigate the Scriptures from the unbeliever's point of view in order to

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<sup>1</sup> What those dangers are we may learn from German lips; not, it is true, those of a professor, but of a practical man. Herr Wurm, addressing the members of the Evangelical League at Stuttgart in 1887, says: "Aber gibt es nicht unter unsren evangelischen Theologen eine Partei, welche dieses Wort nicht stehen lassen will, sondern mit dem Messer der Kritik nach menschlicher Willkür daran schneidet, und ihm keine höhere Autorität zuschreibt, als irgend einem alten heidnischen Religionsbuch?" He goes on to depict the results of this cutting and carving of the Bible with the knife of criticism, this bringing it down to the level of the religious books of the heathen—the laity estranged from the Church, believing the only advantage of Protestantism over Romanism to be the freedom to believe in nothing, and to excuse one's self from taking any interest in Church matters—while Rome, with her disciplined organization, is enabled by the indifference of some, and the mutual dissensions of others, to push her way towards unquestioned political supremacy. "With mere negations," he says, "nothing can be done." But while he points out how the Higher Criticism plays into the hands of infidelity and Rome, he tells us how the younger clergy and the mass of the more earnest laity, though brought up in an academical atmosphere, throw off their academic illusions when they come face to face with the stern realities of life, and their souls thirst for truth and for the living God. These words, in the "present distress," may be a consolation to some among ourselves.

<sup>2</sup> P. 8.

satisfy himself of their claims on his allegiance. But this preliminary inquiry must not be confounded with the principles of investigation he adopts when he is satisfied of the justice of those claims. Such a man will not readily admit the force of arguments which may easily satisfy an unbeliever in regard to the comparatively late date of important portions of the Hebrew Canon, or the existence of grave mistakes in our present histories as to the nature and scope of the original Mosaic revelation, and as to the relation of the early religious history of Israel to that of the neighbouring tribes. He will regard Kuenen and others of his school as dominated by prepossessions which disqualify them for forming a fair opinion on the subject, and will be inclined to say to those who ask him to accept their general agreement, "Give me proofs, and not the assertions of men who hold a brief against a supernatural revelation."

Since Kuenen starts with a denial of the supernatural character of Judaism and Christianity, we shall not be surprised to find that he deals very freely with the phenomena they present. The books of the Old Testament, he tells us, when asserting the Divine origin of the religion they teach, are "at variance with each other" as to "the how and the when."<sup>1</sup> So he goes on to investigate the "sources" of the books as they now stand. The "concatenated narrative" they contain he declares to be separated, as far as the Exodus is concerned, "by a period of *more than five centuries*"<sup>2</sup> from the events recorded. The reader would naturally expect a detailed proof of this assertion. As usual, he will fail to find it. The assertion, as the manner of the critical school is, rests upon other assertions. The Old Testament narratives present "all sorts of phenomena which forbid us to recognise them as historical. We shall often," Kuenen goes on, "have to admit that the connection of occurrences can be established in more than one way, but we shall frequently arrive, in any case, at this position: such and such *cannot* have been the sequence of the facts."<sup>3</sup> In other words, while the believer in revelation would be inclined to adopt one solution of a difficulty, a critic who disbelieves it will be predisposed to adopt, and, if we do not misrepresent Kuenen, to *assume* another. "We have a perfect right to ask," he goes on, "whether things *can* have happened as they are reported to us."<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly, as long as you are inquiring into the evidences for religion, but as certainly *not* when you have accepted those evidences as satisfactory. When you have settled in your own mind the principle that the relation of

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<sup>1</sup> P. 11.    <sup>2</sup> P. 17.    <sup>3</sup> P. 19.    <sup>4</sup> P. 20.

miraculous events in a narrative does not necessarily deprive it of credibility, you have no reason whatever for hesitating to accept it as historical. One of our complaints against the English disciples of this school is that they mix up what are really inquiries into the evidences of religion with their criticism of volumes supposed to be inspired. If the narratives are essentially inaccurate, their inspiration cannot be maintained. But if on solid grounds we have reason to believe them to be an inspired record, then we cannot assume their inaccuracy on account of the miraculous nature of their contents. Kuenen, however, like Ewald and Knobel and Dillmann, assumes the antecedent incredibility of miracles. "When Ezra and Nehemiah relate to us what they themselves did and experienced, their statements do not present a single deviation from the usual order of things." But in "the narratives which are separated by a longer or shorter interval of time" from the events narrated, "such deviations are very numerous." Of course *if* the occurrence of a miraculous event in a narrative is sufficient proof that the narrative that contains it was separated by a long interval of time from the events it professes to record, such reasoning is irrefragable. But this is the precise proposition which a believer in inspiration finds it impossible to admit. He is therefore compelled to reject Kuenen's postulate, and with that the whole argument falls to the ground. Thus Kuenen's authority, alleged in common with that of a string of others of similar convictions, is simply of feather weight in the eyes of those who reject the principle on which their conclusions are based. And it would seem once more that the position of the English critic who professes a belief in inspiration, and yet bases an argument on the opinion of Kuenen and others, is insecure. He must either abandon his critical authorities or the belief in miracle. He cannot consistently pin his faith to both.

It is true that Kuenen's arguments are fairer than those of most writers of his school. He admits the possibility of miracles, but urges that it is more likely that the supernatural events related should have been the gradual accretions of tradition, than that they should have occurred as represented in the sacred page.<sup>1</sup> But he does not make sufficient allowance for the fact that many of these alleged supernatural occurrences may admit of natural explanations. There are many events in modern history in which the hand of a superintending Providence is as clearly marked as in the story of the Exodus or the wanderings in the desert. Yet no one thinks now of explaining them by the "suspension" or

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<sup>1</sup> P. 21.

"modification" of natural laws. It is a far more violent expedient, by a good deal, to reconstruct the whole history according to the fancy of the critic, than to maintain its general accuracy, and to suppose that what to the Israelite of the fourteenth century B.C. appeared miracle pure and simple, may be capable of explanation by natural causes.<sup>1</sup>

The eighth century B.C. is, according to Kuenen, the earliest period at which we find the conceptions of Israelite history which meet us now in the pages of the Old Testament. That is to say, between six and seven hundred years elapsed between the events of the Exodus and the earliest record of them which has come down to us.<sup>2</sup> The only argument adduced to prove this contention is "insoluble chronological difficulties."<sup>3</sup> The other considerations, namely, those drawn from the "religious ideas ascribed to the patriarchs," and from the "familiar intercourse" said in them to have taken place between the patriarchs and the Deity, are rather assumptions than arguments. Indeed, the latter consideration, so far as it is unique in the Old Testament, and is characteristic of an early rather than a late stage of religious thought, suggests conclusions exactly the opposite of those drawn by our author. To these he adds the consideration that the theory of the origin of nations maintained in Genesis is one which "the historical science of the present day rejects without the slightest hesitation."<sup>4</sup> Nations, he says, arise from conquest, from combination, from the occasional blending of "very heterogeneous elements." He does not see how thoroughly

<sup>1</sup> Kuenen disputes the possibility of the forty years' wandering in the desert (p. 21) on grounds independent of the miraculous supply of manna. The contents of the books named after Moses and Joshua "must be rejected as in their entirety impossible" (p. 22), on the ground that the writers were so far removed in time from the events they describe. But it is obvious that this assumption once more rests on another, the impossibility of the miraculous. Then we are told that the "principal element" of these histories "is legend," which, "transmitted by word of mouth, has lost its accuracy and precision." These legends were "handed in conformity with the point of view" of the writers, and "according to their idea of the wants, of their readers." So obvious is this "influence of the narrators' opinions, that their narratives admit of easy separation into priestly and prophetic, according to the spirit which they breathe" (p. 23). No proof of this statement is given, save that the reader is invited to compare 2 Kings xi. with 2 Chron. xxii. 10, xxiii. 21. But it is obvious that these writers had many sources of information open to them which are no longer accessible to us, and that the writer in Kings may have selected the secular, the writer in Chronicles the ecclesiastical, details in his account.

<sup>2</sup> P. 103.

<sup>3</sup> P. 108. It is obvious that the chronological question is quite a minor one. The numbers in the Bible, from whatever cause, are in great confusion.

<sup>4</sup> P. 110.

consistent the whole history of Israel, as contained in the Scriptures, is with the idea that in Israel at least no such fusion with other families or races took place. From the eighteenth century B.C. to the nineteenth century A.D. the Israelite race has preserved an almost miraculous purity from foreign admixtures; and the Israelite of to-day may be discerned in the Egyptian monuments with characteristics altogether unchanged. Is there any other race in history of which the same fact can be alleged?

Then the silence of the historian as to the thirty-eighth year of wandering in the desert is regarded as "surprising," and the whole account of the conquest of Canaan as "astonishing."<sup>1</sup> We cannot believe that the twelve tribes could be united under Moses and Joshua, and "suddenly spring asunder" after the conquest. The empires of Alexander and Charlemagne and the careers of Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane might occur to us as illustrations of the more than doubtful character of such an argument. We cannot stop to consider the other suggestions of improbability, such as the difficulty of believing that so vast a host was in reality maintained in the desert and the like, though we may remark that the career of every hero is antecedently improbable, and that the history of Christ and the Christian Church is perhaps *a priori* the most improbable of all.<sup>2</sup>

Kuenen regards the course of development of the Jewish religion from the same point of view as Wellhausen. There was a *popular* view of religion, which regarded Jahveh only as one among other gods; and a *prophetic* view, which taught that there was no other God but Jahveh. The Law "must be regarded" as a compromise between the two.<sup>3</sup> Some ingenious difficulties are raised about the construction of the ark and the connection of the cherubim with it; but they are a little too slender to support so weighty a conclusion as that at which Kuenen arrives from them, namely, "that the Pentateuch gives us a later conception of the ark, which cannot have been completed until after the Babylonish exile."<sup>4</sup> "Jahveh," he goes on to say, "was worshipped in the shape of a young bull,"<sup>5</sup> and he infers thence "an original relationship between Jahveh and Molech."<sup>6</sup> The Scriptures say that this worship of the golden calves was a grafting of the idolatrous worship of Canaan upon the pure spiritual worship prescribed by Moses. This view has the support of the Second Com-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 131, 132.

<sup>2</sup> We are concerned, be it remembered, not with the accuracy of every detail in the narrative, but with its general credibility. As has already been remarked, the *numbers* in the Bible cannot always be relied on.

<sup>3</sup> P. 230.

<sup>4</sup> P. 233.

<sup>5</sup> P. 235.

<sup>6</sup> P. 236.



mandment—almost universally admitted to be one of the original precepts of Moses himself. It is needless to say that no definite reasons are given why we should reject the Scripture account, which is in itself more natural and reasonable than that which Kuenen substitutes for it. The tendency to worship the visible rather than the invisible is inherent in human nature to this day; but it remains to be shown how the pure and spiritual worship of the one true God, which on all hands is admitted to be characteristic at least of the later Judaism, could possibly have been developed under the conditions of Israelite politics, thought, and morals between the reigns of David and Josiah. There have been many assertions about this development, but no account of the evolution of the moral idea and of the spiritual worship of God has yet reached us rational enough to be accepted as a substitute for the Scripture account of a revelation of them by Moses at the moment when Israel began to exist as a separate nation.

But we must hasten to a close. The story of the Levite Jonathan—who was unquestionably the grandson of Moses, and not of Manasseh, as the present text of the Hebrew Bible makes him out to be—has been supposed by some to show that Moses was not opposed to image-worship. A similar conclusion is drawn from the worship of the brazen serpent in the time of Hezekiah. But Kuenen, with great fairness, disputes these inferences.<sup>1</sup> Yet he rejects as “unhistorical” the accounts of conflicts in the wilderness between the Jews and their leader, and thinks that it was “only a step” in the direction of the worship of Jehovah which they took under his guidance.<sup>2</sup> In the Book of Judges we are told that the historians “start from suppositions which are contradicted by the very documents from which they take their accounts,”<sup>3</sup> and this because “at that time there existed but a small portion at most of the so-called Mosaic Law, and even that little had by no means become the property of the multitude.” He insists, like other writers of his school, on the certainty that “no one had yet thought of confining the worship of Jahveh to a single spot.”<sup>4</sup> But he forgets that the utter disorganization of Israel in the days of the Judges may have made it impossible to obey literally the command to sacrifice only at the tabernacle. In days of confusion like those, when the ark was in one place and the tabernacle, which should have contained it, in another, the only alternative left to Samuel may have been to violate the letter or the spirit of the Law. Coming to a later age, we are told how the traditional view of

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<sup>1</sup> P. 288.<sup>2</sup> Pp. 293, 294.<sup>3</sup> P. 295.<sup>4</sup> P. 299.

the palmy days of David and Solomon "lost its supports one by one," until it became "quite certain that the author of the Books of Chronicles rewrote the history of Israel before the exile in a sacerdotal spirit, and in so doing violated the historical truth throughout."<sup>1</sup> Instead of being the "time when pure Jahvism most flourished," it was "a period of preparation." Thus we see that Kuenen is one of those who would advocate a free handling of historical documents, and rewrite the whole history from the standpoint of internal criticism alone. It cannot be too often repeated that this is not the way in which the history of other countries is written. Authorities are weighed and criticised; the statements of one are balanced against those of another; statements wildly improbable, or obviously dictated by prejudice or partisanship, are set aside; but no theory of history has as yet been accepted, or stands the remotest chance of being accepted, which evolves a narrative in direct defiance of recorded facts, by a method in which the distinct statements of the authorities are altogether set aside, and the history remoulded according to the predilections of the critic.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, one is disposed to take leave of Kuenen with some regret. The absence of the flippancy and arrogant dogmatism which offends us in Wellhausen has been already remarked. Though Kuenen is not free from the characteristic tendency of the new criticism to base argument on assumption rather than fact, he is still, on the whole, candid, laborious, and reverent. The earnest student of Scripture—if he be on his guard against the undue tendency to assertion which he will find in his pages—may learn much from them. If we cannot accept his view that the Law, in many of its most essential features, was post-Mosaic, we can, at least, learn something from him concerning the practical acquaintance with its precepts possessed by Israel at large. Whatever may have been the case in the reigns of David and Solomon, there can be little

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 321, 322.

<sup>2</sup> The most instructive contrast between the methods of the ordinary historian and those of the new criticism, to which the attention of the reader can be invited, is the study of Professor Freeman's careful and candid investigation of the struggle between the regulars and seculars during the reigns of Edward and Edgar, as compared with the treatment of Old Testament history by critics such as Wellhausen and Kuenen. The phenomena are identical. There is a conflict between rigorists and anti-rigorists in both cases. The miraculous is not absent. There is but little information to be had. Prejudice and party spirit have strained what there is to the utmost. But there is no conjectural reconstruction of history in the hands of a master like the Professor, whose unexpected and lamented death has taken place since these lines were penned. There is only a patient attempt to discover a solid basis of fact from the conflicting assertions on both sides.

doubt that under the Judges, and in the days of the more unprincipled of the kings, the people at large knew but little of the provisions of the Law of Moses, and that even a large proportion of the priests had but a slight acquaintance with its contents.

J. J. LIAS.

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ART. II.—THE SERVANT OF CHRIST.

NO. V.—OBEDIENCE.

ONE of the most beautiful and Divine characteristics of our Lord's human nature was His submission to the will of His Father. When His bodily appetite was craving for food in the desert after His long fast, and the tempter was urging Him to turn the stones into bread, He chose to trust rather to the Almighty Power which was with Him and in Him, and to reply that obedience to every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God was the true life. When He was preaching to the Jews, He avoided every topic and opportunity of asserting Himself; He repeatedly assured them that "the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do; for whatsoever things He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." "I can of Mine own self do nothing." "I seek not Mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent Me." "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me, and to finish His work." "I came down from heaven not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me." When He was in the garden on the fatal night, in the agony of making up His mind to go forward and die, and His whole body and soul shrank from the horror of what was about to befall Him, and He cried, "O My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me," He immediately ended, "Nevertheless, not My will but Thine be done." He obeyed the call of the Baptist, and was plunged in the Jordan: "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." He knew that as the Son of God He was Lord of the Sabbath, yet He punctually and faithfully kept all the feasts and ceremonies of the Law of Moses. He knew that as the Messiah it was not His business to recognise the taxes of the Romans, yet He took special means to provide the tribute at the proper time. In all things He was obedient, and restrained Himself from the exercise of self-will. He was obedient to His Heavenly Father, obedient to His mother and her husband, obedient to the Roman Emperor, obedient to the Law of Moses, obedient to the Jewish authorities. This is one of the qualities which, after His removal from among them, struck His Apostles most, in

spite of the state of wonder and admiration in which they were placed when they discovered that their companion and Master was the Messiah, the Son of God, the Word made flesh. So St. Paul writes: "Being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." And again: "Even Christ pleased not Himself." And the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Who, in the days of His flesh, when He had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and was heard in that He feared; though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered, and being made perfect He became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him."

Now this spirit of meekness, submissiveness, and obedience which we find to be one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Son of God Himself, is altogether opposed to many of the influences, teachings and ideals of the present day. In these times, when the authority of Christianity is very largely ignored and neglected by many of those who help to make up our public opinion, who utter many of our public speeches, and who write many of our leading articles, the contrary spirit is held up for admiration and example. The spirit of individualism, self-assertion, and self-will is very commonly taught as the first duty of a citizen. A crowd of ignorant persons is urged to insist on occupying a certain public square where their meeting will be offensive to traffic and trade. Peasants are roused to cherish impossible demands for land and imaginary institutions, contrary to the practice and well-being of the country. Politicians who cannot get their own way are determined to make government difficult, if not impossible. Session after session useful measures which are almost completed are reluctantly abandoned, for which large sections of the community are crying out, and which are necessary for healing from time to time the evils of our commonwealth. So common is this spirit of disobedience, and so little is thought of the great Christian virtue of submissiveness, that even in the Church of Christ itself there are clergy who are firmly persuaded that it is their duty to resist authority in matters which to them seem of enormous magnitude, but which to calm and judicious persons appear inconceivably small. These are some of the examples which we have before our own eyes, both in Church and State, of the prevalent most unchristian spirit of insubordination.

The example of our Lord would be enough by itself to condemn our age in all these respects. But we are not even left to apply the principle from that Divine life. In every

conceivable relation the virtue of obedience is set before us. It is not merely, "Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right." It is, "Women are commanded to be under obedience;" "Wives, be in subjection to your own husbands;" "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord." It is, "Servants, obey your masters in all things according to the flesh; not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God." It is, "Put them in mind to obey principalities and powers, to obey magistrates." "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," wrote St. Paul to the Romans, even under the wicked and hateful tyranny of Nero; "for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake." And to congregations it is written: "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you." To the Thessalonians St. Paul writes: "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake." To his Corinthian congregation he says: "To this end did I write, that I might know the proof of you whether ye be obedient in all things." Meek, humble, and gentle as St. Paul always is, he is fully aware of the duty of a Christian teacher to expect such attention: "The inward affection of Titus," he writes, "is more abundant toward you, whilst he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him." Above all things, beyond all these earthly relations, it is our one great duty to struggle to cast down imaginations and every high thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.

As usual, it is not merely that which at first sight is most popular which is really most truly happy. At the first glance it might be thought that universal self-assertion, absolute independence, the claim of every man to push his own way and achieve his own rights at the cost of everybody else, would be

the most satisfactory. But is it not plain how surely this indulgence would lead to universal injustice, universal discomfort, the triumph of the strong over the weak, unceasing struggles, unceasing violence? "Obedience is our universal duty and destiny," wrote Carlyle, "wherein whoso will not bend must break. Too early and too thoroughly we cannot be trained to know that 'would' in this world of ours is a mere zero to 'should,' and for the most part, as the smallest of fractions, even to 'shall.'" What was it that made that illustrious man of God, John Wesley, so great and true a teacher? He had a no less eminent mother, who taught him the lesson of control. "I insist," said Susanna Wesley, "on conquering the will of children betimes, because this is the only strong and rational foundation of a religious education, without which both precept and example will be ineffectual. But when this is thoroughly done, then a child is capable of being governed by the reason and piety of its parents till its own understanding comes to maturity, and the principles of religion have taken root in the mind. As self-will is the root of all sin and misery, so whatever cherishes this in children insures their after-wretchedness and irreligion; whatever checks and mortifies it promotes their future happiness and piety. This is still more evident if we farther consider that religion is nothing else than doing the will of God, and not our own; that the one grand impediment to our temporal and eternal happiness being this self-will, no indulgence of it can be trivial, no denial unprofitable; so that the parent who studies to subdue it in his child works together with God in the renewing and saving a soul. The parent who indulges it does the devil's work, makes religion impracticable, salvation unattainable, and does all that in him is to damn his child soul and body for ever."

One of the acutest observers of human nature who ever lived, the French essayist Montaigne, has guided our thoughts in the same direction. "The first law," he says, "that ever God gave to man was a law of pure obedience; it was a commandment naked and simple, wherein man had nothing to inquire after or to dispute, forasmuch as to obey is the proper office of a rational soul, acknowledging a heavenly superior and benefactor. From obedience and submission sprang all other virtues, as all sin springs from disobedience." There is another weighty saying full of wisdom, which it is well for us to remember, from the pagan philosopher Seneca. He was born rather before our Lord Jesus Christ, so it is a perfectly independent witness. "It is foolish to strive with what we cannot avoid; we are born subjects; and to obey God is perfect liberty. He who does this shall be free, safe, and

quiet; all his actions shall succeed to his wishes." "Some persons think of obedience," says another writer, "as if it were nothing else than slavery and servitude; and so it is if the will be constrained. The man who obeys by compulsion and through fear wears a chain which must gall and fret his spirit." There is the real truth; a cheerful, willing obedience is in reality victory. "One very common error," says Paley, "misleads the opinion of mankind, that universally authority is pleasant, submission painful. In the general course of human affairs the very reverse of this is nearer to the truth: command is anxiety, obedience is ease."

We see, then, that the true beauty and happiness of life consists in recognising true and proper authority, and in working vigorously and harmoniously with it. "By nature," said the sagacious Aristotle, "some command and some obey, that all may enjoy safety." The child begins in obeying the natural authority of his parents, which is the beginning of all morality and religion. The pupil obeys his master, the servant his employer; the more loyally and faithfully he obeys, the happier his life will be. We, as citizens, have delegated our combined authority to the Queen and the Houses of Parliament; we obey their lawful commands with alacrity. Government by irresponsible newspapers we altogether abominate and repudiate. The judges and the magistrates exercise the judicial powers of the realm; we accept their decisions with contentment. The municipal authorities are responsible for our health and comfort, and for our contributions to the expenses of government; we do not dispute or shirk their arrangements. The police are the guardians of public peace and order; we accept their directions implicitly, and are grateful to them for the courage, good temper and fidelity with which they keep such vast masses of us in tolerable harmony with each other. Should we once forget our Christianity, and encourage a general spirit of disputatiousness, turbulence and disobedience, then we make their functions absolutely impossible.

Lastly, as Christians, we bend our wills to the revelation of God. We cannot understand it all. Perhaps we can see but a small part of it. We cannot make it into a scientific system. We cannot reduce it to a matter of sight, because its essence on this side of the grave is to be in the province of faith. But we can see enough to guide our steps through life. We see that what God has revealed squares with the universal laws of right and wrong, which are themselves part of His eternal message. Some things we cannot comprehend: but we say, with that subtle religious thinker who was himself in his way a type of obedience and meekness,

Lead, kindly Light! amid the encircling gloom,  
Lead Thou me on!

We submit to the regulations of the universal Church of Christ. We make our bishops and ministers responsible for the teaching of Scripture, the ordering of the public worship of God, and the charitable relief of the poor; and the more the bishops and their clergy, the ministers and their people, trust each other and work together, so much the more rapid will be the progress of the Kingdom of Christ.

The sum, indeed, of all is that we obey God, and we find His commands in His Word. "Nothing can be love to God which does not shape itself into obedience." "True obedience to God is the obedience of faith and good works; that is, he is truly obedient to God who trusts Him and does what He commands."

I worship Thee, sweet will of God! and all Thy ways adore,  
And every day I live I seem to love Thee more and more.  
When obstacles and trials seem like prison walls to be,  
I do the little I can do, and leave the rest to Thee.  
I know not what it is to doubt, my heart is ever gay,  
I run no risk, for, come what will, Thou always hast Thy way!  
I have no cares, O blessed will, for all my cares are Thine;  
I live in triumph, Lord, for Thou hast made Thy triumphs mine.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

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ART. III.—DEAN BURGON.

*John William Burgon, late Dean of Chichester.* By E. M. GOULBURN, D.D., D.C.L. John Murray.

DR. GOULBURN'S regretted retirement from the Deanery of Norwich has enabled him to fulfil the office of biographer of Dean Burgon with admirable celerity. The work has been a labour of love, although some may think that it is executed on too large a scale. It is a book which will be highly prized by many who admired and loved John William Burgon, and it forms a remarkable addition to the various memoirs which have had the Oxford movement for their theme.

It is well, perhaps, to begin this brief notice by an expression of regret that Dr. Goulburn should have claimed for Burgon a much higher place as a religious teacher than he can be said to possess.

The preface—which contains much bearing on the question of Biblical criticism—is, indeed, written in a strain of panic, and we cannot help thinking that Dr. Goulburn greatly exaggerates the force of the wave of criticism now breaking upon our shores, and is also forgetful that there are many who,



differing widely from Burgon on the question of inspiration, are most firm adherents of what he prized so dearly. We have no wish to underrate the tremendous issues of the controversies which have arisen on the subject of inspiration, and the various questions connected with the Old Testament. But it may be well to remember the grave and important words with which, many years ago, that remarkable writer Mr. Goldwin Smith concluded the preface of his work on American Slavery. "In this discussion," he says, "the authority of the Pentateuch is taken for granted on both sides. In using, therefore, the common language on the subject, the author is not presuming to pass any opinion upon the questions respecting the date and authorship of the books which divide great Hebraists and theologians, and which, he is perfectly aware, can be decided only by free inquiry, carried on by men learned in the subject, with absolute faith in the God of truth."

Burgon was born at Smyrna, August 21, 1818. His father was a Turkey merchant; his mother was born at Smyrna. Mr. Thomas Burgon became an eminent antiquary, and his verdict upon coins and vases was accepted as absolute. Mrs. Burgon was a person of great accomplishments, and they were both conspicuous members of the literary and artistic circles of London, not so vast and extensive in the earlier part of this century as they are now. In Burgon's case the child was father of the man. At Putney and Blackheath, when he was at school, he began to show his interest in literature and Biblical questions. His desire for holy orders was always strong, and it was with pain and grief that he entered the counting-house, where it was hoped he would one day occupy a chief place. Dr. Goulburn gives an interesting picture of his life of hard work, enlivened by contact with literary men—such as the poet Rogers, and many distinguished persons, who were guests of his father. At twenty he made his first essay in authorship, as a translator of Chevalier Bröndsted's Monograph on Panathenaic Vases. The year 1835 was a memorable year in Burgon's life. He met at Mr. Rogers's the historian Patrick Fraser Tytler, who at once took him into confidence and friendship, and whose life, many years afterwards, was written by Burgon in the charming volume called the "Portrait of a Christian Gentleman." Burgon and Tytler had much in common, especially an almost romantic feeling as to children. We cannot resist quoting Tytler's words on this subject, given in Burgon's memoir. They exactly express one of the most delightful characteristics of the Dean's own life :

"With children we see Nature in its real colours, and happiness unsullied as yet by an acquaintance with the world.

Their little life is like the fountain which springs pure and sparkling into the light, and reflects for a while the sunshine and loveliness of Heaven on its bosom. Their absence of all affectation, their ignorance of the arts of the world, their free expression of opinion, their ingenuous confidence, the beautiful aptitude with which their minds instantly embrace the doctrine of an over-ruling Providence, and the exquisite simplicity and confidence of their addresses to the Father in Heaven; that unforced cheerfulness, that 'sunshine of the breast,' which is only clouded by 'the tear forgot as soon as shed'—all this is to be found in the character of children, and of children only."

We wish that we had space to give the beautiful passage from the "Journal of My Sorrows," written after the death of a little sister, Catherine Margaret, who died in 1828. It is a passage which will recall some of the tenderest expressions in the personal recollections of Thomas de Quincey. We must give the concluding words: "I taught thee, and unfolded thy young mind as tenderly as sunshine unfolds the sweet blossom of the rose; for thou wast young and more ignorant than I; but now Death hath made thee the wiser of the twain. All that the wisest man knows on earth is foolishness compared with what thou knowest; thou, in thy innocence, in thy helplessness, hast wrestled with the conqueror; thy agony is over, thy race is run; all that I dread, yet wish to know, thou knowest; the mysteries of heaven have been revealed to thy sense. My sister, I bow to *thee* now."

Preparations for the "Life and Times of Gresham" took Burgon to Oxford in 1836. He heard nightingales sing in Bagley Wood, made a search for Milton's house at Shotover, and met at dinner at Sir Frederick Rogers' (afterwards Lord Blachford) three men of mark—Archdeacon Harrison, Dean Liddell and Professor Mozley. The account of his early life is full of interest. He visited Scotland in the company of Tytler, and his desire for Oxford and the ministry grew stronger. Business grew more distasteful to him, and in 1841 he matriculated at Oxford as a commoner of Worcester College. The University never had a more loyal or devoted subject. He took immense interest in the religious life, at that time so vivid and real, and the account of his impressions of Newman's reading and preaching is full of animation. He won the Newdigate, and was placed in the Second Class in 1845, and the following year he was elected a Fellow of Oriel. "How wondrous" (he says) "it seems that I should be *vice* Newman; may God give me grace and health to live as if I loved Him and was sensible of His exceeding favour and

mercy." The intense reality and sincerity of Burgon's character is nowhere more apparent than in his Oxford letters at this time, and passages such as those in which he speaks of the present Bishop of London, evidencing the most warm personal affection, will be read with strange feelings, when we remember the attitude taken by Burgon as to the "Essays and Reviews," and the appointment of Dr. Temple to the Bishopric of Exeter. In 1848, after a most careful time of preparation, Burgon was ordained deacon. He felt strangely drawn towards pastoral work. His first curacy was at Ilsley, where he found great delight in his work. He also laboured for a time at Worton. Archdeacon Palmer has contributed a full account of Burgon's ministry at Fimmere, where for eighteen months Burgon found for his Saturdays and Sundays a sphere of work always looked upon by him with the warmest affection. Very few Fellows of colleges have ever combined so completely as he did the pursuits and study of a resident Fellow with the work of parochial ministry. With Burgon every acquirement was made subordinate to theology, and, above all, to Biblical research. At one time his *opus magnum* was intended to be a harmony, and his "Commentary on the Gospels" grew out of this work, which was never finished. When the secession of Mr. Dodsworth and others took place, after the Gorham Judgment, Burgon took a pronounced position as to the English Church and the Reformation Settlement. The period between 1853 and 1861 was remarkable for the great changes in the University, and in the discussions and debates of those years he took a prominent part. In 1854 he lost his mother, and there is an affecting account by Bishop Hobhouse of his daily visit to the place in the cemetery at Oxford, where her remains are laid. He published his first series of family sermons in 1855, and was constantly occupied in schemes for the improvement of taste in cottagers, by the circulation of sacred prints, mission sermons and special services. The memoir of Patrick Fraser Tytler was given to the world in 1859. In 1860 Burgon passed three months at Rome, a time which he made remarkable by his volume of "Letters from Rome," originally published in the *Guardian*. No publication of his affords more evidence than this of the great range of his reading, his intense interest in art and his devoted loyalty to his own Church.

It was during Burgon's residence at Rome that he made the acquaintance of a lady who persuaded him to join her party to the East as her chaplain. The first portion of the tour was to Burgon intense enjoyment. His book on "Inspiration and Interpretation," into which he had thrown his whole energy, had recently been published, and, whatever may be

thought of the tone of his controversial arguments, it is impossible not to admire the many passages which reveal completely his intense love of Scripture and his anxiety to guard youthful thinkers against rash speculation. The book is chiefly composed of University sermons, and many even of those who shared Burgon's own views were in the habit of contrasting the sermons unfavourably with those which were delivered about the same time by Mr. Chretien, who certainly succeeded in maintaining his positions with greater mildness of temper and perfect freedom from asperity. At Cairo in 1862 Burgon writes to his sister that he considers the criticisms of the *Literary Churchman* and *Guardian* "unreasonably brief, and somewhat harsh," and concludes with the words: "I did what I thought my duty." Those who regret most his adoption of the stern and truculent spirit of ancient controversy always feel that when Burgon was at his worst, he was impelled by the spirit of anxiety to discharge his duty. We own to something like disappointment with the extracts given from the letters of the Eastern tour. At its close he was invalided at Beyrout, and it was with great delight that he found himself again in England. In 1863 he succeeded Mr. Chase as vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, and a new period of his life began. With characteristic energy he threw himself into his new duties. Dr. Goulburn expresses, as he well may, his astonishment at the quantity and variety of work he undertook.

In 1864 appeared his treatise on the "Pastoral Office," a book which has never received the consideration it deserves. It is full of admirable matter, and its exquisite moderation and good sense have, perhaps, in some quarters made it unpalatable. Every here and there there are harsh sentences and expressions which we may wish absent, but the intense and glowing reality, and the true interest in spiritual life manifested throughout the book, give it a distinction and a charm most peculiarly its own. Bishop Christopher Wordsworth and Canon Cook gave Burgon sincere pleasure by their approbation of his book on the last twelve verses of St. Mark. Although disfigured by some acrimony, Burgon's vindication still remains a remarkable monument of his industry and research. Those who laboured along with Burgon at St. Mary's have contributed most pleasant reminiscences of their intercourse with him. He was indefatigable in his ministry. A letter from Mrs. Samuel Bickersteth and another from Miss Miller give most pleasant glimpses of his work among his younger friends. Oxford was very dear to Burgon, and it is much to be regretted that when the time came for his promotion, there was no post in his beloved University vacant; for

although he found happiness and repose at Chichester, after his first misunderstandings with his brethren, his heart was always at Oxford, and he longed for the companionship of many who had become almost essential to him.

When Dr. Mozley died many of Burgon's friends hoped that he might have been again placed at Oxford, but the transportation of a dean to what was technically a lower preferment was against precedent, and it is pleasant to find that although he would have greatly enjoyed a return to his beloved University, he believed that what had been done was for the best.

We are glad to find that Dr. Goulburn admires as much as we do a delightful little publication of Dean Burgon's on the "Servants of Scripture." He expresses his feelings as to the beauty of long service, and Dr. Goulburn adds: "This was no mere outburst of fine sentiment. *He actually did what he said he would be 'a wretch' not to do*, and did it with all the sympathy and generosity of his intensely sympathetic and generous heart. A very old servant of his family, who had nursed him through the Jerusalem fever under which he was suffering on his return to England in the July of 1862, found an asylum in the Deanery of Chichester when she was able to work no longer; and when she became blind, *an additional servant was kept*, his own straitened circumstances notwithstanding, whose special charge was to wait upon her."

Dean Burgon made no secret of his opinions regarding extreme ritual and the want of proportion in the teaching of many who became prominent in his later years. He found himself in Convocation, and, indeed, when he returned occasionally to preach at Oxford, almost alone in his intense feeling upon these subjects. "Scolding," as Dr. Goulburn says, seldom answers, and certainly the vast increase of scolding apparent in Dean Burgon's later productions has greatly tended to diminish the weight and authority with which he has written. "You will be amused to hear," writes Prebendary Powles to Dr. Goulburn, "that when I suggested a softer tone of criticism in some of the 'Revision Revised' passages, Burgon said to me: 'Ah! I see you are like my Quaker friend, who, in thanking me for my Gresham Lectures, said, "But, oh, if thee would'st but dip thy foot in oil!"'" It is impossible, in a short notice like the present, to attempt to give any account of Burgon's quarrel with the Revisers. No doubt he detected some grave blemishes, but he certainly hardly did justice to the defence of the Revisers' position in the reply to his criticisms attributed to two of the most eminent scholars of the body.

The last years of the life of this remarkable man were years of sadness. His spirit was unsubdued, and his interest in all his pursuits unabated, but the task of writing his "Biographies of Good Men" was almost too much for him, and the old fire and fun of his character only appeared at intervals. The account of the closing scenes is full of mournful pathos, and the gathering round his grave was a wonderful tribute to the beauty of his character. We have often wished that Dean Burgon had permitted himself to indulge more freely in what we may call the general field of literature. There are passages in his writings which show that as a poet and a critic he might have won a higher place than as a theologian, but we know how indignantly he would have brushed away any such expression of opinion, for of Burgon it may have been said emphatically that the desire of his life was to give himself and all he had to God.

G. D. BOYLE.

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ART. IV.—NOTES AND COMMENTS ON JOHN XX.

No. VI.

IN our last study we were able only to touch the narrative of the Saviour's appearance to the gathered company on the Resurrection evening. We now return to that narrative to consider it more in detail. And may He of whom we think approach us and speak to us through our meditation. In the evening shadows may He bring us His light. Even so come, Lord Jesus Christ. In the nightfall of change, of grief, of the sense of sin, and in spite of the doors which our ignorance or unbelief would shut, unwittingly, against Thee, come and speak to us that peace which the world, even at its best and purest, cannot give. Show us Thyself, and breathe into us Thy Spirit.

Verse 19. *οὔσης οὖν ὀφίας*: *So when it was evening.*<sup>1</sup> The exact hour must be left uncertain, but probably it was an hour, or perhaps two hours, after sunset. The word *ὀφία* does not necessarily denote late evening. Indeed, in Mark i. 32, *ὀφίας, ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος*, it is explicitly connected with the sunset. So again, in Matt. xvi. 2, *ὀφίας γενομένης, λέγετε, Εὐδία, πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός*: there the ruddy splendour of the sunset sky, with its afterglow, the sign of "a glorious morrow," is connected with the *ὀφία*. But, on the other

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<sup>1</sup> In the CHURCHMAN for March, p. 371, last line but one, please to cancel the word "late."

hand, to fix within some limits the time reference here, we must remember that St. Luke supplies us with a note in his narrative of Emmaus. There the two disciples plead with their Stranger Friend to "abide with them," because it was "towards evening (*πρὸς ἑσπέραν*), and the day had declined" (xxiv. 29); and then followed the meal, and the revelation of Jesus, and their hurried return to Jerusalem, which could scarcely have taken less than an hour and a half in any case. Then came the Lord's appearance in the midst of the company at Jerusalem, an appearance certainly identical with that now before us. If Emmaus had been reached at sunset, or say an hour before it, the arrival in the Upper Room first of Cleopas and his friend and then of the Risen One may be placed at a time ranging from one to two hours after the sun had gone.

This, in Palestine, with its short twilight, would mean, of course, that it was now quite dark—very dark indeed, no doubt, in the byways of Jerusalem and in the courtyards and on the stairs of the houses. Through those deep shadows of the vernal night, if not already in the late afternoon, the Galilean disciples had found their way from their Passover-lodgings here and there to the central meeting-place. Not the apostles only had entered; there were "those that were with them" (Luke xxiv. 34). Perhaps it was a company of twenty or thirty. The holy women, probably, were of the number, just as we find them in Acts i. 14; the two from Emmaus made part of the group at the last moment; and there had entered also, very likely, several more of the large inner circle of adherents. Not that a really large number, however, would be there on that first day of mingled hopes and fears. Thomas, we know, was absent, and many another less conspicuous disciple would naturally have felt and acted like him, in helpless grief, not to speak of positive fear for limbs and life.

We are not to think of the company as silent, in solemn expectation of the coming joy. The room, we gather from St. Luke again (xxiv. 33-35), was a scene of conversation, of exclamation, of excitement. During the day now over Jesus had been appearing at intervals to one and another of His followers; Mary, the other women, Peter (Luke xxiv. 34), Cleopas, all had seen Him. Each might fail at first to convince all the rest, but the concurrence of witness would of course, above all when Peter joined it, begin to tell. So it had done, even by the time that Cleopas and his friend reached the city.

What a conversation it must have been, as all thronged together to hear more from each! And all the while they would be also listening, lest the gate of the court and the door

of the room should be thrust open, and Roman guards or temple officials—the στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ and his men—should break in upon them.

So they mingled their joys and their fears in the large dimly-lighted room. (Lighted it was of course in some measure, or they could not afterwards have *looked* so intently on their Master's scars; but no more light than was needful would be used in that anxious hour.)

But now there came a sudden hush. For while they were in full conversation (St. Luke tells us this) then, says St. John, JESUS came and ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον—stepped into the midst, and there took His stand. Such is the brief account; we shall gain little by striving to realize every detail. What would we not give to see, as if in living presence, through the glass of a pictorial narrative, the RISEN ONE as He was? To gaze on the very body of His resurrection—the “flesh and bones” which He literally had, and in which the scars were visible and palpable? To see the sameness and yet difference in the frame and form of the Great Shepherd brought again from the dead? But we cannot—we must not. The wonderful narrative strikes us alternately by its details and by its silence. Notes of time, place, and individual character are given in abundance, but gratifications of mere curiosity, especially about the aspect of our Redeemer, are with equal care withheld. It is as it ever is with Scripture; the nature, the glory of Jesus Christ we have given us, for this we need. We do not really need a photograph of His form. Enough to know that the sacred body was real, was human, was identical—that it had been slain, but was now alive for evermore.

So we are constrained to look not upon a picture, but upon the fact—Jesus there, in the midst of them.

How had He entered? St. John does not tell us. Possibly the simple reason of his silence is that he did not know. He knew that the doors (of courtyard and of room) had been fastened, and yet that Jesus now stood in the room. But whether with mysterious speed and silence He had opened those doors, or whether without opening them He had willed that the material of His risen body should pass through their material, probably the Evangelist could not tell. Only, it is plain that he intends us to think that there was *some* mystery in the matter.

We may incline to either of the two alternatives. The secret opening of the doors may seem the more in harmony of the two with the perfect simplicity otherwise of the narrative of the Resurrection visits. It would be mysterious, and, indeed, miraculous; for the doors were well fastened, mani-



festly, from within. But it would be, so to speak, the more conceivable, the more simple act of power.

On the other hand, the possibility of the second alternative must not for a moment be denied as if it were (what no Scripture miracle will ever be found to be) a contradiction to the laws of thought. One plea for it is that it seems as certain as anything can be, without a distinct assertion, that the Risen Lord left the sepulchre *before the stone was moved*. Was *this* a contradiction to the laws of thought? It would be so were we called on to believe that the stone and the body quite precisely filled the same space at the same moment; the particles of the one coinciding with those of the other. But is there not open to us a different theory, to be held with reverent modesty? Grant to the risen body a mysterious subtlety of material (and, remember that even the least subtle body is not really solid, not really without interstices between particle and particle), and we can surely see the line of abstract possibility in which the supposed miracle would run.

I make these somewhat obvious remarks just because it seems to me that no *other* miracle, recorded or predicted, even tempts us to doubt it on *this* ground, the ground of apparent abstract or mental impossibility. The raising of the dead presents no such difficulty when the Lord of life is the Agent, directly or indirectly. But the conception of two bodies occupying really, atom for atom, the same space, is a contradiction to the laws under which the Creator has bid us think and know. And so it is worth while to notice that at least one known fact, the fact that no material body is in the strictest sense solid, shows us that such a conception is not demanded by the view that the doors that night were not opened.

We may linger a moment or two longer over this question, because the passage (on this latter hypothesis) has been made use of very naturally in the search of arguments for the subtle tenet of transubstantiation. It has been almost assumed that if we can believe that the Lord's resurrection body passed through a "solid" door, we can believe *anything* about it; we can believe it to have nothing to do with laws of space; we can believe it to be everywhere, or practically everywhere, and to be present in, with, under anything.

But, in the first place, such reasoning begins (does it not?) with a neglect of "*the proportion of the faith.*" For one proof which Scripture gives of mysterious qualities in the Lord's blessed body of the resurrection, it gives many proofs of, so to speak, simple qualities in it. And not one incident—not *this* incident, most certainly—can be adduced to show that it was ever in two places at the same time. Bodily, He was in

Emmaus and Jerusalem, not at once, but successively, so far as anything goes that we know. "He came," and that one expression, used so often and so familiarly, denies the ubiquity of His body. Subtlety of particles and organization, mysterious speed, mysterious invisibility, these are wonderful things, but not at all (in the strict sense of the word) inconceivable. The presence of a human body in more than two places at once is strictly inconceivable. And is it not the case, as I said above, that *never*, unless in this case alone, does Scripture miracle imply what is strictly inconceivable? And, if so, is not the ubiquitarian theory, or anything like it, out of proportion with the faith?

Is not that "faith," taken as a whole, in this matter of Christ's presence as simple as it is divine? The Lord our Saviour is indeed ubiquitous as God, as God the Son. And His Divine Nature is united to His Human Nature. So He is everywhere present as God, who is also Man. But the Lord our Saviour is *corporeally absent* in the main aspects of Scripture doctrine; as to His blessed body (His "natural" body, as the last rubric of the Communion Office calls it, that is His non-mystical body, His mystical body being the Church), He is markedly withdrawn from us for a season; with the promise of a glorious return of that body to the range and ken of our senses when He shall "*come*."

With deep and tender reverence toward God, and sympathy towards man, let every discussion about the nature and work of the Sacrament of the Table be carried on. There is nothing more perfectly irreligious than bitterness in religion; assuredly there is nothing which more effectually shuts out from the heart the joyful presence of Him who vouchsafes to dwell in it by faith. But to avoid a bitter eagerness does not mean either to be indifferent to objective truth, or to go on the principle that a vague uncertainty is ever *in itself* a spiritual gain. If, for instance, it is the fact, as I think it is, that the New Testament indicates that "the body" of the blessed Communion is not the body as now glorified, but the body as once crucified,<sup>1</sup> it cannot be a gain to us to think quite indistinctly about it, or not to be of one mind with Scripture about it. And surely it is happily possible to combine distinctness of Scriptural conviction with that gentleness and sympathy which the Scriptures, and which the ordinance of the Holy Supper, so pressing and delightfully enjoin on the Christian, and which the Christian who "abides in Christ" shall find supplied out of the fulness of His Lord.

But now let us come back from this excursion. Let us fix

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<sup>1</sup> See at large Dr. Vogan's book, "The True Doctrine of the Eucharist."

our glad and worshipping eyes on the Risen One standing there in that room in the midst of His followers. However He had come, HE WAS THERE; that was the point. Let us thank God if we can humbly say the same of our hearts: However my Lord came in, He is here now, dwelling in my heart by faith, manifesting to me His death for me, saying to me, It is I; thy sins be forgiven thee; receive the Spirit. However He came, whether He passed through the door, or softly opened it, or broke it down; whether my conversion to Him was a lightning-like burst of day in night, or a calm sunrise hour, or a slow clearing of a misty sky into the blue; one thing I know, the sun shines now; JESUS is here. He has come into the midst, and I am glad, for I see the Lord.

ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον. What a place was this for the Risen Lord to take. He, so holy, so triumphant, comes "into the midst" of that throng of unworthy sinners! It is indeed a wonderful sight, Jesus Christ come back "into the midst of them." Yet it is His chosen stand, willingly taken, with the willing joy of love. They have grieved Him, but, with a conquering Saviour's love, He loves them, and so their company is sweet to Him.

And what He was, He is.

Sweet indeed is the sound of His first utterance to them: *He says to them, Peace be to you.* It is no mere salutation, but a divine reality. The Speaker is also the Reason. "He is their Peace." "The God of Peace has brought Him from the dead, through the blood of the everlasting covenant," shed three days before.

St. Luke, our welcome supplement to St. John in this whole scene, tells us how much they needed that word. Their *first* sight of Him was full of alarm; they thought that they were gazing on a disembodied spirit (xxiv. 37). So mysterious had been His coming, so sudden was His visible manifestation. And to have seen "a spirit," however it might have resembled the living Jesus—yes, even to have seen *His* bodiless human "Spirit" (observe this as a perfectly incidental witness to the *intelligence* of the disciples in their faith in the Resurrection of their Lord), would not have been, properly, to see THE LORD. It would not have meant any victory over death. It would not have been, in the least, a Resurrection.

So also—let us think, as we pass on—with the soul now. He who can and does speak Peace must be a living not a visionary Saviour. He must be the Christ, not of fancy, not of aspiration even, but of both history and revelation; literally risen, living, coming. Not "a spirit," but the Lord.

And now, "this same Jesus," Reality not Vision, speaks peace to these frightened and troubled hearts. What a peace

it was! "Peace, peace," as the prophet says (Isa. xxvi. 3), a double peace; the peace of the finished work and of the living presence.

Absolute, indeed, was the *gift* of such peace. They had learnt effectually that He must and could give it, and only He. Nothing of their own could do so. The moment they lost (as they thought) Him, what comfort had they from themselves? They had worked miracles, they had preached a sublime message, they had been centres of spiritual influence. But all these things, divorced from Him "in the midst of them," could only by the contrast intensify their gloom. The fire and energy of Peter, the intense affection of Magdalene—were these sources of peace, on the supposition that Jesus was gone? No; each fine characteristic of the disciple would become only the side which felt the loss most bitterly; which felt most deeply that there is "no peace" apart from Him.

But now He came to give peace; to speak it as His gift, and to prove its validity as such.

For (verse 20) *τοῦτο εἶπὸν*, as He said so, with the words, He showed them His hands and His side. The holy body was robed, and so as to hide the hands and side. Now He drew back, He lifted up the raiment, and they saw the certificates of His agony. He showed the "glorious scars," no doubt, partly for *identification*. As they gazed in the lamplight at those deep clefts (the narrative of Thomas's doubt and conversion shows they were still deep hollow wounds), bloodless, we must suppose, and with none of the fever of wounds about them,<sup>1</sup> yet still wounds indeed; as they examined with their eyes (and fingers? Luke xxiv. 39) the rent side, and saw, as it were, the light through the sacred hands, they knew Him in truth for "this same Jesus." And that by itself was sweet indeed, even as it is now when the disciple's soul realizes that, after all these ages, it is dealing still with the identically same Person who died for us and rose again.

But also, surely, He showed them His wounds for a further purpose; to bear in upon them the thought of *the way in which* He had brought them that peace which now was theirs. There He stood before them, their living Lord, immortally living. But He was also now what before He had not been, their living Lord who had for them been slain. Such was to be "His name for ever, His memorial to all generations" now. What a paradox! Never through the eternal ages will the Lord of life be parted from the remembrance of His death, and

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<sup>1</sup> The Risen Body is nowhere described as "flesh and blood."

from the praises of His people because He died. And never let Him and His death be parted in our thought and love now. While we realize with joy that He lives, that He is beside us and within us, let Him be ever to us still "the Lamb that was slain," "the Shepherd brought from the dead," "the Lord who, that He might indeed be Lord," be Master, "died and revived" (Rom. xiv. 9). When we use Him, in His indwelling power, as our life, and our one way of victory over sin, still let Him be to us the Lord who "loved me and gave Himself for me" (Gal. ii. 20).

*He shewed them His hands and side. So the disciples rejoiced (ἐχάρησαν, a definite act of joy) seeing the Lord.* THE LORD; that name by which more than ever now they loved to call Him.

The two great blessings flowed together, in His presence; *Εἰρήμη Χαρά.* Showing His wounds, He spoke the peace. Seeing Him, they knew the joy.

Verse 21. Jesus now speaks again. The outbreak of untold joy was, as to its expression, over; what a scene of tears, and wonder, and shame, and recognition, and worshipping praise it must have been! But now He speaks again, and the word again, calm and articulate, is *Peace be to you.* Their very joy, in its deep agitation, needed this—a clear, definite assurance of the strong *basis* of such gladness, a certainty that it was caused from without, *His* gift, the issue of *His* work.

Speaking peace, He gives them at once, bound up with it in love, Duty. *Even as the Father has sent Me out, I too send you.* Even so. As I was to be His Representative in My work on earth, so you are now to be Mine. As I was His Ambassador in "the days of My flesh," you are to take My place. *Ἐπεὶ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύετε,* be ambassadors in Christ's stead (2 Cor. v. 20). And be so in Christ's spirit. Your duty, your obedience, is to be your sphere of joy, as His was.

That duty, let us observe, was not given them till they had seen in Him their joy. "They rejoiced, seeing the Lord"; "Now send I you."

Such was our Lord Jesus Christ's commission to His true flock, His true Church. Assuredly it was not to the Apostles only, however specially; it was to all that "blessed company of believing people." "Even so send I you." Every believer is to be a messenger under that commission, and with the Risen Lord for his message.

Then, with an act of divinely simple symbolism, He "conveys" to them (makes over to them, as by an act and deed of gift, a physical visible action at once to instruct and strengthen their faith) the Holy Spirit. Their embassy, their

message-bearing, their representation of Him, was to be done only and truly "in the Spirit," if it was to be rightly done at all.

*He breathed a breath towards them, and says to them, Take the Holy Spirit.*

Are we to understand that this action of the Lord's, with His spoken word, did literally then and there infuse the Spirit's power into them? I dare not say not. But do not the circumstances rather favour the view that the incident was divinely symbolical, and was rather a prophecy of Pentecost than a part-gift before Pentecost? His mission of His people into the world was in a sense not to take actual effect till Pentecost. Was not the same the case with this quasi-sacramental "gift" of the Spirit to His people? Was it not a guarantee rather than a then-and-there infusion? If so, the case is instructive in the study of sacramental truth.

But now, how does He proceed? Verse 23: *If you remit the sins of any, they are remitted to them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained.*

On these profound words I only lightly touch in a few brief paragraphs, calling attention to some leading considerations about them.

(i.) They are a commission to the Church—to the Church as the representative and witness on earth of the risen Lord Jesus; not to Apostles only, but to all true believers. We have already seen this, as we have recalled St. Luke's evidence to the fact that other disciples were present with the Apostles.

(ii.) There must therefore be a sense, and that a very important and conspicuous sense, in which every true disciple is called upon to act on the Easter commission. Whatever remitting and retaining means, it has something to do, as God shall show the way, with every Christian's life and work.

(iii.) This consideration interferes not at all with the conception of an ordered, ordering, specially commissioned Christian pastorate. The pastoral office is as old as Christianity. The same Risen Lord who, when He ascended on high, "gave some as apostles," "gave some also as pastors-teachers, to equip the saints for (their) work of service, for the upbuilding of Christ's body" (Eph. iv. 11, 12). And the Christian pastorate, despite all the defects and sins of Christian pastors, has assuredly proved itself, in fact, to be a mighty and salutary factor in the Church. To put only one most simple side of the matter forward: the fact that a host of Christian men year after year are solemnly, by chosen representatives of the Church, separated and dedicated for their whole lives to special thought, special labour, special guiding function, special speech, and particularly public speech, for Christ, has certainly had an effect beyond calculation in the coherence and point of the work of the Christian Church.

But to say that it is the special office of a class or order to proclaim the message of our Master is not to say that that message is not to be proclaimed by all who belong to Him.

(iv.) This declaration, this commissioned declaration, of His message, with its alternative of condemnation or pardon, death or life, is, I am deeply convinced, the work here entrusted by Him to His Church.

That it does not mean, certainly at its heart and centre, a judicial sacerdotal absolution or its reverse, I am very sure. First, because the Scriptures, fairly interrogated, gave no clear evidence that such a function was claimed or exercised by the Apostles, or enjoined by them on even the earliest presiding pastors. Secondly, because such a delegation to man of the judicial power of God, if it is not to be a mere name, a something worse than useless, would necessarily involve the need that the absolver and retainer should be, as such, inspired, gifted with a special discernment both of the nature of the sin of the soul and of the sincerity of the soul, and not of its sincerity only, but of its self-knowledge, its truth or its error in estimating and in describing its sin.

I do not think that either Scripture or experience at all assures us that Christian pastors as such are by any means thus inspired; that they have, as such, any supernatural intuition into the self-knowledge of the human soul.

But if it be the duty of every Christian, in his or her path of intercourse and influence, to "retain sins" and "remit sins" in the sense of pointing out, as a living witness, the Scripture terms of pardon and peace to a sorely needing world—here is indeed an intelligible as well as most blessed commission; and it is a work as to which the Acts and Epistles are full of suggestions, while they are silent about a sacerdotal function of confession and absolution.

Of the special and adapted bearing of the words in the ordination of the Anglican presbyter, and again in the formula which he is directed to utter, under very special conditions, in the Visitation of the Sick, I scarcely speak at all here. But it may not be out of place to point out how clear the witness of Church History is to the fact that in such a connection the drift of the word is towards "remission" and "retention" from the point of view of the Christian Society; towards guarding the central hearth, so to speak, even the Table of the Lord, from unworthy intrusion. And even thus, it may be remembered, the formula was not introduced into the Ordinal for the Presbyter till the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See a learned sermon by the Bishop (Reichel) of Meath, "The History and Claims of the Confessional."

But this is a digression indeed. I recur to that view of the Lord's commission, which, alike for the pastor and the layman, is at once the simplest and the most sacred—the carrying to the world, as by a messenger who is also a living witness, of the message of the grace of God. Specially for my ministerial brethren I venture thus to point to it once more. May our idea of our ministry never be lowered from this; never allowed to sink into the idea of a merely administrative and ceremonial function, or into that of only philanthropic enterprise. May we live and labour as those who deal indeed with sin and with salvation, and in our Master's Name; as those who know in our own instance how the human heart needs remission, and how it must and does find it in Christ alone. May we minister as those who know their own souls and their own Saviour, so as to enable them to deal with the souls of others; above all, who can say, as those first disciples of the Chamber could, "We have seen the Lord, who was dead but is alive for evermore, and our heart is glad in the sight of Him; now then we are ambassadors in His stead; in His stead we pray you, be reconciled to God. For God hath made Him to be sin on our behalf who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."

H. C. G. MOULE.

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ART. V.—RICHARD BAXTER.

WHEN Professor Jowett, the distinguished Master of Balliol, occupied the pulpit of Westminster Abbey last summer, he took occasion to celebrate within its walls the honoured name of Richard Baxter. He reminded his hearers that two hundred years had almost elapsed since the great leader of the Nonconformists had been called to his rest. He then proceeded to give a brief sketch of the history of Baxter's life, dwelling especially on that singular narrative of his changes of opinion, which he drew up himself in his old age, and which may be said to be unique in English literature.

Following the example of Professor Jowett, we propose to consider a few points in the life and teaching of this remarkable man, which may not be devoid of interest to serious readers. It will be needless to dwell at length on the details of Baxter's long and troublous life, but a rough sketch of his career may be acceptable. I shall follow in part the admirable outline of the Master of Balliol. It will be noticed that the life of Baxter coincided with a long period of political trouble. He was born in 1615, and he died in 1691. Shortly after his



ordination we find him at Kidderminster, where he ministered for many years with great success. Wonderful stories are told of his preaching. "It may be said, as of the people of Nineveh, who believed under the preaching of Jonah, that so did the people of Kidderminster believe under the preaching of Richard Baxter." For a time he acted as chaplain to the soldiers of the Parliament, when his influence was chiefly directed towards modifying the spirit of sectarian bitterness. After the Restoration, during the short period that toleration was granted to the Nonconformists, he was offered the Bishopric of Hereford, which he declined. He still laboured for peace, but on the 16th of August, 1662, known as "Black St. Bartholomew's Day," Baxter and two thousand Nonconformist ministers were forcibly expelled from their parishes. This is what the late John Richard Green, in his "History of the English People," has to say about the evicted clergy: "The rectors and vicars who were driven out were the most learned and the most active of their order. The bulk of the great livings throughout the country were in their hands. They stood at the head of the London clergy, as the London clergy stood in general repute at the head of their class throughout England. They occupied the higher posts at the two Universities. No English divine save Jeremy Taylor rivalled Howe as a preacher. No person was so renowned a controversialist or so indefatigable a parish priest as Baxter. And behind these men stood a fifth of the whole body of the clergy, men whose zeal and labour had diffused throughout the country a greater appearance of piety and religion than it had ever displayed before."

We cannot follow Baxter in the dark days which followed the fatal mistake of August 16th. His life during the next three years may be best described in the touching language of St. Paul: "In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils by false brethren. . . . Beside these things which are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." One event, however, cast its bright light upon his darkened career. There was a lady of gentle birth, by name Margaret Charlton. She was not more than twenty, and Baxter was nearly fifty, but "she gave herself to God and to him." And for seventeen years, at home and in prison, during every vicissitude of trouble and persecution, this good woman devoted herself to his happiness and care. The pages of Lord Macaulay's History relate, with their usual brilliancy of colouring, the brutal treatment to which Baxter was subjected at the hands of the infamous Jeffreys, and we need here only refer to them. It is, however, pleasant to learn that

the last years of his life, though passed in much bodily suffering, were yet free from the pain of persecution. He employed his time, when increasing infirmities prevented more active labours, in pouring forth those theological tracts and treatises which have made him the most voluminous of English divines. At last, at the age of seventy-six, after a life of extraordinary labour, harassed by persecution, and torn by almost constant pain, this truly good man and servant of God, one of the greatest of English theologians, passed "to where beyond these voices there is peace."

One of the first points which strike the student of Baxter's life is the enormous amount of literary work which he accomplished. Baxter was among the most afflicted of the sons of men. The mere list of his chronic diseases is appalling. "He was diseased literally from head to foot," says his quaint biographer, Mr. Orme; "his stomach flatulent and acidulous; violent rheumatic headaches; prodigious bleedings at the nose; his blood was so thin and acrid that it oozed out from the points of his fingers and kept them often raw and bloody; his legs swelled and dropsical," etc. Mr. Orme might well add that further particulars might be disagreeable, and content himself with saying that Baxter was certainly one of the most diseased and afflicted men that ever reached the full limits of human life. And yet his mind rose triumphantly above his bodily infirmities, and in spite of chronic suffering he wrote perhaps more volumes than any other English divine. Like St. Paul with his thorn in the flesh; like our great Puritan poet in his blindness; like Alexander Pope, who pathetically described his own existence as "that long disease, my life"; like the German Schiller, and our own Carlyle, Baxter's spirit could not be fettered by the chains of physical suffering. His literary activity was extraordinary. He published no less than one hundred and sixty-eight volumes. The immensity of his labours may be better realized if we compare them with some of his brethren who wrote a good deal. The works of Bishop Hall amount, we are told, to ten volumes octavo; Lightfoot's extend to thirteen; Jeremy Taylor's to fifteen; Dr. Goodwin's would make about twenty; Dr. Owen's extend to twenty-eight, but Richard Baxter's, if printed in an uniform edition, could not be compressed in less than sixty volumes, making more than from thirty to forty thousand closely-printed octavo pages.

Both Addison and Johnson thought highly of Baxter's writings. When Boswell once asked the sage which of the works of Richard Baxter he should read, Dr. Johnson replied: "Read any of them, for they are all good." For modern readers, however, the one hundred and sixty-eight volumes, with the exception, perhaps, of "The Saint's Rest," "The Call

to the Unconverted," and one or two hymns, have "ceased to belong to men, and have become the property of moths."

"The Saint's Rest," as a devotional work, will ever rank among the first products of its kind. With the exception of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," it is probably unsurpassed in English literature. It was the first of Baxter's writings, and the story of its composition, as related by its author, is worth transcribing. "While I was in health," he says, "I had not the least thought of writing books, or of serving God in any more public way than preaching; but when I was weakened with great bleeding, and left solitary in my chamber at Sir John Cook's in Derbyshire, without any acquaintance but my servant about me, and was sentenced to death by the physicians, I began to contemplate more seriously on the everlasting rest which I apprehended myself to be just on the borders of. That my thoughts might not too much scatter in my meditation, I began to write something on that subject, intending but the quantity of a sermon or two; but being continued long in weakness, where I had no books and no better employment, I followed it on, till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it is published. The first three weeks I spent on it was at Mr. Nowel's house at Kirby Mallory in Leicestershire; a quarter of a year more, at the seasons which so great weakness would allow, I bestowed upon it at Sir Thomas Rous's in Worcestershire, and I finished it shortly after at Kidderminster." Thus in less than six months, and those months of constant suffering, with no books but his Bible and concordance—the marginal citations, he tells us, were put in afterwards—Baxter wrote the most useful of his multitudinous works, and one which, had he written nothing else, would have placed among the first of English divines. "It is a book," said Dr. Bates, "for which multitudes will have cause to bless God for ever." As a specimen of the exalted style of the work, the very title of which reflects the weariness of the writer, we will select the following beautiful quotation, which occurs in the concluding chapter: "As the pretty lark doth sing most sweetly, and never cease her pleasant ditty while she hovereth aloft, as if she were there gazing into the glory of the sun, but is suddenly silenced when she falleth to the earth: so is the frame of the soul most delectable and divine while it keepeth in the views of God by contemplation; but, alas! we make there too short a stay, but down again we fall, and lay by our music."

Of "The Call," Baxter himself said that God blessed it beyond all his other writings, except the "Saint's Rest." In one single year twenty thousand copies of the book were sold, and it was afterwards translated into almost every European

language. Baxter also wrote much poetry, of which one hymn, "Lord, it belongs not," which may be regarded in the light of a piece of genuine autobiography, is familiar to all:

Lord, it belongs not to my care  
 Whether I die or live ;  
 To love and serve Thee is my share,  
 And this Thy grace must give.  
 If life be long I will be glad,  
 That I may long obey ;  
 If short—yet why should I be sad  
 To soar to endless day ?<sup>1</sup>

There is another feature in the character of Baxter which demands a few words of recognition—his wise and Christian toleration. Though living in an age when toleration was almost unknown, though the victim of persecutions enough to embitter the most saintly disposition, this good man was specially conspicuous for his wide and Christ-like charity. It was his supreme desire, in the troublous times in which he lived, to use his great influence for peace and toleration. Forms and ceremonies he regarded as of quite secondary importance, if only men would agree to live a life of practical Christianity. When preaching before the House of Commons in Westminster Abbey, he used words which are as worthy of attention to-day as they were in the time of the Commonwealth: "Men that differ about bishops, ceremonies, and forms of prayer may," he said, "be all true Christians, and dear to one another, and to Christ, if they be practically agreed in the life of godliness, and join in a holy, heavenly conversation. But if you agree in all your opinions and formalities, and yet were never sanctified by the truth, you do but agree to delude your souls, and neither of you will be saved for all your agreement." Though a Nonconformist, Baxter could not understand that spirit of narrow exclusiveness which was so marked a feature among his brethren. He bids them read the lives of the saints and martyrs, and become acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, and even to study the biographies of some of the old pagans. It is needless to say that his liberality of opinion and breadth of toleration were often misunderstood. "Zealous churchmen called him a Roundhead, while many Nonconformists accused him of Erastianism and Arminianism." Even his biographer, Mr. Orme, regrets that his writings were not distinguished by a "larger infusion of evangelical doctrine." But surely Baxter's was the most excellent way. "While we wrangle here in the dark," he says, "we are dying,

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<sup>1</sup> Two verses are here printed because in several hymn-books they are not printed as Baxter wrote them.

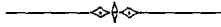
and passing to the world that will decide all our controversies, and *the safest passage thither is by peaceable holiness.*"

But nowhere is the beauty of Baxter's character more clearly shown than in that narrative of his own opinions, which he drew up in his old age. That story, as we have said, is unique in English literature. We see the old man, with the like calm judgment that pervaded his whole life, and in love and charity with all men, looking back on the vista of his past life, and judging himself with an impartial eye. "He sees more clearly his errors and prejudices when at a distance from them, as we sometimes have a wider and clearer view of the landscape when the sun is going down." The narrative is so full of instruction that we cannot forbear from quoting one or two characteristic passages. "The older I grew," he says, "the smaller stress I laid on those controversies and curiosities (though still my intellect abhorreth confusion), as finding greater uncertainties in them than I at first discerned. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments are now to me as my daily bread and drink; and as I can speak and write over them again and again, so I had rather read and hear of them than of any of the school niceties." Now that he is older, he regards many things in a different light to what he did as a young man. He is more sensible of his ignorance, and recognises the insufficiency of some of his earlier writings. He has less regard for frames and feelings in matters of practical religion, and lays more stress on the unchanging love of God. He has learnt to attach but little importance to gifts of utterance, and to professions of religion; and he no longer thinks, as once he did, that all who can pray fluently are saints of God. He is less narrow in his principles of church communion than formerly, and is more deeply afflicted at the disagreements and squabbles of Christendom. "The contentions," he says, "between the Greek Church and the Roman, the Papists and the Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, have wofully hindered the kingdom of Christ." He now lays less stress upon external modes and forms of worship; and is ready, if need be, to hold occasional communion with Greeks and Lutherans, and even with Anabaptists. The contempt and the applause of men are for him of still less moment now that he is so near the great white throne of God.

But we must draw these comments to a close. They will not have been penned in vain if they lead anyone to study more in detail the life of the great Nonconformist, whose portrait, it has been truly said, cannot well be drawn in miniature. And in these days, when a desire for Christian unity is happily growing in our midst, we know of no

biography that may be studied with more advantage than that of Richard Baxter.

JOHN VAUGHAN.



ART. VI.—“THE EARLY HISTORY OF ISRAEL.”

*The Early Religion of Israel.* The Baird Lecture for 1889. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D. Blackwood. 1892.

NO book could be more welcome to lovers of truth than Dr. Robertson's Baird Lecture. For nearly fifteen years the now dominant critical theory has had the advantage of the support of the boldness of Wellhausen, the patient research of Kuenen and the wide learning and critical insight of Robertson Smith. If the theory has not won over the clergy and laity of England, the fault is not in its defenders, but in itself. It has been ably expounded, and it has been illustrated, if not supported, by a mass of learning of every kind. It has been fortunate, undeservedly fortunate, in its champions.

It has been far otherwise hitherto with the theories, such as they are, which have been set up in opposition to it. English writers on the conservative side have not as a rule taken the trouble and time necessary for the investigation of the subject. Indeed, few of them have had a thorough grounding in the preliminaries. Schools in which Hebrew is studied in England may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and even at Oxford and Cambridge the number of men who read Hebrew is ridiculously small, but in Germany the study is a common one in the higher schools, and some even of the smallest of her universities produce Hebrew works of real importance. The truth—the odd truth—is that Germany is interested in the Old Testament literature, while England hitherto—I judge by results, or no results—has been profoundly indifferent to it.

Dr. Robertson's book is to be welcomed in the first place because it shows that deep interest in the Old Testament which has hitherto been lacking. In the second place it is welcome because it goes to the root of the present controversy. The discussion of the mere form of the books of the Old Testament does not necessarily touch any vital question, but an attack on the historic faithfulness of their contents as a whole affects our estimate of the nature and history of God's revelation to men.

The Baird Lecturer begins by reminding us that we have two theories of the History of Religion in Israel. (By “theory” Dr. Robertson means a general conception which professes to

co-ordinate and give unity and a causal relation to a multitude of facts.) The Biblical theory, that is, the general conception given in the books of the Old Testament as a whole, is that the people of Israel, from the time of Abraham, stood in a peculiar relation to God; that they were delivered from Egypt, and that the covenant made with Abraham was renewed on Sinai; that they exhibited continual backsliding from the covenant; that their divine education was continued from Samuel onwards by a series of prophets; that when the fabric of the nation fell to pieces the views of the prophets only became more spiritual; and finally, that it was the voice of prophecy that sustained the captives in Babylon, and stimulated the pious to return to their own land, and there to set up the worship of God with punctilious regard to the precepts of the old law, which during their prosperity had been slighted.

I have considerably shortened Dr. Robertson's account of the Biblical Theory; let me now give a similar abbreviation of the author's account of the Critical Theory. The modern view may be said to be in general as follows: A number of wandering Hebrew tribes came from the desert and settled in Canaan; like the nations round them they had a national God,<sup>1</sup> and their religious faith and observances resembled those of the nations; from the Canaanites and others they adopted many religious customs and beliefs, appropriating their sacred places, and ascribing to their own ancestors the honours which were paid to local heroes departed; custom grew into law, legend was made into history, and at the time when we have the first authentic records of them they were under a religion which had grown up in the way indicated. The Biblical books containing the history before the eighth century B.C. are untrustworthy, being in their present form manipulated by later hands, and *exhibiting a projection of later ideas into earlier times*. The writing prophets of the eighth century B.C. were the first to teach a higher truth, and by them the ethic monotheism of the Old Testament was developed; the code of Deuteronomy was prepared a short time before the eighteenth year of Josiah as a rule for the guidance of the people *in the truth which the prophets had taught*, and was represented as coming from Moses in order to give it higher sanction; but its effect was other than its framers had intended, for it substituted for the voice of God speaking through the prophets the voice of a dead law. Law, therefore, was the outcome of prophecy, not its antecedent; its

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<sup>1</sup> Jehovah, or Jahaveh, as Dr. Robertson prefers to spell it.

ultimate development was the Levitical code which was the starting point of modern Judaism. (Pp. 28-34.)

It will be noticed that in this brief account of the critical theory of Israel's religious history no mention of Moses occurs. That there is nothing unfair in this omission from a summary account of the views of the critics, appears from the references of Wellhausen, for example, to Israel's great leader. Wellhausen speaks of Moses ("History of Israel," p. 19) as "having been throughout the whole of his long life the people's leader, judge and centre of union"; but how slight his religious importance is in the eyes of the critic will be shown by two quotations: "We cannot treat the legislative portion of the Pentateuch as a source from which our knowledge of what Mosaism really was can be derived," and "If the legislation of the Pentateuch cease as a whole to be regarded as an authentic source for our knowledge of what Mosaism was, it becomes a somewhat precarious matter to make any exception in favour of the decalogue." No further quotations are needed to show that to Wellhausen, at least, Moses played no important part in the *religious* history of Israel. Too little is allowed to be known of his religious work.

Nothing could be more admirable than the calm temper in which Dr. Robertson begins his inquiry, or than the thorough manner with which he conducts it. Taking as his starting-point the century 850-750 B.C.—the earliest historical standing-ground allowed by the critics—he first enumerates the documents (pp. 53, 54) which are allowed to have arisen or been in existence during this period. They are (a) the stories of the patriarchs, contained in the Jehovistic portions of the book of Genesis; (b) the account of the doings and sayings of Elijah and Elisha; (c) the brief code, the so-called Book of the Covenant, contained in Ex. xx.-xxiii.; (d) the books of Amos and Hosea; (e) the mass of *narrative*, contained in the books of Judges and Samuel. From this list Dr. Robertson draws the conclusion that though the productions are not many, they give proof that the power of composition on varied themes was an accomplished fact in this age. Further, the author shows that popular writings such as these imply *readers*, so that we get beyond writings to a people capable of reading and understanding them. Further still, the finished style of these compositions would lead us to the conclusion that the literary art had been long practised. "In a word, we are clearly not at the beginning of literary or educational activity in Israel."

Dr. Robertson also shows that as *religious* products the books of Amos and Hosea imply a considerable degree of religious intelligence and education. "Let anyone try for a



moment to imagine Amos addressing the people of Israel in the name of Jahaveh: *Seek good and not evil, that ye may live, and Jahaveh the God of hosts shall be with you in such a manner as ye say* (Amos v. 14): *I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of Jahaveh* (viii. 11); and ask whether the people who heard these words had not already been accustomed to form some ideas of good and evil—some conceptions of the holiness of their national God far above the level of persons at the animistic or even the national stage of religion."

"Thus, then, from these two sides, the merely literary and the religious aspects of the books before us, we conclude that the eighth century rests upon an anterior stage of preparation which must have been considerable in both respects" (p. 70).

Dr. Robertson next gives reasons for supposing that this "anterior state of preparation" was due to a series of prophets, and in particular to the "schools of the prophets," which date from the time of Samuel. (The author condemns Wellhausen's depreciation of the "sons of the prophets," and also his attempt to dissociate Samuel from the schools.)

Having thus pointed to a channel through which historical and religious teaching, either oral or written, or both, might be transmitted to the age of the writing prophets, Dr. Robertson next investigates the allusions in these prophets to the earlier history, and shows that they confirm the Biblical theory. Dr. Robertson is here taking the broadest possible view. He does not attempt to show that these prophets were acquainted with the Pentateuch, nor even to prove against the critics that they accepted the special religious rites and observances laid down in the Pentateuch; what he does show is that Amos and Hosea assume those whom they address to be familiar with a scheme of the early religious history of Israel, which is in agreement with the Biblical theory rather than with that of the critics.

The four points of Dr. Robertson's proof are worthy of careful attention. The *first* is that both Amos and Hosea not only refer to the deliverance from Egypt and the guidance through the wilderness as undisputed facts, but also as events of the deepest religious import. Amos utters the word of Jahaveh "against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying, 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth'" (iii. 1, 2). The *second* point in the writings of the two prophets is the pre-eminence assigned to the southern kingdom and the special importance of the house of David. Amos anticipates coming blessing in the words "I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen . . .

and I will build it as in the days of old" (ix. 11). *Thirdly*, the prophets maintain that Israel from the earliest times had proved unfaithful to their God, and had fallen into the deepest sins. The burden of the prophecy of Amos is that "though God had raised up of their sons for prophets and of their young men for Nazirites (ii. 11), though he had from time to time made known what he was to do through his prophets (iii. 7), though he had known Israel alone of all the families of the earth (iii. 2), yet doom was impending over both kingdoms for their unfaithfulness." *Fourthly*, both prophets declare that the southern kingdom, though also doomed to punishment (Amos ii. 4), will be more mercifully dealt with (Hos. i. 7), and will form the rallying-point for a re-united nationality based on better principles (Amos ix. ii. ; Hosea i. 11).

"All this agrees most strikingly with what we have called the Biblical theory of the history. There is the insisting upon a special manifestation of favour to Israel at the first, in the deliverance from Egypt and guidance through the desert; there is the emphasis laid on the succession of teachers divinely appointed, and of laws and statutes for the people's instruction and guidance. There is the promise of the perpetuity of the house of David as the basis of the restoration of national unity. There is, on the other hand, with equal emphasis, the assertion of the fact that Israel had been unfaithful to the nation's God, and unworthy of the privileges bestowed. And, further, there is the threatening of punishment for this unfaithfulness, reiterated in various forms, and couched in the sternest tones. And, finally, there is the assurance that there will not be an end of the people, but that out of the overthrow and ruin there will arise a revived and purified nation, united under one king, obedient to their one God."

Dr. Robertson, by a quotation from Kuenen, next shows that it is just the theory which underlies these principles of Hosea and Amos which is declared to be unhistorical when it appears in the historical books, *e.g.*, in the introduction to the book of Judges (ii. 6, iii. 6), and in the retrospect of the fate of the kingdom of the ten tribes (2 Kings xvii. 7-23, 34-41). The critics have appealed to the prophets, and the prophets have declared against them (p. 116).

It must not be imagined from the foregoing that the author is ignorant of the fact that the critics have declared the most important passages quoted by him from Amos and Hosea to be deliberate interpolations made in the interests of a theory—the Biblical theory—of the early history. The critics are consistent. They hold the historical books (Judges, Samuel and Kings) to be revised and interpolated because they contra-

dict the critical theory, and they hold the prophets, including Amos and Hosea, to be treated in the same way for the same reason.

What is Dr. Robertson's answer to this? Practically he allows the theory to fall by its own weight. He points out first that the process of "striking out" does not remove the whole difficulty which lies in the way of the critics. Stade, who strikes out, is compelled in addition to adopt another line of explanation. He writes: "[Hosea's] use of the argument from history, in order to prove to the people their deviation from the requirements of Jehovah and their declension, paved the way for the unhistorical view that came to be taken of the past, and [for] the treatment of it in the light of later religious conceptions." In other words, Hosea is not to be believed when he tells us that other teachers taught the same before him, nor when he declares that his nation had been taught a better religion and had declined from it. "Where now," asks Dr. Robertson, "is the fixed point and firm standard by which we are to reach the truth? The historical books are to be corrected by the aid of the prophetic; but where is the standard for correcting the prophetic books? On what authority are these 'insertions' to be removed; by what guide are we to correct the prophetic misapprehensions? The only 'fixed' thing perceivable is the theory itself; the only standard is 'strike out' or 'I consider'" (p. 149). Dr. Robertson had before mentioned the only principle of the critics which *looks* fixed, *i.e.*, "The nearer history is to its origin, the more profane it is." This is a travesty of the principle that in the lapse of time a spiritual light is often thrown on past events; but that events have a spiritual significance is seen by spiritual men from the beginning. But I fear it is no use to suggest to the critics that Hosea was a spiritual man. They would answer that spiritual men had not yet been "evolved."

But to return. After briefly differentiating the two theories by the place assigned in each to the work of the prophets, Dr. Robertson proceeds to test the proof advanced for the Critical Theory of the early religion of Israel point by point. His words of differentiation must be quoted: "The Biblical Theory represents the prophets as continuators, reformers, recalling their people to a standard of religion from which they had fallen. The modern critical historians place a wide gulf between the pre-prophetic and the prophetic religion; 'the religion of David and Solomon,' says Renan, 'did not differ appreciably from that of the neighbouring peoples of Palestine'" (p. 153).

Dr. Robertson foreshadows the nature of the test he is about

to apply to the proofs alleged for the Critical Theory in a passage of great force. "I confess that it is extremely difficult for me, not only to believe the position that is taken up, but even to apprehend it as a possibility. That Israel, with nothing distinctively peculiar to start with beyond the bare belief that Jahaveh was their only national God, should have adopted and absorbed elements the most diverse, and still have remained Israel; that the elements absorbed should have been the most distinctively heathenish and low, and yet that the result of it all was not an eclecticism, but a product *sui generis*, and that all the time this transmutation was going on, a body of men whose official basis rested on heathenism, should have lashed their countrymen with invective and threatening for forsaking the religion of their fathers—all this is to me as great a psychological and moral miracle as any of the miracles recorded in Scripture."

The author proceeds to demand (p. 166) three things:

*First*, clear proof that before the time of the writing prophets the religious beliefs and observances of Israel were on the same level as those of their neighbours, and that enlightened men accepted them as authorized.

*Secondly*, an indication of some differentiating religious element sufficient to explain the fact that Israel remained Israel and was not absorbed in the surrounding heathenism.

*Thirdly*, an indication of the process of development in the historical stadia through which, from the elementary stage, Israel arrived at the "ethic monotheism" of the prophets.

In the four succeeding chapters (pp. 167-265) Dr. Robertson examines the alleged proofs of the low tone of pre-prophetic religion, *i.e.*, of religion in Israel before the time of Amos and Hosea. In four points, according to the critics, this low tone is apparent. I will mention them in order, stating briefly Dr. Robertson's criticism of each.

(1) "At first," say the critics, "the religion of Israel was Polytheism." They cite, in support of this assertion, the fact that the word "Baal," which they take as the proper name of the Canaanite god, is freely used in families distinguished for their reverence for the national God of the Hebrews, in compound proper names, *e.g.*, in Eshbaal (Ishbosheth) the son of Saul. In opposition to this the Baird Lecturer points out that in Hebrew "Baal" is a common noun meaning "Lord," and that there was to the pious Israelite no impropriety in calling Jahaveh his *baal*. Dr. Robertson further answers that we have no instances of a similar use in compound proper names of unequivocal proper names of heathen deities, such as Melkart, Eshmun, Astarte.

(2) The critics assert as a second mark of the low tone of

pre-prophetic religion that the Hebrews localized their God in their own land and in certain sanctuaries within it. Dr. Robertson rightly replies to this: (a) that the critics rely for their proof on metaphorical language which need not be literally understood, for religious conceptions cannot be expressed at all without metaphor; (b) that precisely similar metaphors are used at a quite late period: "How shall we sing Jahaveh's song in a strange land?" (c) that if it be urged that *primitively* the metaphors must have been taken literally, it is begging the question to assume that the "pre-prophetic" was the primitive stage among the Hebrews.

(3) Thirdly, it is asserted that calf-worship was part of the authorized Jahaveh religion.

The proof alleged depends, first, on the probability that Jeroboam represents a revolt as much against Solomon's foreign innovations (as Kuenen thinks) as against his oppression. If this be probable, then it is possible that Jeroboam and his advisers regarded the calf-worship as an ancient Israelitish worship, and it may be a fact that Jehovah was worshipped under the form of a calf during the period of the Judges.

The proof further depends on the *great improbability*, according to the critics, that the prohibition against making a graven image was Mosaic. It is urged that this prohibition comes in awkwardly, breaking the connection of the commandments, and, further, that the existence of symbols in the Temple, such as the cherubim, and the tradition that Moses made a brazen serpent in the wilderness, render it improbable that any prohibition of image-making was attributed to Moses for hundreds of years after his death. This sounds strong, but when, as Dr. Robertson points out (p. 223), Kuenen admits that the prohibition was decreed *in conformity with the spirit of Moses*, the proof thus far cited that calf-worship was ever part of the *authorized* Jahaveh religion does not amount to much.

"But Elijah and Elisha never condemned the calf-worship," say the critics. "These prophets had a harder duty to perform," answers Dr. Robertson. The calf-worship, "degraded as it was, *called itself* a worship of Jahaveh, and, from Jeroboam's days, may have kept the recognition of the national God of Israel in a way prominently before the people. But in the days of Ahab . . . it came to be a question whether Jahaveh or the Phœnician Baal was to receive recognition as the national God. To this great question Elijah braced himself. . . . When once that danger passed away, we see his successors directing themselves to the purification of the Jahaveh religion, which had gained the day."

(4) Lastly, it is said (e.g., by Kuenen) that "the conception of Jahaveh originally bordered on that of Molech (Moloch), or at least had many points of contact with it." If this be true, and if "originally" be explained to mean "in the pre-prophetic period," then without a doubt there *was* a low tone in the pre-prophetic religion. But let the proofs alleged for this be mentioned with Dr. Robertson's criticisms of them.

(a) It is maintained, in the first place, that the constant application to Jahaveh of language denoting fire and light is a proof that the popular conception made Him a sun or fire God, so that He was not distinguishable from Moloch (p. 245). "This conclusion," writes Dr. Robertson, "is warrantable only if these metaphorical expressions, when originally used, were not regarded as metaphors at all, but plain statements of fact." "If Kuenen and his school will insist upon it that metaphorical language must originally have been used as plain statement of fact, then the essential point in dispute is assumed, for we must necessarily admit that, on this concession, all religious thought at first expresses itself in language borrowed from material things; and therefore, without more ado, we may say that all religion begins with the worship of material things, or with purely materialistic conceptions. Stade, in speaking of fetishism, says bluntly: 'Nothing on earth begins as a symbol, but is taken as a reality.' I should think that the very first attempts at language are symbols, and consciously regarded as such."

(b) The next argument for the identification of Jahaveh and Moloch is drawn from the observances of circumcision and dedication of firstborn. It is held that these practices, though softened into harmless religious ceremonies, are proofs that Jahaveh was originally regarded as the Destroyer of life rather than its Preserver. Kuenen admits that there is very little proof that circumcision represents an old practice of human sacrifice, and the only passage he refers to is obscure (Ex. iv. 24-26). Dr. Robertson challenges the critics to tell us "when this precise rite took the place of human sacrifice, and why this precise rite, so unlike human sacrifice, should have been substituted—a rite which can be so obviously explained on the principle that the deity claimed the *sanctification* of life, not its destruction."

(c) Dr. Robertson notices next (p. 252, ff.) the sacrifices of Abraham, Jephtha, and the king of Moab, and rightly denies that they supply evidence that human sacrifice was an original custom in Israel. I will content myself with a quotation (p. 254), showing how Dr. Robertson deals with the first case. "To Abraham the testing question comes, 'Art thou prepared to obey thy God *as the people about thee obey their*

gods?" and in the putting forth of his faith in the act of obedience, he learns that the nature of his God is *different*." (The italics are my own.)

This review has touched upon only half of a book which sustains its interest and its power to convince to the close. In spite of the difficulty of the subject, the author is never dull or weak. There is an excellent passage on pp. 322-325 on the conception of Jahaveh, which Dr. Robertson shows to have been common to people and prophets at least as early as the time of Amos and Hosea. On p. 331 one of the key-notes of the book is struck where the author insists on keeping clearly distinct the three subjects of (a) the origin of laws and observances, (b) the codification of laws, or the formal ratification of observances, and (c) the composition of the books in which we find the laws finally embodied or the ordinances described. Chapter xv. ("The Three Codes") is excellent, so is Chapter xvi. ("The Law Books").

I close this review with a feeling how inadequately justice has been done in it to one of the best books in the English language which has appeared within the last twenty-five years. A man who has at hand this book, and Dr. Salmon's Introduction, may feel comfortable as regards all that the critics say about the Old and New Testaments. Dr. Robertson has given battle to the recent critics on their own chosen ground (the development of religious history) and has defeated them. The fight has not been fought over linguistic and antiquarian trifles, but on the broad question, Are the statements of the Old Testament writers on the subject for which we chiefly appeal to them worthy of credit? Wellhausen and Kuenen answered No, and Dr. Robertson has met them point by point with a well-reasoned Yes.

W. E. BARNES.

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## Notes on Bible Words.

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No. XX.—"CONTRIBUTION."

CONTRIBUTION, Rom. xv. 26, "to make a certain contribution," is *κοινωνία*.

In the N.T. (as in class. Greek) this word *κοινωνία* means either *participation*, one's share in, or *intercourse*, fellowship.

I. ἡ κ. τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, "the communion of the Holy Ghost." (Vulg., *communicatio*.) Phil. ii. 1, and iii. 10.

1 Cor. x. 16, "is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" R.V. *margin*, "participation in." (Vulg. *participatio*.)

II. Gal. ii. 9, "the right hands of fellowship" (*dexteras . . . societatis*).

Acts ii. 42, "in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship." R.V. *margin*, "in fellowship." See Phil. i. 5, "for your fellowship." See, further, 1 John i. 3, 6.

A distinctly Christian sense of *κοινωνία* is *contribution*, jointly contributed benefaction; proof of fellowship: a use unknown to prof. authors.

Rom. xv. 26, *κοινωνίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι*, to make a contribution of some sort or other. Vulg., *conlationem aliquam facere*. Meyer explains the passage thus:

*To bring about a participation, in reference to the poor, i.e., to make a collection for them.* The contributor, namely, enters into fellowship with the person aided, in so far as he *κοινωνεῖ ταῖς χεραῖς αὐτοῦ*, xii. 13: *κοινωνία* is hence the characteristic expression for "almsgiving," without, however, having changed its proper sense *communio* into the active one of *communication*.<sup>1</sup>

2 Cor. viii. 4, "the fellowship in the ministering to the saints," and ix. 13.

Heb. xiii. 16, "to do good and to communicate [Prayer Book, "distribute"] forget not."

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## Poetry.

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### ON THE DEATH OF A DEAR FRIEND.

Oh well-beloved Friend,  
Call'd from our winter to the June on high,  
From earth's fourscore to young eternity,  
I cannot weep thine end.

When first I heard it told  
The heart's whole depth came sudden to a stand;  
For I remember'd how I held thy hand,  
A little child, of old,  
And, running at thy side,  
On those dear paths and green unbroken fields,  
Where now the villa-maker scoops and builds,  
My infant prattle plied.

Then o'er the spirit came  
A thousand scenes, of house, and church, and school,  
Memory's long landscape, spectral, beautiful,  
And thou in all the same.

Yet never tear would come:  
Dear true coëval of the vanish'd Blest,  
Thy proper place was where they walk at rest  
In their Redeemer's home.

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. xii. 13, *Having fellowship in the necessities of the saints.* Meyer.



We bless His truthful word  
 Who once, in parable,<sup>1</sup> withdrew the veil,  
 And taught us that, when here His servants "fail,"  
 The tidings there is heard,  
 And friends, with friendly feet,  
 Make haste, delighted at the glad event,  
 And lift the white door of the eternal tent,  
 The arriving friend to greet.

Ah, what a circle met  
 To welcome thee, with smiles and close embraces !  
 We know the voices, we have seen the faces ;  
 Nor we, nor they forget.

H. C. G. MOULE.

Dorchester, Jan. 1st, 1892.



## Reviews.

*The Church and her Doctrine.* London : Jas. Nisbet and Co.

THE essays which make up this book originally appeared in the columns of the *Record*. They are eleven in number. The Metropolitan of Australia writes on the Holy Trinity, and on the One Oblation of Christ. The Rev. C. H. Waller treats of the Incarnation. Canon Hoare discusses Justification and the Two Sacraments. The Sufficiency of Holy Scripture is entrusted to the congenial hands of Canon Girdlestone. Sir E. Laurie and the Bishop of Ossory write respectively upon Divine Judgment and the Communion of Saints. The Principal of Ridley Hall contributes an essay on the relation between doctrine and life, and another on the "I come" of our Lord. The series is completed by Prebendary Wace's essay on the Church.

It is unnecessary to add that the whole eleven are valuable contributions towards Church thought in the present day. They are conservative, and not afraid to say so ; charitable and yet precise ; learned and yet easily intelligible. Even where a reader could not agree with the conclusion arrived at, he would admit that the case was well and fairly put. There is no reason why these reprints should not prove extremely useful to the younger clergy and to thoughtful laymen.

But in view of certain discussions which are prominent at present, we are inclined to think that the most useful of the series is Dr. Wace's article on the Church. As he says himself, "There are few subjects in theology of more interest and importance than the doctrine of the Church." Especially is that the case at present, and we are convinced that there are numbers of the junior clergy who are waiting for some clear pronouncement in support of views which they are told are unfashionable and uncatholic, and yet which they intuitively feel to be correct. Outside of the heavier works, we could wish nothing better for such than Dr. Wace's essay. He begins by stating the importance of the subject, and that it has recurred incessantly, in century after century, from the earliest times. Obviously, the first thing is to define what is meant by "the Church." But here lies a difficulty—the term is so ambiguous ; and, of course, when

<sup>1</sup> St. Luke xvi. 9—"That, when ye fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles."

two significations of the same term are used in a syllogism fallacies are bound to result. "In any verbal confusion of this kind the only satisfactory course," says Dr. Wace, "is to fix our attention upon realities rather than words, and to ascertain what are the facts with which we have to deal." Turning to the Scriptures, the first of these facts is that the Church was established by Christ. It is thus a society of men united with Him and with each other. Christ is the Head, and the Holy Spirit is the life of this society of men. But, then, the second fact that follows is that this is not a visible society. Its members are united to Christ by spiritual bonds which cannot be discerned by outward observation. Hence we must draw a distinction between the Church and the churches—that is to say, various communities of Christians in various localities. The former is invisible, the latter are visible; the former is the Church of the redeemed, the latter the churches of Christendom. Practically, all theologians admit this; the difficulty arises from this question: If these visible communities make up a visible church, does membership in the true, invisible Church imply a membership in them? Yes, says Mr. Gore; the invisible is a part of the visible. Perhaps so, Dr. Wace answers, in the earlier ages. But the schism between West and East alone renders it now impossible to speak of the "one visible Church on earth." There is no such thing, and the Reformation insisted upon this distinction. An invisible society is not inconsistent with visible churches. Both exist, Christ founded both, and the difference between them is most important. On its recognition lies "the great issue between a truly evangelical Christianity and those perversions of the Gospel of which the Roman Church is the worst and most conspicuous" (p. 257).

On its recognition depends the issue between *Non est salus—extra Ecclesiam* on the one hand, or *extra Christum* on the other. The latter is Scriptural, Apostolical, and, above all, pronounced by Christ Himself; the former is due to the gradual growth of a diseased ecclesiasticism. A proof that communion with some particular visible society is an indispensable condition of salvation is only a comparatively modern idea, is furnished by the distracted state of the churches in St. Cyprian's time; and, Dr. Wace adds, the history of the same Bishop affords a striking commentary of the fact that so-called spiritual councils are not infallible. He refers to Cyprian's controversy with Novatian on the "lapsed," and the question arising therefrom upon the validity of heretical and lay baptism. Cyprian's answer was against such validity, and although opposed by other churches, he was confirmed by the seventh Council of Carthage. Here, then, was a decision on a spiritual subject given by a spiritual court—and it was afterwards universally acknowledged to be wrong. Dr. Wace quotes Archbishop Benson on this same point: "The conclusion reached by such an assembly uncharitable, unscriptural, uncatholic and unanimous." Moreover, in the Archbishop's opinion the mischief was corrected by the gradual work of the ordinary principles of Christian society, and especially amongst the laity. Therefore the mere reference of spiritual questions to a purely spiritual court seems from history to afford us no security at all against fatal error and injustice.

Dr. Wace next discusses the question of the right organization of visible churches. What are the essential qualifications—the "notes" of a true Church? Antiquity, succession, unity, universality and catholicity is the Roman answer. Dr. Wace adopts the answer expressed by Field. A Church must be Scriptural, sacramental, and regularly constituted. This he urges with great force and interest, and especially points out that Apostolic succession is no safeguard against error, quoting in support of this contention the prevalence of Arianism amongst the Church in the fourth century.

Continuing, Dr. Wace deals with the necessity of the threefold ministry in the Church. The principle may be admitted, but it should not, he urges, be exaggerated. For example, is it necessary for the secure enjoyment of sacramental grace? Mr. Gore says sacramental grace is "securely promised" on that condition alone, and that, too, under a "covenant" with God. But this is certainly not so in the case of Holy Baptism. Lay baptism, in case of necessity, is admitted on all hands to be valid. And in the case of Holy Communion this is certainly not the teaching of our Church, as regards cases of necessity. Where is any "covenant," such as Mr. Gore speaks of, to be found in Scripture, saying that Holy Communion cannot be administered at all, where no episcopally-ordained minister can be had? And Dr. Wace again quotes the letter in which the Caroline High Churchman, Dr. Cosin, advised a friend not to scruple to communicate with the French Protestants. Episcopal ordination may be essential to a duly constituted Church, but it is going too far to say that the Sacraments are never valid without it.

With reference to episcopal government, Dr. Wace urges that it is Scriptural and primitive, but that Apostolic succession is not always dependent on bishops in cases of necessity. This is the position of the foreign Reformed Churches. Not so, however, with English Nonconformists, who are schismatics. Our relation towards them is different from our relation towards, *e.g.*, the Lutheran Church of Germany.

Dr. Wace concludes his articles with some observations on the relations between the Church and the Civil Authority. "Spiritual" authority, he urges, is no safeguard against error or scandals. Even if it were, the authority of what is called "the Church" is nowadays not obtainable, and cannot be appealed to; and no one will claim a promise of immunity from error for particular churches. With regard to the authority of the Civil Power, the latter has a responsibility over the religion of the country. Especially so in our case, since we are what is called an "Established" Church. But it is, besides, a matter of principle. "The Inity, according to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, saved the Church of Africa from dangerous error in Cyprian's time; the lay power emancipated the Church of England from the abuses of the spiritual power at the Reformation; and it is essential at the present day to maintain that independent right of intervention in spiritual things which is represented by the Royal Supremacy" (p. 308).

At the present time such words have a more than ordinary value. The same may be said of the whole of Dr. Wace's essay. We have only given a bald and incomplete summary of its contentions; to gain the full benefit it will, of course, be necessary to read it entirely and carefully. Dr. Wace presents his abstract arguments in the clear and luminous style which has become associated with his name; he is decided, yet courteous; instructive, and yet pleasant. We may say of his essay in particular, what, indeed, is true of the whole collection, that it will prove a real boon to minds who feel the need of a forcible restatement of old and valued truths.

A.

*A Cyclopadia of Nature Teachings.* With an Introduction by HUGH MACMILLAN, LL.D., F.R.S.E. Elliot Stock. 1892.

TO all but the remote few, the barrier so long supposed to exist between the teaching of Science and Religion is slowly but surely disappearing. Not the least satisfactory feature in this welcome change is to be found in the fact that the desire for reconciliation is now as frequently to be met with on the side of theology as on that of science. Dr. Hugh Macmillan, who has always been a pioneer in this laudable movement, now recommends what may be called a companion to his "Bible Teachings in

Nature," such an admirable selection from eminent writers that the volume will probably be found as interesting to the student of science as it will certainly prove useful to the student of theology, for whose special benefit the work has been compiled. The eclectic catholicity with which the work has been undertaken may be gathered from the fact that the names which have been placed under tribute include those of Darwin, Huxley, Ruskin, Carlyle, Tyndall, Herschell, Goethe, Emerson, Cuvier, and many more almost as great as these.

The Church, it must be confessed, has been but slow in reaching the conclusion that God's works could not possibly teach one thing and His Word another, and has given but a half-hearted recognition to the suggestive question of the great Puritan poet—

What if the earth  
Be but the shadow of heaven, and things therein  
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?

This tardiness and indifference on the part of the theologian is all the more difficult to account for when one calls to mind that the Bible sets the greatest importance upon the open manifestation of the works of nature, and through poet, prophet, and apostle makes continual reference to the fact in endless variety of imagery, that the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork. The unknown poets of the Psalms, as well as the great Psalmist himself, were eloquent exponents of the higher ministry of nature. Like many poets in the modern times, in their hours of deep dejection, when

The weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world

had brought them down to the brink of despair, it was their habit of mind to seek relief in the assurances of nature; to fall back for comfort and consolation on the abiding phenomena of that mighty Kosmos that day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge, whose line has gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

There is certainly no authority from the Bible for regarding the study of Nature with indifference or distrust. The difference arose in a later stage of Christianity, of which we have still some fragments remaining. The revelations of geology, written on the rock for ever, are not only impossible to deny, but unsurpassed in their magnitude and sublimity, the immeasurable cycles of their vast chronology dwarfing man into the creature of a moment. And yet many in the Churches, even now, are unwilling to regard them. We look back and laugh at the Roman Church, which clung with such obstinacy to its belief that the earth was the centre of the universe long after Kepler, Copernicus, and Galileo had proved beyond question that it was nothing of the kind; while with regard to geology many sincere Christians are committing an exactly similar mistake. A limited knowledge is frequently the cause of scepticism, but those who wilfully reject the fuller manifestation which puts doubt out of the question, surely fall under the category of those unbelievers rebuked by St. Paul as being without excuse, because the invisible things of Him are clearly seen by the things that are made.

The separation of Nature from Religion was one of the earliest heresies of Christianity. The unaffected homeliness of the Gospels began to lose some of their simplicity even in the hands of the Fathers, and in the controversies of the scholastic theology which succeeded them nearly lost it altogether. Not the least of the miracles of Christianity was its power to outlive the interminable hair-splitting and logic-chopping of

the so-called fathers of scholastic theology, who were supposed to be its guardians from the really patristic period to the dawn of the Reformation.

Any movement such as that with which Dr. Macmillan has identified himself, and which is calculated to bring back the teaching of Christianity into the open air in which its earliest lessons were so frequently and eloquently exemplified with reference to nature, is one which ought to meet with general acceptance. It is most remarkable, as we have said, that a religion so closely associated with nature, continually illustrating its wealth of wisdom by a parabolic teaching taken from the common objects and occupations of country life, the labourers in the vineyard, the sower and the seed, the sheep and the shepherd, the fisherman and his net, the fig-tree and the vine, the wheat and the tares, and the lilies of the field should have so survived the frightful deterioration it suffered at the hands of the cell-grubbing scholiast of the Middle Ages. The test, however, only proved the possession of an indestructible germ. Christianity addresses itself to the unsophisticated heart of humanity, holding its place there by the purity and simplicity of its original atmosphere, its Divine helpfulness, and its luminous identity with the poetry of nature and the God of nature. Its relation to the elder dispensation points in the same direction. What are the favourite hymns of praise in the churches of to-day? The songs of a Syrian shepherd, who three thousand years ago pictured the green pastures and the quiet waters of his native land, the fruitful earth beneath him and the heavens above, "the work of Thy fingers, the moon and stars which Thou hast ordained;" the beauties of nature, "the work" of GOD.

The divorce between Nature and Religion is one that bears evil fruit on both sides. The atheistic student of nature is not less unlovely than the gloomy ascetic who regards all nature as under a curse, and therefore opposed to revelation. Time was when a blind indifference to the works of God was considered a proof of superior piety, and the indulgence of a love of nature as the mark of a carnal mind—a species of pietism still alive in the days of our grandfathers. That sweet singer of Nehemiah's court begins his beautiful "song of degrees" with the memorable words, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." But if he had written in this strain in the beginning of the present century, he would possibly have been called to book, as Wordsworth was, for his pantheistic tendencies. Dr. Macmillan's devout work, with similar teachings, may be taken as a proof, not only that these days are past, but that the conclusions of modern science, much as some of them have been suspected, will tend rather to build up than destroy the bulwarks of religion. The theory of evolution, long looked upon with such dread by the orthodox, is now beginning to be regarded, even by eminent Churchmen, as offering a more sublime conception of the Author of our being, and, instead of dispensing with the hand of a Creator and Preserver, seems to demand a more continuous intervention of that infinite power which brings into existence every living thing, than any other hypothesis ever declared to the world. The word "reveal," may be explained as the uncovering of the invisible, the removing of a veil; and undoubtedly Science has unveiled much. The teaching of Science, indeed, may either be used or abused. A man may build up his faith with it, or he may wrest it to his own destruction. It may deepen and enlarge the sphere of his own worship, or make him intolerant of that of his neighbour, just as it is received; but that is not the blame of true Science.

Agassiz long ago said that scientific systems are only translations into human language of the thoughts of the Creator; and we are finding out more and more the deep significance of these weighty words. Let

nobody imagine that such works as Dr. Macmillan's tempt anyone to forsake the good old paths. On the contrary, the volume before us gives renewed emphasis to that injunction contained in one of the oldest and most sacred poems—"Remember that thou magnify His work which men behold."

A LAYMAN.

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## Short Notices.

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*The Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Napier, Bart.* New and revised edition. Cassell and Co.

THE first edition of this Life of ex-Lord Chancellor Napier was reviewed in the *CHURCHMAN* by Canon Wynne. By the process of abridgment and omission, the present edition is, for the general reader at all events, much improved. It is now handy as to size, and a very readable book. A good many years ago, at a certain club, we used to meet Sir Joseph Napier, and enjoy conversation with him, the impression left being always of great intellectual power, and most decided attachment to religious principles, with a tolerant and kindly spirit.

*Pictured Palestine.* By JAMES NEIL, M.A. With eighty illustrations, pp. 320. Nisbet and Co.

Mr. Neil has done much in the way of teaching about Palestine by pictures and illustrations. "Palestine Explored," "Figurative Language of the Bible," and other well-known works of his are valuable; learned, with a remarkable measure of originality. The volume before us is interesting and full of information. It is printed in large type.

*Problems of Christianity and Scepticism.* By the Rev. Alex. J. HARRISON, B.D., Vicar of Lightcliffe, Evidential Missioner of the Church Parochial Mission Society, Lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society. Pp. 330. Longmans, Green and Co.

Here we have "Lessons from twenty years' experience in the field of Christian Evidence"; an ably-written and useful book.

*Prophecy an Evidence of Inspiration.* By MAXWELL M. BEN-OLIEL. Griffith, Farran and Co.

An interesting little book. Four extemporary discourses, taken down by a reporter, and revised; earnestly conservative.

*The Pulpit Commentary.—Job.* Exposition by Rev. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. Homiletics by Rev. T. WHITELAW, D.D. Homilies by various authors. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

We are pleased receive a Commentary on the Book of Job, at the present moment, which contains the opinions of so learned and judicious a divine as Canon Rawlinson. Upon three points we may quote him.

In his Introduction, after quoting Dr. Stanley Leathes and other commentators, he thus sums up: "If, however, on these grounds

“the *general* historical character of the Book of Job be admitted, it still remains to be considered whether human ingenuity and imagination has any part in it. Nothing was more common in antiquity than to take a set of historical facts, and expand them into a poem. . . . Looking to these precedents, to the general cast of the work, and to the difficulty of supposing that a real historical report of such long speeches as those of Job and his friends could have been made and handed down by tradition even to the earliest time at which anyone supposes that the Book of Job could have been written, critics generally have come to the conclusion that, while the narrative rests on a solid substratum of fact, in its form and general features, in its reasonings and representations of character, the book is a work of creative genius. From this conclusion the present writer is not inclined to dissent, though he would incline to the views of those who regard the author of Job as largely guided by the traditions which he was able to collect, and the traditions themselves as to a large extent trustworthy.”

In a section on the probable date of the Book Canon Rawlinson remarks that indications from the matter of the book, from its tone, and from its general style, strongly favour the theory of its high antiquity. The language is archaic, he writes, more akin to the Arabic than that of any other portion of the Hebrew Scriptures; full of Aramaisms, not of the later type, but such as characterize the antique style of parts of the Pentateuch, of the Song of Deborah, and of the earliest Psalms. The Book “*may* have been written,” adds the Canon, “some considerable time after Job’s death.”

In his comments on the celebrated passage xix. 25-27, Canon Rawlinson is conservative. Replying to Mr. Froude (“Short Studies”) that “a *goël* is the technical expression for the avenger of blood,” he remarks that Job was not expecting a violent death at the hands of a man. He points out Job’s desire for a *thirdsman* between him and God, ix. 32-35; Job’s conviction that his “*Witness* is in heaven,” xvi. 19, and longing—verse 21—for an *advocate* to plead his cause with God; Job’s calling upon God to be *surety* for him, xvii. 3. And after all this, it is not taking a very long step in advance to see in God his Goël, or Redeemer. Instead of “at the latter day upon the earth,” the Canon renders, “*at the last* (at the end of all things) *he shall stand up over my dust.*” Again. “After my skin has been thus destroyed, yet in my flesh (literally *from my flesh*) shall I see God.” Job is confident that he will see God “*from his body*” at the resurrection. The traditional exegesis is not even in these days, it will be seen, without maintainers.

We welcome another volume of the late Canon Liddon’s sermons—*Some Words of Christ* (Longmans, Green and Co.). The many friends of the great preacher will certainly add this volume to their store; and not a few of those who did not agree with all his opinions, but who honoured his faithfulness and admired his eloquence, will find the book very helpful in these restless and novelty-seeking days.

We are pleased to invite attention to an excellent little book for children, *The Judges and Kings of Israel*, by Miss Aley Fox (London :

Simplkin, Marshall, and Co ; Leeds : Walker and Laycock). Miss Fox's work is carefully done ; the style is simple and pleasing. This volume, we may add, is a companion to the "Patriarchs and Kings of Israel."

A second edition of *The Church Systems of England in the Nineteenth Century* has been issued by the Congregational Union of England and Wales (Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street). The author, Mr. Guinness Rogers, as is well known, is clever and forcible. That he is free from prejudice, and shows due proportion, many of his friends, no doubt would confidently assert. The book, as we said some years ago, is well worth reading.

We have received from Messrs. Macmillan and Co. a new edition of Dr. Farrar's Hulsean Lectures in 1870, *The Witness of History to Christ*. Of this book, of course, there have been several editions ; and most of our readers, probably, are acquainted with it. Many passages in it are of the highest in attractive power, and the book, as a whole, has a special value.

The eighth volume of "Short Biographies for the People" (R.T.S.) is a good specimen of an excellent series. Professor Sedgwick and Mackay, of Uganda, are two of the twelve biographies.

The Religious Tract Society have published a well-printed, cheap edition of Secker's *The Non-such Professor*, which first appeared in 1660. The aim of the pious author was to make "excellent Christians."

*Victory at Last* (Elliot Stock) is a well-written and wholesome Tale, a good deal better than the average run of religious stories. A cheap and very pleasing gift-book.

*The Law and the Prophets*, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1882, by the Rev. F. Watson (T. Fisher Unwin), was recommended in the CHURCHMAN when it was published. For the sake of an esteemed correspondent, "An Old-fashioned Conservative," we repeat our praise of Mr. Watson's work ; and many of our readers probably, at the present moment, may be glad to hear of a learned and vigorous reply to Kuenen, which does not require a knowledge of either Greek or Hebrew. Mr. Watson puts the case as it really is. We give a specimen quotation :

"To return to the thought with which we began ; the modern theory of the Old Testament seems to me to overthrow that preparation for Christ which we saw at once was so beautiful and so necessary. When we have been reading our Old Testament, we have seen—or did we only think we saw?—a gradual development in God's dealings with the race. The Patriarchal, the Law-giving, the Prophetical ages seemed to follow one another in due course. There was a period of Infancy, when laws were few and simple. There was a period of Youth, when laws were many and to be obeyed for obedience sake. There was a period of Manhood, when principles gradually took the place of laws, when exterior obedience was as nothing except as the fruit of the interior obedience of the heart. But, if the traditional theory is, as a



“whole, a confusion and a mistake ; if the earliest books are the latest, “and the latest the earliest ; if the basis of the teaching is in reality the “development ; if the spiritual principles came first, and the formal “precepts afterwards ; if first you have the freedom of the man, and then “the bondage of the child ; if the facts which teach Divine truths more “powerfully than words, are only mythical embodiments of those truths: “then it must be confessed that the picture of God’s dealings in the Old “Testament, on which we have so often gazed with admiration and “delight, is a creation of human fancy. However beautiful, it is not “true. The development of the Old Testament is a stage development, “not a development of real life. The record of the life of the human “race is not a history, but a romance.”

We have received from Messrs. Isbister and Co. another volume of Archbishop Magee’s Sermons, *Christ the Light of all Scripture*. Like its companion volume, it is edited by Mr. Charles S. Magee, Barrister-at-Law. We have read the discourses, ten in number, with the greatest pleasure. The Charge delivered in 1872 is added.

The Bishop of St. Andrews has given to the Church a series of discourses, entitled *Primary Witness to the Truth of the Gospel* (Longmans). The sermons are excellent. But the Charge delivered last autumn is especially welcome, for it deals with recent critical teaching on the Old Testament. The Bishop quotes Canon Girdlestone’s book, “Foundations of the Bible,” and refers to “The Law in the Prophets,” by Dr. Stanley Leathes, and also to “The Law and the Prophets,” by Rev. F. Watson.

We are much pleased with *The Choral Service Book for Parish Churches* (Seeley and Co.). It is an excellent selection, in a convenient and inexpensive form ; admirably adapted in every way for musical services in “parish churches.” Mr. J. W. Elliott, by whom the book has been compiled and edited, has done his work with singular skill and judgment.

From Messrs. S. Bagster and Sons we have received a cheap and tasteful edition of *The Christian Year*.

The *Critical Review* (T. and T. Clark) has several good papers ; among them is a favourable notice of Dr. Robertson’s “Early Religion of Israel,” a work strongly recommended in the April CHURCHMAN.

The Rev. Charles Bullock, B.D., has sent us an interesting little book, *Prince Edward* ; one of his timely and useful biographical sketches (“Home Words” office).

In the new *Quarterly Review* the articles to which most Churchmen will first turn are those on Archbishop Thomson and Dean Burgon. Both are valuable. At the head of the former is placed Mr. Bullock’s admirable little biography, “The People’s Archbishop.” The *Quarterly* review of “The Life and Teachings of Mohammed,” by Syed Ameer Ali, a Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal, apparently a curious sign of the times, is exceedingly interesting. Other *Quarterly* articles are “The French Decadence,” “Snakes,” “State Pensions for Old Age,” “Culture and Anarchy,” and “The Queen’s Messenger ;” altogether we have a very readable *Quarterly*, well varied and excellent.