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THE

# CHURCHMAN

AUGUST, 1904.

## ART. I.—LOISY'S SYNTHESIS OF CHRISTIANITY.

IN pressing his theory that the doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity was realized by the primitive Church mainly through the inspirations of St. Paul, Loisy refers to the early preaching of Peter in Acts ii. 23, 24, and x. 38-40. For Peter the *human* Jesus could only have been "a man approved of God among you by miracles . . . whom God raised up."[1] His preaching was "how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power," and "Him God raised up," etc. Therefore, Jesus had never spoken of His pre-existence in the glory of the Godhead. This argument seems telling at first. Yet when we refer to the times when the Divinity was by admission realized, we find ourselves confronted with the same language used in regard to the Saviour's human and mediatorial capacity.

If there was really a gradual evolution (not merely a closer definition) of the doctrine of Christ's Divinity in the years succeeding, we shall expect to find a scrupulous abstention from this earlier and insufficient way of expressing His claims. Yet what are the real facts? Not only does Paul preach in similar phraseology all through the Acts, but it occurs to the last in his Epistles.[2] Thus, in Ephesians he speaks of "God's mighty power which He wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead." The same Epistle tells us, nevertheless, of God "creating all things by Jesus Christ," who, as the Husband of the Church, recalls to our minds the Jehovah of the Old Testament. In Colossians we read that "God has

[1] "Autour," etc., pp. 111, 112.

[2] *Cf.* Acts xiii. 30, xvii. 31, xxvi. 8; Eph. i. 20, iii. 9, v. 23, *et seq.*; Col. i. 13-17; Phil. ii. 6-9.

translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son." But it is by that Son that "all things were created," and "He is before all things, and in Him all things consist." In Philippians Paul tells us how God "highly exalted" Jesus, and "gave Him the name which is above every name." Yet immediately before we are told of this same Christ Jesus being originally "in the form of God."[1]

Equally significant in this way is the Epistle to the Hebrews. No Epistle so fully sounds the depths of the Kenosis: "It became Him . . . to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings"; "Who having offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and having been heard for His godly fear, though He were a Son, yet learnt obedience by the things which He suffered." Yet this Epistle affords, too, the clearest representation of the Eternal Christ in His hypostatic union as the "ray-image of God's glory," "by whom also He made the worlds," who Himself claims the words of homage, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever."[2] Similarly, Clement in one passage speaks of Jesus as "sent from God," "by the will of God," as if the mere chief of the Gospel ministers. Yet in another he represents Him as personally Divine in the very language of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[3]

Loisy's interpretation of the early Christology would really require that Peter had never known our Lord appropriate to His earthly ministration the Messianic titles "Son of man," "Son of God," with their profound suggestiveness; never heard the parable of the Vineyard, whose Lord "last of all sends unto men His Son"; never heard those teachings that speak of the Messianic "kingdom" already set up in the human heart. There is no occasion for such destructive exegesis as this, for reflection will tell us there is no difficulty in these passages in the Acts. The economy observable in these public speeches is almost necessitated by the exigencies of circumstances. For Peter or Paul to propound the glory of the pre-existent Christ to men only acquainted with the fact of the public execution of Jesus was hardly possible. One can scarcely see how they could have approached their

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[1] I might also instance the Epistle to the Romans, where we have, "Like as Christ was raised . . . through the glory of the Father," in vi. 4; and in ix. 5, "Of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever." But I do not press this, in view of the different rendering given by some critics to the last clause (see R.V., margin).

[2] *Cf.* Heb. i. 1 *et seq.* with ii. 8, v. 7, 8.

[3] *Cf.* Clement ad Cor., xxxvi. and xlii.

subject otherwise than by the reasoning actually adopted—viz., that this human Jesus had been raised by God from death, and was so *demonstrated* to have been the Christ.

Many a modern missionary in full possession of the Nicene dogma has found it necessary to cope with heathen ignorance in the same way, keeping the deeper mysteries of the faith in the background, and basing his appeal just on the lines presented in these discourses in the Acts. It must be remembered, too, that the orthodox Christology of itself involves a twofold doctrine, which the human mind cannot appropriate in its entirety. Our intelligence can but see the individual facets singly, and it is faith only that induces us to attach a credence to their harmonious coexistence. In ordinary unrestrained thought the most orthodox Christians are still continually led by mood or circumstance to view singly either the human or the Divine side of our Saviour's personality. This remark might be illustrated by a comparison of some familiar English hymns. A thousand years hence, some Harnack or Loisy investigating the present era will perhaps confidently discover in certain hymns of the Georgian and early Victorian periods a distinct Nestorian theology. The same acumen might detect in some of the recent additions to "Hymns Ancient and Modern" as marked Eutychian proclivities. Yet in both cases the authors were men who accepted to the full the Christology of the first four Councils.

My mention of Hebrews suggests another remark. For Loisy there is a distinction between the Gospel preached first to Jews: "On avait dit aux Juifs Jésus est le Messie prédit par les prophètes"; and the Gospel of the Apostle Paul, who "trouve à l'Évangile, au rôle et à la personne de Jésus une signification universelle."[1] What real ground is there for this assertion beyond the admitted fact that Paul was specially commissioned to convey the tidings of salvation to the Gentiles? It is contradicted by many sayings of Jesus, which we believe to be authentic. It is contradicted by Peter's first sermons, in which the Gospel blessings are for the Jew first, but afterwards to "all the kindreds of the earth"; "to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."[2] It is contradicted by the Christology of this Epistle, which is addressed to a community of Jewish extraction. It is a singular feature in such a work that the claims of Jesus as the Messianic King of the House of David are put out of sight throughout as they are. On the other hand, no Epistle presents more emphatically the "signification universelle" of the work of Christ, who is alike the Creator of the worlds and

[1] "Autour," etc., pp. 111, 112.

[2] Acts ii. 30, iii. 25, 26.

the universal Mediator, "who tastes death on behalf of every man," and has "all things [*τὰ πάντα*] put in subjection under His feet."

Now, it is almost certain, I think, that this Epistle is not Paul's, and the modern critics seem to incline to the belief that the writer was not even "acquainted with Pauline literature."[1] On the other hand, it is sufficiently early to be used largely by Clement of Rome. We are thus brought face to face with a problem with which Loisy never attempts to deal. He tells us that "la divinité du Christ est un dogme qui a grandi dans la conscience chrétienne, mais qui n'avait pas été expressément formulé dans l'Évangile."[2] It is an ecclesiastical development, due mainly to St. Paul, and "l'auteur de l'Épître aux Hébreux complète l'idée de Paul" and "l'auteur du quatrième Évangile y découvre la révélation même du Logos, du Verbe divin."[3] But where and when was the initial step taken? Where is there a trace of a record of any joint action by the Apostles to thus reconstrue the human life and personality of Jesus Christ?

The sermons of the "Prince des Apôtres," we are told, come from one who is merely convinced that Jesus is shown to be a *future* Messiah by the resurrection from the dead. Yet his teaching, later on, is that the spirit that inspired the old Jewish prophets is the "Spirit of Christ"; and this Christ is "foreknown before the foundations of the world," and Christians believing in Him believe "in God."[4] John was with Peter on the occasion of these first discourses, and presumably shared his meagre Christology. Yet he, too, later on (unless his Epistle and Apocalypse are to go the way of the fourth Gospel), has full convictions of the Lord's eternal Divinity. This unknown writer to the Hebrews speaks in the same strain. St. Paul, as early as A.D. 56-57, has preached that Christ is the "Power of God" and the "Wisdom of God," and applied to Him all the familiar Divine titles, and before his death has, as Loisy admits, sufficiently defined the future lines of ecclesiastical Christology and of the Trinitarian dogma.

The question, therefore, may be fairly put, Is it at all probable that Christian teachers, working independently, should evolve this striking addition to the Gospel? Or is it conceivable that the historian, who in the Acts relates what meetings there were to insure unity of doctrine and practice,

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[1] See Dr. Bruce's article in Hastings, *s.v.* "Hebrews."
[2] "Autour," etc., p. 117.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 126.
[4] 1 Pet. i. 11, 20, 21.

should ignore altogether a doctrinal development which was certainly the most important one in all Church history—nay, should deny it in the third Gospel by his testimony as to Christ's own teaching? If not, the reasonable alternative is just that with which plain folk are familiar as the actual story of our Scriptures. The revelation of His Divinity was, as the Gospels state, an actual part of our Saviour's historical teaching. The Apostles appropriate it along with the facts of His human life. They present their Lord, each, doubtless, according to his own degree of inspiration and advancing power of realization, but with the component factors in their Christology determined for them by Christ's actual teaching. In fact, they knew from the first the elements which I have been indicating in the Synoptic story, and the Christology which is brought so prominently forward in the Gospel of St. John.

I sum up, then, my contention in these two papers thus. There is not a vestige of proof in early Christian literature that the Christological development postulated by Loisy occurred. The theory that makes it originate in St. Paul's later Epistles and be carried on in the fourth Gospel is as unnecessary as it is unsubstantiated by evidence. On the contrary, the Gospels and Epistles alike testify to a primitive recognition of the Saviour's pre-existent Divinity.

I. In the case of the Synoptic Gospels after we have eliminated the "récits de l'enfance," His preter-human character as an actual part of our Saviour's teaching is attested, not only by the noted words in Matt. xi. 25-27, Luke x. 21, 22, but by His continually appropriating to Himself the Messianic titles. I have shown that the usual title "Son of man," if in a sense suggestive of a human nature, itself connotes a Messiah endowed with Divine attributes, and interchanges in actual Jewish usage (as in the scene before Caiaphas) with "Son of God." In these Gospels, moreover, Loisy's theory is contradicted indirectly by such episodes as the Temptation and the Transfiguration. The temptation scenes, portrayed by Matthew and Luke, take us far beyond the similar stories of human prophets prepared by disciplinary asceticism for ministerial work. "If Thou be the Son of God" is the clue to their insidious potency. The second (in Matthew's order) is especially instructive in this connection. The gist of this temptation is that Jesus shall fulfil the Messianic hope of the Jews by an immediate startling proof of Divine power, instead of by the ministry of humiliation. A self-manifestation of Deity, fulfilling such prophecies as "The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His Temple," is here suggested, instead of the prescribed

path of self-sacrifice with the cross on Calvary as its climax.[1]

The Transfiguration story involves the same idea of a Christ who has a nature higher than that of man, and can assume at will a glorious spiritual form. Here again, too, the Kenosis ("the decease that He should accomplish at Jerusalem") is presented in significant contrast to the inherent Divinity. To the witnesses of the scene the Transfiguration must have of itself suggested the truth that Jesus was more than man. As regards the central figure, the episode is unintelligible in the biography of a Christ, who "a vécu dans la conscience de son humanité," and is only shown to be Messiah by His resurrection. I do not know what the Abbé makes of these two incidents in the synoptic narrative. Possibly for him they fall, like the "récits de l'enfance," outside the actual biography, as a kind of Haggada tacked on by the early Christians to the reminiscence of the historical Jesus. To me it seems that a subject of such transcendent importance to the first Christians as the biography of their Lord could not have been dealt with in this spirit. Pretexts and occasions for "cunningly devised fables" were as yet remote. In fact, Paley's old argument here still holds good. There was no motive for such inventions, and much was sacrificed by those who accepted the belief in Jesus as Divine.

Further, to the Evangelists themselves, the biography they deal with certainly connotes the Divinity of Jesus directly and indirectly. The doctrine is as clearly behind St. Mark's narrative, which opens, "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God," as behind the two which give the story of the Parthenogenesis. The identity of the Divine figure is obvious, whether we are summoned (as Bishop Ellicott well phrases it) "in the first Gospel, to recognise transitions from theocratic glory to meek submissions," or "in the second, to see our Redeemer in one light only of majesty and power."[2]

One can imagine that Luke was affected by companionship with the Apostle to the Gentiles, but can all four Evangelists be supposed to have reconstructed history in deference to Pauline Christology? Is it probable that Paul was either able or willing to reshape fundamental principles for them, and for the older Apostles too, and, indeed, for the Church

[1] It is only thus that the form of the temptation is intelligible, and it is strange that its point is missed in Farrar's "Life of Christ." See further Ellicott's Hulsean Lectures on the "Life of our Lord," p. 112.

[2] "Life of our Lord," p. 26.

at large? Could the biography of Jesus be thus perverted at will, without protest from surviving witnesses for the conservation of the true facts and teachings? These are the questions which really bar the way to Loisy's statement of the case, "La divinité du Christ est un dogme qui a grandi dans la conscience chrétienne, mais qui n'avait pas été expressément formulé dans l'Évangile."[1]

II. St. Paul's own "development" in this matter of Christology is an unsubstantiated postulate. What is clear and certain is that the doctrine of the Lord's Divinity is sufficiently fixed for Paul when he writes to the Corinthians in A.D. 56-57. When Loisy tells us that it is in "ses dernières Épitres" that "un role cosmologique est attribué au Christ," and quotes Col. i. 15-20 for an identification of Christ with "la Sagesse de l'ancien Testament qui assistait le Créateur dans toutes ses œuvres,"[2] he postdates our evidence by at least six years.

If Christ is in that passage the "Image of the Invisible God, the first-born of all creation," in 2 Cor. iv. 4 the statement is anticipated. We are told of the dawning light "of the Gospel of the glory of Christ who is the image of God." The Christology and the simile alike suggest the full expression of our Saviour's claims in Heb. i. 2 *et seq.* Further, in the Epistle that precedes this, there is a clear assertion of the Saviour's pre-existence in heaven. "The second man," says St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 47, is "of" or "from heaven." These teachings come in quite incidentally, the one in a presentation of the doctrine of a future resurrection, the other in a vindication of St. Paul's own ministerial relations. We cannot suppose that it was a new doctrine to the Corinthians or other than a part of what Paul taught when he founded the Church there in A.D. 50-52.

As for "la Sagesse," I showed in my last paper that it is in 1 Cor. i. that we find the phrase "Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God." I think, too, we may find an indirect identification of Christ with the hypostatized Wisdom again in chap. x. For in the later Jewish literature (Wisdom x. 15 *et seq.*) it is the Divine "Wisdom" which "delivers the righteous people from Egypt" and "brings them through the Red Sea," etc., and similarly in 1 Cor. x. St. Paul, after telling us of his Gospel of "Christ the Power and Wisdom of God," goes on to show how the sins of the ancient Israelites were committed "against Christ" and how

[1] "Autour," etc., p. 117.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.

the Rock that gave them relief from thirst "was Christ." But be this as it may, one may say certainly that if "Paul assigne hardiment cette place au Christ Éternel," this feat of theological evolution was completed at least some years before A.D. 56, and that reference to the later Epistles is really needless.

It is well to notice how closely Paul's Christology at this time corresponds with that of the fourth Gospel, and with that of those synoptic passages in Matt. xi. and Luke x., which Loisy tells us were only made utterances of Christ in later times. The teaching of "Christ crucified" includes, Paul says, for the fully instructed a Divine "mystery, . . . the *wisdom* which hath been hidden, which God foreordained unto our glory" (1 Cor. ii. 7, 8). "Christ is the *image of God*" (2 Cor. iv. 4). "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He *became* poor" (*ib.* viii. 9). (How could they "know" it, unless our Lord's pre-existent Divinity was an integral part of the Church's teaching?) He whom "the princes of this world crucified" was "*the Lord of glory*" (1 Cor. ii. 8)—an expression recalling our Lord's own saying, "The glory which I had with Thee before the world was," and the language in the prologue of the fourth Gospel. In 1 Cor. xv. He is the "*second man*," an expression built evidently on the term "Son of man" noticed in my last paper. He has been to the world "a *quickening* Spirit, an expression suggesting Christ's own words: "The Son quickeneth whom He will" (John v. 21). He is "*from heaven*"; *cf.* John iii. 13, where the Son of man is designated as "He that came down from heaven." It would, no doubt, be possible to carry the parallel further, but I content myself with noting that in A.D. 56-57 Paul connects these elements with the Gospel presented to the Corinthians about the years A.D. 50-52.

When, then, we have reached this point, the questions come before us from this part of the New Testament literature, too: Would even an Apostle be privileged to present Christ thus, had not the actual teaching of the Master supplied a basis? Is it a likely hypothesis that the first disciples were left without any fixed Christological doctrine to await the illumination of Paul? Is it conceivable that the new elements which take us so far beyond Loisy's "Christ de l'histoire" (as gauged by Acts ii. 23, etc.) were not only everywhere accepted, but tacked on to the recorded teachings of the Master as historical discourses, with place, hearers, and surroundings invented to give the semblance of historicity?

One may fairly remark, at all events, that, were such

"developments" conceivable, there would be good reason for those factions "of Paul," "of Apollos," and "of Cephas," which the Apostle here censures as a disgrace to the Corinthian Church. Indeed, his own exhortation, "that ye all speak the same thing," and his disclaimer, "Is Christ divided?" would have been invalidated by Apostolic practice.

The presentation of the mystery of the Atonement and of the work of the Holy Spirit was, doubtless, the subject of inspired investigation. The relations of Christianity to the Gentile races and their institutions and practices were the subject of determinations and prescriptions. The complex life of the early Church included, too, a recognition of *charismata* of the Holy Spirit in the field of prophesyings, as well as in Apostolic ordinances. But behind all this variety of thought and function, we may confidently say that there was then, as there is now, the one central truth—Jesus, the Manifestation of God. Special revelations were, indeed, made to Paul, and in his independence of the older Apostles he can legitimately state that his Gospel was not "of man." None the less, it is incredible that one who so presses unity of doctrine taught any other Gospel than that which the Church was acquainted with from the first, in respect to her Founder's personality. The foundation had been deeply laid in many hearts before the conversion of Paul, and, as he himself says to the Corinthians, "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." We have seen what "Jesus Christ" means for St. Paul in this Epistle: that we may be sure, and nothing less, was the belief of all the Churches.

There is no occasion, then, to carry the theory of "evolution" into other provinces than those generally recognised—the realization of the distinct Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and consequently of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The Acts sufficiently shows us how this advance was made—viz., by personal experience of the Holy Spirit's working.

The Acts, too, of course, confirms the record in the fourth Gospel of the promise of the Holy Spirit's coming. It may even be said that Luke's two accounts of Christ's charges to the Apostles after the resurrection, and the wording "the promise of the Father which ye have heard of Me" only become intelligible by the light of the well-known utterances in John xiv., xv. Loisy, as we have seen, repudiates the historicity of these utterances. His comment on John xiv. 26 strikes one, therefore, as a curious illustration of the mental confusion involved by all attempts to reconcile destructive critical methods with the ecclesiastical pretensions of ultra-

montanism. "Ces paroles de Sauveur . . . doivent justifier la méthode de l'évangeliste, et elles signifient l'action permanente de l'Esprit dans l'Église . . . l'infallibilité de l'Église si l'on veut; mais dans un sens positif comme un don d'illumination conquérante, non seulement comme une assistance contre le danger d'erreur."[1] Yet *ex hypothesi* "ces paroles" are purely fictitious, and are merely attributed to the Saviour by an unknown idealist writer. They are, therefore, as incapable of justifying such inferences as a man is incapable of hoisting himself by his own waistband. The lamented Dr. Salmon dealt, I think, very successfully with that fallacious doctrine, "the infallibility of the Church." But surely his task would have been rendered easier of accomplishment had its Roman champions adopted the Abbé's methods.

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.

(*To be continued.*)

## ART. II.—THE BOOK OF GENESIS (*continued*).

OUR attention must now be drawn to the second account of the Creation and to the history of the Fall of man. But before doing so we should like to bring forward what we consider to be two or three instances of perversity on the part of the modern school of critics.

1. The first words of Gen. ii. 4 are made a subscription to the previous section, instead of an introduction to the following one. It is allowed that *everywhere else* the formula stands at the head of a section. Why is it not allowed to do so here? The answer is clear. Everywhere else the formula is attributed to the document labelled P, which is held to have contained the superscription as well. Here the formula follows an extract from P (Gen. i. 1 to ii. 3), but is succeeded by a section from J (Gen. ii. 4*b* to iv. 26). It cannot be that such a formula—for this is the argument—could have been one used in common both by J and P; therefore it must be, contrary to its usage elsewhere, turned into a subscription, and the extract from J made to begin in the middle of a sentence. That this was the reason seems to be clear from the treatment of another passage where the same difficulty

[1] "Le Qu. Évang.," p. 756.

occurs (xxxvii. 2). There the words, "These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old," are ascribed to P, whilst an extract from J begins, "was feeding the flock with his brethren." This is surely making mincemeat of a narrative, and we are confirmed in our opinion by finding that in that chapter various verses or parts of verses are assigned to the original documents in the following way: P—J—E—J—E—J—E—J—E—J—E—J—E—twelve changes of source in thirty-six verses!

2. In the first account of the beginnings of things the division of the work of Creation is made by what are called "days," though authorities have never agreed upon what is the exact meaning of the term in the first chapter of Gènesis.[1] It must be wrong, however; there can be no such division scientifically. Granted, for the moment it is so. Why, then, when we get to the second account, and there is no mention of "days" or of time at all, but only an outline sketch of the work of Creation contained within the short compass of three verses, are we told that its order of events is all wrong as to its chronology? I have already dealt with the difficulties suggested with regard to this narrative. I only mention it here to show the perversity of treatment of the two narratives. And this perversity continues. In Gen. ii. you may make the rivers of Eden refer to a system of canals, but in Gen. iii. you must not identify the serpent of the narrative with the Evil One.

3. The conservative critic is told that he must not read anything into the text that is not there. Well, then, neither must the "Higher Critic" do so. Yet, take the book we are at present engaged upon, and if we examine the notes on Gen. ii. 4*b*-25 we shall find the following statements:

(*a*) "5. There was not a man to till the ground, and, it is to be understood, to supply the deficiency of rain by artificial irrigation.

(*b*) "10-14. Provision is made for the irrigation of the garden. The reference is implicitly to a system of canals, such as existed in Babylonia from at least the time of Ḥammurabi (*circa* 2300 B.C. onwards), conveying the water from a main stream to different parts of the land.

(*c*) "19. First of all, beasts and birds are formed, also from the ground, and brought to the man to see how they would

[1] In his note on Gen. ii. 4*b*, 5, Dr. Driver says, on the words "in the day," "*i.e.*, at the time, Hebrew usage compressing often what may have been actually a period of some length into a 'day' for the purpose of presenting it vividly and forcibly" (p. 37).

impress him, and *whether they would satisfy the required need* [*i.e.*, of an help meet for him].[1] Fishes are not mentioned, *the possibility of their proving a 'help' to man being out of the question.*"

Now, these statements may be some, or all of them, true or false, but they are certainly read into the Biblical narrative; and the last words of (*c*) tend to raise a smile, though very likely not intended, as if the whole story were puerile.

Other points mentioned in connection with Gen. ii. have already been dealt with (pp. 344, 345). One question remains which has exercised, quite unnecessarily, we think, many minds in the past, and that is

## The Site of Paradise,

or the Garden of Eden. It is quite possible—and we speak advisedly—to admit that we cannot assign to it a locality, and yet at the same time to assert that it existed. We have two or three points to remember which will help us to arrive at this determination. (1) The existence of the Garden of Eden, as it is described to us, can be pushed back into the countless ages of the past (compare pp. 405, 406). (2) During those countless ages the configuration of the surface of the earth may have altered considerably. Certain known facts—putting aside the action of the Flood of Gen. vi.-viii.—can be adduced to prove that such natural changes in the earth's surface have been going on and are still in progress. There is, for instance, the constant formation of land at the mouths of rivers—as in the Delta of the Nile and at the mouth of the Euphrates. Calculations have been made, based upon the historical statements of the cuneiform inscriptions, as to the annual growth of visible land at the mouth of the latter river for countless centuries. Besides, there is the constant alteration that seems to be still going on of the courses of rivers in Central Asia. Travellers like Sven Hedin convince us that this rearrangement of the earth's surface is by no means as yet completed, for they find that these rivers are constantly shifting their courses. And as for names. It by no means follows that the rivers of the Garden of Eden are necessarily the rivers of to-day that bear their names. Peoples, when they migrate, carry their place-names with them. We need but look across the Atlantic to the towns of our cousins in the United States of America, where we can find even the name "London" reproduced; and in our country we have

[1] The italics and words in brackets are mine.

Old Sarum side by side with the more modern city of Sarum. We might very well reason, then, that the old names were carried out by the emigrants (of compulsion) from the Garden of Eden, wherever it was, into the world outside. The giving of names seems to have been one of the special works of man in that garden.

Another question that meets us in Gen. ii. is the origin of sex. As scientists tell us, there can be non-sexual reproduction as well as sexual reproduction, and that non-sexual reproduction can be arrived at by germination or fission (Nicholson's "Manual of Zoology," seventh edition, p. 47). It may be some such process which is indicated or hinted at in popular language by the account of the formation of Eve, for Adam had to all intents and purposes, till that formation, been in a certain true sense, though not, most probably, physiologically, non-sexual. In this, again, I am very anxious not to make any dogmatic statement about the origin and formation of woman, or even to assert that Adam was in the first place sexless. I am quite aware that the instances of fission and germination known to scientists only occur in the very lowest forms of life. All I intend to assert here is (1) that a process which is recognised as possible for one form of life, or something analogous to it, may have been used by the Creator, under such special circumstances as the appearance of the first *anthropos* in the world implies, for the creation of woman; and (2) that there is, at any rate, sufficient reason for maintaining that no one can assert positively that on this point Science and the Bible are absolutely divergent.

We turn now to the account of

### The Fall and its Consequences.

The difficulties that have been felt about this narrative are a great deal older than the Higher Criticism. We suppose it will always remain an open question for discussion whether the narrative is absolute history or parabolic in form. But that it represents in many ways a common tradition of large portions of the human race is quite certain. Whence came the current traditions of very many ancient nations that the human race began in a golden age of perfect happiness? Whence came the idea of a garden with wonderful trees in it? It is not a sufficient explanation to say that they are mythological. Myths are not purely and simply inventions; they have something behind them. When learned men have tried to explain some of the myths as solar, and illustrating the phenomena of the heavens, they have shown that they

feel the necessity for this background for the story. And when we are told that the Babylonian and Biblical stories of golden age and paradise are mythological, we must at once ask, Is there not a Divine revelation behind them, and does not the purest and simplest form of these narratives represent to us not so much what is mythological as a true statement—in popular language or in parabolic language it may be, but none the less a true statement, which cannot be gainsaid, of the beginnings of the human race, its original happiness and sinlessness, and then of its terrible fall? This is far from saying that the intellectual capacities of our first parent were as great as those of the most learned men of to-day. The mind of man has been trained and cultivated through many generations. But the young child who is happy because of his ignorance of evil and because of his innocence may with much more reason give us some idea of what the state of man was before the Fall. His intellectual capacities have to be developed, but his happiness and innocence are independent of them.

The question of the speaking serpent, as of the speaking ass in the story of Balaam, is a difficulty that is made a great deal of sometimes. If the narrative of the Fall is parabolic it scarcely calls for observation. If not, then we may, I dare to think, still venture not to be afraid of dealing with it. Many will be content to accept the account as of something miraculous. But those of us who have eyes to see and minds to notice and reflect cannot help observing what *humanity* there is in the expression and the intelligence of certain animals, and how speaking their looks are, though they do not attain to actual words. The dog in disgrace, the dog in delight at the return of his master, the dog in pain, the dog showing by his reproachful looks a sense of unjust chastisement, shows his feelings in a most human way, and so do other animals as well. The dog speaks to us when he draws our attention to something which he wishes us to see; the cat does the same when she brings her slaughtered victim and lays it at our door. And this may be what is meant, though expressed in more direct and poetical language than we of these latter days are used to, by the speaking of the serpent and the ass.[1] So Job says of the war-horse "As oft as the trumpet soundeth, he saith, Aha!" (xxxix. 25); man interprets the noise the horse makes as a kind of equine shout of exaltation. It may be, then, that in these verses the necessary interpreta-

[1] It is the word אמר that is used, *not* the word דבר, in both Gen. iii. and Num. xxii.

tion is put upon the looks, or attitude,[1] or even the voice (in the case of the ass) of the animal, and is expressed for us, just as we are intended to make it for ourselves in the passage from Job quoted above. Language goes one step further still when we find such language in Hebrew poetry as the following:

> "The deep saith, It is not in me:
> And the sea saith, It is not with me"
> (Job xxviii. 14)

where the same Hebrew word is used for "saith."[2]

When we reach the Protevangelium (iii. 15) the warning, disregarded in Gen. ii., is revived that "we must not read into the words more than they contain." But we venture to think that all is not made of the words which is to be found in them. Not a word is said of the far more vital importance of the *head* than of the *heel*. Herein lies, surely, the great value of the Protevangelium. The damage done by evil may be only temporary; but evil itself is eventually to be stamped out and destroyed utterly. This is the way in which the meaning of the passage may surely be legitimately presented. We remain unsatisfied and dissatisfied when we are told that "No *victory* of the woman's seed is promised" (p. 48). This seems scarcely consistent with what we are told somewhat later: "It is, of course, true that the great and crowning defeat of man's spiritual adversary was accomplished by Him who was in a special sense the 'seed' of the woman" (p. 57). But what apparently is meant is that we must not look upon the passage itself as in any way promising to the original hearers a personal deliverer; and to this we demur. We have only to look on to Gen. iv. 25 to see the word "seed" used of a particular individual; we might almost say that verse looks back to this promise.[3] Both passages are assigned to the same original source (J).

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[1] This might be illustrated from the Babylonian cylinder, which is supposed to represent the story of the Temptation, one feature of which is a serpent coiling upwards by a fruit-tree, as if to draw attention to its fruit, whilst two figures are seated by the tree (see Ball's "Light from the East," p. 25). It is, however, matter for grave doubt whether the design on the cylinder refers to the Fall at all. With regard to the Balaam story it must be remembered that in the New Testament we are told that "a dumb ass spake with man's voice and stayed the madness of the prophet" (2 Pet. ii. 16).

[2] It will be remembered that of late years attempts, though certainly unsuccessful, have been made to interpret the language of apes.

[3] Jewish tradition in later days held this view of the passage, when every woman in turn nourished the hope that she might bear *the* seed.

We need dwell but for a moment upon

THE CHERUBIM.

There are two points to be noticed with regard to these creatures about whom next to nothing is known, for they, at any rate for the present, cannot be connected with certainty with anything in the non-Hebraic world. The first point is that they are not said to have been visible; and it is a mistake of artists to represent them with a sword driving Adam and Eve out of the garden. This idea may have come first of all from the Greek version of Ezek. xxviii. 6 ("and the cherub led thee from the midst of the stones of fire"). The second point is one which brings one again (Gen. iii.) into relation with the history of Balaam's ass (both attributed to the source J). In the one we have "the Cherubim, and the flame of a sword," not, so far as we know, visible to man; in the second, we have "the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand" (Num. xxii. 23, 31), visible at first to the ass, who is represented as a humble and innocent instrument made use of by God, but only visible to Balaam after his eyes had been opened by the Lord. Whether this was a cherub or not does not appear, and what relation the cherubim of Gen. iii. 24 bore to the two cherubim of gold of the tabernacle (Exod. xxv. 18) and the two cherubim of olive wood in the temple (1 Kings vi. 23; in 2 Chron. iii. 10 two cherubim of image work overlaid with gold) is not in any way defined.

(*To be continued.*)

## ART. III.—STUDIES ON ISAIAH.

### CHAPTER V.

CHAP. V. divides itself into three parts: The song of the vineyard (vers. 1-7); five woes pronounced against the disobedient in Israel (vers. 11-24); and the description of the avenging army which will bring about the fulfilment of the woes.

I. The first point which strikes the reader of chap. v. 1-7 is that the word "song," as applied to a prophetic utterance, only occurs here and in chap. xxvi. 1, and that the idea of the vineyard in connection with a song reappears in chap. xxvii. 2. Both these latter chapters are assigned by the modern school of critics to another author than Isaiah. Of course, critics

have a right to their own opinion as to authorship, and there is no wish to complain of them for expressing it. But in a matter involving such delicate *nuances* of thought and expression as meet us in the endeavour to decide questions of authorship by subjective criticism, one has a right to complain if assertions are made too positively, and if what may be urged in arrest of judgment is roughly and sometimes even rudely ignored, as is too often the case with the school at this moment in fashion. It is true that in chap. v. 1 the feminine, and in chap. xxvi. 1 the masculine, form of the word translated "song" is used, and that the word translated "sing" in chap. xxvii. 2 is another word altogether. Yet the identity of idea, as well as some similarity of expression, tend to support the idea of unity of authorship so far as they go, and a *fair* critic would give due weight to the fact, and express Himself with all modesty in consequence of it. He would not jump to the conclusion too readily that—to paraphrase Lessing's language—everything that is new must be true, and everything true must be new. It was said in derision of some theories of philology, once put forward as positively as some theories of criticism now, that in them "all the vowels went for nothing, and all the consonants were interchangeable." In modern Biblical criticism it sometimes seems as if all differences which may suggest composite authorship are of first-rate importance, while all similarities which make against it may safely be neglected.

1. *The Vineyard.*—This simile is found broadcast in Holy Scripture. Ps. lxxx., which seems to be directly derived from this passage, Jer. ii. 21, Ezek. xvii. 6, 7, xix. 10-14, use the figure in the Old Testament. In the New it will be found among our Lord's words in the Parable of the Vineyard (Matt. xxi. 33-41; Mark xii. 1-12; Luke xx. 9-18). St. Paul (Rom. xi. 16-24) uses it also, but with the olive substituted for the vine. But the reverent and diligent student of Scripture will turn to John xv. for the fullest treatment of this great theme. The vine is not, as some theologians would make it, the Church, it is *Christ Himself.* By being grafted into Him we become parts of Himself—He in us and we in Him. Indeed, the Church, as it appears to the eye of Omniscience, is but the aggregate of those in whom God dwells, *in* His Son and *through* His Spirit. In virtue of the union set up by faith between the Root, or, rather, the Vine itself, and the branches, these latter can bring forth fruit—*i.e.*, the kind of deeds, words, and thoughts which flow naturally and automatically from the indwelling of the Spirit in the believer's soul. Such is the Scripture ideal of the Christian Church, and in its degree of the Jewish Church, which the prophet sets before us in this

parable. His Master completes it with the missing touches to be found in John xv. 1-9.

Tennyson, in his "Œnone," makes the Goddess of Wisdom speak thus of her influence:

> "I shall love thee well and cleave to thee,
> So that my vigour, wedded to thy blood,
> Shall strike within thy pulses, like a God's,
> To push thee forward through a life of shocks,
> Dangers, and deeds, until endurance grow
> Sinew'd with action, and the full-grown will,
> Circled through all experiences, pure law,
> Commeasure perfect freedom."

How much more is this true of him in whom the Eternal Wisdom, the Incarnate God, dwells by faith, so that he is translated into "the glorious liberty of the children of God"?

2. *What has been done for the Vineyard.*—First, it has been planted in the "horn of the son of oil," the phrase in the original, which is translated in A.V., "a very fruitful hill." The words doubtless mean the species of jutting promontory of land on the sunny sides of the hills and mountain peaks, which is found most advantageous for the growth of the vine and for developing its fruit. Next, we note that the soil has been carefully prepared for it by digging (see margin of R.V.). The stones, which might have interfered with its growth or kept the sun from its roots, have been removed. The vine planted was of the choicest kind, the *sorek*. The tower with which it was furnished might either be intended to shelter men who would drive noxious beasts and birds away, or protect it from the spoilers. The wine trough or vat was hewed out of the solid rock, that none might remove or disturb it. What a forecast of the Christian Church! The Vine the Saviour Himself, the Perfect Man; His perfection due to the conjunction of the human and Divine in one Person. The vineyard was duly prepared by the ministry of patriarchs, lawgivers, and prophets, who prepared the soil for the light of God's truth to enter, and took away all things which might offend. Guardians of the sacred enclosure were further provided, to protect it from the intrusion of false doctrines and evil passions. And the solid foundations of Divine truth were there to protect the fruit from injury when it had flowed from those who produced it.

3. *The Result.*—Instead of the fruit for which everything had so carefully been prepared, wild, or, rather, *sour*, grapes were produced. The word translated "wild" in A.V. and R.V. does not mean grapes from another stock, but simply not the sort of fruit which the *sorek* ought properly to produce. The reasons for this failure are not given. But the

results are only too plain from the woes which follow. The reasons, too, are clear enough. They are either the neglect to use, or the disposition to abuse, the advantages given. That advantages *were* given—that Israel was not compelled to grope for them, not expected to make bricks without straw, as the modern critic would have us believe—is clear enough from the description here. Christian and Jewish Church alike had the benefit of careful training. Israel had been given a law which was "holy, just, and good." All kinds of precautions had been taken that the right fruit should come. Due preparation had been made for its production. God's servants had removed causes of temptation by making plain the truth of God. The ideal of life placed before God's people was a true one. The moral principles it presupposed were firm, sound, and intelligible. There were the "priest's lips" to keep knowledge and to interpret "the law," and prophets were sent to illustrate its principles and rebuke gainsayers. But if men would not use these blessings, or if they persisted in turning their meat into poison by misusing them, the grapes could not possibly come to maturity. If this were true of the Israelite, how much more is it true of the Christian Church! The Vine in the latter case is not merely God's truth, it is "God manifest in the flesh" Himself. A fuller revelation of His Will has been given, and a more excellent order of priests and prophets to make it known. But if they neglect to teach, or teach falsely—and they have often done so—if God's people follow them eagerly when they corrupt their message, resist and persecute them when they are faithful to it, how can the fruit of the True Vine ripen? Yet so it has been from the beginning, and so it is now. "Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye." Are not the "fruits of the Spirit" sadly hindered in their development in these days? Do we not see confusion, dissension, discord, dissatisfaction everywhere abroad, where all ought to be unity and peace? Luxury, sloth, and self-pleasing, where all ought to be mutual affection and mutual help? And so the Lord has taken away the hedge of His vineyard, and enemies are rushing in to lay it waste. The pruners and diggers make a show of work, but it is often to little purpose. The very "dew of heaven," which typifies "God's grace,"[1] fails to come down on those who have not learned to ask for it in a proper spirit. We cannot be satisfied with the aspect of the Christian world at the present moment. What is the explanation but that "the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and My

[1] Keble, "Christian Year," Septuagesima Sunday.

people love to have it so" (Jer. v. 31)? Nor is there any remedy but that revealed of old "to the law and to the testimony. If they speak not according to this word, they are a people for whom there is no dawn" (ch. viii. 20, Heb.).

II. We come next to the five woes pronounced against those who have frustrated by their disobedience the purposes of God for His vineyard.[1] "He had looked for the administration of justice"[2] (I cordially re-echo Dr. G. A. Smith's complaint of our Revisers that they have obscured Isaiah's meaning by continuing to render this word "judgement," a word which has quite a different signification to English ears to that borne by the Hebrew), "and He found bloodshed; for righteousness, and He found an outcry.[2] The five sins denounced are:

1. *Greed.*—The critical school would have us believe that the greater part of the Pentateuch was still unwritten in Isaiah's time. Among the parts which they regard as yet unwritten are Lev. xxv. and Numb. xxvi.-xxxi. And yet they speak as if the land laws of Palestine were existing in Isaiah's time, although they have themselves asserted them to be of a later date. It is easy to make assertions on such points. But a careful criticism of the critical conclusions detects unexpected contradictions of those assertions. Had there been "no law" about the tenure of land, there could have been "no transgression" of it. But the assignment of the regulations concerning the tenure of land is extremely unlikely in itself. It is yet more unlikely that the story told in them of the daughters of Zelophehad was invented in order to give verisimilitude to the fictions of authors of a later date. With submission to the critics, it must be observed (1) that a good many such violent suppositions are needed to support their theories, and (2) that such suppositions are by no means proved. It is not very clear how such a curious romance as criticism requires them to have handed down to us in the story just mentioned could have come into existence in the declining days of the Jewish monarchy. Micah (chap. ii. 2) adds a darker feature to the picture. Lands are "seized," as Ahab did the inheritance of Naboth—a story, by the way, which proves the land laws to have existed in Israel as well as Judah, and as far back as the days of Ahab. What lesson has all this for us? Not an easy one to interpret.

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[1] *Mishpat* signifies (i.) the sentence of the judge, (ii.) the principle on which his judgement should be founded.

[2] There seems no valid reason why we should not render *mishpach* by *bloodshed*. The *paronomasia* here is very characteristic of Isaiah. He hoped for *mishpat*, and behold *mishpach!* for *tz'dakah*, and behold *tz'akah!*

For while, on the one hand, an impoverished landlord is a curse, and his property of necessity in the worst condition of any, yet, on the other, a landlord who owns much property, and recognises in dealing with it no law but his own pleasure and caprice, may easily become a public danger. And he is unquestionably a source of deep irritation when he monopolizes land for sporting purposes so far as to exclude all but his personal friends from a share in the enjoyments it affords—a thing often done—and cares not a straw for the injury and inconvenience he may cause to the dwellers on the soil. The question of Irish evictions is yet more perplexing. On the one hand, it is cruel to drive out a starving peasant who has not wherewithal to pay his rent. On the other, it is the duty of a law-abiding subject to defeat, if he can, a conspiracy to take his inheritance away from him through the action of an illegal combination, which has for its object the depriving him of his property. The question is still further complicated by the fact that the Irish priesthood, by the encouragement of ignorance and indolence, renders a satisfactory solution of a difficult economic problem well-nigh impossible. But as far as Great Britain is concerned, we may safely say that on the conduct of the British landlord it depends entirely whether the "adding house to house and field to field" be a public danger or not. Impoverishment and depopulation, the prophet points out (vers. 9, 10), follow on monopolizing God's earth for our own selfish purposes.

2. *Drink.*—The drinking habits here so fiercely assailed, the consequences of which are also very clearly depicted, seem to be those of the upper classes. If those who ought to set a good example in this respect fail to do so, misery and destitution and depopulation and disease and death are spread abroad. The humanizing influences of Christ's word have abolished this sin, as a rule, among our upper classes. To be "as drunk as a lord" is no longer a proverb among us. It is only among the poorer classes, who as yet are not, on this point at least, thoroughly permeated with the principles of Christian ethics, that such sin is found to any serious extent. Yet it may be profitable to us to remember how this change has been wrought. There is a tendency in many quarters to depend on legislation in order to produce moral improvement. Doubtless it is our bounden duty to remove all temptations to sin out of our brother's way, and all honour to those who attempt to do so. Yet men do not always sufficiently bear in mind that the attempt demands patience and care. Impatience has been the scourge of the Christian Church. Most of the schisms which afflict her have been due to the action of men who would not wait God's time. Men have always endeavoured, and are still

endeavouring, to force the hand of the Almighty, forgetting that—

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience stands He waiting, with exactness grinds He all."[1]

It is a well-known fact that regulations which outrun the moral sense of a community will be evaded or ignored. Neither is it fair to "do evil that good may come"; to deny that God has given all things for use, and not for abuse; to punish those who have been carrying on without reproach a necessary business with the special license of the body politic, because of the ill use made by others of services which, under proper regulations and limitations, are a benefit to the community. By all means punish wrongdoers. By all means take away the corrupt inducements which at present are unquestionably in existence, and which tend to encourage the drunkard in his vile self-indulgence. By all means enlist as many recruits as possible on the side of temperance and thrift. But let us remember that the best of enactments are vain if the heart of a people remain corrupt. Let us not hinder the march of improvement, as has so often been done, because the pace is not fast enough to please us. And let us endeavour rather to *raise the people* by making them hate and despise the drunkard and his ways, than to imagine that we can make people sober by Act of Parliament. It is a question worthy to be thought out whether much of our moral reform work is not marred by want of faith; whether hurry and excitement do not often take the place of real spiritual progress; whether in our modern philanthropy "Satan" is not sometimes "transformed into an angel of light." Do but bring men to the knowledge of God, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and "all other things shall be added unto us."

3. *Impatience and Distrust.*—The sin here reprobated has been anticipated to some extent in the remarks under the preceding head. Two classes of persons seem included here. First, those who encourage themselves in sin by their heedlessness and want of sense of responsibility, who, as the prophet puts it, "draw iniquity with cords of vanity," and by want of principle "draw" sins after them, as a "cart" is drawn by a "rope." This is a special danger in our own time. The Christian Church has erected a high moral standard among us, to which the most thoughtless must pay at least *some* deference. But the result has been the loosening of that strong moral and spiritual barrier which once existed between those who feared the Lord and those who

[1] Friedrich von Logan, "Sinngedichte." Translated by Longfellow.

feared Him not. Consequently, many are tempted into acquiescence with a mere conventional standard of propriety, and to take no care to cultivate that deep inner conviction which distinguishes the true servant of God. Life to such becomes no matter of conscience, but simply a matter of convenience. Whatever is "the mode" may be followed without any self-questioning. If display and ostentation and vanity and hollow amusement and senseless distraction be "good form," then let us "go in for" it headlong. Fashion supplies the "cords of vanity" in the aimlessness and irrational character of her maxims. Society provides the "cart-rope," the inducements to follow the multitude. And those who heedlessly allow themselves to be entangled in these toils soon lose all sense of higher things, and exchange the worship of Jehovah for the worship of self. The *second* class are those who are, as has been said, perpetually calling on the Almighty to "show His hand"; who are not content to do their duty, because He has prescribed it, but want to know the why and the wherefore of everything; cannot wait for Him to work out His high purposes in His own inscrutable way, but insist either on doing something when "their strength is to sit still," or busy themselves in idle disquisition when He has called upon them to act. We follow our own devices when we ought to be taught of God. He ought, we insist, to satisfy our reason, instead of, as He often does, simply commanding our obedience. And if things go wrong in this way, as they are sure to do, we blame Him for it instead of ourselves.

4. *The Inversion of God's Moral Order.*—There are plenty of moralists in this and every age who can set God right. To such persons it is useless to reply, "It is written." They know better than God. They can easily set the Bible right. This precept ought never to have been given; that is no longer suited to the times. The man who observes this principle is "righteous overmuch," while he who observes that is out of touch with modern enlightenment. Away with a high standard of domestic and family life; lower marriage to the level of mere convenience; let people change their partners as often as they please. As for their families—well, they must shift for themselves. Down with the idea that belief in Christ is essential to salvation; let every man and woman think and do as they please. Our newspapers and reviews teem with impatient and unsound utterances of this sort. Our novels disseminate such ideas among the unreflecting. And so many have outgrown the old ideas of a life of watchfulness and self-mortification, and have enthroned a life of perpetual distraction and amusement in its stead. The gospel of hard, genuine, honest work as the only source of real enjoyment in

life has ceased to be preached; men are now told in some quarters that to do as little as we can, as carelessly as we can, as grudgingly as we can, is the true road to social and material progress. Never mind, either, about religious observances; they are the delusions of a bygone age. We now need neither the parson nor the priest. We want no Sunday, no Sunday service, no outworn superstitions of that kind. As for the great hereafter—it may be, or may not be. We shall best prepare for it by putting it on the shelf and thinking no more about it. Does an idle and self-pleasing age think that anything but a "woe" can come of such imaginations as these?

5. *Drink and Injustice.*—The prophet returns to his first theme. It is apparently, however, this time drunkenness on the judicial bench which engages his thoughts. Thank God, we cannot, in the Christian England of our day, even conceive of such a monstrosity as a drunken judge! Yet we need only go back some two and a half centuries for such a sight. The infamous Jeffreys administered what he pretended to call justice in the intervals between one drunken debauch and the next. His brain was never free from alcoholic excitement; his moral sense was hopelessly overclouded. You can tell, in the reports of the State trials, when he is sitting on the bench by his indecent interruptions of counsel, his shameless brow-beating of witnesses, the wild exclamations by which he strove to divert the course of justice into the channels in which he desired it to flow. Isaiah gives us a picture of the results of such a mockery of justice, such a degradation of the majesty of law, in vers. 23-25. Such a judge was not ashamed to take a bribe in order to acquit the wicked, and to condemn the innocent man, in defiance of the evidence (ver. 23). We may be thankful to the Great Judge of all that for more than two centuries our judicial ermine has remained unsullied. Yet is there *no* blot on our legal system? Cannot the man with the long purse, the *company* with a long purse, drag a suit from tribunal to tribunal, till the poor man's purse and patience are alike exhausted? Does not the judge too frequently help the oppressor by being more anxious to display his legal acumen than to see that justice is done? And does not the greed of the legal functionary sometimes over-reach itself, while it deters the poor man from seeking the justice to which he has a right?

III. *The Scourge of Discord.*—The remaining verses of the chapter contain a vivid picture of the invading hosts who are destined to avenge upon Judah the sins laid to her charge in the five "woes" which we have been considering. Those who wish to recognise the human element in inspired Scripture may find an instance of it here. It is not, I must believe,

possible for the Christian Churchman, knowing, as he does, the reverence felt in all ages of the Jewish and Christian Church alike for the Scriptures of both covenants, to treat any of the historical books as "idealized history," if by the word "idealized" is meant exaggerated and inflated statements of matters of fact, made for a purpose, however excellent that purpose may be. But I know of no œcumenically admitted principle which would forbid us to suppose that here the prophet's imagination has furnished us with an ideal, rather than a strictly literal, picture of the Assyrian host.[1] The alarm, coupled with grief, which the approach of an invading host might strike into the heart of a patriotic Jew, might not unnaturally add darker features to the picture given us in the text, just as the monk of St. Gall, in his picture of Charles the Great appearing on the scene to receive the submission of Desiderius, the defeated Lombard King, heightens his picture with touches which invest the figure of the grandson of "Charles the Hammerer," to whom the title by which his grandfather was known was transferred, with an awfulness and majesty more than mortal.

War is ever a great scourge of God. And though of late the temple of Janus has been closed for ever-lengthening periods, yet "rumours of wars" continue to darken the horizon of our Empire. Fear of other great Powers drives us into a vast and profitless expenditure to protect our vastly extended borders from possible assault. And where actual war is not present, there are conflicts of a less deadly kind, not less costly, and indirectly very often not less fatal to life than war itself. Industrial conflicts, issuing in strikes; jealousies between classes, making production difficult and irregular; the greed which leads to overproduction; the jobbery and waste which "bind," needlessly, "heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne," on the necks of the people; the party spirit which impedes passing of useful measures, which repeals useful Acts because they were passed by the opposite party, and espouses disastrous causes for the sake of the votes of those who have taken them up; who can tell how much injury such needless dissensions have done, and are doing, to Christian society in our time and country? The spirit of faction (ἐριθεία) is rebuked by St. Paul. But it is still sleepless and on the watch. Its arms are ever ready for action. And in

[1] On critical principles we ought, perhaps, to assign this chapter to another hand than Isaiah's! "Assyria is" not in it "the dominant world-force," nor is "Jerusalem the inviolate fortress of God and His people." God's people have "gone into captivity" (ver. 13), and a severe chastisement still is described as impending over them.

its track is a "roaring like the roaring of the sea;" it spreads over the land "darkness and sorrow;" and the light has been turned into darkness by reason of the clouds in the heavens.

Since these words were written Count Leo Tolstoi has issued, in connection with the Russo-Japanese War, a solemn denunciation of *all* war, offensive or defensive, on account of the miseries which follow in its train. It is impossible to help admiring the mingled courage, sympathy, and originality which characterize the writings of that extraordinary man. But, after all, Jesus Christ will prove to be wiser than the modern reformer who would shoulder Him aside as not "up to date," or denounce His moral standard as imperfect. I will not repeat what I have previously said about the very great and real blessings with which even war is wont to compensate for the miseries it entails. But as to the sin of defensive war, can such a position possibly be maintained? Count Leo Tolstoi would make the aggressive power the master of the situation, and all other men its slaves. Is there no degradation in calmly submitting to tyranny? No cowardice in sitting by and seeing others subjected to it? Are there no miseries worse than those produced by war among those suffering long from continued and cruel oppression, to which it seems impossible to foresee an end? Is any form of life more hideous and hopeless, more unworthy and morally repulsive, than that lived where society is divided into oppressors and oppressed? Let people look back to the Middle Ages, or France before the Revolution, and let them remember that but for armed resistance such a degraded condition of mankind must have been indefinitely prolonged. When a Frenchman eloquently condemned the monstrosity of taking a man's life for having committed murder, and demanded that capital punishment should be at once repealed, his witty interlocutor replied: "*Hé bien! que messieurs les assassins commencent.*" We cannot waste a single one of the thunders of our eloquence on *offensive* war. But to deny the right of self-defence is to proclaim the eternal slavery of mankind.

J. J. Lias.

## Art. IV.—THE ISLE OF WIGHT OF LEGH RICHMOND'S NARRATIVES.

THE "Victoria History" of the counties of England mentions four clergymen, closely connected with Hampshire during the nineteenth century, whose writings exercised an influence far beyond the range of the Diocese of Winchester. These four are John Keble, Charles Kingsley, Richard Chevenix Trench, and Legh Richmond, whose narratives of "The Dairyman's Daughter" and "The Young Cottager" were, it rightly says, "at one time the most popular religious works in England." Indeed, it is difficult to exaggerate the favour with which these works were received. With the Bible and the "Pilgrim's Progress" they became the Sunday reading of numberless Christian households. Appearing originally in the columns of the *Christian Guardian* during the years 1809-1811, they were afterwards published separately in the form of tracts, and finally issued, together with "The Negro Servant," in one small volume under the appropriate title, taken from Gray's "Elegy," of "The Annals of the Poor." The little book at once became immensely popular. Within a few years it was translated into almost all the European languages, and successive editions were published in America. Altogether it has been estimated that millions of copies have been sold, and it has found its way alike into the hut of the Red Indian and into the palaces of kings. And, curious though it may seem, the interest excited by the narratives still continues; new editions are frequently published, and every year numbers of visitors, including many Americans, make a pilgrimage to the cottages of Little Jane and of the dairyman's daughter, and gaze on their respective tombstones in Brading and in Arreton churchyards.

These facts present a literary problem of considerable interest. After all, the "Annals" are only tracts, and of a religious complexion no longer so predominant among Christian people as was the case a hundred years ago. But in one important particular they differ from the great bulk of Evangelical writings once eagerly read and now totally forgotten. We allude to their deep sympathy with Nature, and to the beautiful descriptions of local scenery which they contain. In this respect the writings of Legh Richmond stand in striking contrast with those of the school of thought to which he belonged. Strange as it may appear, there can be no room for doubt that to many of the Evangelical teachers the beauties of Nature were regarded as a snare to the religious mind. Indeed, in the "Memoir" of Legh Richmond,

published in 1833, the editor thinks it necessary to warn his readers against this appreciation of Nature so conspicuous in the "Annals." He writes in the preface: "Delightful as was the use which Mr. Richmond made of the beauties of Nature, the present editor would still remark that delight in those beauties may be a snare and temptation to the mind. The line between lawful pleasure in created things as leading us to God and joy in them for themselves is difficult to discern." Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the "Annals" owe their popularity, and hence their usefulness, to this very feature which has been regarded with suspicion by many good people. This recognition of "delightful scenery" is the secret which separates the writings of Legh Richmond from those of contemporary Evangelicals whose works are now buried in oblivion.

For some eight years only did Legh Richmond reside in the Isle of Wight, but short though his ministry was, it left an abiding impression on the neighbourhood. Every detail of his work is now regarded with interest, and the spots connected with his narratives are sacred ground. It was in the year 1797 that he was ordained to the curacy of Brading, which at that time included within its bounds what were then the obscure fishing hamlets of Bembridge and Sandown. He also had charge of the small parish of Yaverland, with its beautiful little Norman church delightfully situated on rising ground about two miles distant. His Vicar, one Miles Bopple, being after the manner of the age non-resident, the curate took up his abode in the old Vicarage, a small and inconvenient house which has been since pulled down. A print of it, however, hangs in the vestry of the parish church, and is eagerly scanned by visitors as the house in which "The Annals of the Poor" was written. A companion picture shows the interior of the church as it was before restoration in 1864. There is the eighteenth-century "three-decker" —now rightly removed—from which Legh Richmond delivered his gospel to the poor. An unsightly gallery will be noticed stretching across the west end of the building. The Early English nave is crowded with high-backed square pews, and the Oglander chapel is boarded up. In this chapel, now beautifully restored, are piously preserved the Communion chair and the Church Office-Book which Legh Richmond used, and within the chancel rails will be noticed the small font which in his time stood in the church, and at which he baptized the village children.

A tablet has lately been placed on the south wall of the church by the grandchildren of Legh Richmond, to commemorate his ministry at Brading; and it is worth remarking

that the inscription, after duly mentioning his Christian virtues, speaks of "his graceful descriptions of the beautiful scenery of the Isle of Wight." These descriptions are chiefly confined to the corner of the island in which his ministry was cast. The "Annals" contain no mention of the romantic scenery of the Undercliff, nor of the magnificent chalk cliffs of Freshwater. The beauties of Bonchurch are not alluded to, nor the quiet charm of the old village of Shanklin. But every detail of the country around Brading was familiar to our author, and finds expression in his writings. Little Jane's cottage is situated in the village itself, and the lane past it leads to Ashey Down, which he named his "Mount of Contemplation." The picturesque approach to the church of Yaverland, where he learnt to preach extempore, is more than once noticed, and the fine old Jacobean mansion close to the churchyard. Brading Harbour and the view from the Culver cliffs are graphically described; and in "The Dairyman's Daughter" we are introduced to the neighbouring village of Arreton, and to the pleasant country beneath the south slope of Ashey Down.

There have been many changes in the Island since the time of Legh Richmond. Steamboats and railways have rendered it easy of access, and considerable towns now flourish where only a few fishermen's huts were to be seen at the close of the eighteenth century. In those days, so we learn from John Wilkes of "North Briton" fame, who had a little "villakin" in Sandham Bay, it not infrequently took two hours to cross the Solent from Portsmouth to Ryde. The latter place was then a hamlet within the bounds of the parish of Newchurch. The towns of Ventnor and Sandown did not exist. Shanklin, and Bonchurch together contained only thirty-two houses. Bembridge, now a flourishing little seaside resort, consisted of a cluster of cottages at the entrance of the haven, which then stretched for three miles, almost as far as Brading church. But in spite of the railways which now traverse the island in every direction, and the vast upgrowth of towns consequent upon the increase of population, the beauty of the landscape is but little impaired. Now, as when Legh Richmond reclined upon the turf beneath the "triangular pyramid" on Ashey Down, a delightful panorama meets the eye from that "lovely mount of observation." To the north "the sea appears like a noble river," with the distant towns of Gosport and Portsmouth on the opposite shore and the Portsdown hills beyond. Eastward is "the open ocean bounded only by the horizon." Southward, now as then, a rich and fruitful valley lies immediately beneath. "A fine range of opposite hills, covered with grazing flocks, terminate with a bold sweep

into the ocean, whose blue waves appear at a distance beyond. Several villages, hamlets, and churches are scattered in the valley. The noble mansions of the rich and the lowly cottages of the poor add their respective features to the landscape." The parish church of Godshill is seen crowning a little eminence which rises out of the valley; while to the south-west, some ten miles away, is dimly discerned the remains of an ancient chantry, once occupied by a solitary hermit, on the summit of St. Catherine's Down.

Little Jane's cottage, which is annually visited by large numbers of persons, is still in the same condition as when she died there in the summer of 1799. For many years it has been owned by a pious and cultured lady who venerates the name and teaching of Legh Richmond, and who regards its possession as a sacred trust. She will allow no alterations to be made, no modern "improvements" to be carried out. The cottage is still thatched with straw, and the original lead casements of the lattice-windows remain. Inside, upstairs and downstairs alike, nothing has been changed; and the "mean despised chamber," with its "sloping roof" and "uneven floor," remain as when the good pastor administered the Holy Communion to the dying child more than a hundred years ago. The little garden, too, is practically unchanged. A high bank, starred with celandines in early spring, still faces it, and the cottage is covered with yellow jasmine and fragrant honeysuckle, while a large shrub of *Lycium barbarum*, or the tea-plant (doubtless planted since), forms an evergreen porch over the doorway. Last summer several tall hollyhocks were blooming in the cottage garden, and the little bed in front of the parlour window was filled with *Sedum Telephium*, or livelong, a plant which still grows wild in the neighbourhood.

In the days when "Little Jane" and the village children, under the guidance of their loving teacher, were wont to learn the epitaphs on the tombstones in Brading churchyard, the haven extended almost as far as the parish church. Legh Richmond speaks of it as "a large arm of the sea which at high tide formed a broad lake or haven of three miles in length." This estuary in former years was a famous haunt of wildfowl, and back in the sixteenth century we are told that Sir William Oglander "when itt wase froste & snowe woolde goe downe to Bradinge Havan a shootinge, where he woolde kill 40 coupell of fowle in a nyght, hee & his man." The haven has now, after many failures, been reclaimed, and large numbers of cattle feed on the rank herbage. At the extreme end of what was once "a large river or lake of sea water" there still stands, "close to the edge of the sea

itself, the remains of the tower of an ancient church, now preserved as a sea mark." This is the tower of the old parish church of St. Helen's, the nave of which has fallen a victim to the encroachment of the sea. It is to be regretted that Legh Richmond was not a scientific botanist, for the sandy spit of land on which the tower stands is remarkable for its wealth of wild flowers. Though not exceeding forty or fifty acres in extent, it is said to yield some two hundred and fifty species of British plants. Most of these the writer has himself identified. Perhaps the most beautiful and interesting is *Scilla autumnalis*, L., the autumnal squill, which in tens of thousands stars the sandy turf with its exquisite blue flowers every August and September. And, strange to say, this plant is nowhere else to be found in the county of Hampshire. But though there is nothing in his writings to show that Legh Richmond was acquainted with the rarer plants of the Island, yet he frequently alludes to the extraordinary number of wayside flowers. In one instance only, so far as we remember, does he mention an uncommon plant by name. In his description of the "stupendously lofty" Culver cliffs, he adds that their "whiteness was occasionally chequered with dark-green masses of samphire which grew there." It is interesting to note that when the writer visited the spot last summer one large mass of samphire was conspicuous against the white chalk about half-way up the "tremendous perpendicular cliff."

The cottage of "The Dairyman's Daughter"—perhaps the most popular of Legh Richmond's narratives—is still standing beside the highroad that runs between Apse Heath and the village of Arreton. It lies back a little from the road, and is approached, now as then, through "a neat little garden" full of old-fashioned flowers, though the "two large elm-trees" which formerly overshadowed it have disappeared. Since Legh Richmond's time the cottage has been roofed with slate and slightly enlarged, and this, unfortunately, has given it a somewhat modern appearance. But otherwise the fabric is but little changed. The gray stone walls are covered with ivy and other creepers, and "the branches of a vine" still trail above the parlour window. The interior of the cottage remains in almost the same condition as when the "good dairyman" lived there. The two corner cupboards occupy their old position in the parlour, and the door of the dairy with the original open lattice-work still swings on its ancient hinges. Upstairs, the room in which the daughter died, with the great brick chimney-stack standing out against the wall, is but slightly altered since the early summer of 1801. The present occupier of the cottage shows with pride a length of

iron chain which formerly belonged to old Wallbridge, and the original chimney-rack from which his bacon was suspended. Hard by the cottage a Wesleyan Methodist church, known as "The Dairyman's Daughter's Memorial Chapel," now stands, built—in part, at least—with the offerings of strangers, whose interest in Legh Richmond's story had led them to make a pilgrimage to the cottage. Numbers of persons still continue to visit the grave of the dairyman's daughter in Arreton churchyard, marked by a headstone bearing an epitaph of much simple beauty from the pen of her pious biographer. Legh Richmond himself officiated at her funeral, and as the procession filed into the church, he mentions that, looking upwards, he observed a dial—one of the few ancient sundials now remaining in the Isle of Wight—on the church wall, which brought to his mind the Psalmist's words, "Our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding."

Some two miles from the cottage there stood in Legh Richmond's time "a large and venerable mansion, situated in a beautiful valley at the foot of a high hill." This was Knighton, the house where he first met Elizabeth Wallbridge, "the dairyman's daughter." It is much to be regretted that this fine old Jacobean manor-house, "the most considerable and beautiful of the ancient mansions of the Island," was pulled down in the year 1820. Standing on an elevated terrace beneath the south slope of Ashey Down, it occupied a position of great charm and beauty. Close by, in a wooded dell, on the margin of a pool of clear water, were to be seen the remains of a medieval chapel, dating back to the time of Edward III. The mansion possessed a massive square tower of great antiquity, and several rooms of considerable dimensions adorned with oak panelling and carved mantelpieces. In the long gallery beneath the roof there stood "a very large oaken chest, covered with rich niche-work and tracery, of the time, probably, of Henry IV., and possessing the original lock with tracery carved in iron." Nothing now remains of the ancient structure, save a few dilapidated outbuildings, and the massive piers of gray stone some fifteen feet in height which mark the entrance from the road. A portion, too, of the garden wall remains, with its ancient coping of red brick, on which last summer the beautiful ivy-leaved *Linaria* was growing abundantly, with here and there a delicate wall-fern, or a plant of the greater yellow celandine, or the ploughman's spikenard. The spot beside the pool where the chapel stood is now covered with the buildings of the Ryde Waterworks, and a farmyard occupies the site of the Jacobean mansion. One wonders what became of the ancient chest of

curious design, and the dignified oak panelling which enriched the rooms. Some of the latter seems to have found its way to a cottage in the village of Brading, where a room may be seen panelled with ancient oak and with a stately Jacobean mantelpiece, which tradition associates with the dismantled manor-house of Knighton. Nothing could exceed the quiet beauty of the scene when the writer visited the deserted site last summer. From one of the gables of the farm-buildings a female kestrel-hawk was calmly surveying the surrounding stubble. Scores of rabbits were feeding and scuttling about at the foot of the noble down. A squirrel was playing in the branches of a magnificent elm-tree. Swallows were skimming over the pool, in which, according to tradition, a former owner of the property, overwhelmed with grief at the sudden loss of his wife and children, committed suicide. In the copse beside the stream which issued from the haunted pool the rare marsh-fern, *N. thelypteris, Desv.*, was growing abundantly, and splendid specimens of purple foxglove covered the rising ground. Not a sound was to be heard, save the murmur of innumerable insects, and the notes of a willow-wren in the coppice beyond.

In the quiet beauty of the parish of Brading Legh Richmond found a constant source of refreshment and delight. The wide open downs were dear to him, and the chalk cliffs and the seashore. On his frequent rounds of pastoral visitation, often to distant parts of the parish, his mind would be occupied with the contemplation of nature. "How much do they lose," he exclaims in one of his narratives, "who are strangers to serious meditation on the wonders and beauties of nature!" To his mind "the believer possessed a *right* to the enjoyment of nature, as well as to the privileges of grace." And this feeling, which shows itself in his graceful descriptions of local scenery, still gives interest to "The Annals of the Poor." The attitude of Legh Richmond towards nature finds exact expression in the beautiful lines of Cowper's "Task," with which doubtless he was acquainted:

> "He looks abroad into the varied field
> Of nature, and though poor, perhaps, compared
> With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,
> Calls the delightful scenery all his own.
> His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
> And the resplendent rivers. His to enjoy
> With a propriety that none can feel
> But who, with filial confidence inspired,
> Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
> And, smiling, say, 'My Father made them all.'"

JOHN VAUGHAN.

## Art. V.—POPULAR USE OF THE BIBLE.[1]

ALLOW me to make two preliminary remarks. I was reluctant, as you know, to undertake the duty confided to me at our last meeting, but the reluctance arose not from caprice or any desire to avoid an irksome task, but from infirm health, as well as, indeed, from a sincere feeling of incompetency to do justice to such an important theme as the one proposed. In what I purpose to say I may not deal with the subject in the light, and with the same object, as might have been taken at first sight to be implied by the particular title, "The Popular Use of the Bible." It seemed to me an ungracious, if not an objectionable, task for a minister of the Church to try to find out and direct attention to what might be considered by some as a general abuse of such an invaluable treasure as we all acknowledge the Bible to be. I must say at the outset I have no sympathy with the spirit that would dictate such a course. To find fault can never be pleasant; but the attempt to do so in this case would be, moreover, derogatory to the dignity and the unsullied purity of the Word of God, as well as an unwarranted distrust of our lay brethren, who are our joint-heirs and fellow-partakers of all the immunities and promises of the Gospel. We should avoid, it appears to me, giving any colour to the suspicion that we wish to restrict it to certain classes of men whom we are pleased to consider as more properly qualified by reason of their official position, mental training, or an attitude of deference, and the possession of a submissive temper, to read it worthily and with profit, and so deprecate its common use by the common people. Unhappily, every good gift and every perfect gift is liable to be abused. But that is no sufficient reason why the gift itself, adapted and intended as it is for all, should be withdrawn from any and practically set aside, or should be jealously guarded from what we in our short-sighted wisdom may deem to be intrusion, and certainly no reason at all why it should be confined to an eclectic, if not to an ecclesiastical circle, when we know that the same liability is incurred by the priest as well as by the layman, by those who are found in the highest offices of the Church as well as in the lowest walks of secular life. We are not called

[1] A paper read at a clerical meeting by the late John Morgan, Rector of Llanilid, Glamorganshire. He was at one time a frequent writer in this Magazine, and the present paper, which came into the Editor's hands some time after his death last year, was his final contribution. He was described in the Llandaff Diocesan Magazine as "one of those rare spirits which sum up in themselves both the gifts and the powers of many types of ordinary men."

on either to regulate at our own will, and to our wish, the free bounties of Providence, or to supervise and adjust the distribution of the common treasures of the kingdom of grace. And especially are we not so called when the gift is of supreme importance, and when all men without distinction stand in need of it. And such is the case with the Book with which we have now to do.

The Book is sometimes called, as in our Rubrics and Articles, Holy Writ, or the Scriptures. It is so called because it is all written, inscribed, its contents communicated to us by means of pen and ink, in a visible and portable form. It is a Record. It was at first written on leaves of trees, on bark of trees, on papyrus or the finer portions of bulrushes, on linen, on parchment, and even on wood and ivory. Among us it is printed and published on paper. We must needs be thankful for this Providential arrangement. Had the revelation of God's will been simply oral, and entrusted to the precarious custody of tradition, it would be liable to be lost or mutilated, and become so corrupt that no dependence whatever could be placed on what it presented as genuine and authentic. And, indeed, the variety and multiplicity of the facts, events, narratives, doctrines, and lessons of the Bible could not, humanly speaking, be accurately and fully transmitted to us except they were carefully compiled, written down, and secured in a fixed and permanent form such as that of our sacred Record. Sometimes the Record is called, as in the title-page of the Authorized Version, the Two Testaments, the Old and the New, the New not superseding the Old so as to be a detached and independent portion, but being its necessary complement and expansion. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets," said our Divine Master, the Author and Mediator of the New Testtament; "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil" (Matt. vi. 17). We should not, then, draw an invidious distinction between the two parts; we should not cast aside the more ancient as obsolete and useless, and suppose that the newer, which is confessedly the consummation of the other, can remain equally valid and cogent by its own unsupported weight and authority. Though the Record was given by divers portions and in divers manners, we should nevertheless accept it as a whole, in its undivided integrity, as forming one Book. And this, too, is indicated by its more common name, the Bible. But though this name, the most familiar and the most venerable, perhaps, in our language, indicates the harmony that prevails through the volume, the continuity of the essential story which begins with Genesis and closes with the Revelation, so constituting but one Book, yet

primarily it denotes its pre-eminence. For life and godliness, for the formation of a good character, for yielding patience in trouble and comfort in sorrow, for individual and national guidance, for this world and the world to come, it stands utterly unrivalled. There is no book in existence that can be named with it. It is unique of its kind and unapproachable. To talk of comparing it with the Zendavesta, the Vedas, the Shasters, the Koran, or the Book of Mormon, is absurd. It is emphatically the Bible, *the* Book, the Book of books.

As given by inspiration of God, it is utterly unlike all other writings, and as being the sole infallible depository of revealed truth its superiority stands unimpeached. In connection with this side of the subject it may be permissible, perhaps, to quote a statement of one of whom we are all justly proud as an illustrious Welsh Bishop, Dr. Connop Thirlwall. He states: "The authority of Scripture is superior to every other in *kind* as well as in degree. The authority of Scripture is unique, because it is not merely *a* record of revelations, but the *one* original record of all the revelation that mankind has ever received, or has any reason to expect, concerning the objects of Christian faith and hope. I hold it to be entitled to be called in the most emphatic sense the Word of God."[1]

Like every other good gift that is from above, coming down to us from the Father of lights, this also is unquestionably conferred for the purpose of being used. It is evidently not intended to lie idle and so abide alone, without bearing fruit to the glory of the Giver and the benefit of the recipient. It is not to be regarded as a hidden treasure to be left in the custody of the Church, just as a reserve fund is hoarded in a secret place in a bank, and which is of no advantage at all except to foster a feeling of security in the bank or add to its credit with the community. It is not to be made an object of ostentatious display and only regarded as a piece of fashionable furniture, neither is it to be buried in a sumptuous library or put up in a private drawer, or on a dusty and obscure shelf in the house, with the notion that like an amulet or a charm its mere possession will bring a blessing to man or woman, to mansion or cottage. But it is a talent to be traded with, and not wrapped up in a napkin. It is a candle, "the candle of the Lord," and is not to be put under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that it may give light to all that are in the house. It is precious seed, which, if sown, bringeth forth fruit unto everlasting life; and it is to be sown broadcast through the whole field, and the field is the world.

[1] Letter to Dr. Rowland Williams.

It is all along and everywhere meant for common, constant, and universal use.

It may be affirmed, indeed—and the statement may be accepted as a legitimate inference drawn from the practice of a sister Church, but of a notoriously erring and degenerate sister—that the Holy Scriptures are too sacred to be exposed to the public gaze, to be handled by the rude and illiterate multitude, or made the subject of unrestrained and unauthorized scrutiny. And not only too sacred, but they are too abstruse. To the untrained and uninstructed they would be as pearls cast before swine. They would be a waste, as well as a source of untold disaster—a danger to the individual, a menace to Church and State. There should be, therefore, a certain discretion employed as to whom we should invite to partake of the blessing. If any knowledge of the Bible be demanded, and the demand cannot be resisted, it must be doled out in certain selections, carefully prepared and imparted *cum permissu*, and with the imprimatur of some superior, if not infallible, guardian of faith and morals. But whatever may be the case with others on this point, we, on the contrary, who are of the Reformed Church of England, present to every Christian man, as his inalienable birthright, the whole Bible, an open Bible, and one accessible to all. And the experience gathered from the last three centuries amply vindicates the wisdom of our Church in this her aim and procedure. We venture to say—in no boastful spirit, but in grateful recognition of Heaven's own finger pointing out to us, and establishing beyond cavil our positive duty in this matter of the popular use of the Bible—that the countries where it is most valued are the most enlightened and the most moral, whilst those countries where it is practically, if not actually, prohibited and but little read are the lowest in the scale of Christian civilization. We wish, then, to give no uncertain sound when we proclaim it to be the laymen's duty, as well as their privilege, to possess a copy of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, to read it, to meditate on it, to make it the rule of life and the standard of all saving truth, to take it as a lamp to their feet and a light to their paths.

But if this be obligatory on lay members of the Church, how much more so on us who are ministers of the Word and stewards of the mysteries of God! Is it probable that, if we ourselves slight or neglect the duty, we should be careful and earnest in urging its discharge on others? If we have not ourselves tasted the good Word of God, and known its sweetness and power by a personal conscious experience, is it likely we should do our best to commend the privilege to all around us? Judgment must, then, begin at the house of God. "Go

through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem; search for the mark on the foreheads of the men, beginning at My sanctuary" (Ezek. ix. 6). "Thou, therefore, that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?" At the most solemn time in our lives, as I may safely assume the time of our ordination to have been, we were commanded by the Church "to learn the Scriptures, to wax riper and stronger daily by feeding on them, and to be diligent in reading them, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same." The vows of God are on us—vows voluntarily undertaken by us in our holiest and tenderest moments, in the ardour and strength of first love, in the day of our espousals to our chosen and allotted work, and when the dew of heaven was yet fresh on our prayers and aspirations. Whatever other studies we may permit ourselves to pursue, let us by all means give attendance to reading the inspired Scriptures, "which are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works." By being thus students and lovers of the Bible we may best help our people to a right understanding and due appreciation of it. We may —and, if necessary, we should—explain difficult passages, correct erroneous views, show how best to reconcile what seems in it inconsistent with the definite conclusions of science and modern criticism, and bring before them whatever has been brought to light, and what rich and ample stores of historical and archæological knowledge have been furnished in recent years in confirmation of its truth or in illustration of its statements. But, I would respectfully repeat, we should be careful not to suggest, much more not to expatiate on, the inutility or inexpediency of its popular use. If we wished to confine it to some special part of the community, who by education and refinement, or by exceptionally strong intellectual powers, we may deem as the only fit claimants for initiation into "the great things of God," or if we wished to institute an exclusive system of esoteric teaching, the wish would be vain and utterly futile. The keys of knowledge are in the people's hands, and cannot be wrested from them. The set time of their enfranchisement is come, and they will never again enter the house of bondage. The common people are in actual possession and grateful enjoyment of the green pastures, fruitful fields, the sweet and refreshing resting-places, and the whole rich and spacious domain of the Holy Scriptures, and they cannot be disinherited. It is a striking and blessed fact that there is no book among us so popular, so much in demand, so saleable, as well as so widely revered, and made the subject of so much patient research and learned disquisi-

tion, as the Bible. We should be deeply thankful that such is the case. For—

1. It is the manifest purpose of its Divine Author that it should be the common heritage of us all. This is so plain that he who runs may read his title clear to a full and free participation of the heavenly gift. The boon is commensurate with the need and correspondent with the varying capacities of men. It bears its own credentials of the universality of its claims, and every man possesses the witness in himself that these claims deserve and require his most serious attention. That it is a Book intended for all, of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, is surely implied in the fact of its holding in its grasp, as it were, the very heart of humanity, and of its being ever ready and able to meet us for guidance and support at every point of human interest and at every call of duty, as well as in the wonderfully simple and familiar modes and forms of speech it employs for conveying the most solemn and profound truths. This, the universal nature of its claims, is also abundantly proved by its own repeated declarations, by the superlative importance of its message, by its recognition of the essential equality of all men (and the necessary consequence of every man, therefore, bearing the burden of his own responsibility), by its free and impartial promises, by its appeals to all sorts and conditions of men, by its annunciation of the blessedness of the meek and reverential recipient, and by its condemnation of those who presume to despise or neglect it. It is written: "And they shall all be taught of God," "Who will have all men to come to the knowledge of the truth." "For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off." "I have written to you, fathers; I have written to you, young men; I have written to you, children." "For there is no respect of persons with God." "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely." "Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein." "But if ye shall despise My statutes, I also will do this unto you: I will set My face against you, saith the Lord." "Whoso despiseth the Word shall perish."

2. The diffusion of the Bible lies within the purview of the Church's work, and by encouraging and facilitating its popular use she is very effectually fulfilling her duty and consulting her best interests. Without suffering ourselves to fail in the due recognition of her character as the "pillar and ground of the truth," or to disregard her office as *Ecclesia docens*, we cannot forget that she points out as the source of her own instruction the canonical books of Holy Scripture, and sends

us "to the law and to the testimony," that we may search and know whether her message is in accordance with them. Placing herself thus in the light as one that loveth and doeth the truth, it is a main object with her to spread the knowledge of the pure Word of God, that all men might "come to the light" and "walk in the light." I do not mean to say that she has always and in every country been loyal to this part of her duty, but if she has failed she has invariably had to suffer for it, as well as all who were dependent on her for their spiritual nourishment; the people around her have sunk into gross superstition, or fallen away into utter unbelief; her own light has grown dim, and sometimes her candlestick has been removed. Whenever the Church has been awake to her responsibilities, this particular duty has not been neglected, and in the discharge of it she has found an increase of prosperity, strength, and security that she could not otherwise have attained. To feed and guard the lamp of truth, to free it from misleading glosses and vain traditions, which, like noxious vapours, might sully its purity and diminish its efficacy, to spread its illuminating and guiding power, and never rest until the whole human race has seen and embraced that true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world—this has been her function, this her exalted privilege. With many a delinquent interval, indeed, occasioned by a spirit of slothfulness, or a want of faith in the completeness of her spiritual armour, tempting her to lean on an arm of flesh, or by the seductions of pride, alluring her to stand in the wisdom of men, she has set herself to this special work in every period of her existence. We know what care was taken under the Mosaic dispensation to familiarize the people with the revealed will of God. It was commanded to be by constant repetition instilled into their minds, to be made the subject of conversation at home and abroad, to be written on the post of houses and on the gates, to be engraved, as it were, on the palms of the hands, and every word of it solemnly and publicly rehearsed in the audience of all the people at certain appointed seasons. In the towns and large villages of Palestine there were synagogues, which answered in many respects to our parish churches, where the Scriptures were read every Sabbath day, as they are among us. There were also men who were employed in providing copies of the law and the prophets. From this part of their occupation they were called scribes—that is, copyists or transcribers. In the same way, under the Evangelical dispensation, in many a cell and in most of the monasteries of the earlier and medieval ages, the Bible was copied with scrupulous fidelity and much artistic skill, not only for preservation, but also for public and private reading.

But inasmuch as few could read, and fewer still could buy a copy in those days, the sacred writings were represented by pictures, ceremonial symbols, and sculptured devices, which the historian Milman and the poet Wordsworth tell us were virtually the Bible of the common people. Since the Reformation and the discovery of printing our Church has taken care to supply her children with printed copies of the sacred Volume, which she describes as "that inestimable treasure which excelleth all the riches of the earth, because the fruit thereof extendeth not only to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men unto that eternal happiness which is above in heaven." She has not been wanting in any effort to render the Bible a book common to all, any more than she has been wanting in the express desire to make her incomparable liturgy, as evinced by its very title, the "Common Prayer-Book" of all. She translated it into the common tongue, and showed the greatest solicitude to make the translation as accurate as possible. She trained and fostered in her bosom scholars of transcendent ability and unwearied diligence, who by their labours might not only render it plain to the commonest understanding, but also invest it with a fresh interest and an abiding attraction so as to commend it to men of learning and cultivated taste. She founded schools where children might be taught to read it, and where its salutary truths might be impressed on the tender mind. And by the liberality and enterprise of her members she instituted societies for the purpose of providing the poor with it at the cheapest possible price, and, where the need was proved, of making free grants. The motto of our mother Church has been: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty." "Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters." As not unconnected with this part of the subject, may I be pardoned if I direct attention to the Oxford Bible for teachers, the Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges, and the late Bishop of Wakefield's Holy Gospels for common use, books unrivalled for their respective purposes, and all publications, as I need not add, by the Church's faithful sons.

3. The popular use of the Bible is of exceptional service in the promotion of popular education. I do not wish to lay an undue stress on this, but it is nevertheless a side of the question that needs not be overlooked. The sacred Volume has been said to be a library in itself, comprising, as we are all aware that it does comprise, almost all kinds of literature, history, biography, epistles, idyll, allegory, poetry, rhetoric, dramatic representation as in the Book of Job, and compilations of apothegms as in the Book of Proverbs. It

is fitted not only thus to inform, but also to nurture and strengthen the mind, to enlarge its faculties, to awaken and stimulate its energies, and to open out forms and views of beauty and excellence which the most exalted imagination uninspired by it could never create, whilst, at the same time, it can sway and purify the affections in a way that is utterly unknown to any other book, and in a measure that is beyond all human computation. In whatever country it has been free from priestly ban and civil prohibition, and has been disseminated without fear or favour, but placed in the hands of the mechanic, the agriculturist, and the tradesman, as well as in the hands of the leisured and wealthy classes, it has never failed to evince its presence by the superior intelligence of the inhabitants and the more earnest and successful prosecution of the arts which dignify and embellish life. It has elevated the whole intellectual tone and standard of society, and whilst accustoming multitudes possessed perhaps of but an average mental capacity to the habit of reflection and to ennobling pursuits, it has formed and conducted to greatness some who would otherwise have plodded through life's low vale, then "sunk into the grave unnoticed and unknown." And in no country, perhaps, has its power been more felt as an agent in mental training, and as an aid in the acquisition of knowledge, than in Wales. Until very recently our Welsh fellow-countrymen possessed no literature of any moment but such as was connected with the Bible. And yet in the soundness of their information of elementary truths, such as lie at the basis of all secular knowledge, and in their acquaintance with the subtler phases and processes of thought, and the practical application of metaphysics and dialectics, though they were strangers to technical terms and scholastic methods, our peasantry and the toilers in our towns would favourably compare with the same classes of any country.[1] This might be abundantly proved by the remarkable talent and literary excellence displayed by our Welsh magazines of a former day, the staple of which was contributed by men who were placed in a humble, and for mental advancement in every way disadvantageous, situation in life. It was but the other day that an eminent Nonconformist minister publicly stated that until his twenty-first year the only book he possessed was his copy of the Word of God, with comments on it. And he attributed all his usefulness in life, and his distinguished position among his brethren, to his Welsh Bible. And he was but one instance out of many.

[1] Bishop Burnet makes the same kind of remark with regard to the effects of Scriptural knowledge on the "commonalty" of Scotland.

In advocacy of the view I take, I might also refer to the fact that, broadly speaking, we all in this country appeal to the Bible for the origin of our religious doctrines, and claim its sanction for our religious teaching. All sects and denominations among us, with all their varieties of views and differences of attitude and position in the one great and marvellous world of Christendom, have accepted the ruling of the Church of England that "Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not found therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of the Faith." So deeply is this persuasion engrained in the national mind, and so widely professed, that any other religious teaching save what is Scriptural, be it ever so plausibly recommended and offered us as the undoubted lesson of tradition, the latest development of the innate moral sentiment, as a service of humanity, or as the mature fruit of modern science, has no chance of acceptance in this country, certainly no chance of surviving and exercising any wide and permanent influence. If there is to be a national religion here, it must be the Christian, and that we know is the religion of the Bible.

Popular acquaintance with the Bible is, moreover, needful for the well-being of society and for the salvation of souls. That society may be stable, strong, prosperous, and progressive, it must be founded on morality. Morality is indigenous in no clime or country; it springs up spontaneously or necessarily in no human soul; neither is it a product of easy cultivation and growth. We cannot expect to attain moral purity and faithfulness without self-denial and constant effort in this probationary world, which is the world of us all. From the least to the greatest, through the whole course and in every condition of life, we all must learn to be obedient to law, to restrain the impulses of passion, to honour industry, to be lovers of peace and lovers of purity, to prefer duty to interest, to be just and true in all our dealings, to hurt nobody by word or deed, to bear one anothers' burdens, and so to fulfil the law of Christ and insure and vindicate the brotherhood of man. And for these things who can be sufficient except the man who has learnt to sit at the Master's feet, and in a spirit of humility and obedience to say, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth"? In the struggle of passion and selfish greed, with our natural love of ease and pleasure, in the midst of innumerable seductions, and with our inherited weakness and inconstancy, morality assuredly will fare but ill except it be based on incontrovertible authority, and come to us with the clear and articulate voice of the Word of God and supported by its sanctions.

For the spiritual and eternal welfare of souls, the use of the Bible again is absolutely needful. For this supreme end, which should be the aim of all our efforts and the crown of every pious aspiration, it is instrumentally fully adequate. "It is able to make us wise unto salvation, to build us up, and give us an inheritance among all them that are sanctified." This testimony to its own inherent efficacy has been verified in every age, and under circumstances that differed almost in every particular. From the memorable account of his own conversion by S. Augustine, when he heard the voice bidding him "*Tolle, lege, Tolle, lege,*" and he read, "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying, but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof," to the well-authenticated story of the African chief—how he picked up a soiled leaf of the Bible and read on it, "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life," and how that text was the means of eventually opening his eyes and turning him from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, numerous instances might be adduced of the saving power attending the simple reading of the Word of God.

Manuals, digests, harmonies, expositions, commentaries, and notes may be useful, and no doubt in many cases necessary, but "what is the chaff unto the wheat, saith the Lord? Is not My Word like as a fire, saith the Lord? And like a hammer that breaketh the rocks in pieces?" "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple."

It would be extreme and inexcusable folly, a dishonour to Divine Truth, an infringement of Christian liberty, a serious check to Christian progress, and a reversal of the principles on which our Church has always acted, to attempt to limit the circulation of the Bible, to discourage its free and unfettered use, or by means of partial and sectarian glosses, or of hard and narrow systems of theology, to stand between the people and their best spiritual provision for time and eternity. Reverend and beloved brethren, "Let the Word of the Lord have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you" (2 Thess. iii. 1).

JOHN MORGAN, *Rector of Llanilid.*

## Art. VI.—CHURCHES THAT SOMETIME WERE.

THE farewell to St. Philip's Church, Regent Street, pathetically spoken by Dean Pigou a few weeks ago, and the still more recent sale of the fittings of St. George's Chapel, call to mind recollections of other churches that have had "their day and ceased to be," although notable for beauty, historic memories, and association with the great and good. "Hungry time hath made a glutton's meal of this catalogue of gentry," wrote Thomas Fuller as he compiled his list of "Worthies," and "hungry time" has swept away many a fair church, once built and adorned by skilful hands, endowed from generous purses, and consecrated to the service and glory of God for ever.

Here the long street roars where the quiet village church and God's Acre have taken "the sunshine and the rains" for generations, there the plough turns up sacred symbols from some long-forgotten place of worship, and all round the coast tower and spire lie low beneath the smiling waves. Where are the churches of Lyonesse, of the Lowland Hundred, of Dunwich and Crantock; of Reach, that tiny village in the fens, once a city well provided with "places where prayer was wont to be made"?

"As for parish churches in Exeter," says Fuller again, "at my return thither this year I found them fewer than I left them at my departure thence fifteen years ago. But the demolishers of them can give the clearest account how the plucking down of churches conduceth to the setting up of religion. Beside, I understand that thirteen churches were exposed to sale by the public crier and bought by well-affected persons, who preserved them from destruction."

In 1546 the City Fathers of Lincoln ordained that the Church of St. Stephen in Newland, "now decayed, with the gutter of lead, the tile, timber, and stone should be granted to the sheriffs in place of ten pounds given to them for the expenses of their office," and a little later some of the stones of St. Katherine's Church were ordered to be kept for use, the rest to be sold at one penny the cartload. Nor are we better than our fathers. Lake Vyrnwy, Liverpool's great reservoir, covers the site of a village church, and the stones of St. Mildred's in the Poultry, taken down only thirty years ago, narrowly escaped being ground up for Portland cement. They were finally sold to a private purchaser, who intended to build a domestic chapel attached to his own residence.

A curious irony invests the history of the now destroyed Church of St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange. The tower escaped destruction in the Great Fire, but was taken down in

1840 to make room for the Sun Fire Insurance Office. At the time great interest was felt in the possible discovery of the remains of Miles Coverdale, who was buried there in 1568. Exeter, St. Paul's Cathedral, and St. Magnus, London Bridge, were eager to receive his ashes. When they were actually exhumed, their reinterment took place in the old part of the last-mentioned church, of which he had been rector.

St. Christopher le Stocks, Threadneedle Street, gave place to an enlargement of the Bank; St. Benet Fink disappeared to make room for the Royal Exchange; All Hallows, Bread Street, where Milton was baptized, "was struck by lightning, and though but little damnified was taken down for sparing the charges of reparation."

Within the angle formed by the junction of Mark Lane and Fenchurch Street, and approached from these busy thoroughfares by Star Alley, stands the tower of the destroyed church of All Hallows, Staining, dating very possibly from the thirteenth century. A plot of ground planted with trees and shrubs, and provided with one or two benches, surrounds it, and supplies the few visitors who wander in, young and old, with playground or resting-place according to their respective needs. Tall offices rising higher than the tower, which is of quite humble dimensions, encircle the plot, and through their big plate-glass windows clerks may be seen poring industriously over their ledgers, or at occasional idle moments biting their pens and gazing vaguely at the ancient tower. It is probable that the original church was built in the reign of Henry III., for Stow mentions a monument to a certain "John Costin, girdler, a great benefactor," who died in 1244, and sarcastically adds that "his name remaineth painted in the church roof; if it had been set in brass it would have been fetched down."

One of the six bells which formerly hung in the tower was dated 1458. Tradition has it that these same bells rang a merry peal to celebrate the release of the Princess Elizabeth from imprisonment in the Tower in 1554, and the joyful sound attracted her to the church, where she knelt to return thanks to God for her deliverance. Later in the day she dined at the King's Head tavern on pork and peas, which dish was for long afterwards served at the inn on her Highness birthday.

In spite of the possession of a "high altar of carved tabernacle work with drapery of red Bruges satin, and statues of silver adorned with precious stones," the gifts of pious benefactors, neither parishioners nor patrons paid any attention to such a prosaic detail as the repair of their old church, with the result that a few years after escaping the Great Fire

the main body of the building fell down through age and neglect. It was rebuilt in 1675 in a very tasteless style, and was described in a contemporary record as "a plain building with Gothic windows and a freestone front of the Tuscan order, the interior totally destitute of ornament, having neither pillar, gallery, nor organ." To this plain little edifice the "brave rough English Admiral," Sir Cloudesley Shovel, came to be married to Lady Narborough.

The rebuilt church served the parish until 1870, when, with the consent of the Grocers' Company, who were patrons of the living, it was taken down under Act of Parliament, and the greater part of the site was sold.

The proceeds were sufficient to build three churches in needy districts—Bromley, Stepney, and Homerton. The patrons divided the handsome endowment of All Hallows, £1,600 a year, between the three new parishes, but with a commendably prudent recollection of the fate of the old mother church, they set aside £100 a year as a repairs fund. In 1901 the population of the three daughter districts exceeded 22,000, while the parish of All Hallows contained only 121 people. Such facts as these must compensate for any merely sentimental regrets over the destruction of an old building.

In the heart of Cambridge there is a little oasis of silence and consecration, carpeted with turf and gravestones, and jealously railed off from the street. University buildings and old houses surround it on every side; Master's Court shields it from the glare of noon; the evening sun casts upon it the long shadow of Trinity College Chapel; Selwyn Divinity School is a shelter from the north. Here, close by the streets and courts where the feet of teachers and students pass up and down all day, is the last resting-place of Henry Kirke White and of many other persons of less note who were interred in the church, which, for at least 800 years, stood upon this plot. It was called All Saints or All Hallows by the Hospital or in the Jewry, and was in existence in the eleventh century. One Sturmi of Cambridge gave the advowson to the nuns of St. Rhadegund's Priory, whose successors, the Fellows of Jesus College, are patrons of the living to this day. The church passed through many vicissitudes of restoration and rebuilding, and was finally deserted by its parishioners, who spread themselves out more and more in the direction of the open country, where they were far from any place of worship. It was, therefore, decided to build a new All Saints in a more convenient situation and to close the old church. In 1865 it was taken down. The fine roof of the nave found a home at All Saints, Wendy, a village about ten miles away, and the font went to the new parish church. A slender stone pillar

now stands in the middle of the old site to commemorate those who were buried here, and their names are inscribed upon it.

Henry Kirke White spent his short student life, through the liberality of Wilberforce, on the opposite side of the street at St. John's College. His abilities would probably have raised him to a high position if he had lived long enough to fulfil their early promise. One bit of his work lives yet in the hymn beginning, "Oft in sorrow, oft in woe." He scribbled the first ten lines in their original form on the back of a mathematical paper, and twenty years after his death Miss Fanny Fuller Maitland completed it, and it has been in print ever since.

The curious habit which prevailed in the Eastern Counties of building two churches in one churchyard, each with its own parish, vicar, wardens, etc., has almost invariably resulted in the union of the parishes under one church, while the other has sunk into decay.

"In all your music our pathetic minor your ears shall cross," we can imagine the poor derelict to murmur as the wind whistles drearily through its ruined walls while the organ peals high in the sister church.

South Walsham, Antingham, Trimley, Swaffham Prior, and Fulbourne in East Anglia, and Evesham in Warwickshire each had two churches apiece, while Reepham in Norfolk has, or had, three.

One of the most extraordinary examples of a degraded church is St. Helen's, Norwich, now an asylum for the aged poor. The nave is divided into wards for the accommodation of men, the chancel for women, while a small portion of the middle and side aisles remain as the parish church.

The effect from the outside is very peculiar; the long windows and buttresses are quite ecclesiastical in appearance, but the windows light both the upper and lower stories, and are boarded across the middle where the floor divides them, and utensils for homely domestic purposes are visible through the unstained glass. Two hundred destitute persons are housed in the cubicles built round the wards, and all the ancient rules and regulations are kept up, such as the presentation of a penny to each inmate on old Plough Monday, the first Saturday in August, and on Michaelmas Day. And in the grassy court without a notice-board warns all whom it may concern: "No person allowed to walk in this square with pattens." Over the entrance gateway the following lines are displayed:

"King Henry the Eight of Noble Fame,
Bequeathed this City this commodious place,
With Lands and Rents he did endow the same,
To help decreped Age in woful case."

And so for 350 years a work of practical charity has been carried on in the church, though it has not witnessed precisely those acts of prayer and adoration for which it was originally intended.

In the same city, and not very far away, are St. Andrew's and Blackfriars' Halls, the original nave and choir of the great church of the Dominicans, built early in the fifteenth century. The seven bays of the nave with their lofty pillars and pointed arches and the fourteen clerestory windows on each side remain, the latter being beautiful examples of Perpendicular work; but both buildings are now public halls, where meetings of all kinds, civic, political, and religious, are held. Once a year a great chrysanthemum show takes place within the once consecrated walls, and few probably among the hundreds of people who gather round the tables crowded with brilliant blooms and listen to the Royal Hungarian Ladies Orchestra playing "Stars and Stripes," or some such stirring melody, call up to their mental vision a picture of the friars preaching to the good citizens of Norwich in the nave, or kneeling in prayer in the choir, which was their private chapel. After the dissolution of the monastery, the timber from the church was cut up into market-stalls.

In later times both buildings were again used for spiritual purposes for the benefit of the many foreign refugees who were settled in the city. The Dutch held services in the nave, and first the Walloons and then the Dutch used the choir as a place of worship. A sermon in the latter language is still preached once a year in the Blackfriars' Hall.

What different fates have overtaken the great conventual churches of the Middle Ages! While some have entirely disappeared, and others are desecrated and their sacred origin almost forgotten, others again have become world-renowned cathedrals.

Away in the Cambridgeshire fens in the twelfth century there was a friendly rivalry between the builders and benefactors of two great churches, one high on the hill, the other only just raised above the ague-haunted swamp, and no one in 1160 could foresee how great would be the increase of the one and the decrease of the other. Benedictine monks, Knights Templars, and Franciscan minoresses have chanted their Offices in the Norman church of Denny Abbey, and its lofty tower must have been a landmark visible for many miles over the level fenland between Cambridge and Ely. Twice at least its reverend walls witnessed the forcible expulsion of the worshippers in shame and disgrace, when first the Templars and then the nuns fell under the royal displeasure. The Abbacy of Ely had already been converted into a bishopric,

and the cathedral was slowly rising in massive grandeur under the hands of the Norman masons, when Brother Robert and Aubrey Picot began to build their church at Denny. It was a noble edifice, with nave, chancel, transepts, and central tower, and was dedicated to St. James and St. Lawrence.

However, the Benedictines were not long in possession, for only a century later Knights Templars were established at Denny. When their Order was dissolved Edward III. gave the property to Mary, Countess of Pembroke, widow of Aymer de Valence, and she brought a community of Franciscan minoresses to occupy the old rooms and offices of the monks and Templars. She greatly enlarged the church and made other improvements, enjoining the Fellows of Pembroke College—also her foundation—to visit the nuns at Denny and "give them ghostly counsel on just occasions." A gleam of romance flickers across the old church in 1465, when a marriage was solemnized there between William Ketterick, junior, and Marion Hall, domestic servants in the monastery.

Was it by the wish of the nuns, who were interested in the love affair of their young maid-servant, that the marriage took place, not, as might have been expected, in the parish church, where the banns were put up, but in the convent chapel, so that they, chaste votaries of a single life, might be present at the ceremony? Surely it must have been so. No doubt the poor sisters dressed and kissed and wept over the bride, but let us not add that they envied her.

The nuns were dispersed in the reign of Henry VIII., and a hundred years later the property was in the hands of Thomas Hobson, the noted carrier commemorated by Milton.

At the present time all that remains of the nave is built into the dwelling-house attached to a dairy farm. One bay, showing a massive round arch and fluted capitals, is in the entrance hall, and the line of the chancel arch can be traced in an outer wall. The site of the chancel is an open grassy space at the back of the house.

The glory is departed, the old order changed. Grandeur of aisle and vault, grace of sculptured capital and moulded arch, have vanished for ever from Denny, yet eastwards over the fen "the sun strikes through the furthest mist, the city's spire to golden."

L. E. BEEDHAM.

## ART. VII.—THE MONTH.

THE Representative Church Council has disappointed some of its promoters. The two Archbishops thought it desirable that one of the two days which are all that can be spared to it out of the year should be devoted to some subject of wide and practical interest, and accordingly selected the Licensing Bill as the subject of discussion on the first day. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether it was wise to occupy the first sitting of a Church Council, which is still in a tentative condition, with a subject which happens to be of urgent political interest. The main purpose of the Council was supposed to be to deal with Church affairs; and much as the Church is interested in the promotion of temperance, a Licensing Bill is not a specifically ecclesiastical subject. However, the question gave occasion for a singularly interesting debate, and one fact which it illustrated is of great interest to the future prospects of the Council. The lay speaking was of far more consequence than the lay vote. Members of Parliament like Lord Cross, Mr. Cripps, and Mr. Wharton stated with practised ability views and considerations which would hardly have been presented with such force if the discussion had been entirely in the hands of the clergy, and in all probability it was this which decided the issue. There was a large majority of Bishops in favour of an amendment which urged the necessity of amending the Bill by introducing a time-limit to compensation; but among the clergy of the Lower Houses there was a large majority in favour of Mr. Cripps' motion in support of the Bill, and a still larger majority among the laymen. The clergy, in fact, followed lay opinion rather than that of the Bishops; and it is quite possible that in future discussions, even upon more strictly ecclesiastical subjects, the lay voice may similarly prove far more influential than the lay vote.

It was, we venture to think, a mistake to call for a vote by orders on such a subject. The question at issue was not one on which the peculiar views or rights of the three orders were in any way involved, and it may be hoped that, in the rules of procedure which are to be prepared by a committee, it will not be left in the power of any single member to call for a vote by orders. It is a pity, however, that the result was not accepted with a better grace in some quarters. Not only the Bishop of Hereford, but even the Bishop of Rochester thought fit to explain in the *Times* that the Council could not be considered really representative of the Church. The Bishop of Rochester considers it a "commonplace" that the Council is defective in this respect, and suggests that only

"the more dignified and senior clergy, and the more conservative section of the laity," are as yet adequately represented. It will not, we think, be forgotten in future discussions on still more important matters that the authority of the Council has thus been disparaged even by some of the Bishops who have been most active in promoting it. After the examples of the Bishops of Hereford and Rochester, anyone who dislikes a decision of the Council, and who wishes to diminish its influence, will have a good excuse for saying that the Council is not really, as it claims to be, representative of the Church. It ought, we think, to be treated—at least, by the Bishops—as being as good a representation of Church opinion as can practically be got at the present time; and those who wish to develop its constitution and to increase its functions should at least treat its decisions with respect. Moreover, can anyone doubt that, if the votes of the clergy and laity had been favourable to the views of the two Bishops in question, they would have unhesitatingly quoted them as indicative of Church opinion? The practical result for the moment is to disparage the importance and damage the prospects of the Council, and it is to members of the Episcopal Bench that this is mainly due. If it is agreeable to them, there are a good many people who will not be greatly displeased.

The second day was devoted to questions relating to the future constitution of the Council. A well-meant proposal by Mr. Proctor and Sir John Dorrington that the lay members of the Council should be elected by the direct vote of the duly qualified electors was defeated, like the amendment on the Licensing Bill, by the weight of lay opinion against it. Men like Sir Francis Powell were able to tell the Council, from painful experience, what would be the pecuniary consequence of direct election by large constituencies. A more urgent and interesting question was raised by Chancellor P. V. Smith's proposal "that it is desirable that the initial franchise of lay electors should be so extended as not wholly to exclude women, and that the Presidents should be requested to appoint a committee to consider and report to the Council at their next sitting how this extension should be carried out." The debate was too much occupied, both on one side and the other, by consideration of the claims of women in the abstract. Lord Hugh Cecil argued for their absolute exclusion, and the arguments of the Bishop of Worcester and the Dean of Arches were directed rather to the general claims of women in the matter than to the particular point at issue. But the question, as the Dean of Canterbury pointed out, was not an abstract one, but the simple practical one of whether women should be "wholly excluded." By putting the motion in that form,

Chancellor Smith practically deferred to the decision of the Council in the session of last year that women should not be admitted on an equivalent footing to men. The only question was whether any exceptions should be allowed to this general rule, and many persons, like the Dean of Canterbury, who had argued strongly in Convocation against a general admission of women, saw no reason for pushing the principle to an extreme against them. The Council had adopted as the basis of its franchise a vestry qualification, which, if not specially modified, would admit a limited number of women. It seemed hard to deprive them of this existing right, even if it be somewhat anomalous; and the limited class of women who, by old English custom—a custom older than the Reformation—may serve as churchwardens, may well be allowed to retain any privileges which naturally accompany their present position. Possibly some women in an analogous position may also be admitted; but if the committee to whom the question is referred propose too wide an admission, the Council next year will be able to restrict it.

A much more difficult question was raised by Mr. Gray's motion that the lay members of the Council "should not deal with questions concerning the doctrine or discipline of the Church." Lord Hugh Cecil moved an important amendment, which may be the basis of further discussion. But it was generally felt that the questions at issue were much too large and difficult to be adequately discussed in a quarter of the time which had been allowed to the Licensing Bill, and there was a general acquiescence in an amendment proposed by the Bishop of Worcester, "That the President be requested to appoint a committee to consider how the distinctive functions of Bishops, clergy, and laity, in respect of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, may be formulated and safeguarded, and to report." It will require a strong committee to deal satisfactorily with that reference, and it ought to report very deliberately. But there is no occasion for haste in the matter. The constitution of the Council, even provisionally, is not yet settled, and as some of its most distinguished members doubt its representative character, the wisest course will be to advance very slowly.

# Notices of Books.

*A History of English Poetry.* By W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D. Vols. iii., iv. London: Macmillan. 1904.

A word of cordial appreciation is due from every lover of English literature to the author of this admirable history for the care and thoroughness with which he has prosecuted his task. Histories of literature we indeed have in abundance; this is something more, inasmuch as it is an attempt at estimating the various spiritual, intellectual, and artistic forces that have been at work, building up that wonderful "body of letters" which is the supreme glory of England. Professor Courthope is endeavouring to do for the literary history of his country what Stubbs and Freeman and Gardiner did for the political and social history of special periods.

The present volumes cover a period of wonderful interest, beginning, as they do, with a chapter on English poetry after the Spanish Armada, and closing with a chapter on Dryden and the Post-Revolution period—that is to say, these volumes cover the period during which Shakespeare and Milton lived and wrote, during which England emerged from the environments of Tudor despotism into the liberty secured to us by the passing of the Bill of Rights at the close of the sixteenth century. Barely more than 100 years separate the coming of William of Orange from the execution of Mary Stewart; yet a whole world of thought has been traversed during the interval. How the progress of ideas was reflected into the contemporary poetry of that time is sufficiently exemplified in Professor Courthope's masterly volumes. It would be difficult to rise from a perusal of his pages without a fresh sense of the dignity and worth of literature in general, and of our own matchless literature in particular.

*The Letters of John Hus. With Introductions and Explanatory Notes.* By HERBERT B. WORKMAN, M.A., Principal of Westminster Training College, and R. MARTIN POPE, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xxxi+286. 6s.

The last English translation of Hus's letters appeared many years ago, and was based on an incomplete French version. Messrs. Workman and Pope, who have made the Bohemian Reformer's age their special study, have used in preparing their new translation the text of the great Latin edition published at Prague in 1869, as well as that of the standard German one. There are altogether eighty-two letters, fifty of which were written between September 1, 1414, when Hus was on the eve of departure for Constance, and June 29 of the following year, just a week before his martyrdom. His experience and feelings throughout those eventful ten months are recorded very fully in this portion of the correspondence. The earlier letters are of a more miscellaneous character, dated at different periods, from the year 1408 onwards. It is noteworthy that Hus mentions his having set out for Constance without waiting for the

safe-conduct promised him by the Emperor Sigismund, leaving the formal document to overtake him as best it might. It did not, indeed, reach him until he had been actually arrested. Dean Milman has pointed out that the heresy for which Hus suffered has never been clearly defined, and that he must be reckoned as "a martyr to the power of the hierarchy," for he did not deny the tenets of belief rejected afterwards by the German and English Reformers. The editors of the present volume appear to have formed much the same opinion. Hus, they say, was "a martyr not so much to his convictions of the untruth of current beliefs as because of his fidelity to conscience." He expressly "yielded himself, not once or twice, to the teaching of the Church. But he could not acknowledge that he recanted heresies which he had always stoutly disclaimed, and which the Council had attributed to him along with doctrines to which he confessed." A careful study of his correspondence leaves the impression that the chief causes of offence were his denunciations of the vices of the clergy, and his insistence on unrestricted liberty in preaching, together with his doctrine that a Bishop or priest living in sin was not a Bishop or priest at all. Political as well as religious animosity had much to do with his destruction, and the numerous enemies who got him within their toils were not likely to trouble themselves with technicalities. His letters show that he was no fanatic. They display a noble spirit of courage and humility, and we do not wonder that Luther delighted in them, or that the writer had a host of devoted friends such as the faithful Baron John of Chlum and many others who stood by him to the last. The completeness of this very excellent edition will be fully appreciated by its readers.

*Veins of Silver; or, Things hidden beneath the Surface.* By SAMUEL GARRATT, M.A., Honorary Canon of Norwich. London: Charles J. Thynne. Pp. xix+209. 3s. 6d.

The republication of Canon Garratt's three essays, long out of print, is very welcome. They are concerned with subjects that deeply exercise the minds of thoughtful people—Inspiration, God's Dealings with the Heathen, and Everlasting Punishment. That on Inspiration is an argument for the Divine origin of Holy Scripture founded upon the principle that "it contains more truth implicitly than it teaches explicitly," the words of Scripture being such that in successive ages they have been "unfolded to meet the knowledge men have otherwise acquired," and while never teaching them science have always proved to be in agreement with true science when learned. What is maintained is not that Scripture will unfold to meet any alteration of popular opinion, but will ultimately be found to accord with every true advance of scientific knowledge. The thesis is worked out in a very original and interesting manner. Our readers will recollect Lord Bacon's saying about the Scriptures—"The inditer of them did know four things which no man attains to know, which are, the mysteries of the kingdom of glory, the perfection of the laws of nature, the secrets of the heart of man, and the future succession of all ages." Canon Garratt's book forms an instructive commentary on this passage, though he does not quote it. The second and third essays

are as suggestive as the first, and equally noticeable for the careful examination of a number of Bible statements often slurred over. Acceptance of the conclusions reached will probably depend upon the view taken of certain texts. We think the author is wrong as regards Rev. xx. 8, where he assumes "a resurrection of heathen nations formerly dwelling" in the four quarters of the earth to be described. There is no apparent reference in the verse or its context to risen nations. We also differ from him in his estimate of Dean Mansel's position, upon which the appendix contains a long note. But it is impossible to read these valuable studies without deriving much profit from them. Canon Garratt's method of inquiry, and his reverence for the written Word, are a lesson in themselves.

*A Plea for Church Service Reform, with Special Reference to the Prayer-Book Psalter and the Decline of Public Worship.* By an Anglican Priest of Forty Years' Standing. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 26. Price 6d.

The above pamphlet, addressed to the clergy and laity of the Church of England, is a very interesting one, and should find many sympathetic readers. They will appreciate the serious earnestness of the writer, though differing from him in opinion on some points. The increasing unpopularity of church-going must, he thinks, be considered an undoubted fact, in view of the testimonies to that effect from various quarters. The January number of the *Hibbert Journal* contained a "symposium" on the subject, in which one of the contributors, Professor Muirhead, complained of the tedious and unrestful character of the Church Service, and Sir Oliver Lodge pronounced the Psalter in particular to be "oppressively tedious." This remark seems to have struck the author, and the first part of his pamphlet advocates a rearrangement of the Psalms, together with the entire omission of some. Since the Principal of the Birmingham University demanded a good deal more in that article, insisting that "the official religion should be recast," we are afraid that the proposal made here would hardly be enough to satisfy him. As regards the working classes, our experience is that they like the Psalms, and enjoy them. They may not understand them all, but verses remain fixed in their memory, and three of the Psalms marked for omission are favourites with town congregations. It may, of course, be different in rural parishes. With the remarks on the reading of the lessons everybody will agree, especially anyone who has had the misfortune to hear St. Matthew xxvi. read through on Palm Sunday in five and a half minutes. The education of the clergy, and the central need of the "lifting up" of "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified," are two other subjects which the writer brings forward. In his last twelve pages he lays his finger upon some real causes of the decline in Church attendance. What he says about these deserves attentive study, and we trust that his eloquent pleadings for a reformation will not be in vain. It is not going too far to affirm that a great number of people are alienated from public worship because Christ crucified is not preached in their churches.