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THE

# CHURCHMAN

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MARCH, 1893.

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ART. I.—“THE DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH.”<sup>1</sup>

THE labours of the new critics of the Old Testament Scriptures have awakened a degree of alarm in the religious world which neither the results of their investigations nor the principles which guided them seem to justify. The very title-deeds of our faith were threatened with destruction. It seemed as though the fate of the donation of Constantine, or of the forged decretals, would fall upon them. The process of disintegration was so rapid, the spirit of hypercriticism so bold, that the very suddenness of the attack seemed to paralyze, for a moment, the defenders of the faith of our fathers, while the unquestioned learning of the assailants cast a glamour over their attack, and its very novelty commended the “higher criticism,” as it superciliously claimed to be, to minds which had never thought over the difficulties of the ancient Scriptures with a view to their reconciliation. The tendency of the modern school of doctrine, out of which this movement sprang, has been to separate the books of the Scripture, and to regard the great work as a bundle of tracts—a kind of library of ancient books, rather united by the skill of those who combined them, than forming one vast work—presenting a unity of design and a symmetry of structure which no human work extending over so vast a period could ever claim to possess.

The “City of God,” which the great Latin Father was able to build up in proof of the grandeur and continuity of the work of God from the beginning, in the hands of the new critics is but a fond dream—a vision of beauty that had no existence but in the mind of the Church. It never seems to

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<sup>1</sup> A brief review of “The Documents of the Hexateuch,” translated and arranged by W. E. Addis, M.A., Balliol College. (Nutt, 1892.)

occur to them that those who are able to view at a glance the entire building, even at a distance, are better qualified to judge of its design and plan than men who are merely engaged in examining with a microscope the minutest features of its masonry or ornamentation. The true critic is he who, in the words of Milton, is able to see that the perfection of a building "consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes which are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure."<sup>1</sup> From the higher standpoint of a reasonable faith, if we do not altogether lose sight of these moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes, we are at least able to estimate them and to weigh against them the unique symmetry and the sublime unity of plan and purpose which have commended the whole pile and structure to the faithful of every age and race.

The "new criticism," according to its latest advocates, is spread over so extended a surface, and overweighted with so vast a body of learning, that its reduction to a regular system has been absolutely necessary to enable the ordinary reader to see it clearly and fully. This need has been well supplied in the recent admirable *résumé* entitled "The Documents of the Hexateuch, translated and arranged in chronological order, with introduction and notes, by W. E. Addis, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford" (Nutt, 1892). In the introduction the author recapitulates the history of the new criticism on the Pentateuch, passing on through all its stages, from the mysterious hint of Aben Ezra to the formulated principle of Astruc (1753), continued by Eichhorn, who is described as "a dry German rationalist, a man of acute mind, and an Oriental scholar of great learning" (p. xxi.). Yet this "dry rationalist," in his profoundly learned "Einleitung in das Alte Testament," has vindicated the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch with all the acuteness of mind and all the wealth of learning with which he is here so justly credited. The attempt to sever the documents of the Hexateuch (Joshua being regarded as inseparably connected with the five preceding books), has been, we are told, continued with unabated ardour at the present day. "In one sense," our author admits, "it is quite true that no one of the theories which have succeeded one another has held its ground," and that "there is still serious dispute." The conflicting materials were so multiplied that it was necessary to multiply the witnesses. Astruc and Eichhorn had only seen two independent elements, but the microscope of their successors discovered first an anonymous author,

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<sup>1</sup> "Areopagitica."

whom they term the "priestly writer"—the Deuteronomist being placed as a distinct author somewhat earlier. We arrive, therefore, at a fourfold authorship—the Jahvist (as he is termed), the Elohist, the Priestly Writer, and the Deuteronomist. Yet the relative dates of the two first are left absolutely uncertain, precedence being given by one critic to the former, by another to the latter. Equally insoluble is the mode in which the narratives were united (p. xxxii.). The divided authors soon became legion. When Kuenen came on the scene, he brought with him this distracting array of authors: 1. The Jahvist; 2. The Elohist; 3. The combined Jahvist and Elohist; 4. The Deuteronomist; 5. The Priestly Writer. To make confusion worse confounded, the later discoveries have detected a second Deuteronomist and a second Jahvist. Besides the authors thus multiplied, and doubtless to be multiplied much further, we are introduced to several distinct editors, or redactors, of the work in its different combinations. These different writers are represented by means of algebraic symbols, derived from the first letters of their name, viz., J—E—R—D—P, the different Deuteronomists being indicated as D<sup>1</sup> D<sup>2</sup>, the Jahvists by J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup>, while R is used for the redactor, or editor, R<sup>J<sup>E</sup></sup> signifying the editor who combined the Jahvist and Elohist narratives, and R<sup>H</sup> for the employer of the same welding process in regard to the whole Hexateuch.

We may well affirm that no document which has ever existed in the world has suffered such wanton and capricious tyranny at the hands of its judges and critics, and that not the most complete and authentic work of any human writer has ever undergone such treatment from the most relentless doubter of its authenticity.

But it must occur to every impartial inquirer, and, indeed, to every reasonable mind, "If this most ingenious and elaborate theory of a series of compilations from earlier works upon which the compilers set so high a value"—a work carried on during the historic period, for the so-called "Priestly Code" is brought down as late as B.C. 444—"be admitted, where are the originals?" It is not usual for the compiler to destroy his authorities, even to the extent of obliterating their very names. The historical books of the Old Testament tell us of several books that have perished, but record their names as the Book of Jasher, the Book of the Wars of the Lord, the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah, the Chronicles of King David. The writers had transferred these portions of history to their own works, and therefore the preservation of the originals was unnecessary. Besides this, they had not the sacred character which the Mosaic writings possessed. To

reduce this contention to its simplest form, I venture to offer these conclusions :

I. Even if we admit that Genesis has in it two distinct elements, this does not involve the denial of its Mosaic authorship. Eichhorn, who was the first to complete the theory of the twofold element, is the most zealous assertor of the Mosaic origin of the whole Pentateuch.

II. In the prehistoric age, when all was traditional, and before the narrative of events could become embodied in a written form, the sources of it were necessarily anonymous.

III. But in the historic age, when documents became multiplied, a work cited from another one is always mentioned by name, as, "The Book of the Wars of the Lord," Num. xxi. 14; "The Book of Jasher," Joshua xviii. 9, 2 Sam. i. 18; "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," 1 Kings xiv. 9; "Chronicles of King David," 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

IV. The new critics bring down the age of the Pentateuch from the fifteenth century B.C. to the eighth, thus bringing it from the prehistoric to the historic period. Deuteronomy is brought down still later, while the so-called Priestly Code is fixed as late as the year 444 B.C.

V. All these books, therefore, had their origin in the historic period, when documents were carefully preserved, and when the Jews, above all races, were jealous for the preservation of their national records. Is it, then, possible that they would have destroyed the original authorities for their history directly they had employed them, and left us not even their names? Why should we not have any reference to the Jahvist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist, or the Priestly Writer, and have a direct, and not indirect and sinister, indication of the composite character of the narrative?

VI. The root of the chronology of the new critics is the date of Deuteronomy,<sup>1</sup> which is assumed to have been not only *discovered*, but *written*, in the reign of Josiah. Eichhorn shows at length the groundlessness of this assumption, and its extreme improbability.

VII. If this date is surrendered the whole fabric of Pentateuchal chronology which has been built upon it must fall with it, for it is the keystone of the whole building.

VIII. But even this date, if fixed, would give us no means of determining the rival claims of the Jahvist and the Elohist for priority, a question which is still in dispute among the disciples of the new criticism.

IX. It is generally admitted, and Eichhorn successfully shows, that the archaic forms of Genesis separate it in point of

<sup>1</sup> Introd., p. xxxvii.

time from all the after-literature of the Hebrews. The fixture of the date of Deuteronomy cannot therefore be a safe clue to the date of Genesis.

Many other considerations of this kind must suggest themselves to the mind of every intelligent student of the new criticism, but perhaps none will present greater difficulties than the groupings of the various writers who are supposed to have been combined in the editorship or redaction of the whole work. The severance between the authors having been arbitrarily carried out, though with such a severe conflict among the critics as to make it difficult to discern the common principle which unites them, the process of reconstruction begins—and here the difficulties become still more insuperable. At this point we have recourse to the words of our author (Introduct., p. xxxiv.):

"There are moreover various theories as to the various strata in the documents, those strata being generally marked as D<sup>1</sup> D<sup>2</sup>, J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup>, etc. Finally, there is a difference of opinion on the way in which J was united with E, Dillmann being opposed to the common view that J and E were united together before they were united with the rest of the Hexateuch; and there is much wider difference of opinion on the way in which JE came to form one with D and JED with P. Of course the number of editors or redactors assigned must vary with theories on the mode in which the component documents were united. The letter R is generally used to denote an editor or redactor, and so we have R<sup>JE</sup> for the editor who is supposed to have united J and E, R<sup>H</sup> for the editor who united the whole Hexateuch, etc., etc."

Here again we find confusion worse confounded. We have scarcely become acquainted with the body of authors whom the new critics have discovered and christened, when we find ourselves surrounded by a crowd of editors engaged in combining and condensing their original works. We seem to see Paternoster Row carried back to the earliest scenes of the world's history, and to witness the anticipation of the latest methods and appliances of modern literature, even in the pre-historic period. Happily, both the authors and editors are mere phantoms—creations of the sanguine minds of conflicting theorists; they are rather like dissolving-views than actual pictures, and theory succeeds theory so rapidly that we have hardly time to realize their forms before we find them superseded by others. But to speak more seriously, is it, I ask, possible that, in the dimness of the early dawn of history and literature—at a moment when events were passing from the vagueness and uncertainty of tradition into the pages of recorded history—artificers could be found sufficiently skilful

to weave together a narrative so unique in all its features, so continuous in all its parts, as that which we see before us in the Pentateuch, and which so consistently unites itself with the later devotional and prophetic elements of the Old Testament? If such editors ever existed, is it possible that not only their names could be lost, but that not even a hint of their very existence should have been given in their several compilations? The history of the new criticism, short as it is, has taught us that the process of disintegration is not only a very easy but a very rapid one. When once we begin it we must go on. At the rate at which the work has proceeded hitherto, and with the accelerated pace at which the new critics are travelling, the Bible will soon be rent to pieces like the limbs of Osiris, and we shall have to wander about in despair to gather up the few fragments that remain of what we dare yet, in our presumed ignorance, to call the Word of God, and in our infatuation to believe that "it remaineth for ever."

The fascination which has been excited by the new criticism arises from four principal causes—(1) its novelty, (2) its boldness, (3) its ingeniousness, (4) the unquestionable learning of those who have been its advocates.

(1) The novelty of the theory of the divided authorship of the Pentateuch and the new chronology it has introduced, commended it naturally to those who had recognised numerical and chronological difficulties in the work, and who had not attempted to solve them by those arguments and explanations which had been hitherto accepted by theological writers. These persons, startled at so new and specious a plan for their solution, very readily accepted any theory which appeared to solve them so easily. To make the "rough places plain" by a process of levelling the field of Scripture was a method which (as St. Augustine says of the mere reliance on authority) "*magnum compendium est et nullus labor.*" If every method of reconciling "brotherly dissimilitudes" and preserving those irregularities which constitute the greatest proof of the originality of the whole work, and save the writers from the charge of collusion, fails, we might have recourse to such a plan. But has every means of reconciliation failed? Has every means been even tried? We are dealing (it is confessed) with documents of immense antiquity; they are presented to us in a language of singular rudeness of structure and primitive simplicity, which give them an obscurity which modern languages, in their verbal refinements, altogether escape. We need not have recourse to novel expedients until we have proved the utter inadequacy of all former methods of explanation, or divorce the members of the

Divine Word until we find that their reconciliation is impossible.

(2) But if the novelty of the new criticism commends it to the minds of those who, like the Athenians in the days of St. Paul, spend their time "in nothing else but either to tell or hear some new thing," its boldness has no less powerful an influence over the weak and unstable who are swayed with every wind of doctrine. The new attack upon the citadel of our faith is so unexampled in its boldness and suddenness that it comes upon such as these with an irresistible force. It is planned so artfully and carried out with such vigour and resolution that too many are willing to surrender their faith at discretion and submit without a struggle to all the conditions imposed by the enemy. It professes to deal summarily with all the difficulties and incongruities which appear on the surface of the ancient Scriptures, and thus to relieve its followers of the task which the wisdom of God imposes upon all His children, not only of "proving all things" but of "holding fast those things which are good." If the difficulties of the natural world have not been cleared up for us, we can hardly expect the still deeper mysteries of the spiritual world to be so fully solved as to leave us with a perfect knowledge, and thus to destroy the very principle and design of faith.

Like the nations which were left unsubdued by Joshua, "that through them God might prove Israel," the difficulties of Scripture are left as a proof and test of the faith of the Church, and to show that doubts and perils must still harass her in her progress towards a final settlement in the land of her promise. The ordinary Christian need not therefore be terrified at the boldness of the attack which has been made on the evidences of his faith. If he falls back from the work of a confessedly uncertain criticism to the higher labour of reconciling apparent contradictions, removing difficulties, making a just allowance for the diversities of statement for which the immense scope of the subject and the obscurities of the language sufficiently account, there is nothing to discourage him in his work. The brilliancy of the light of the new criticism may dazzle his eye for a moment, but it will soon recover its clearness as he pursues his more righteous labour. He will not readily exchange the belief of the Jewish and Christian Churches, unclouded for thousands of years, for the most plausible theories which change from day to day—a kaleidoscope which presents at every turn new features and new combinations, a series of dissolving-views which have a brief life, and then pass into another destined to be as brief.

(3) And if neither the novelty nor the boldness of the new criticism need awaken terror in his mind, still less need the

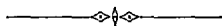


almost unexampled ingenuity with which it has been ushered into the world. For, not to make mention of the orthodox writers, whose ingenuity was rather exercised in reconciling differences and solving doubts than in creating and increasing them, if he turns to the great work of Eichhorn, already described, he will find that as great a degree of ingenuity can be exercised in defence of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as any which can be arrayed against it. Ingenuity is a net which catches the minds of all who look rather for superficial than solid argument, and is specially attractive to the younger inquirer. But it is often very deceptive. It often turns mere casual coincidences into designed affinities, and draws inferences of the greatest importance out of the most simple and incidental statements. It is the very paradise of theorists, and the most cunning of the craftinesses of those who go about to deceive. We cannot therefore but look with suspicion on the recent results of its exercise, and very carefully weigh against them the evidence of those who through the long ages of the world's history have arrived at beliefs and convictions which they are designed to overthrow. We have in matters of such supreme importance to deal not only with actual facts and critical difficulties, but with probabilities, with arguments derived from the order and course of Providence, with moral evidences, and many collateral facts, whose due observation must tend to strengthen our faith in the integrity and antiquity of the sacred records. To the wise and prudent these must greatly outweigh the theories and conjectures which rather unsettle everything than give us any clear and solid foundation for the faith they propose to reconstruct, or perhaps to leave as a venerable ruin.

(4) The unquestionable learning of the authors and advocates of the new criticism has undoubtedly had a powerful influence in the reception and propagation of their theories. But we may well claim for Eichhorn a degree of general and Oriental learning unsurpassed by any of his successors in the criticism of the Old Testament Scriptures. The vast and profound stores of learning which the introduction to his "Einleitung" opens to the reader, extending to nearly a thousand pages, is perhaps unequalled by any similar work; and when at its conclusion he boldly vindicates the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the unlearned may well feel strengthened and encouraged in their first faith, and leave the more modern critics to continue their theoretical warfare, and to carry on their work of disintegration until they find a separate author for every separate word. In the meantime, our best defence is determinately to regard the ancient Scriptures as a whole, and not, by reading them in detached frag-

ments, to lose the sense of their unity, and thus to familiarize our minds with the very principle which the new criticism has adopted and so destructively carried out. In the next place, we must endeavour clearly to keep in view the main design of the entire work, which was to declare and enforce the supreme doctrine of the unity of the Deity in the face of the most debasing Polytheism and the most degrading superstitions. All subordinate and dependent portions of the work fall into order and harmony when once their grand design is kept steadily before the eye. Next, we must bear in mind that we cannot meet on common ground with those whose starting-point is the absolute rejection of all miraculous action in the government of the world. With these it is needless to argue, and, like the early Christians, we must oppose our faith to their incredulity; in the words of Bacon, "*Melius est credere quam scire qualiter nunc scimus.*" And the same words may be said of every age and of every stage of advancement in science and knowledge, for we must still be content to the very end to "know in part and prophesy in part." Nor must we surrender in this great conflict with the infidelity of the age the testimony of the "great cloud of witnesses" who have gone before us, and whose faith we are so emphatically called upon to follow at a moment when their evidence is being openly disregarded and disputed. If we concede for a moment the possibility that the Church has for eighteen centuries been walking in a vain shadow and disquieting herself in vain, that she has been deserted by Him who promised to lead her into all truth, and tempted to distrust His words when He referred to the law as "given by Moses," and to David as "writing of Him," we shall soon be led to surrender one truth after another, until the lamp of faith, instead of shining more and more brightly until the dawn of the perfect day breaks over us, will grow fainter and fainter, until it leaves us at last in the darkness of a hopeless infidelity. It would be well for everyone who is tempted for any of the reasons here suggested to leave the "old paths" to consider seriously whither the new path proposed to him as a "more excellent way" must inevitably lead him, and how impossible it will become for him to retrace his steps if he makes a single advance upon it, or to secure again the precious treasure of a reasonable faith when he has bartered it for capricious and ever-changing theories which may be after all the mere delusions of too much learning and a misdirected ingenuity.

ROBERT C. JENKINS.



## ART. II.—VALLADOLID AND SPAIN IN 1559 AND 1892.

I. 1559, MAY 21; OCTOBER 8.

VALLADOLID became the royal residence in the fifteenth century, in the reign of Juan II., King of Leon and Castile. It at once grew into a place of great importance, and its population increased till it reached 50,000. Enrique IV. and Isabel held their court there, and it was the favourite residence of Charles V., who thought that its bracing air was good for his constitution. During his reign and that of his immediate predecessors the town—it was not yet a city—was enriched with churches, convents, colleges and other edifices. Here Philip II. was born, who bestowed upon his native place the title of city. Its most flourishing period was the earlier part of the reign of Philip II., before the latter had conceived the idea of transferring the court to Madrid. We will suppose ourselves to be in Valladolid in the last year before the transference was effected, on Trinity Sunday, May 21, and on Sunday, October 8, 1559.

On Trinity Sunday, at sunrise, the great bell of the Dominican Convent began to toll, in preparation for a great Act of Faith. At 6 a.m. a procession was formed at the doors of the Holy Office. First were ranged a company of Dominican friars, two and two, preceded by the banner of the order, representing St. Dominic holding a sword in one hand and an olive branch in the other, symbols of justice and mercy. After the friars there was held a lofty crucifix. Then, each accompanied by two familiars of the Holy Office, came sixteen penitents of the Inquisition, dressed, men and women, in black: these were to suffer penalties, but not to lose their lives. Then, each accompanied by two friars, came fourteen adjudged impenitent, in the *sambenito* and tall caps, those that were to be strangled before burning being without devils depicted on their dresses, those that were to be consigned alive to the flames bedizened with devils and tongues of fire: penitents and impenitents were alike barefooted, and each carried a taper in his or her hand. Then followed a man bearing a coffin on his head, and by his side a tall woman's figure in pasteboard. Last came the civil magistrates, high ecclesiastics, and the officials of the Holy Office with the banner of the Inquisition, followed by a vast crowd.

Having passed through the town, the procession filed into the Great Square. Here, along one side, had been erected a platform, in the centre of which stood an altar with twelve candles burning on it, in the midst of which the crucifix was deposited. On one side of the altar the Inquisitors took their

seats; the other side was reserved for the royal family, and there sat the Regent Juana, sister of Philip II., and Don Carlos, his son, attended by the chief nobles of Spain. The accused were placed on a raised stand in front of the platform, and the space behind them was filled by an enormous multitude.

The proceedings began by a sermon preached by Melchior Cano, Bishop of the Canaries, who felt it the more necessary to show his abhorrence of Protestantism that he was himself looked on askance by the Jesuits. The sermon being ended, the accused for the first time heard what they were charged with, and what was supposed to be proved against them. To the sixteen who were to be "reconciled," that is, not burnt, various penalties were assigned, as imprisonment, whipping, walking barefoot, reciting prayers, wearing the *sambenito*. The fourteen were condemned to the flames for heresy, together with the bones contained in the coffin, which were those of a lady well known in Valladolid.

By the time that the sentences were all given, it was two o'clock. Then two processions were formed: one, consisting of the "reconciled," returned to the Holy Office; the other, formed of those that were condemned to death (technically called "relaxed"), were carried on the backs of asses to the Quemadero, or Burning Place, in the Campo Grande, just outside the town. Of the spectators a few withdrew, the rest hurried to the Campo Grande. In the Quemadero there had been fixed fifteen stakes surrounded by faggots, and there were officially present the civil magistrates, to whom the ecclesiastics had handed their prisoners, with the prayer that they might be treated tenderly, and, if they were put to death, that it might not be by effusion of blood.

The first to approach his stake was Augustin Cazalla. He had been a pupil of Archbishop Carranza, a Canon of Salamanca, and preacher to the Emperor Charles V. In the last capacity he had distinguished himself in his controversies with the German and Flemish Protestants. But while refuting Protestantism he became convinced that it was right. He returned at the end of ten years to Valladolid, and, living in the house of his mother, Leonora de Vibero, organized the Protestants of Valladolid with the help of Dominic de Roxas. Seized by the Inquisition and tortured, his courage gave way, and he expressed sorrow for what he had done; but by that weakness he earned only death by strangling in place of fire. His body was burnt to ashes. Next to him stood his brother Francisco, who refused to purchase the easier death by a false confession. He was burnt alive. Another victim was a goldsmith named Garcia. His wife had watched him to a Protestant meeting and denounced him, and for her service she

received a public annuity. A fourth was a lawyer, Herrezuelo. He and his wife had been carried together to the prisons of the Inquisition. On meeting again at the *Auto-da-fé*, he saw that she had not on the *sanbenito*, and knew thereby that she had recanted. Passing her with disdain, he went on to his fiery doom. But his wife would not be comforted. Again she declared herself Protestant, and a few years later was burnt.

The coffin contained the bones of Leonora de Vibero, mother of the Cazallas (Spanish wives did not at this time bear their husband's names). She had died with all the rites of the Roman Church, but a Protestant under torture had confessed that she had allowed Protestant meetings to be held in her house. Thereupon her memory was declared infamous, her goods confiscated, her bones dug up, and the coffin containing them was burnt, together with a figure representing her clothed in the *sanbenito* and tall cap. Nor was this all: her house was razed to the ground and the site sown with salt, and on it was erected a pillar of white stone, six feet high, declaring Leonora's crime and inscribed with the names of the King and the Pope, which was only destroyed by the French in 1809. Could not that site be obtained for a church by the Reformed Spanish Church of 1892?

On October 8, 1559, a similar scene was enacted at Valladolid, but on a grander scale. Philip II. was himself present, with his sister, Juana, his son, Don Carlos, the Prince of Parma, and most of the grandees of Spain. No fewer than 200,000 people gathered in Valladolid for the spectacle. At the *Auto-da-fé* of Trinity Sunday the Inquisitor had (for the first time) exacted an oath from the Regent and the Prince that they would defend the Inquisition, and reveal anything that came to their knowledge which might be for its harm. Juana had taken the oath as a matter of course, and Don Carlos with a frowning brow and hatred for Inquisitors in his heart. On the present occasion, Philip II., in reply to the Inquisitor-General's adjuration, "Domine adjuva nos," gladly took the oath, showing his willingness to do so by drawing his sword and raising it in the air as he pronounced the words. At this *Auto-da-fé* thirteen men and women were "relaxed," that is, committed to the flames, and sixteen "reconciled," that is, condemned to perpetual imprisonment or other penalties. One of those condemned to death was Carlos di Seso, a Veronese, who had married a Castilian wife. As he passed by the royal balcony to receive his sentence, he turned to Philip and said: "Is it thus that you allow your innocent subjects to be persecuted?" "If my own son were such as thou," returned Philip, "I would fetch the wood to burn him." And he ordered him to be gagged. Dominic de Roxas was also taken gagged to the stake.

It was he that had first engaged Augustin Cazalla in the work of reform. Another gagged in like manner was Juan Sanchez, who was seized in the Netherlands and sent thence to Spain. The gag was a split piece of wood, which, besides silencing, had the additional advantage of giving pain to the sufferer.

When the sentences had all been given, Philip II. proceeded in state to the Campo Grande and there witnessed the thirteen martyrs perish at the stake, his guards helping the friars to heap up the faggots.

Let it be understood that the sole fault of the sufferers in 1559 was their holding Protestant opinions and occasionally meeting secretly together for the consolation of common prayer. Is it to be wondered at that while in 1559 there were a thousand Protestants in Valladolid and a thousand in Seville, in 1560 there was not one in either city? All of them had been burnt, or strangled, or exiled, or imprisoned, or driven into conformity. Not till 1868 did anyone dare to separate himself from the Roman Church and call himself a Protestant or Reformer.

## II. 1892, NOVEMBER 25 ; DECEMBER 15.

Valladolid and Spain of the nineteenth century are very different from the Valladolid and Spain of the sixteenth. The city of Valladolid itself is totally changed. The former residence of the kings of Spain is sunk into a provincial town, with less than half of the inhabitants that it once had, and, worse than this, it has lost its distinctive Spanish character—so many of its ancient buildings have been destroyed—and has the appearance of a second-rate French city. The very next year after the *Auto-da-fés* had been held, Philip II. sounded the note for its ruin by transferring the Court to Madrid, an error which his son vainly attempted to retrieve in 1601. From 1560 Valladolid has been slowly perishing. But there were times when ruin fell upon it as a strong man armed. Its first blow was the great fire of 1561, which lasted for three days. On that occasion much that was characteristic of the old city perished, and, among other things, the buildings that marked the spot where the spectacle of the *Auto-da-fés* had been held. In their place was erected by Philip II. the present Plaza Mayor, surrounded by arcades supported on granite pillars brought from the quarries of Villacastin. We cannot therefore now fix the exact site where each event of the *Auto-da-fé* took place. We cannot say, Here stood the pulpit from which Melchior Cano preached, or There was the spot where the Regent Juana and Don Carlos sat on Trinity Sunday, May 21st, or where Philip II. drew his sword to show his zeal in the

defence of the Inquisition on October 8th. But we know the locality within which these things were done. And we can visit the site of the Quemadero—the Burning Place—where the twenty-seven martyrs perished in the flames. The Burning Place is now the Campo Grande—a public garden, laid out with flowers and shrubs and winding paths and avenues, where the Valladolese walk unmindful of the past. The martyrs' ashes have been found at the burning-places of Valladolid, Seville and Madrid.

The next great calamity, after the fire of 1561, which befell Valladolid was the invasion of the French, who sacked the city December 26th, 1808. Bonaparte took up his quarters in it the next month; and during his residence, and that of his lieutenants, convents and churches were razed to the ground. The Trinitarios Descalzos, the Carmin de los Calzados, the San Juan di Letran, the San Pablo, Santiago, etc., fell before them. San Pablo was a Dominican convent, rebuilt by the first Inquisitor-General, Torquemada. It was burnt by Napoleon because one French private soldier was killed, or was said to be killed, within it—"Sa majesté a ordonné la suppression du Couvent des Dominicains, dans lequel un Français a été tué." Torquemada burnt 10,220 men and women of the best blood of Spain and went down to his grave unscathed. One Frenchman was possibly done to death in his convent and it was swept from the face of the earth.

"Claras ille abstulit urbi  
Illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo :  
Sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus  
Cœperat. Hoc nocuit Lamiarum cœde madenti."

If Valladolid has lost its antiquities, and therefore its Spanish appearance, it is still a clean, neat city, with good streets and fine-looking modern houses, and morally it has made an advance which would make Philip II. shudder. On Friday, November 25th, 1892, the Archbishop of Dublin, accompanied by the Bishop of Clogher, the writer and a Scottish gentleman, arrived at the railway-station, and were met by the Rev. J. B. Cabrera, Bishop-elect of the Reformed Spanish Church, and the Rev. Señor Martinez, the clergyman of the Reformed congregation of Valladolid. We have seen that in 1559 the bones of Leonora de Vibero were dug up and burnt at the Quemadero because it was discovered, after her death, that she had lent her house for the meetings of some Protestants, and a monument of her crime was erected on the site of her house, which remained standing to the year 1809. In 1892 the Archbishop and his companions slept peacefully at a hotel, and the next day attended a service in the chapel in which

Señor Martinez officiates, and the Archbishop confirmed fourteen members of his flock. No Philip II. to prevent them; no Inquisitor-General Valdès! THE LAW is above kings, queens, popes and inquisitors, and the people have no objection to the presence of Protestants. In 1559 the thousand Protestants of Valladolid were burnt, imprisoned, exiled, or forced into conformity. From that day forward till the year 1868 no one dared to call himself a Protestant in Spain or to separate himself from the Roman Church. Since 1868 the number of Protestants in Valladolid has grown from *nil* to two hundred, in Spain from *nil* to two or three thousand. And that number is steadily increasing. And they enjoy the services of their own Church, according to the rites of their own Prayer-Book, which is practically undistinguishable from that of the Church of England.

Spain is changed, or is changing, in the same manner as Valladolid. At Salamanca, the ancient University town, it is true that no one can be a member of the University, or can have any degree, honorary or otherwise, given him except he be a Spaniard, a Roman Catholic, a resident, and one who has performed the due exercises for a degree, and no Protestant has received any such degree; but outside the walls of the University there is a congregation of the Reformed Spanish Church with its own minister, where the Archbishop of Dublin, on invitation, confirmed about the same number of candidates as at Valladolid. In the close neighbourhood of Salamanca there is a large village named Villaescusa, of about a thousand inhabitants, in which there is a similar congregation of four hundred Protestants, where the Archbishop confirmed forty; and that in spite of the village containing a venerated image of St. Mary, called St. Mary of the Elm, which till a few years ago absorbed the devotion of the villagers. And at Seville, at Malaga, at Monistrol, there are congregations of like character, welcomed by the inhabitants. At Madrid the old leaven lingers. When the Archbishop arrived there to consecrate a church for the Reformers a great stir and flutter was excited. Some of the Court ladies—the *Spanish Court* ladies, inheritors of the traditions of Isabella II. and Sor Patrocinio—resolved that Catholic Madrid should not be disgraced by a Protestant church. They and the Papal Nuncio and the Bishop of Madrid protested against such a dishonour. They went to the Governor of Madrid and to the Alcalde, and prayed the latter not to give his sanction to the opening of the church on the score of some technicalities not having been yet complied with. The Governor and the Alcalde, both strong Ultramontanists, did as they were desired; and when the congregation assembled on December 4, 1892, they were met by



two policemen, who forbade anyone to enter, not only into the new church, but also into an unconsecrated room in the same group of buildings, in which it was proposed that an ordination should be held, while those who were already inside the buildings were not allowed to leave them except on the penalty of not being permitted to re-enter. But the days not only of Philip II., but of Ferdinand VII., are past. The Government went out, and a new Government under Sagasta was formed. The Court ladies, the Nuncio, and the Bishop flew to Sagasta and to the Minister of Justice to protest in the name of the Vatican and of Spanish Catholics against toleration being shown to Protestants in Madrid, and against their being allowed to have a church of their own, the more as there was a cross carved *in relieveo* on it. The matter was taken into consideration at the first meeting of the Cabinet of the new Government, and it was resolved that the law must have its course, that the Protestants had not transgressed the law, and that no further obstacles were to be put in the way of the church opening. Ultramontanism, however, is still putting them.

No better advertisement of the Reformed Spanish Church could have been made than that of the Court ladies, the Nuncio, and the Bishop's action. All Madrid walked by the church the day after the opening had been prevented to look at it, and it was probably brought home for the first time to the majority of the Madrilenos that the English—whom Ultramontane papers commonly speak of as *paganos*, while they are themselves *Cristianos*—have archbishops and bishops and churches and prayer-books, and that they value consecration and the symbol of the cross. The Archbishop licensed the church for Divine worship, and deferred the consecration till his next visit. The church forms the centre of a group of buildings, having on one side of it a synod-hall and schools, and on the other a presbytery and students' college. Such buildings as these cannot be erected for nothing, and the Archbishop has appealed for help to those who are in favour of toleration, and to those who prefer primitive to mediæval doctrines. The congregations for whom he appeals are not an amalgam of Protestant sectarians, but they consist of men whose faith and order are practically indistinguishable from those of the Church of England, while they claim to represent in the present century not only those that were burnt out of the land in 1559-1569, but also the old Spanish Church, which boasts the great name of Hosius, and which flourished under its own Bishops and Metropolitans down to the Saracenic invasion in the eighth century, and was only superseded by the new Church introduced by Alonzo VI. and Pope Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, when the Papal authority was for the

first time acknowledged by the Frenchman who was intruded as Primate of Toledo. The faith of the Reformed Spanish Church is infinitely nearer the faith of Hosius than that of Archbishop Payá y Rico, who a few years ago was discovering—no, re-discovering—the bones of S. James in Galicia; and its members have this, too, in common with the Spanish Church of the first thousand years, that they do not recognise in the Primate of Italy any authority beyond the limits of Italy.

F. MEYRICK.

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ART. III.—ARCHBISHOP THOMSON.

WILLIAM THOMSON, when he died in 1890, had been Archbishop of York for twenty-eight years. During so long a term of office a man of far slighter character must needs make some mark on his time; but Thomson was of a character whose strength was never in doubt. And although it is sometimes asked, What memorials of himself did he leave behind him? Where are the footprints of that strong tread of which we hear? yet those who know how things were and are in the North, and especially in his own diocese, readily acknowledge that Thomson's was a strongly-marked episcopate, and that the mark will not soon be effaced. He was born in 1819. Though a native of an English county, his parents traced back to Scotch families; and there are those, probably themselves of Scotch extraction, who profess to find in both the contemporary Archbishops, Tait and Thomson, unmistakable notes of the perfervid character which is thought to flourish beyond the Tweed. Thomson could hardly be called perfervid, but there *was* something of Scotland in his philosophic bent, and in the indomitable perseverance with which he indulged it. No school moulded his early boyhood; and though he was sent to Shrewsbury at a time when to have issued from that school was almost certainly to be a good classic, his tastes from the first leaned to philosophy and to science rather than to scholarship. The religious atmosphere of Oxford at that date was highly charged with electricity, but the storms seem to have passed Thomson by without effect. That he was an eager and untiring student is certain, though his studies ranged outside the usual limit of an undergraduate's reading and bore scanty fruit in the schools. But a little work on logic, which he published under the title of "Laws of Thought," brought him early into notice. There was much about it that was interesting. Logic was a more indispensable study for the

Oxford Schools at that time than in these days of alternative class-lists, nor had science yet risen to tempt the wavering student into other fields. The book itself was concise, masterly, and abounding in happy illustrations which bore witness to the unusual range of its author's reading. Above all, it was written, as some said, by an undergraduate—at all events, by one who had so lately emerged from the *status pupillaris* that it almost looked like an effort to lift his own recent examiners to higher logical levels. With this honour attached to his name, he took his first curacy in 1843, and there attracting the attention of S. Wilberforce, followed him as his curate to Cuddesdon. Thomson cannot be reckoned among the men to whom the great personality of Wilberforce proved irresistible: few men would have emerged from close association with that remarkable man without preserving some traces of it in his own character; but in this case the subordinate, soon to become the superior, brought with him a personality at least as vigorous and commanding, and remained unchanged by the connection. It would seem that, in spite of his failure in the schools, his powers had been recognised in his college, for after four years of a country parson's life he was recalled to Queen's to be at first one of its Tutors, and after a few years its Provost. Meanwhile his reputation had travelled beyond Oxford. The "Laws of Thought" had made his name familiar in most intellectual circles; and his Bampton Lectures on "The Atoning Work of Christ," preached in 1848, were an exception to the general rule of those days, that such sermons should—if possible—be orthodox, but certainly be ponderous and dull. Before becoming Provost, he made his first appearance in London as Rector of All Saints', Langham Place; and although his stay there was brief, in consequence of his Oxford promotion, yet it had been long enough to secure him the Preachership of Lincoln's Inn, when that office fell vacant in 1858. Thus Master of his college, and at the same time Preacher to the learned body in London, he was a man marked out for advancement in both those different worlds. The opportunity came first at Oxford, and found him ready to grasp it with singular vigour. Reform was in the air. The old system of things, alike in college and university, showed signs of collapse. It was only a question of the hand that should set the movement going, and of the direction which the movement should take. No hand had more to do with it than Thomson's. He belonged to a college where the need of reform was most visible, and where the reformer's hand would have most to do, if only there should be courage to do it. Thomson never lacked courage, and his case was a strong one. His arguments, reinforced by the vigour of his masculine style,

proved irresistible. He appealed to the Government to take action. His appeal was admitted, and led presently to the appointment of the University Commission, and to the labours of that Commission the Provost brought material aid. Hence no one was surprised when, in 1861, his abilities were recognised, and he was raised to the Episcopal Bench as Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. So far his advance had already been remarkable for a man who was indebted to no accident of birth for, at least, a favourable start—who had neither powerful interests behind him nor the glamour cast by a brilliant academical degree; but the advance was presently to become still more conspicuous, for in the following year the See of York became vacant, and, on Tait's declining to exchange London for the North, was offered to Thomson and accepted. Tait, as is well known, was soon afterwards translated to Canterbury, and the singular spectacle was presented of the English Church passing under the rule of two Scotch Archbishops, though Tait was much more Scotch than Thomson. As Archbishop of York, Thomson ruled the Northern Province for twenty-eight years, and it may be said that for diocese and province alike he helped to bridge over the wide interval which separates the Church of to-day from the Church of the last generation. At Tait's death it seemed not impossible that Canterbury would go to Thomson. Whether he would have accepted it is doubtful, for his Northern home had a firm hold on his affections, and he had a singular attachment to the great towns like Sheffield which formed part of his diocese. But the offer was not made, and he lived and died Archbishop of York.

Such is the brief outline of a great Archbishop's life, not differing, perhaps, so far in any special degree from the lives of many who have sat on the Episcopal Bench. True that he came to the Northern See a much younger man than most of his predecessors; but that is rather a difference of degree than of kind. Sometimes it has been thought his rise was more extraordinary than others because it was more rapid. It was rapid, no doubt—the openings came without his having to wait for them; but this hardly made it extraordinary. When it was thought necessary to account for it, sensational causes were suggested. He was a *persona grata* at court—his sermon on the Prince Consort's death had touched a royal heart—his views on university reform had found favour in high circles—the variety of his knowledge had arrested a certain minister's attention. But no hypothesis was necessary in explanation. Where a man's promotion is rapid and turns out to be undeserved, you have to account for an inferior man's success; but where the success is obvious, and the man is at least adequate

to his position, all that need be said is that the Government was clear-sighted, and knew a good man when it saw him.

That Thomson did a valuable work in his diocese is not a matter of doubt; what sort of a work it was, and of what character the man that did it, should be interesting to Churchmen of whatever opinions. He has not always had justice done to him. Fault has been found with his views by those who might be puzzled to explain what his views exactly were, but what no one ever said was that he was unequal to his great position. A Greek statesman was once counted worthiest because, while no one put him first, everyone put him second; the Archbishop might have been judged worthy of his office by general consent because, while exception might be taken to this or that point in his government, no doubt was ever cast on his vigour and force of character. He was commonly numbered among evangelical prelates by those who classify on hard and fast lines; it was truer to say that he had little sympathy with advanced opinions than that he was of the common evangelical type. In fact, the very strength and force of character which he possessed compelled him, as it were, by an irresistible law, to a certain singleness and concentration of view. Looking out on the world that lay round him, and estimating the hopes of its remaining or becoming religious, he conceived that the differences which to most men of that time seemed all-important were beside the real point. What had to be settled, the matter round which the conflict was really to be fought, was not whether the High Church or the Low Church should prevail, but whether Religion itself should survive or Materialism dethrone and replace it. As early as in his undergraduate days he had formed this opinion, and he never changed it. If circumstances compelled him to select between a High and a Low Churchman, no doubt he preferred the latter; they were less blinded, he thought, to the real conditions of the conflict. It may or may not have been a mistake as between the two parties; but this was the key to Thomson's Church views. He was not a Low Churchman first, and other things afterwards, as that position demanded; he was an earnest believer first and other things afterwards, as they seemed to be involved; and if he had to choose between High and Low, he chose with a certain weariness of spirit that any choice should be necessary. Indeed, there was much in the circumstances of his see that would have fostered such a disposition, even if it had not been natural to him. The diocese of York, if it has its moorland and valley, presenting only a sparse and uncultured people, has also its great industrial centres, where the crowds thicken into masses, and where men discuss with engrossing and fierce ardour all the

problems that touch the welfare or the prospects of Labour. At the time of Thomson's elevation Socialism in all its degrees and shapes was rampant there, and all the beliefs and unbeliefs which flourish in the Materialist soil. People might shut their eyes to facts, but the facts were there; or they might minimize the dangers that would result, but the dangers threatened all the same. The Archbishop believed that these masses of men might be dealt with; at all events, that an effort should be made to deal with them on some other principle than that of ignoring their existence. Whatever is the case now, such a belief was strange in the early days of Thomson's episcopate. But holding such a belief, and acting in accordance with it, he has modified to a degree of which we are hardly yet conscious the ordinary conception of the modern Bishop. Wilberforce did the same, we know, in his own fashion. He made it impossible that after him any Bishop of the old type should reappear; and though it is hardly realized yet, and perhaps will soon be entirely forgotten, Thomson's influence was of the same sort. Through his means it has become clear and accepted that a bishop stands in some relation to the masses in his diocese, as well as to his clergy; and that that relation is not carried out by ignoring them simply, by speaking of them as dangerous, or by sighing to think of their deplorable paganism and the unhappy social theories which possess them. He held that they made mistakes, no doubt, but that these mistakes were the natural fruit of ignorance; that their theories about the Church or about a clergyman's salary might be absurd, but that it was because no one had ever taught them anything else; and that it would be time to hold them impracticable, and to turn from them in despair, only when one had given them the chance of learning better. Now, all this constituted an entirely new departure. It was in the nature of things, people used to say, that for political discussion the masses, as well as their betters, should be addressed; but if the question were one of morals, or of philosophy, or of matters connected with religion or the Church, then to expect, or even to conceive of, such subjects being discussed with a gathering of working men was ridiculous. The situation, we recognise, is now entirely changed; but much of the alteration—we might say all of it—was due to Thomson's initiation. If a Church Congress is held in these times to be incomplete unless at least one working men's meeting adorns the programme, we must go back to Thomson's time and place and presidency for the innovation. If a Dean of Rochester finds his favourite audience now among the masses, if a Bishop of Manchester can spend upon them his closest arguments and most sustained reasoning, if, in fact, no clerical speaker of distinction can afford to

despise a power which brings those serried crowds within the spell of the platform, it is to Thomson that this obligation is due. He thought that it ought to be done, for much might result from the doing; and he showed that it could be done, for he did it himself. No doubt the lesson has since been enlarged in all directions. Bishop Fraser was trusted to hold the balance more than once between contending capital and labour; the Bishop of Durham issued from a closet of study to interfere in a strike too intricate to be otherwise unravelled; but all this is due to Thomson—due to the discovery which he made, or at least made notorious, that an archbishop can be the archbishop of his laity as well as of his clergy, archbishop of working men, socialists, agnostics, materialists, as well as of clergymen and of the classes. It is said of some one, whether to his praise or blame, that he invented the working man. Thomson did not invent the working man, but he placed him in an entirely new light, and subjected him to original treatment.

Such being the work which in his judgment he had to do, he proved to be singularly well equipped for it. All his life he had been a reader, and had at a very early age preferred to read books which were fruitful and suggestive of thought. He had dipped deeply into more than one science, and, whether it were a gain to him or a loss, he had a mind which refused to be satisfied with anything short of all that was to be known about a subject. Hence there was combined with an unusual versatility of mind a thorough knowledge of matters the most varied in their nature. Hence, in whatever subject he chanced to engage you, he persuaded you that it was there his natural bias lay, and that in that department, had he followed it, he must have been at the head of his fellows. And yet he had not repudiated the ornaments of life either. The sale of his library revealed that even the modern railway novel had not been outside the wide range of his sympathies; and though he never published a poem, it is well known that he composed in private, even after he became Archbishop. With equipments so varied and so favourable, he became—not at first, but by degrees—a great power on the platform, as well as in the pulpit. On such occasions he was, before everything else, argumentative and logical. He paid his working men the compliment of giving them the best he had to give. When he rose to address them they were sure that he would mean what he said; there would be no platitudes, no arguments *ad captandum*, no compliments fulsome or adroit, but straight and telling discussion, always conducted with a courtesy which was natural to him. In such addresses he would dwell mostly on practical topics, on questions that touched their everyday life

and conduct—the wisdom of thrift, the wastefulness of intemperance, the folly of betting; but he could still keep them with him when he turned to deeper themes than these, even when he rose to the questions of their highest spiritual interests. Was he so eloquent on such occasions? it was sometimes asked. Yes; he had a certain “unadorned eloquence” with a charm of its own, the eloquence of matter rather than of form, and owing its persuasiveness to none of the rules of rhetoric. Logical he always was: it was not surprising in the author of the “Laws of Thought.” But he also had the rare gift of clothing his arguments in plain and straightforward language, of which the terms were accurate and exact. Of what are called high flights, of excursions into the field of poetry and imagination, there was nothing. He always had something that he wanted to say, and when he had said it, it seemed to you that any other words would have been less adapted to his purpose. There was often humour, there was sometimes wit, but always there was solid sense, commanding logic, and the direct language which went straight to its mark.

He has exercised a great influence also in the Church by his action in regard of sanitary matters. The statesman's dictum, “*Sanitas, omnia Sanitas,*” has been widely adopted; and the question is often raised, What is the proper relation of the clergy to such subjects? Is it really a part of the pastor's work to look after the bodies as well as the souls of his people? Is it for him to take up the cause of sanitary dwellings, to meddle with the questions of overcrowded houses and fever hospitals? Opinions differ, and will differ: but what is certain is that Thomson felt no doubt whatever about the question, and that he was the first man in such a position to carry his opinions into action. He would not stand by and give to the sanitary movement a hearty but silent approval; he placed himself at its head; he stimulated it where it was sluggish; he shaped it where it was active. He was the natural president of a sanitary association in at least one large town in his diocese. And this again marked a new departure. If it is a matter of course now for such a movement in any diocese to look to its Bishop, not only for a seasonable address now and then, but for personal co-operation and help, the precedent was set at York, and as time goes on it will be more largely followed. It is sometimes said that such things are a serious inroad on the episcopal day—too short already for the work it has to do; but that was just the question which Thomson's precedent went to settle, that such work is not over and above, but is a proper portion of the episcopal labour, and has to be reckoned among its ordinary engagements.



A Bishop's life nowadays is one of constant pressure. The learned leisure, which a scholar-Bishop could once enjoy, has long fled from the episcopal palace. It is no longer the exceptional prelate who lives most of his life in the railway-carriage, like Bishop Wilberforce, or is seen emerging from the station carrying his own bag, like Bishop Fraser; such sights are too common to strike us. But the Archbishop of York was perhaps exceptional in this, that he had a singular variety of extra-clerical subjects on which he was an authority, and that meetings in connection with such matters incessantly demanded his presence. And he was not Bishop only but Primate. Multiply the number of sees in his province into the number of his special subjects, and it will be seen what a wilderness of demands his life had to meet. And we must remember, too, that he held out persistently against the creation of a Suffragan-Bishop, only consenting to such an innovation in his diocese among the shadows of his last few months. Not that this is matter for praise, nor do we mention it as such: rather it is a question whether it would not have been well, for his diocese as well as for himself, if the step had been taken earlier. For there are only so many hours in the day, and even these cannot all be devoted to work. Let a man be a Hercules in physical resources, and yet there is an end somewhere to his tether. And, besides, all episcopal labours are not exactly on a level. There are some which must be reserved for the master-hand, while others may be devolved on a Suffragan. And if this devolution can be practised safely, then with advantage both to the Bishop and the diocese, for thereby the ultimate resort is reserved for the greater need. But, obvious as this truth seems, it was never easy to bring it home to Archbishop Thomson. Conscious of unusual powers, and for many years enjoying vigorous health for their exercise, he was slow to learn the lesson never too easily learned, that a man's strength must be expected to give before it breaks. If he could do a certain work, then in his judgment he was bound to do it, for that was the meaning of being Archbishop. And because his constitution was strong, and his faculties for work were great, therefore he retained all the working strings in his own hand beyond the time one would have thought possible. That of late days some of his special work, which none else could do so well, might have been done better if he had sought earlier for help, is hardly more than a truism: it must have been so. And there were some voices in his diocese which said as much, perhaps, and complained that he was not ubiquitous. But the fault was a generous one, and came of a generous nature. So long as he felt conscious of power, so long would he spend himself upon his work: no one should

point to him as an Archbishop whose own work was being done by another. Even when the grip of a mortal disease was upon him, such as rarely fails to sap the endurance and try the nerves even of a strong man, he would not intermit his labour: the malady which conquered him at last had kept him company for many years, but it was never his master; he showed himself resolute, vigorous, powerful, to the end.

But how, with this resolve to keep all the strings of his work entirely in his own hands, how he did it was and still remains a matter of wonder. Great powers of work he had, no doubt. And the deep interest he took in all the graver subjects of thought must have made his work easier to him than it might have been. And, moreover, he did, in a sense, multiply the available hours of the day, for, like a well-known statesman of our own time, he was averse to exercise. In his curate days, at Cuddesdon, he must often have seen S. Wilberforce careering over the slopes of Shotover, and chasing the cobwebs from his brain by dint of sheer hard riding: at least, Thomson was not so impressed by the sight that he ever cared to reproduce it. Except in his rare holidays, he took no exercise whatever; and even in his holidays the exercise was quasi-scientific, for it was always taken in company with his camera, and came to an end the moment he had reached a favourable point of view.

It is worth while to notice, perhaps, some of the topics which had the greatest attraction for him. They were for the most part such as touched at some point the particular classes that occupied so many of his thoughts. Thus, he never wearied of speaking on temperance, though he did not speak as a total-abstainer. He had tried total abstinence himself at one period of his life, but it had not suited his constitution and his physicians forbade it. A kindred topic was thrift: and here his reflections were not confined to the benefit of the working classes only; he had a tender place in his heart for the worn-out clergyman whose closing days are darkened by poverty. How to persuade the working man to invest his savings and not drink them away, how to provide for the veteran incumbent whose removal would be well for the parish—he weighed these matters deeply, and not seldom spoke on them. And perhaps this is just one of those cases where it would have been happy if a Suffragan had been called earlier into existence. Could he have freed himself from some of the minor engagements that besieged his day, and devoted more time and leisure to some of these perplexing problems which had a special interest for him, he might have left ampler memorials behind him to witness to his rare powers. Again, he may be said to have led the way in the crusade against

gambling—that disappointing crusade which seems to end so easily in talk. It had been among his special topics for many years. A powerful discourse which he had preached on gambling in one of the Lenten series of sermons at Oxford is not yet forgotten. But in his vast diocese it was no longer the young men of easy means that he needed to caution against the contagion: the working masses suffered from the same virus, under their own special conditions. They suffer still; for the disease, if it is ever to pass away from them, will only do so when the example is set them from above. It may be interesting to observe the arguments on which Thomson mainly relied in conducting his case. Perhaps no one has yet discovered the major premiss which shall be irrefragable and convincing in the anti-betting syllogism, and perhaps no one ever will. Thomson's was neither better nor worse than that of others, but it is curious. No one man, he said, ever bet on equal terms with another. Now, the essence of fair betting consists in equality of chances between the two men, and two men can never bet with such an equality. One must win and the other must lose, and the requisite fairness would consist in the possible loss to one being exactly equal to the possible loss to the other. But in no case is the gain of the one equivalent to the loss of the other, and hence there can never be the equality which abstract fairness demands. We suspect that the author of "Laws of Thought" would have discovered a fallacy here; but, for ourselves, we confess that we are still in search of the major premiss.

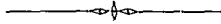
But of all the topics which appeared and reappeared in the Archbishop's addresses, none was more frequent, none more characteristic, than that defence of Christianity and its vital truths which smites Scepticism and Materialism in their strongholds. His plan of attack, though it varied in its illustrations and its details, was in kind always the same. He never stormed, he never gushed, but he was always argumentative and convincing. That he persuaded men is a bold thing to say, for who can tell when men are really persuaded? But that he laboured at all seasons to persuade men is certain, and that, if he failed, he left behind no one better qualified to succeed. But our considerations must come to an end. In a sense there is a world of things to be said about Archbishop Thomson, and in a sense very little. Very little because, by the nature of his position and circumstances, he lived away from the centre of events, and his absences from his diocese were few and far between. And hence his connection with matters of larger interest—bills in Parliament, judgments of the Privy Council—was only occasional and rare. And yet there is a world, too, that might be said by one who would trace out his life in

detail, for if it wanted in incident it never wanted in interest. His mind was so stored that he could not help being interesting; it gave out its stores so happily that interest always survived the occasion. As his real life was at Bishopthorpe, so it was at Bishopthorpe that he had to be seen if one wished to know the real man; and no one ever came under the charm of his hospitality there without feeling that he was a great man. That he was an impressive speaker in the House of Lords, and that in ecclesiastical matters the last word had not been spoken till he was heard, is well known. But in those cases he was not unique, not his own only parallel; there were many who spoke as well as he, and some who spoke much better. But elsewhere he *was* unique—or, at least, he created the precedent. Many of our readers will recall the interest roused by his appearance in 1887 as an advocate in his own cause before the Court of Queen's Bench. One might have been sure that his case would be strong, for the author of "Laws of Thought" was essentially practical; nevertheless it was a surprise to find him dispensing with the aid of counsel and conducting the case for himself. We need not recall the details of the argument, nor the rare advocate's triumph.

During his long tenure of office he did, or directed the doing of, a vast quantity of Church work: five new Rural Deaneries and one new Archdeaconry bore witness to his energy. Large and indeed unwieldy as was his diocese, his presence as a strong and capable ruler was felt all over it. And, whether it came from fortune or was one indirect result of his powers of government, it was surprising how little there was of conflict and opposition during his reign. As Archbishop he promoted only one prosecution for error of doctrine—a well-known case which would admit of no other treatment. In his Convocation, indeed, there was friction enough and to spare between the President and some of its members; but to deal with this would require an article to itself. Those who knew Thomson best knew how hard he struggled to avoid matters of strife, and that differences of opinion left with him no animus when the moment had passed. Of books he was not a prolific, though he was a powerful, writer; beside the work on Logic, his Lincoln's Inn Sermons, the Introduction to the Four Gospels in the "Speaker's Commentary," and his contribution to the "Aids to Faith," he did not leave behind him any works of great importance. It is so with most men of commanding personality; their power lies in themselves, not in their pen. In this, as in so many other things, Thomson resembled his great contemporary of Oxford.

But our space admits of no more. We have not professed to give a biography of the great Northern Prelate—only a few

impressions produced by some aspects of his life and work. That he profoundly affected the Church of the Northern Province is certain, and, as we have said, it was impossible for any character as striking as his to preside over it so long without affecting it; that he left no special memorial behind him, on which a man might lay his hand and say, "This was a great Archbishop's work," is certain also. But, essentially as well as externally, he was a great Archbishop; he ruled, it must be owned, not merely reigned. When he died, still in harness, still busy, he left no one who did not think of him with respect, and many who cannot now think of him without affection and love.



#### ART. IV.—THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

"Hear the Church."

FEW persons who were present at the Church Congress at Folkestone can have been satisfied with the discussion on the authority of the Bible and the authority of the Church. A large portion of the audience, during the reading of the papers, appeared, indeed, greatly dissatisfied, saddened and perplexed. This was partly the result of the lack of definition: no one attempted to define what he meant by "the Church," and until we be agreed upon the meaning of the terms we use, we only beat the air in vague speech and empty discussion. We know what the canon of Scripture is. What and where is the canon of Church authority? This is no irreverent inquiry. The first essential on the part of those who put forward lofty claims on behalf of *the Church* is to define precisely the meaning of the word, and where the authoritative teaching of the Church is to be found, unless it is answered that we should all become possessed of the unintelligent unreasoning faith of the collier, which a Roman cardinal so approves. We are indebted to Dr. Salmon ("Infallibility of the Church") for the story. "A poor collier, when asked by a learned man what he believed, repeated the Creed, and when asked what more he believed answered, 'I believe what the Church believes.' 'And what does the Church believe?' 'The Church believes what I believe.' 'And what do the Church and you both believe?' 'The Church and I believe the same thing.'"

The second serious defect of the discussion was the absence of any special reference to the plain teaching of the Church of England upon the question at issue. It is the witness of the

Church of England to the supreme and sole authority of Holy Scripture in matters of faith, which we propose to bring forward.<sup>1</sup>

This is not a new, but a very ancient controversy, fought out and settled, as far as English Churchmen are concerned, three centuries ago. And what, we ask, is the voice of the Church of which we are members upon this subject, and where is it to be heard? We know no place, no book, excepting the articles, homilies and formularies of the Church of England. Here the very question of the relative authority of the Church and of the Bible, in articles of faith, is itself settled by the authority of the Church. Nor is it open to any Churchman to deride that voice because it is the voice of the sixteenth century, for *if the Church has a voice* that voice demands attention at one period as much as at another. The Bishop of London has recently reminded the clergy of the diocese that men who believe in the continuous life, or in the living voice of the Church, must not pick and choose the periods when they elect to listen to that voice. This were the assertion of private judgment with a vengeance. The authority of the Church in 1661 requires the same respectful attention as the authority of the Church in 1461, or 461, or any other period.

I. Let us call our witnesses: 1. The Articles of Religion, to which every clergyman at his ordination declares his unfeigned assent and consent. Hear the Sixth Article. "Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor can be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or necessary to salvation."

Hear the Eighth Article, concerning the creeds. By those who contend that the Church hath authority in articles of faith, it is often said, as if the statement were unanswerable, "You believe the creeds upon the authority of the Church. You do not find your Creed in the Bible, why do you repeat it?" Hear the answer of our Church in her Eighth Article: "The three creeds ought thoroughly to be received and believed." Why, because the Church teaches them? Not at all; "because they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture." That is the reason we accept the creeds.

Hear the Twentieth Article. It affirms that "the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith." This we believe firmly, for unless by authority "some rules for public worship were made, decency and order could never exist in a Church."

There must also be authority to declare truth, to maintain

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<sup>1</sup> For the witness of the "Primitive Church" to the same truth *vide* Dean Goode's "Divine Rule of Faith."

truth, and to reject from Communion such as are in grievous error. The Church must have this power. Of course the Church may err (see Art. xix.), but every Church must possess this authority.

But as this Article further affirms the "Church must not ordain anything contrary to God's Word written, nor explain one place of Scripture so as to contradict another."

"For example," to quote Bishop Harold Browne, "it would mean that forms of prayer, clerical vestments, and the like, are within the province of the Church to decide upon; but image worship or the adoration of the host, being contrary to the commandments of God, are beyond her power to sanction. It denies to the Church the power to initiate in matters of faith. The authority of the Church is ministerial, and its decisions must be guided by the written Word of God. In this respect it is not unlike the authority or influence of a parent. Thus the Twentieth Article bears witness to the fact that Holy Scripture is the sole rule of faith."

2. We next bring forward the catechism called Nowell's Catechism, published in 1570, "unanimously approved and allowed" by Convocation, and also by the 79th Canon.

"The Christian religion," it says, "is to be learned from no other source than from the Heavenly Word of God Himself, which He has delivered unto us in the Holy Scriptures." In this catechism I find the question: "Do you affirm that all things necessary to godliness and salvation are contained in God's Word written?" Answer: "Certainly, for it would be the part of intolerable ungodliness and madness to think that God had left an imperfect doctrine, or that man were able to make perfect what He had left imperfect."

3. Let us next listen to the Homilies, issued 1562. The very first Homily is called "a fruitful exhortation to the reading and knowledge of Holy Scripture." It is too long to quote; the teaching of it may be gathered from these sentences: "There is no truth nor doctrine necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation, but that is, or may be, drawn out of that fountain and well of truth. Let us diligently search for the well of life in the books of the New and Old Testaments, and not run to the stinking puddles of men's traditions, devised by man's imaginations, for our justification and salvation. In Holy Scripture is *fully* contained what we ought to do and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love. The great clerk and godly preacher, St. Chrysostom, saith, 'Whatsoever is required for the salvation of man is *fully* contained in the Scripture of God.'"

In the third Homily for Rogation Week we find this language: "Nowhere can we more certainly search for the

knowledge of this will of God but in the Holy Scriptures. We see what vanity the school doctrine is mixed with, for in this word they sought not the will of God, but rather the will of reason, the path of the Fathers, the practice of the Church. Let us, therefore, read and revolve the Holy Scripture. In the Holy Scripture find we Christ; in Christ find we God; and contrariwise St. Hierome saith, 'the ignorance of Scripture is the ignorance of Christ.'

On the other hand, there is no Homily on the authority of the Church, nor the remotest hint given that we are to seek her interpretation of God's Word written.

4. The Fourth Witness we summon is the Service for the Ordination of Priests, found not only in the second, but in the first Prayer-Book of Edward. "Be you persuaded," asks the bishop of the candidate for the priesthood, "that the Holy Scripture contains sufficiently all doctrine necessary for eternal salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ, and are you determined with the same Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation but that you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures?" Answer: "I am so persuaded, and am so determined, by God's grace."

Thus the voice of the English Church, wherever that voice can be authoritatively heard, in her Articles, in her Canons, in her Homilies, in her Services, everywhere proclaims that the sole rule of a Christian's faith is to be found in Holy Scripture, and nowhere else.

It might be shown from the writings of the great English divines, like Jewel, Jeremy Taylor, Hooker, and even Laud, that the same truth is resolutely upheld. Listen to the language of Bishop Jewel, whom Hooker describes as "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for some hundreds of years." "Oh, that in all the controversies," exclaims Jewel, "that lie between us and them they would remit the judgment to God's Word, so should we soon agree and come together, for like as the errors of a clock be revealed by the constant course of the sun, even so the errors of the Church are revealed by the everlasting and infallible Word of God." Again he says: "It is rash to believe without the warrant and direction of the Scriptures. It is neither devotion nor Catholic faith, but foolish rashness."

Archbishop Laud was not a man that many of us would care to follow as a guide, and he certainly took exalted views of the Church and Church authority. He would, no doubt, advocate a certain use of tradition—the acceptance of the interpretation given to Scripture by the general witness of the best writers



of the ancient Church. But even Laud will admit no infallible rule but the Scripture. "I admit no ordinary rule left in the Church of secure and infallible verity, and so of faith, but the Scripture."<sup>1</sup> The Church is only the servant of God, and has no credit nor authority but from it. Yet in the nineteenth century, and in the English Church, there are men who out-Laud Laud, who go beyond what even he would consent unto, who maintain that the Bible is not sufficient to rest our faith upon, that our faith "only stands firm on these two feet—first, the Church; second, the Bible."<sup>2</sup>

The contrary we see is the teaching of our Church—both feet must rest upon the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture.

II. Why, it may be asked, are men not content with the authority of Holy Scripture, and why do they nibble at this essentially corrupt and Romish doctrine concerning the authority of the Church in matters of faith?

(a) There are two principal reasons. First, the necessity of the position. If I have a fondness for certain notions, if I hold, or desire to hold, doctrines not warranted by Holy Scripture, I must seek my warrant elsewhere. It is felt that if you take away Church authority, such doctrines as *transubstantiation*, the *sacrificial character of the Eucharist* and *sacerdotal character of the priesthood* disappear—in short, the *sacerdotal system* goes; it falls at once to the ground; therefore when no proof can be found in Holy Scripture for these doctrines, the authority of the Church is introduced to silence objections. Is it considered a rash assumption that the New Testament Scriptures contain no warrant for the sacramental or sacerdotal system?

It is not our purpose to attempt to prove this position. It may suffice here to refer to Mr. Sadler's own words: "*The sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist most assuredly does not seem prominent in the Scriptures*;"<sup>3</sup> and to Mr. Gore's similar admission: "Ireneus and Clement do not speak of the Christian ministers as priests when Tertullian and Origen do, so that it is only towards the end of the second century that sacerdotal terms began to be regularly applied to the clergy."<sup>4</sup> I would also, in justification of this assertion, draw attention to what has often struck me as not a little remarkable, that every commentator upon the New Testament of any authority has been opposed to Sacerdotalism. Bishops Lightfoot, Ellicott, Westcott, Wordsworth (of Lincoln), Deans Alford and Vaughan,

<sup>1</sup> Laud's "Conference with the Jesuit Fisher."

<sup>2</sup> "The Church and the New Testament," Shaw.

<sup>3</sup> "Church Doctrine, Bible Truth."

<sup>4</sup> Rev. C. Gore's "Christian Ministry."

not to mention commentators of previous generations, like Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott, and that prince of commentators, Bengel—what a cloud of witnesses these form against the cast-iron sacramental system! All with one voice join in the clear and celebrated statement of Bishop Lightfoot—“above all, the kingdom of Christ has no Sacerdotal system.”<sup>1</sup>

It would appear that no man can be deeply imbued with the spirit and language of the New Testament Scriptures, and especially St. Paul's Epistles, and pretend to find his authority for the Sacerdotal system in the written Word. Consequently the warrant for it must be sought elsewhere, namely, Church authority. This is one reason men are not satisfied with the authority of the written Word.

(b) Another reason is one with which, at least, we can sympathize. Men see the evils and perplexities consequent, as they think, on private judgment. They see the disastrous consequences arising from a reliance only upon private feelings and assurances, and from entirely dispensing with the witness of the Christian Church. They look at the multitudinous sects in Christendom, and they think they can see a remedy for these divisions and perplexities only in an appeal to some earthly authority. They crave for a visible unity and a visible authority in a great and glorious visible Church on earth, such a unity and such a Church which has never been promised them by their Lord. This is the initial error. The seamless robe is not, as they think, the emblem of the Church, but the wounded body of Christ upon the cross.

Christ was Divine, and He was wounded. His Body, the Church, is Divine, and remains to the end of the dispensation a wounded body. And as of old the Jews were perplexed at a suffering, wounded Christ, so many among us are perplexed at a suffering and wounded Church. But thus it must be. The Son of Man must needs suffer, the body of Christ must needs suffer. That body is “a partaker of Christ's suffering.” Nowhere does our Lord hold out any hope of a glorious united visible Church on earth; on the contrary, it is to be a Church consisting to the end of tares and wheat, good and bad; it is to be a wounded body. Nowhere does Christ suggest a unity enforced by any human authority. He knew that the true power in the region of thought is not authority, but influence. It is influence which is the reigning monarch, not the loud voice of human authority, but the gentle influence of the Holy Spirit, which Christ promised should lead His disciples into all truth. Belief produced by the mere force of authority would have no real value, and Christ neither suggests nor

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<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot's “Christian Ministry.”

teaches it. “*The kingdom of Heaven,*” He said, “*is like unto heaven.*”

By the advocates of “*Church authority*” it is often advanced, as if it were an unanswerable statement, that “*the Church was before the Bible,*” and by inference that the authority of the Church must at least be co-equal with that of Holy Scripture.

Upon this ambiguous and misleading statement a few general remarks may be made.

(a) We presume it is intended not that the Church was before the Bible, which is clearly absurd, but that the Christian Church existed before the canons of the New Testament Scriptures were finally fixed, a very different thing, and which goes without saying. It would be as true and as sage a remark that the Church was before the Bible was *printed*; for long before the canon of Scripture was fixed, and it has, as Bishop Westcott says, “*fixed gradually,*” there were writings and sayings of the Lord Jesus current among the first Christians. Even the first record in writing of the words and deeds of Christ is not the date of the Word.

As the Word printed is identical with the Word written, so the Word written is identical with the Word spoken. Was the Church before the *Word spoken*?

Baptism surely rests upon the Word of Christ; the Lord’s Supper rests upon that Word; the Church rests upon that Word. “*The Church is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone*” (Eph. ii. 20). If this be so, how can the Church precede the Word?

(b) The apostles were the Church authority whilst they lived, when they died their words and writings, not their successors, became that authority in articles of faith; for then the Church had gained a permanent position, a fixed literature, and an unerring rule.

(c) It cannot be forgotten that the Apostles based all their teaching upon *the Scriptures of the Old Testament*. To the many who came into his lodging in Rome, St. Paul “*expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the Prophets, from morning till evening*” (Acts xxviii. 23). No doubt the Apostles preached Christ from their personal knowledge of Him. “*That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you,*” but they preached also from a book, and showed from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.

(d) It is equally true that the Jewish Church was before the Old Testament Scriptures, and that those Scriptures were constituted after the same manner as the New Testament,

and possessed, though in a greater degree, the same character of incompleteness. The heads of the Jewish Church claimed Church authority and tradition, as distinct from Holy Scripture. That ancient claim was a parallel to the modern claim, and it was emphatically disallowed by Christ. "Ye make the Word of God of none effect by your *traditions*." To every thoughtful mind this must ever appear a very strong objection to modern claims for Church authority. For is not the Christian as likely to be misled by Church authority as the Jew?

What was the final result of the Jewish people being led by the authority of the Church rather than by the voice of conscience and the Word of God? They were *led astray*; they became finally the murderers of the Prince of Life. It is a sad, though instructive, thought that the Son of God was crucified by the "consensus of opinion" of the Jewish Church authorities. Who must not stand in fear before the lofty claims put forward for any human authority, as distinct from God's Word written?

III. Consider the consequence which flows from this doctrine of the necessity of submission to Church authority? Our Lord tells us plainly that the tendency of an unwritten and oral authority is to make void the written Word. The pure and indubitable Word of God is made to give way to fragments of human testimony which few can lay their hands upon or read for themselves. Men bend before an authority which rests upon scraps of sentences in primitive writers, familiar only to students, and upon which students themselves place different interpretations. Gradually the people are detached from God's Word and thrown helplessly and hopelessly into the hands of the teaching class. They are taught to look to the priest rather than to the Word of God for instruction. The conflict passes into a conflict, not between the Church, but between the priest and the Bible. "The Church" is the practical declaration of many a priest, "*c'est moi*." And thus the door is open to error and delusion of every kind and description.

Because we contend for the Bible as the sole rule of faith, we do not, we need not, we dare not, depreciate the Church of Jesus Christ—that great Divine Society which our Lord constituted in the world. That great multitude of men and women who have lived and died in Christ's faith and fear, and who by their lives and words have so often illuminated our darkness, and without whose Christ-reflected light we should be dark indeed. We do not depreciate the Church, because we reverence the Word. If we do not acknowledge her authority as a dictator to govern the will, we do not

despise her sacred influence, or suppose that each man for himself can excogitate his own religion out of the Bible—untaught, unassisted. We bless God for the long line of witnesses to all essential truth which the Christian Church supplies. Amid the misgivings of our minds and the fascinations of the world, we are sustained by the thought that we cling to the same Rock and trust the same Saviour—yes, and rely upon the same Word which “the glorious company of the apostles” and “the holy Church throughout all the world” have long before us clung to and trusted. The Bible and the Church are not opposed. “All truths kiss each other” is the remark of an old Puritan writer. The Bible and the Church are friends. Each is God’s gift for man; each has its own office and work. It is we who set them at variance when we confound their office. They are friends, if we will allow them to be so and confuse not their functions.

The relation of the Church to the Word written is the relation of John the Baptist to the Word Incarnate. “He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light” (John i. 8).

The office of the Word is to give light; the office of the Church is to bear witness to that light. The Church “is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ” (Article xx.). In the language of Bishop Wordsworth, than whom no man had a deeper reverence for the ancient Church and her teaching, “The Church cannot give authority to Scripture. No, the authority of Scripture comes from God, and God only. The light is not from the candlestick, but from the candle; not from the Church, but from the Scriptures, which are the candles which Christ has lighted and set in the Church. But the Church bears testimony to Scripture, and we appeal to that testimony as true.” The Word of God alone is an impregnable rock, and “therefore, when the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and when the volume of this visible creation will be no more lighted, when all the fair characters now written in earth and sky upon the pages of the book of nature will be effaced and obliterated, and the heavens themselves will depart as a scroll, then the Word of God will remain unchanged. ‘Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My Word shall not pass away’ (Matt. xxiv. 35).” “Blessed, therefore, is he that heareth and keepeth the sayings of that Book” (Rev. xxii. 7); “blessed indeed is he—blessed for evermore.”<sup>1</sup>

WALTER ABBOTT.

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<sup>1</sup> On “Inspiration of Holy Scripture.”

## ART. V.—THE ROMANCE OF CODEX BEZÆ, WITH SOME COLLATERAL REFLECTIONS.

## PART II.

IN further proof of the dependence of the Greek text on the Latin comes the interesting section on the balancing of the two texts. Even the most casual observer of the Codex will notice that the two texts correspond *line for line* and almost *word for word*, and some of the changes in the Greek are due to the omission or insertion of words (not changing the meaning) in order to preserve a lineal equality, without which one text might soon have outrun the other.

And in connection with this comes in the discussion of the whole question of the colometry, as throwing light upon disputed readings. Let one instance suffice. Professor Harris is contending that the colometry is primitive, and affords a clue in many instances to the true division into sentences. I wish I had had time to check some of the readings of the Revised Version, and especially the marginal readings, by this means. But one will do. The scribe of D "has done his best to help us by means of interpunction in cases where his lines do not agree with the primitive model. And in almost every case where there is a dividing point in the middle of the line in the Bezan text, it is because two cola have been run together, or because in some other way the regular colometry has been deserted." Thus in St. John i. 3, 4 (found only in the Greek), we read :

πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέν.  
ὃ γέγονεν  
ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶῃ ἐστιν.

"Here it is clear that ὃ γέγονεν, which is marked by dividing points before and after, is a primitive line, (and) evidently the remaining part of the preceding sentence; but, unfortunately, the second point became lost in the tradition of the text, and, as a result, the words became attached to the following line, so producing :

ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶῃ ἐστιν,"

the marginal reading in the Revised Version. "The text of Codex Bezae shows that this cannot have been the primitive colometry. Yet the new arrangement of the text has been made the basis of a good deal of exegetical subtlety."

Another instance at once of the knowledge and critical insight of the writer, and of the value of his method is seen on page 149, where he shows how a quotation in the Acts of St. Perpetua was made from D, and how the line-divisions are ancient. In the Acta Perpetuæ, "the angels are made to cry

of the elect brought from the four winds of heaven, 'Ecce sunt, ecce sunt; cum admiratione.'" This peculiar exclamation arose from the mistake of regarding the end of the line as the end of the sentence. The Latin of D reads :

Et venient ab oriente et occidentem  
 Et ab aquilone et Austro et recumbunt  
 In regno Dei et ecce sunt  
 Novissimi qui erunt primi et sunt  
 Primi qui erunt novissimi.

Before passing on to questions of doctrinal import arising out of D, I must quote Professor Harris's summary of the results of his inquiry into the relation of the Greek and Latin texts, as this is one of the points in which he so powerfully traverses the conclusions of Westcott and Hort. He says, p. 177 : "The conclusion to which we have been led is an astonishing one : the hydra-headed Western text has been resolved into a single form—that form is the Western bilingual ; its apparently Eastern character is a delusion, for the old Syriac texts lean on a Græco-Latin, and perhaps simply on a Latin, base. . . . The Western text is now no longer the 'conceivably apostolic' edition which Dr. Hort suggests, but it represents the successive translations and retranslations of actual Occidental tradition. This text was translated into Latin before the time of Tatian, and the primitive bilingual in which the translation stood is a document of a patriarchal dignity, and largely capable of restoration." It is sufficient to add to this simply that, to those who know the conditions of the problem, it will be evident that the history of Codices Aleph and B will require re-investigation and rewriting.

But we have not come to the end of the surprises of the "Study of Codex Bezae," which are rapidly justifying my title of "The Romance."

Not only does D Latinize its Greek text ; it also, in some cases, bears traces of Syriac influence. One of these is too striking to be omitted.

In St. Mark viii. 10, Cod. D. reads :

Greek : *Και ηλθεν εις τα ορια Μελεγαλα.*  
 Latin : *Et venit in partes Magidan.*

The other texts read :

*ηλθεν εις τα μερη Δαλμανουθα.*

But the letters *λμανουθα* are an almost exact transcript of the Syriac for *εις τα μερη*, so that we have in Syriac the double equivalent for *εις τα μερη*—*λμανουθα λμανουθα*, once translated back into the Greek of the other texts, and once transliterated into the unknown name of an unknown place, the real name having dropped out under the influence of this

"dittograph," as Professor Harris calls it, and Codex Bezae, the most corrupt of all the Codices, *alone* preserving the true reading in St. Mark, as may be seen by a comparison of the parallel passage in St. Matt. xv. 39.

It is quite possible that the influence of the Syriac upon the Greek has been considerably understated, as suggested by the *Guardian* reviewer, and that many of the supposed Latinizations are really originally Syriac, but this point will require very minute investigation. Meanwhile the existence of Syriac influence *in Aleph and B is proved*, and that for the time is the main critical point.

Many of the glosses Professor Harris ascribes to Montanist influence, especially in the Acts, where he ascribes more than forty to this influence. The history of Montanism has yet to be written, and nothing has really been done since Mr. De Soyres' Hulsean prize essay. Professor Harris says: "When once we realize the fundamental spiritual aims of Montanism (instead of merely treating it as an outward division of the Church), however much such aims may be liable to fanatical extravagance, a number of difficulties become clear to us in the history and discipline of the Church, to say nothing of the illumination thrown upon the text of the Codex Bezae. Every verse of the Old Testament or of the New, which treats of the descent of the spirit of prophecy, is a hinge in the Montanist system" (p. 194). This, it must be remembered, applies only to the Acts. Professor Harris (p. 227), with one possible obscure instance, "does not know of any definite Montanistic touches in the Gospels."

Marcion is also indicated as a possible source of some of the glosses, and the pre-Tatian Passion harmony of others, for the details of which I must refer to Professor Harris's own treatment. The polemical bearing, I take it, of his investigations is this: that if the primitive Latin text, of which D is the best extant representative, originating in North Africa, is thus manifestly charged with glosses—Homeric, Syriac, Montanist, Marcionite, Tatian, and pre-Tatian Harmonistic—and if, as he has shown, even Aleph itself is not wanting in traces of Syriac textual (not doctrinal) influences, then it follows that ere we can accept the almost supreme authority of Aleph and B as against what we call the *Textus Receptus*—erroneously so-called beyond question, but still representing a tradition preserved by a vast number of MSS., and by such a version as the Vulgate—many steps must be traversed in addition to those already gone over, and many preliminary questions decided, if possible, of the solutions of which we are at present only learning the elements.

I have not exhausted one per cent. of the many interesting



problems suggested by this romantic piece of writing, but I have not time further to specialize.

The questions it raises are not of a character to be decided off-hand. They will not be reached in our time, nor possibly in that of our children; but it is well that we should know of their existence, and, if possible, add our contribution, however small, to their settlement, at least endeavour to comprehend their nature, and certainly to learn their lessons. Briefly, then, the problems opened up are the following, and the mere statement of them will be sufficient. I give them in Professor Harris's own words.

Is the old Latin earlier than Marcion?

Is the Curetonian Syriac earlier than Tatian?

Does the Homerizer antedate the Curetonian text?

Then will follow the whole question of the origin and value of Aleph and B, and already it will appear that Westcott and Hort's second volume has now mainly a purely historical interest, and can no longer be taken as a final solution. It is only eleven years since it was given to the world, though used in this venerable chamber<sup>1</sup> all through the revision work, but eleven years is a long time in these days of ours. This surely should "give us pause," and make us more careful in the judgments we form. A single study by one brilliant man of a single MS. of the New Testament has undone a good deal of the carefully elaborated work of three generations, and takes us back at one step to the days of Mill and Wetstein and Middleton. And this because of the method much more than because of the actual results achieved. Some of those results may be traversed. Professor Harris himself has, within two years, reversed some of his own judgments with regard to the text of the Greek version of the Acts of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas, and to the question of the pre-Tatian Passion Harmony being the ultimate base of the Western text. But the method—that of proceeding by slow and minute criticism of individual documents, and not by the wider generalizations, in the first instance, concerning whole families of MSS.—is the only sure and safe one. It has proved so in physical science, in general literature, in historical studies, and it is justifying itself in the science of Biblical criticism. It is the inductive method, the splendid discovery of Lord Bacon, upon which all our modern knowledge rests. Do not understand me to speak slightly of the work of Westcott and Hort, and other pioneers. Their work is indispensable as a step in the process. Its finality is the only point to be criticised, and this *they*

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read in the Jerusalem Chamber in May, 1892.

would not claim, though some less judicial minds have claimed it for them. What, for instance, can we say of a work like Dr. Weymouth's "Resultant Greek Testament," which substitutes for the older form of notes (*viz.*, the readings of the various codices), which were of immense value, that of giving us the names of modern scholars who prefer such and such readings? The information is interesting, but not of sufficient value to be the sole substance of a Greek text with notes. We want to get back to the original authorities and to deal with them, and not to deal only with the results of any modern scholar in their place, however valuable they may be. Thus Weymouth in his edition gives no hint, in the passage quoted just now, that D reads Magidan and *Μελεγαλα*, and thus, as we now know, preserves the true reading. His method is a wrong one, and in these matters method is of prime importance.

It may be said, indeed, with perfect truth, that we are only just at the beginning of our studies in the New Testament. How many questions of supreme interest are now being keenly debated by reverent scholars, keenly critical and thoroughly imbued with the inductive spirit of which I have just spoken. Some of these problems may be new to some of my readers, and I know they will pardon my naming them in brief review, as their mere mention may often turn aside the hostile weapon of the ignorant assailant, and convince him that there is some value to be attached to the opinion of experts in the science of theology as in other sciences.

To confine our problems within narrow limits, take those surrounding the Gospels only. Was the original of St. Matthew Greek or Aramaic? Aramaic, said Papias. Greek, say most modern critics. Who is to decide? *The scholars*, surely, Professor Marshall in England, Resch in Germany, who are slowly, cautiously, independently, but apparently surely, reconstructing the older Aramaic Gospel by a process of retranslation based upon similarities and differences in the Synoptic narrative. This work is intensely interesting, involving great masses of detail, but its partial success so far may at least cause us to wonder whether after all the much abused, careless, slovenly Papias was not right, and most of our modern critics wrong.

Or, again, take the question of the relation of the Synoptic narrative to the Johannine. The recent works of Mr. J. J. Halcombe, based upon a dictum of Tertullian, and of that most luminous and penetrating genius, H. H. Wendt, are re-opening the whole series of problems that we thought were closed by Westcott on St. John. Marvellous and spiritually permanent as that exposition always must remain, yet Wendt's treatment

of the Logia of our Lord, as recorded in St. John, throws a new light on many parts hitherto obscure. And may I here be allowed a grumble at the omission of the important critical volume from the translation published lately of Wendt? Perhaps, if the chorus of English disapproval be made loud enough, the defect may be remedied, as it is evident from Wendt's preface to the translation that he himself is by no means pleased at it, and calmly refers the English reader (knowing no German, or else, why a translation at all?) to the German first volume for a justification of his critical conclusions. Let anyone read and study Professor Sanday's recent articles in the *Expositor* on the Synoptic problem and the Johannine problem, and Professor Marshall's series in the same volume on the Aramaic Gospel, articles which Professor Harris's work will supplement and illuminate, and he will see at once that so far from the last word, or if I may use the expression, the last *kind* of word, having been said on the question of the Gospels, their origin, their relations to one another, their early history (their subsequent editing, possibly from early and contemporaneous collections of Logia), their after collection and unification, leading to the expunging of such parts as are preserved in the so-called interpolations of Codex Bezae—we are only on the very threshold of such inquiries. With this very important consideration never now to be forgotten: When the study began (speaking roughly), with Strauss, 120 A.D. was the starting-point, and *circa* 160 the close, of the period to which they were assigned. Now 120 is the closing point of the most extreme modern school. The result of the former study has been to vindicate the orthodox position almost up to the hilt. A slight doubt still hangs round the Pastoral Epistles, but even that seems to be passing away. The newer criticism is different in spirit from the old. It is represented best, perhaps, by Wendt, who starts with the acceptance of the spiritual element, and seeks only to account for the mere historical and external phenomena. There is no sense of insecurity, no feeling of adverseness to the supernatural, no half-concealed scepticism of the deity of Jesus Christ our Lord. So that the prospect is full of hope and promise, and one that may well cheer and encourage those who from circumstances and training and inclination only stand and look on at the protagonists in the encounter, at the pioneers in the new enterprise.

And if so, then the Romance of Codex Bezae will some day have another volume added to it, dealing with another and different set of characters, and written by some profound and brilliant Oriental scholar, for there is a very close parallel to be drawn between the recent history of the criticism of the New

Testament and that of the Old. We have heard the warning "Remember Tübingen!" quoted only to be scouted, as by Mr. Gore in "Lux Mundi." Here is another warning, "Remember Codex Bezae!" For let me state simply for the Old Testament the problems that require to be solved before a judgment can be pronounced worth the uttering upon the questions that are now so loudly and so freely discussed. There is no harm in the discussion; but there is harm in the claim to finality, or approximate finality, made—*e.g.*, over and over again by Canon Cheyne in his *Expositor* review of Canon Driver's extremely able and scientific book, one great merit of which is its refusal to state conclusions where conclusions cannot safely be stated. Canon Driver gives the evidence. He often declines, tacitly or overtly, to draw the inference. Why? He knows the evidence is not complete, and he deserves great credit for his method.

The questions are these :

The history of the Samaritan Pentateuch, known to have been in existence before the exile, and therefore before the last recension, according to the modern critics, of the Hebrew Pentateuch.

The history of the Hebrew text, which even the Old Testament revisers did not dare to tackle critically.

The history of the LXX. text, to say nothing of the texts of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus and the rest, the materials for which are only now in process of being published in the great Concordance, to which I made allusion early in my paper.

The history of the Coptic text. Was it made from the LXX., or are there evidences of its being independent, and possibly influencing the LXX. itself?

The bearing of these questions on the critical issues arising out of the study of the Old Testament is evident, and it is manifest that no final results, or even results approximating to finality, can be ascertained till these questions are answered, and especially till that one about the Samaritan Pentateuch has received attention. At present it has not been touched, or my information thereon is marvellously at fault.

You may think I have wandered far from my original text in these latter observations, but it is not so. What I have been all along anxious to bring before you is the value of the critical method, of which Professor Rendel Harris's Study in Codex Bezae is so masterly and signal an illustration.

FREDERIC RELTON.



## ART. VI.—KING SOLOMON AND THE SONG OF SONGS.

THAT King Solomon disguised himself was the opinion of a learned and judicious writer, who has admirably summarized the great king's reign: "The graphic picture of the life of the robbers and prostitutes of an Eastern city" (in Solomon's introduction to his proverbs) "could hardly have been drawn but by one who, like Haroun Alraschid and other Oriental kings, at times laid aside the trappings of royalty, and plunged into the other extreme of social life." In Ecclesiastes<sup>1</sup> the king himself confesses that whilst "acquainting himself with wisdom he laid hold on folly," and sat with wine-bibbers. There was purpose in thus mixing with evil-doers. He was seeking an intimate and extensive knowledge of mankind for an important ultimate end. Disguise would be necessary in this peculiar pursuit of wisdom to avoid exposing himself to danger, dishonour, or serious inconvenience; but it was also needful for political security. His kingdom, though at peace, was liable to disturbance from various quarters. Absalom's sudden revolution was recent; his rebellion was followed by another. The smothered jealousy between Judah and Ephraim broke out immediately after Solomon's death; then, also, the rapid elevation of the people to wealth and power might tempt ambition and treachery. Finally, many surrounding nations who had been conquered were naturally impatient to throw off the yoke at the earliest favourable moment. Encompassed with so many great perils, it behoved Solomon not to rely too confidently on the information of careless and deceived, or possibly self-interested and designing, counsellors. It was wise to be on the watch, become a private individual for a time, see affairs with his own eyes, and thus take effectual measures to guard both himself and the kingdom. Disguise was no novelty in Israel. It had been the expedient of Joseph in Egypt, Saul in the witch's cave, David before the Philistine Achish, of the wise woman pleading for Absalom. It was employed by Jeroboam's queen, by the prophet sent to Ahab, by Ahab himself in battle, and by King Josiah fighting with Pharaoh Necho. The sagacious Solomon, we may be sure, would not be slow to avail himself of its advantages. One point more. The first royal offshoot of David was in some respects a type of David's far greater Son. Now, certainly Christ the King of kings did veil Himself for the highest, most important purposes. He laid aside His glory, and was found on earth as a

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<sup>1</sup> ii. 3.

man. He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. Should we deem incredible a discovery that the type has foreshadowed this singular and distinguishing characteristic of the great Antitype?

The possibility—say rather the probability—of Solomon's disguise, then, may be admitted. But it is more than a bare possibility; there is evidence almost amounting to demonstration. It is a fact established by coherence with other facts, and one which has striking consequences.

About the middle of his reign the king had affairs which frequently required him to be in Lebanon, and a particularly important business specially needed concealment. Whilst passing to and fro under a feigned name, he found, sincerely loved, and finally married, a fair Lebanon maiden. At intervals he was obliged to leave her, though only for a few weeks. But in the mountain-home to which she was conducted as bride she was without her husband several months. When at last he would fain have brought her to Jerusalem, and, though he did not assert the existence of another wife or wives, threw out hints which seemed to imply it, her distress and alarm were poignant. The idea was insupportable. She could not bear it. It would be misery, and destroy all her happiness. "Love," she told him, "is strong as death; jealousy," she added, "is cruel as the grave."

The situation was most singular and strange: A wife wholly unconscious that her husband was the king; a royal husband who loved this pure, affectionate, unselfish woman beyond all others, but dreaded the effect of an inevitable discovery. It might be fatal, and bring her to a hopeless, melancholy grave. He strove by a skilfully-devised plan to avert such calamity. His celebrated Song of Songs was part of the plan, and sufficiently implies the other part, though untold and unrecorded. But though Jews and Christians mainly agree as to the spiritual meaning of the song, and unanimously interpret the bridegroom and bride as representative of Messiah and the Church, a deep perplexing obscurity has concealed the beauty of the natural sense.

The removal of this obscurity is full of interest. We can trace the natural meaning of the song, and the outlines of Solomon's plan in relation to it: a catastrophe which disturbed the execution of his plan; a pathetic story of real life and real love in the olden time; and the clearing up of dark spots in history. We can see also that discovery of the true natural sense will not injure, but illumine, the spiritual interpretation. And consider another acute remark of the same excellent writer who suggested that Solomon disguised himself. He pointed out that the number of talents—666—which

marked a special crisis in the history both of the king and his kingdom, was the same as the famous New Testament number. "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man. And his number is six hundred three score and six." We quote Professor Plumptre's own words, but their full scope, and the important truths implied—truths relating apparently to our own critical era—cannot be adequately understood unless Solomon's secret be first explained. The history is the key to interpret prophecy. "666.—There is something startling in thus finding, in a simple historical statement, a number which has since become invested with such a mysterious and terrible significance (Rev. xiii. 18). The coincidence can hardly, it is believed, be looked on as casual." "The Seer of the Apocalypse," it has been well said, "lives entirely in Holy Scripture. On this territory, therefore, is the solution of the sacred riddle to be sought" (Hengstenberg, *Comm. in Rev. in loc.*). If, therefore, we find the number occurring in the Old Testament with any special significance, we may well think that that furnishes the starting-point of the enigma.

And there is such a significance here: 1. As the glory and the wisdom of Solomon were the representatives of all earthly wisdom and glory, so the wealth of Solomon would be the representative of all earthly wealth. 2. The purpose of the visions of St. John is to oppose the heavenly to the earthly Jerusalem; the true "offspring of David," "the lion of the tribe of Judah," to all counterfeits; the true riches to the false. 3. The worship of the beast is the worship of the world's mammon. It may seem to reproduce the glory and the wealth of the old Jerusalem in its golden days, but it is of evil, not of God; a Babylon, not a Jerusalem. 4. This reference does not, of course, exclude the mystical meaning of the number six, so well brought out by Hengstenberg (*l.c.*) and Mr. Maurice (on the Apocalypse).

The foregoing judicious observations set us in the right direction. History must be duly comprehended by those who would understand prophecy. By aid of the former a key is found to the secret of King Solomon and his bride. The same key is wanted to unlock St. John's mystery concerning a deadly enemy of Christ and the Heavenly Bride.

If these few remarks stimulate wholesome curiosity, they may induce thoughtful persons to study the subject independently for themselves. The larger work about to be published leaves ample room for more extended inquiries.

We live in shaking days of social and religious crises. Nature, or, rather, natural science, is arrayed against revela-

tion; as if the two did not proceed from the One, or as though the One were not, in all His ways, Oneness and Harmony.

UNITAS,

Author of "Unalism, or  
New yet Old Christianity."

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## Short Notices.

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*The Natural History of Immortality.* By JOSEPH WILLIAM REYNOLDS, Prebendary of St. Paul's. Longmans, Green and Co. 1891.

THE author of "The Supernatural in Nature," "The Mystery of Miracles," "The Mystery of the Universe," and "The World to Come," is sure to have something important and suggestive to say on the latest subject that he has chosen. He has a fertile faculty of apprehending scientific truths and thoughts, and showing their inner spiritual meanings and analogies. The fact of breaks in nature prepares us for the break of death between life and immortality; the idea of indestructibility in force and matter suggests the permanence also of the higher force of spirit. Without such intelligent spiritual force there could be no physical development in creation. And the highest visible intelligent being, man, is always looking forward to some higher stage in the universal law of progress and development; an ideal age, an ideal man. Whatever may become of physical units, man, the intelligent unit, sharing the permanence of the divine, ought to pass on to some higher growth of life. In the third chapter the writer returns to show that mechanical force must fully interpret the power of the universe; mere mechanical displacements of a primal homogeneous mass would not change the quantity and quality; the eternal power is more than nature; and that higher rule we are compelled to acknowledge when we become acquainted with the phenomena of mental and moral power. Then, again, all nature suggests the possibility of perfection; and man cannot become perfect without the regulative ideas of God, the soul, and immortality; without these ideas he tends to degenerate. Of this principle of human life the whole life of Christ is the historical type and embodiment. In an interesting chapter the author insists, in opposition to an acquiescent agnosticism, on the intellectual duty of going beyond the merely visible. In coming to closer quarters with the subject, he appeals to the truthfulness of our faculties, and argues that both the present and the future give proof of a coming time. After mentioning some of the infinite marvels of the microscope, and reminding us that the trunk of a fly is of more ingenuity than that of an elephant, he proceeds: "Faith and knowledge thus awakened, our consciousness of life and power goes beyond phenomena, from the finite to the infinite, from the temporal to the eternal. Partaking of the infinite and the eternal, one joy crowning another, we



are not alone in the earth, nor when our thoughts fly to the stars are our souls without a sanctuary. The Divine Idea is everywhere, and God everywhere is with us." In treating of physical phenomena as symbols, he claims the universe as a vast presentment of God and the greater life; and argues from facts in Nature that her existing laws testify to a natural history of the future. An interesting chapter follows on the lesson to be drawn from man's threefold existence, with fruitful passages on the Intermediate State and the Heavenly Condition. In the eleventh chapter the writer lays down certain leading principles in the theory of immortality: the Cause of all is Eternal, the Eternal is a Person, the Process of His operations is complex, Process is universal, and there is an incontestable advance in human nature towards something higher. Many valuable positions are occupied in the suggestive chapters on the prospective enlargement of human powers, as evidenced by their development on earth and by the witness of the undying faculty of hope. The chapters on visions and dreams as glimpses of immortality take note of many important and mysterious phenomena. Attention is called in two chapters to the significance attributed to dreams in both Old and New Testaments. Difficulties connected with the existence of evil spirits are examined in a calm and thoughtful temper in a series of ten chapters. The treatise ends with some chapters on the Practical Science of a Future State, the drift of which may be gathered from the following sentence: "An ordinary man can, if he will, find everywhere in the statements of materialists, and in the asserted faith of spiritualists, evidence of things transcending all that is earthly. These facts are mediate and immediate revelations, everything being mediately connected with everything else, while the whole and every part is manifestly of God, and is being carried on and on to an endless future which is coming every moment." The last chapter, on the occupation hereafter of the glorified, will be read with lively satisfaction by all who desire thoughtful and sympathetic guidance on that mysterious subject. Throughout the whole book Prebendary Reynolds has gathered together from science, philosophy and the history of religion a vast array of fertile considerations, all pointing in the direction of Christian belief. He has woven them together into a complex and subtle argument, from which the Christian thinker will derive constant and valuable help. The language is picturesque, and in some passages almost Shakespearean in wealth of language and fulness of ideas. From the closeness of the thought the argument sometimes requires a second and third perusal, which will help to fix it the more permanently in the intelligence of the reader. From the quiet of the study of a City rector, Prebendary Reynolds has conferred a real benefit alike upon thoughtful laymen and hard-working ecclesiastics, for the book contains suggestions which might be expanded into many volumes of useful sermons.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

*The Man with Seven Hearts.* By ARTHUR BURRELL. Pp. 188. Elliot Stock.

These are clever and suggestive dialogues forming a kind of mystic allegory on religious and moral subjects. The characters in the conversation are the Critic; his Wife, the Philosopher; the Reader; and the Casual—an old German gentleman occasionally present. The story of the Man with Seven Hearts, who sacrificed himself seven times for seven different persons whose love and gratitude he had won, is very touching. Many useful lessons may be learnt from the Critic in Church, and the Crack Scholarship. In looking through these amusing pages, the reader feels a pleasant sensation of a puzzle to be thought out.

*Kæso: a Tragedy of the First Century.* By NATHANIEL HURD. Pp. 113. Elliot Stock. 1889.

We desire to call attention to this striking drama of the time of Domitian. The story is of the early days of Christianity. Kæso, a young nobleman, loves Salvia, the daughter of a rich Roman—Salvius. In order to prosper his suit he accuses the father on a charge of Christianity, intending by his influence with Domitian to obtain his full pardon and so win the hand of Salvia. The plan unfortunately miscarries; for Domitian is only too pleased to have a chance of appropriating the wealth of Salvius. Salvia, whom the Emperor tries to make an inmate of his palace, is poisoned by Spuria, a matron in love with Kæso; and Kæso, in defending Salvia, is wounded by a poisoned dagger. The subtle and gloomy portrait of Domitian is well drawn. He looms as an ill-omened figure of dignity and power. The fawning and unprincipled favourite, Spado, is also well delineated. The bright, gay, well-intentioned young Roman noble, gradually turning towards Christianity, is a charming portrait. The blank verse is vigorous, stately, and musical; the characters are distinctly drawn; and there are many beautiful similes well introduced and suitable to Italian surroundings. We quote some fine lines from a soliloquy of Kæso, when he knows that he has caused the death of Salvius:

What is to die, I wonder?  
 And what makes death worth dying? Marcus knew,  
 And taught the lesson unto Salvius.  
 Were it not well in some cool windless haven,  
 Beyond life's heat and baffling storms, to gaze  
 Back on the pain of fall and failure—back  
 On agonizing wrench of cruel death,  
 As who, escaping slow from pale disease,  
 Or nursed to vigour after wound in war,  
 Lies on his couch, and toys with memories  
 Of anguish sweet to think on, for the thought  
 That all is over, and distress a dream?  
 For pain of body leaves no sting behind:  
 'Tis pain of mind that pains on unassuaged,  
 The pain of wrong unhindered, or deed done  
 That not Omnipotence can e'er undo:  
 This, as we grow more wise to know the right,  
 And, better, loving what we wisely know,  
 Is pain beyond most potent panacea.  
 Mine this, whatever or wherever I!  
 Take warning all ye purblind fools who dream  
 To scale white hills by filthy paths and win  
 Pure coronal of patient enterprise  
 By slower speed of simple subtilty!  
 Fate, like the netman of the sword-show game,  
 Meshes me helpless in still tightening toils.  
 Minded to conquer circumstance by craft  
 That hope styled gallant stratagem, I find  
 My free self, tyrant circumstance's thrall,  
 And beaten, know my buseness.

*The First Century of Christianity.* By HOMERSHAM COX. Second edition. Two vols. Pp. 569. Griffith, Farran and Co., 1892.

There is much valuable information in these volumes ; though the evidence does not seem to be treated quite without bias in some particulars. In the account of St. Paul's Communion at Troas, for instance, it is very difficult to see on what grounds the writer says that the bread was broken while the disciples were fasting. It was an evening meeting in which St. Paul prolonged his speech till midnight, and discoursed yet longer, and then broke the bread and ate, after which he talked with them a long while, even till break of day. Nor would it be easy to substantiate the statement that there is not the slightest reference in ancient writers to a combination of the love-feast with the Eucharist. In the chapter on Liturgies and Prayers, the "Apostolic Constitutions" are introduced without the warning that, although early, they are certainly not Apostolic. The evidence again is strained in such a sentence as this : "From the use of the definite article in the expressions *the* prayer, and *the* prayers, it seems at least probable that they had already settled forms of prayers ; and from the use of the plural number that they had fixed times of assembly in their temple daily, besides their attendance, as devout Israelites, in the temple ritual." "The prayers" cannot possibly be taken to mean more than the customary supplication. In the chapter on Ritual, the statement of Polycrates that the Apostle John wore the golden plate of the Jewish priest, and that of Epithanias that St. James of Jerusalem entered once a year into the Holy of Holies, and wore on his head the same golden plate, are taken as grave matters of fact ; the language, however, of these passages is strongly metaphorical ; and, as Marriott points out, the object of the writer is to bring out the supreme Apostolic authority of St. John (and St. James), whose office in the Christian Church was to bear rule in spiritual things over the spiritual, even as the High Priest of old over Israel after the flesh. The second volume contains interesting chapters on the Jews before the Christian era ; the Jews under Rome, the contemporary conditions of the Temple, the Synagogue and the Sanhedrin ; the Jews at the Dispersion ; the Church at Jerusalem ; the Eastern Churches ; and the Church at Rome.

*Hazell's Annual* for 1893 contains 740 pages of closely-printed but clear matter of statistics and information, all of the most interesting kind—politically, socially and historically. Among its new articles it gives an account of Bimetallism, the Behring Sea Question, the Condition of Building Societies, the Coal Supply of the World, the Gothenburg System, Influenza, the Labour Movement of 1892, Land Nationalisation, Question of a Teaching University for London, the Metropolitan Water Supply, One Man One Vote, the obscure region in Asia known as the Pamirs, State Pensions, Socialism, Vivisection, and Woman's Suffrage. It is impossible to prize too highly the clearness and impartiality of this extraordinary volume.

*The Clergy List* for 1893 is another monument of compendious industry. The clergy have only themselves to thank if details of income and population are not rightly given. A very brief numerical summary would be a valuable addition.

Reserved for further notice : Clews to Holy Writ ; Apologetics, or Christianity Defensively Stated ; The Hidden Mystery ; The Question of Questions ; Poems in Petroleum ; Cross Bearing ; Faith ; Thoroughness ; Some Australian Sermons ; Memoir of W. M. Falloon ; Prayer Thoughts ; The Pillar in the Night ; Expository Lectures and Sermons ; Home Weal and Home Woe ; The Biblical Museum, vol. x. ; The Class and the Desk ; Bible-Class Expositions ; Nineteen Centuries Ago and Now ; Fruit Farming for Profit in California ; Women of the Bible ; Men of the

Bible; Moule's Holy Communion; Gladstone's Romanes Lecture; Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; The Decalogue; Some Lights of Science on the Faith; Twofold Life; Ryle's Ezra and Nehemiah; Hibbert Lectures, 1892; The Incarnation; A Revelation of Human Duties, being the Bishop of Durham's Charge; Out in the Sunshine; The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools, Judges; Robinson's Catechism on the Book of Common Prayer; Dr. Jessop's Doris; Child's Church and Science; Arcana in the Ruwenzori; Bishop Westcott's Gospel of Life; The Lenten Opportunity; Talks in a Hospital; The King of Sorrows; Poems (Edward Templeman); The Confessions of St. Augustine; Seven Lamps of Fire; Bible Class Expositions; The Creed or a Philosophy; University and Cathedral Sermons; The Scientific Study of Theology; The Sacrifice of Praise; Christ Mystical; The Life of Love; Biblical Doctrine of Sin; Commentaries on the History of England; and The Sacramental System.

## MAGAZINES.

*Blackwood* has an amusing skit by Hugh Stutfield, on modern feminine frivolity in religious matters, called "Athanasia in Search of a Creed." Mr. Andrew Lang, with the light and humorous touch and perfect accuracy of criticism which have won for him so distinguished a place in English letters, carries the war of the controversy about Mary Queen of Scots into the enemy's camp, by showing how easy it would be to prove against Queen Elizabeth the same amount of complicity in the death of Amy Robsart, which is alleged against her Scottish cousin as to the death of Darnley. Mr. Skelton contributes a wise and timely article on Dante Rossetti in reference to the gossip of W. B. Scott. The Rev. W. K. R. Bedford draws attention to the career of the late Mr. Brandram, and urges that more care should be bestowed in the universities and other places of education on the delightful and powerful art of reading.

In *The Cornhill* there is a pleasant paper of the kind that is a delight to all Englishmen, entitled "Nature Studies, by a Son of the Marshes." "Cyclops in London" is a striking account of the Thames Iron-works and Ship-building Company. An unpublished poem by Charlotte Brontë on Memory and Immortality is an added treasure to literature. An interesting account is given of Hateshu, an Egyptian Queen belonging to the vigorous eighteenth dynasty, born about 1600 B.C., and reigning between two great conquerors, Thotmes I., her father, and Thotmes III., her brother.

*The Newbery House Magazine* contains the third part of the interesting series of Special Forms of Prayer in the Church of England, dealing with the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William and Mary. The valuable series on the Livery Companies deals this time with the Cloth-workers, Woolmen and Dyers. A thoughtful paper on Women's Work follows by Lady Laura Ridding, wife of the Bishop of Southwell. The scope of an article on the Poor Law may be gathered from its last sentence: "We may at any rate make some amends for such a forsaking of our own country by going to Austria for the outlines of a better Poor Law, and learn from the Viennese how on their principles we may relieve our poor, without pauperizing either them or ourselves." A well illustrated article by Dr. Hayman brings to notice one of the glories of English architecture—Selby Abbey; and there is a short biographical sketch of Sam Fife, Bishop Selwyn's Bo'sun.

*The Leisure Hour* has a second fascinating paper by Edward Whympers on Ascents in the Himalayas; a prettily illustrated article on a Gloucestershire Ship-Canal; a glimpse into the mysterious regions of Thibet by the celebrated traveller, Miss Bishop; Prebendary Harry

Jones writes forcibly on the Soldier as a Type of Christian Manhood ; there is a capital and useful paper on the Free Shelters of London ; a gentle corrective to some of the opinions expressed in Mr. Wright's new life of the poet Cowper ; and the usual charming Sketches of Natural History and Science.

*The Sunday at Home* provides an interesting paper on the Jain Caves at Ellora. Dr. Green, in a paper on Anglican Hymn-writers, deals with Heber, Milman, Keble, Lyte, Monsell, Bickersteth, Walsham-How, Ellerton, and Stone. Prebendary Gordon-Calthrop discourses powerfully on "Giving Wine to the Nazarite." Mr. J. F. Crump suggests reasons for ineffectual prayer. "Talks with Workers" and "Things New and Old" contain some fertile thoughts.

*The Sunday Magazine* has, as usual, a varied and interesting programme. There is a bright and interesting paper by Professor Mahaffy on Mount Athos ; a thoughtful meditation on Martha and Mary by the late Dr. Alexander Macleod ; a second paper on the Common Lodging-houses of London, by Mr. Mearns ; a second paper on Tennyson, in which "One Who Knew Him" draws out his great sympathy with nature ; and Dr. Bowman-Stephenson begins a valuable series of "Chapters from the Early History of America," the present instalment being "The Battle of the Creeds."

*Cassell's Family Magazine*. Amongst the useful articles which make up the agreeable miscellaneous fare of this magazine are papers on the Poetry of the Search-Light ; Animals' Trials by Jury ; Dinner and Digestion ; Reporting in Parliament ; the proposal to fill up a beautiful Welsh Valley to provide water for Birmingham ; a charming experience in Gardening ; and a series of clever character illustrations called "A Highly Respectable Family."

In *The Thinker* there is an interesting and vigorous paper by Mr. Keir-Hardie, M.P., on "The Church and the Labour Problem." In another paper Professor Sayce brings his knowledge of ancient monuments to bear on the Book of Ezra. There are also interesting articles on "The Problem of the Book of Daniel" ; "The Economic Condition of the Hebrew Monarchy" ; "Antioch as the Birth-place of Christianity" ; and "The Christian Doctrine of the Creation." In the review of "Baur's Teaching and Influence" a true and valuable sentence occurs : "He sees history not as it was, but as he thinks it must have been."

*The Expository Times* has important papers on "The Babylonian Religion and Judaism" ; on "Old Testament Theology," by Professor A. B. Davidson ; on "The Æthiopic Version of the Old Testament," by Mr. Gwilliam ; and on "The Teaching of our Lord as to the Authority of the Old Testament," by the Bishop of Gloucester.

The readers of *The Quiver* will find much to interest them in the account of Dr. Moon's work for the blind ; in Professor Blackie's "Theology of the Sun" ; and in Dean Lefroy's meditation on three great sayings in the Bible : "It is good," "it is finished," "it is done."

Besides the usual stories of adventure, *The Boy's Own Paper* has an interesting account of big animals by Dr. Stradling, and bantams by Gordon Stables.

In *The Girl's Own Paper*, Miss Tytler continues her account of that very interesting personage, the Electress Sophia. The papers on Education continue very practical and suggestive.

In *The Church Sunday School Magazine* the biography is that of Archbishop Theodore, one of the founders of the Church of England. Mr. Frost continues to give useful information on the cost of elementary education during the last fifty years, and the Bishop of Manchester contributes his unpublished address on "The Neglect of Religious Education in Elementary Schools."

*The Anglican Church Magazine* opens with an interesting comment on the recent extension of the work of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. "The Evangelicals in the Church of England are coming to be recognised, and to recognise themselves as being representatives not of a party, but of a spirit. The *Rock*, with that good sense and dignified feeling on which we have occasionally commented, is feeling the way to a better state of things." We cannot quite agree with Mr. H. C. Richards, when in his excellent article on "Betting and Gambling," he says, "As a matter of pure ethics I think that a man or woman is entitled to spend upon either betting or gambling so much and no more of his annual income as he can afford after due provision for the maintenance of himself and his family, and his charitable obligations." The New Testament teaches us that all our money is a talent from God, and that for our use of every shilling of it we are responsible to Him.

In *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* Mr. Hole contributes one of his biographical papers on "Early Days, Friends and Localities of the Church Missionary Society." There are interesting letters and extracts from Mr. Hind in Kin-Shiu, Archdeacon Wolfe in the Fuh-Kien Mission, and from Mr. Eugene Stock from New Zealand.

*The Church Missionary Gleaner* contains "A Preaching Tour in the Yoruba Country," from the Rev. T. Harding's journal.

In *The Bible Society Monthly Reporter* Captain Poulden gives an account of the relation between the South American Missionary Society and the Bible Society; and the Rev. Harry Scott and Miss Blanche Carey write respectively on "The Bible in New Guinea" and "The Bible in India."

*Little Folks* gives an account of work done by its readers for poor children in 1892, and has a pretty sketch of the life of Court Pages in olden days.

The R.T.S. 110th Biography is Granville Sharpe, the Emancipator.

We have also received *The Cottager and Artisan*, *The Child's Pictorial*, *The Dawn of Day*, *The Church Worker*, *Friendly Greetings*, *Light in the Home*, *New and Old*, *Our Little Dots*, *Everybody's Stories*, *Boys' and Girls' Companion*, *Awake*, *The Child's Companion*, *The Children's World*, *The People's Weekly*, *The Pulpit and Pew*, and *Sunny Corners*.



## THE MONTH.

THE firmness of Lord Rosebery appears to have had the result of calming the excitement in Egypt.

Lord Winchilsea has been exceedingly busy during the last month in rousing agricultural labourers and farmers throughout the country to a sense of the unity of their interests and the peril in which those interests stand.

A Parliamentary return shows that a sum of over £20,000,000 has been raised in eighteen years for the building of new churches and the restoration of old ones in England.

The remains of the Rev. John Newton and his wife, which lay, with a multitude of other bodies, beneath the Church of St. Mary, Woolbath, have been transferred to his country parish churchyard at Olney.

A Liberal Churchman's Union has been formed, with the object of showing that there is no necessary antagonism between loyalty to the Church and devotion to the policy of Mr. Gladstone.

The Bishop of Norwich has announced his resignation, which is to take place in May. He was nominated in 1857 by Lord Palmerston, and has been a truly wise and pastoral Bishop of his great see.

The supporters of Evangelical principles will rejoice in the coalescence of the Clerical and Lay Union and the Protestant Churchman's Alliance. The Committee includes Canon Scott-Holland, Prebendary Eyton, Canon Bulstrode, Professor Shuttleworth, Canon Leigh, and Dr. Norman Kerr.

The Queen's Speech has been disfigured by the proposal to suspend all new appointments creating vested interests in the churches of Scotland and Wales, with a view to their speedy disendowment. The indignation of the members of the National Churches has been further aroused by the representative of the Ministry in the Ecclesiastical Commission acting as if the Bills had already been passed.

The Convocation of Canterbury met on February 7, 8, 9, and 10. Their deliberations were largely occupied with the poverty of the clergy, the attack on the Welsh Church, and the question of education. The Bishops have appointed a committee to consider two gravamina sent up from the Lower House on fasting, communion, and evening communion. The Convocation of York has, during the same week, been occupied with the poverty of the clergy and the question of divorce.

The Rev. S. A. Alexander, Tutor at Keble College, Oxford, has been appointed to succeed Canon Ainger as Reader at the Temple. He is understood to be of Evangelical principles.

The East London Church Fund requires a considerable increase of income; and unless it shortly receives £5,000 it will have to discontinue many of its grants.

The appeal made at the Mansion House by the Bishops of London, Rochester, and St. Albans for an increase of funds for providing additional clergy, mission-rooms, and churches for the enormous increase of population in the Metropolis, was received by a most crowded and enthusiastic audience. In London alone some thirty or forty new churches are at once required, besides a large number of mission-rooms and additional clergy. The Bishops would like to raise for the three dioceses an additional £60,000 a year. As the increase in London comes chiefly from the country, and as every part of England draws its resources from London, it is hoped that all parts of the country will respond.

The death of Bishop Phillips Brooks removes from the U.S. of America their most powerful, popular, and eloquent divine—well

known in this country in many of the London churches. His personality was remarkable for his great height, splendid physique, entire independence of thought, the rapidity of his speaking, the absence of clerical dress, his universal sympathies, and the charm of his manner. He was born in 1835.

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The February Simultaneous Meetings of the C.M.S., inaugurated by a powerful address from the Bishop of London, have been eminently successful and stimulating.

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Much criticism has been excited by the declaration of the Decennial Missionary Conference at Bombay that it declines to support the crusade against opium, and against the Contagious Diseases Act.

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The explanation of the Government has been full and satisfactory; and it appears that, notwithstanding all declarations to the contrary, that Sir Gerald Portal has been entrusted with large powers for the settlement of the country.

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The controversy on Evening Communion has ended by a kindly and satisfactory letter from the Archbishop of York. It appears certain that evening communions were instituted by Dr. Hook at Leeds, and early communions by William Wilson at Islington. His Grace has appointed an Evangelical—the Rev. W. Ruthven Pym—to Rotherham, in succession to Mr. Law.

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Mr. Brook Deeds, Senior Chaplain at Allahabad, has, at the request of the new Bishop of Lucknow, abandoned the use of vestments and lights in the cathedral.

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The vacant See of Guiana has been filled by the appointment of the Rev. W. P. Swaby, D.D., Vicar of Millfield, Sunderland, who was Barry Scholar and Divinity Exhibitioner at Hatfield Hall, Durham. He was ordained in 1871.

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We deeply regret to record the great loss which East London has sustained by the sudden death, at the age of 52, of the Rev. George Augustus Mayo How, Vicar of St. Mary, Bromley, Rural Dean of Stepney, and Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. He had been to Bury St. Edmunds to preach for the Bishop of Bedford's Fund, and caught a chill, which brought on pleurisy, and ended in his death. The deceased was educated at St. Paul's School and Brasenose College, Oxford, where he was a Scholar and Hulmeian Exhibitioner. He graduated B.A. in 1862, and M.A. in 1866. After being ordained, in 1864, he worked in Bromley under his father, who was then vicar of the parish, and on his father's promotion to another living he was presented to the vicarage in 1872. He took an active part in building the churches of St. Gabriel, St. Michael and All Angels, and All Hallows, and was for many years chairman of the Poplar Board of Guardians, chairman of the Bromley Vestry, and a representative on the Metropolitan Asylums Board. He was twice



chairman of the Bow and Bromley Institute, and was a governor and vice-chairman of the Stepney and Bow Foundation, which controls the Coopers' Boys' School and the Prisca Girls' School. He was made Rural Dean of Stepney in 1886, and a Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1891. He was a moderate and liberal Evangelical, of great wisdom and large administrative ability.

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#### CHURCH OF ENGLAND SANITARY ASSOCIATION.

At the monthly meeting of this society, held in the Church House, Westminster, Sir William Vincent, Bart., in the chair, a paper on "The Duty of the Church in Country Places," by the Archdeacon of London, was, in his unavoidable absence, read by the Rev. Prebendary Harry Jones. The Archdeacon said: "To the greater part of the parishioners in country places the laws of health are probably absolutely unknown . . . they know nothing about the facts of illness, the principles of infection and contagion, the requisites of convalescence, the importance of first symptoms of disease. In every country village committees might with advantage be formed, consisting of the vicar as chairman, the squire, the doctor, the Nonconformist minister, and others, to care for the condition of their poorer neighbours. These committees would be inspired by, and work as branches of, the new Sanitary Association."

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#### FUNERAL REFORM.

Dr. Norman Kerr, speaking at the monthly meeting of the Funeral Reform Association, held at the Church House, Westminster, said that prevalent burial customs were directly contrary to the Christian faith, dispiriting, injurious to the health of the bereaved, cruelly costly, and noxious to residents in the vicinity of the buried dead. Christian ministers taught that death was no break in the continuity of life, but a transference into a higher sphere of being; yet, after a death, every room was darkened and the clothing worn was of the deepest black. Nothing could be more depressing, dispiriting, and harmful. With the light of heaven shut out the digestion was impaired and the whole system lowered. Thus, physical was added to mental distress. The body reacting upon the mind the depression deepened, and the susceptibility to the malign influence of infectious germs increased. And this depressing process lasted hour after hour, day by day, until the body was buried. No wonder, with all this ghastly factitious environment of gloom intensifying natural grief and disturbing vital functions, that Reason sometimes tottered on her throne. Up, then, with the blinds, and let in the glad sunshine, to cheer the weary heart, chase away the horrors of the dismal darkness and send the blood more quickly through the veins! And, in inclement weather, let all the service be said in the church, and the mourners be protected at the grave-side by a portable tent. To die was as natural as to be born. All who had influence should set an example of common-sense, and sternly oppose all meretricious, costly, and insanitary funeral observances.