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

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THE
CHURCHMAN

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INDEX:

	PAGE		PAGE
ALEXANDER KNOX , by Mrs. A. Leeper (the late)	564	Jesuits, the, by Rev. A. Plummer, D.D.	353
"Another Comforter," by Rev. R. C. W. Raban	61	Lambeth Conference and the Creeds, by P. V. Smith, Esq.	242
Apostles and Foreign Languages, by Rev. H. C. Adams, 97; by Rev. W. C. Green	437	Languages of N. Test., by Dr. Cust, 484, 608, 652	652
Bible Society's Work, the, by Preb. Edmonds	538	Matt. Arnold's Early Poems, by Archdeacon Whately	257
Bishop Ken, by the Dean of Salisbury	332	Notes, by Rev. W. C. Green	343
Book of Proverbs, the, by Rev. W. C. Green	79	Notes on Acts xxi., by Rev. A. H. Wratislaw	420
Bishop G. Wordsworth, by Very Rev. Dean Boyle	13	Pauperism, by Rev. E. K. Kendall, D.C.L.	46
"By the Hand of a Mediator," by Very Rev. Dean Campbell	140	Prosecution of Bp. of Lincoln, by Sidney Gedge, Esq., M.P., 450, 572, 662; and by H. Miller, Esq.	504
Church Work in N. Queensland, by Right Rev. Bishop Stanton	237, 337	Prof. Cheyne on Jeremiah	474
Clerical Life in Ireland, by Ven. Archdeacon Wynne	425	Prof. Huxley's Scientific Theology, by Rev. W. Kerr Smith	696
Christian Commission, the, by Preb. Leathes, D.D.	169	Reminiscences of Prof. Sedgwick, by Canon Carus	225
Christ or Muhammad, by Canon Saumarez Smith, D.D.	195	Socialism, by Rev. J. F. Kitto	91, 147
Clergy Pensions, by S. Leighton, Esq., M.P.	57	The Passover, by Preb. Basset	366
Clerical Bagman, the, by Rev. E. C. Dawson	209	The Word and Sacraments, by Canon Bernard	312
Cremation, by the Rev. H. C. Adams	672	The Remuneration of the Clergy, by Rev. H. T. Armfield	615
Dean Burgon's "Lives," by Dean Boyle	118	Three Exegetical Questions, by Rev. A. H. Wratislaw	8
Divorce, by Dr. Kendall	465	The Authorship of Ep. to Hebr., by Rev. C. A. Goodhart	27
Education Report, the, by Canon Daniel, 182; by Rev. J. H. Whitehead	113	Twenty Years of Church Defence, by H. B. Reed, Esq., M.P.	34
Erastianism, by Rev. R. W. Kennion	353	The N. T. and Philosophy, by Preb. Jordan, D.D.	306
First Viscountess Mordaunt, by Rev. G. F. W. Munby	443	Translations of the Bible, by B. Cust, Esq., LL.D.	391
Halle Institutum Judaicum, the, by Rev. A. L. Williams	409	Transfiguration, the, by the Dean of Dromore	644
Henry Martyn, by Preb. Edmonds	633	Theology of Bp. Andrewes, the, by Rev. N. Dimock	521, 587
Hymns of the Christian Ages, the, by Canon Stewart	65, 126	Ten Commandments, the, by Preb. Bassett	249
Home Reunion, by P. V. Smith, Esq., M.A., M.L.L.	577	Value of Testimony, the, by Rev. C. E. Gilbert	496
Improvident Marriages of the Clergy, by Rev. M. Kaufmann	1	Why has the Church missed the Middle Classes? by Rev. E. C. Dawson	297
Jacob at Peniel, by Canon Stowell	20		

Index.

	PAGE		PAGE
When the Storm Bursts, by Rev. H. G. Dickson	328	Pastoral Epistles, by Rev. R. W. Seaver	347
Wonder Works, by Preb. Reynolds	548	John Ward	515
REVIEWS:		Mohammed, by Rev. W. E. Richardson	518
Explorations in N. Guinea	105	Rom. Cath. Claims	573
Pilgrim Missionary of Punjab, by Rev. E. C. Dawson	158	St. Athanasius	574
Bishop Barker	162	Ministry of the C. Church, by Rev. C. Alfred Jones	622
Infallibility of the Church, by Dr. Plummer	217	Outlines of C. Doctrine	625
Hallowing of Criticism	266	Essays on Biblical Greek	628
Countess Eve	269	SHORT NOTICES: 55, 107, 164, 222, 275, 349, 406, 464, 573, 630, 682	
Sir J. Napier's Lectures	273		
A Winter on the Nile	274	THE MONTH: 56, 111, 168, 224, 280, 352, 408, 464, 520, 576, 632, 684	
The Letter and the Spirit	344		

THE
CHURCHMAN

OCTOBER, 1888.

ART. I.—IMPROVIDENT MARRIAGES OF THE CLERGY.

A DISCUSSION is being carried on with considerable warmth on the subject of clerical improvidence, in the columns of the *Guardian* just now and for some time past, and the subject is worthy of attention. The tone of serious animadversion on the part of well-to-do clergymen reading a homily on abstinence to "poor curates," and the replies of the latter in a tone of irritated asperity, which comes from a sense of disappointment and unjust treatment, running through this correspondence, is not pleasant reading to one who looks on the subject impartially. But such an one may take the liberty of stepping in between the disputants, to give expression to his own opinions, formed independently on this subject of early marriages of the younger clergy, which may not be without its value. That is the object of the present paper, prepared originally by the writer for the benefit of students in a theological college, and written for didactic purposes, and now rewritten in view of the present controversy, and by courtesy of the Editor admitted into the CHURCHMAN to serve a more general purpose.

It is to be clearly understood at the outset that the marriages of ordained persons, as such, are considered throughout this paper both to be lawful and expedient in all cases where it is not *prematurely* entered upon. The married state, except in some peculiar cases where the natural bent or spiritual disposition amounts to unwillingness and even reluctance to marry, and where neither rules or counsels of perfection are necessary and discussion superfluous, is the most natural state, and matrimony is preferable to celibacy when the external conditions are favourable. We approach this subject, therefore, without any endeavour to dislodge radical prejudices in disfavour of the

married state, such as may exist in the mind of quasi-misogonists or misogamists on principle. It is only with improvident marriages that we are here concerned, and such which to all appearances are likely to become that. For the same reason it would be out of place to make an *ex parte* statement in favour of these in showing off, as some have done—fortifying their position by a beautiful passage taken from Jeremy Taylor—the poetical charms of connubial bliss, the sympathetic union of kindred souls, and the softening influences of female companionship. All this may be true as a picture of domestic happiness; but it is no argument in favour of leaving butchers' and bakers' bills unpaid, though the substantial guarantees of at least bodily comfort, as one branch of home-life, depend on a well-sustained credit with these and similar providers of home comforts. We must confine ourselves to the practical side of the question, however prosaic it may seem: prose has its just claims as well as poetry. We will consider, then, the *economic, social, and religious* aspects of this matrimonial controversy.

(i.) Taking first the economic standpoint, we are immediately confronted by the fact that a number of benevolent societies exist whose object is the relief of poor clergymen and their families—apart from special appeals, often harrowing in their details, appearing from time to time in the religious press—as well as the gratuitous, or partially gratuitous, education of their children. This is proof positive that some marriages of an improvident nature have been contracted in *early* life, sufficient in number to call such institutions into existence, for it may be assumed that clergymen in a later stage of their intellectual, moral, and spiritual development have not been thus rash and imprudent. The number of cases where unforeseen losses and a sudden collapse in well-founded expectations have driven them, to appeal to the charitable, is too small to call into requisition a machinery of relief such as we allude to here. Now, imprudent as some of these marriages have proved, we are very far from commending prudential marriages, contracted with a basely calculating spirit, which counts up all the chances of temporal advancement, and in meditating on matrimony puts the marriage service on one side and the multiplication table on the other. With us this is not a money question, but a question of morality; it is the ethical aspect rather of an economic question, and from this point of view it was first approached by the present writer in the course of his economic and social studies. Is it right, he asked himself, for a man, still less for a clergyman, to fix and determine for better or for worse the probable future existence of beings yet unborn by

rushing heedlessly into the married state? Providence will provide is the consolation of some pious believer in the Divine connivance at thoughtless precipitancy—we will not say thoughtless self-indulgence. The true student of the ways of God with men and the divinely appointed laws of social life knows better. Practical experience teaches that men have to bear the consequences of their ill-considered actions sometimes for life. Early improvidence becomes the source of gnawing cares and anxieties at a later stage. According to the theory of Malthus, who was himself a clergyman, there is no room at the banquet of nature for the offspring of parents who have merely followed their “natural instinct,” having married without sufficiency of means. And this is one of the ways in which the sins of the parents are visited on the children. The desire to found a home is natural enough, but, like other natural inclinations, it demands the exercise of self-control and self-restraint. A young curate may disregard economic considerations. The bitter consequences of this inconsiderate, false step on his part—and *her* part, who becomes a consenting party but too willingly—are often discomfort and sometimes distress in the newly-founded homestead, and with it the absence of peace, quiet, and contentment depending on relative competency, without which there can be no really happy home. It is a notorious fact that many clergymen and their families do literally starve, requiring the well-worn and all but worn-out clothes of their more prosperous brethren to cover their own nakedness. Now, clerical pauperism, like that of other people, tends to dependency and degradation, loss of dignity in character, and that want of consideration from others which above all things ought to be avoided by those who are in the position of public teachers. Early marriages nowadays, when a certain amount of social comity is required in the social position occupied by the clergy, are, therefore, to be “enterprised” only when on economic principles it is permissible and feasible so to do.¹

¹ We have not entered into the financial aspect of the question above from what may be called the professional standpoint. Much might be said to point out the duty of the laity to make better provision for the increasing number of clergymen rendered imperative by the masses in large towns. Mr. Armfield and Mr. Humble in former papers, which have appeared in *THE CHURCHMAN*, have put the case strongly, to show how with this increased demand for curates without a proportionate increase of benefices, the rate of promotion has been considerably retarded of late years, and from this we might point out the incongruity and injustice of asking thousands of clergymen thus doomed to remain curates for life to remain single, too,—especially as rectors with small incomes are scarcely better off than curates. But it is not our purpose here to enter into the question of clerical incomes and clerical poverty, except so far as it touches the question: What is the duty of clergymen with small

(ii.) If it be wrong, to use the words of a character in "Shirley," a well-known story written by a clergyman's daughter, "for two beggarly fools agreeing to unite their indigence by some phantastic tie of feeling," it is equally inexcusable, apart from pecuniary considerations, for clergymen on social grounds and with a due consideration to their social duties, to depress the status in society now happily occupied by the clergy of the Church of England, unique in its kind, and as such affording special facilities of Christian usefulness not enjoyed by the national ministry of other countries. Standing, moreover, as the clergy in England do socially, midway between rich and poor, they are, or ought to be, examples of Christian self-denial to both. The advice, in laconic phrase *don't*, was administered by *Punch*, the recognised moral and social satirist in this country, a few years ago, to laymen of position intending to marry, because the demands made on men of position in the present day are so much greater than they used to be, in proportion to their income. And it is a well-known fact, often lamented by the possessors of marriageable daughters, that young laymen possessed of tolerably good fortunes follow this bit of advice and postpone marriage *sine die*. In the case of the labouring poor, J. S. Mill and other Economists are never weary in showing that *their* wretched condition and inability to raise themselves from the low level of sordid dependence and grovelling poverty is mainly owing to imprudent early marriages. Now, the young clergyman who has to battle against similar difficulties ought himself to be a pattern in this matter, and ought to be specially prudent in his choice between the married and the single state, not only with a view of avoiding personal inconveniences to himself and obstacles to the happy and unconstrained performance of his official duties, but also with a view to be a living example of self-restraint to those around him, both rich and poor. Being a clergyman, he has frequent opportunities of getting married. He is tempted to take the fatal step by young ladies and middle-aged spinsters who idolize "the cloth." The

incomes in relation to marriage, things being what they are? Until better provision is made for them it is a serious matter to incur the responsibility of founding a home without a sufficiency of means in maintaining it.

At the same time it is an equally serious question for moneyed laymen to ask themselves whether this state of things is what it ought to be, and whether it is not their duty to supplement, out of their own liberality, the miserably small incomes of the clergy, who, whether beneficed or otherwise, are the only body of men who are precluded by their peculiar position from a fair share in the increased wealth and prosperity of the country, whilst their social status renders them liable to spend more in proportion.

feminine love for uniform gives preference to the young officer in the Church militant, enamoured as often by the order to which he belongs as the individual qualities of the person, real or imagined. It is, therefore, a matter of considerable difficulty to use sufficient caution so as not to take the hasty, irrevocable step, more especially in the case of those young curates who are of a naturally affectionate temperament or specially susceptible to the exhibition of favour on the part of the fair sex, who, like the chaplain in Wordsworth's "Excursion" possess, if they possess nothing else :

Sensibility to love,
Ambition to attempt, and skill to win.

Men in love, or in the incipient stages of it, have such plausible arguments to allure them as these, that early engagements are a great safeguard, that the prospect of early marriage acts as an incentive to "get on in the Church," to use the phraseology of those concerned. That a clergyman should seek in the early engagement his main safeguard to keep him out of mischief argues a very unsatisfactory state of mind and heart in a man taking on himself so sacred a profession. So, too, the ambition of the man whose efforts require such a spur as the hope of an early settlement in life is scarcely the best specimen of a true follower of the Apostles. But this only by the way. Early engagements, with their alternating feelings of fear and hope, and early marriages, with their but too early cares and difficulties in providing the means of a decent livelihood, have a distracting and disturbing influence on the mind, turning it away from what should be its main aims, and preventing the young clergyman from concentrating the best of his powers at this early stage of his ministerial career on the important work he has undertaken. The fact that in advertisements for curates the expression occurs frequently, "without family," points to the reluctance of rectors and vicars to work with curates accompanied by "impediments" and "incumbrances." It is possible that the wives of rectors and curates are generally too eager, like the mythical wives of the Ancient Britons, to become actively engaged in the conflicts of their militating husbands, or apt to endanger cordial co-operation where it exists. The fact is, that rectors and vicars are slow believers in the utility of the better-halves of their clerical subordinates, and regard them for one reason or another as a hindrance rather than a help in the work. Whatever may be the reason or unreason of this opinion, it prevails, and the unmarried in most cases are preferred, whilst the married do not invariably obtain preferment. This is, therefore, another reason in favour of waiting, especially as in so doing the young curate, being unmarried and unhampered, maintains a position of greater independence in relation to his superior.

(iii.) We come now to the last, and the most important, the religious point of view. Here the question resolves itself into this: How far may the wife become a coadjutor in spiritual work, and how does this consideration act as a counterbalance to the *prima facie* objection to marriage when means are barely sufficient? For a helpful wife in the school and the parish counts for much, and therefore not a little stress is laid on this point by those correspondents in the *Guardian* who are in favour of early marriages, though undesirable for social and economic reasons. No universal rule can be laid down here. Each case must be judged on its own merits, according to circumstances and conditions peculiar to itself. All reasons, pro and contra, have to be weighed impartially, and that step taken at last towards which the balance tends after carefully, and we may add prayerfully, looking at the question from all sides. We hear it often said that "Marriages are made in heaven," as an excuse for ill-assorted marriages from want of conscientious forethought and the due exercise of private judgment. There ought to be no such shifting of responsibilities. We have heard it said, on the other hand, "There are as many Lucifer matches," a flippant phrase, no doubt, but conveying a substantial verity, that evil and good are mixed up in marriages undertaken from mistaken motives and where unhallowed influences are at work. But really here, as in other matters, higher influences, Divine or demonic, are invoked to explain and excuse facts resulting from purely human volition or want of power of will, when the exercise or suspended action of the common understanding are at fault. In such an important matter, waiting on Providence is well enough if it means patiently waiting till Providence paves the way; but anticipating Providence by prematurely entering into the married state, and leaving it to Providence to register the hasty step by providing for the family afterwards, is a tempting of Providence for which there is no excuse. The wife may be a good adjutant, but where the general has not the sinews of war—to what service is the best of adjutants in such a case? Much here must be left to individual discretion, but every "discreet minister" must be fully assured in his own mind whether marriage will make him a better or worse officer in the Church he serves. The Church of Rome is not wanting in sagacity, whatever its defects may be in other respects, and the Church of Rome finds that the efficiency of her clergy is not impaired by the fact that they have no family ties, though female influence is exercised in more than one direction. On the other hand, the reduction of the whole body, or even a considerable portion of it, into a priestly caste of this kind hinders them from becoming proper citizens of the commonwealth and complete members

of the body politic, though it makes them to all intents and purposes good ecclesiastical tools. There is here, as in other cases, a safe middle course between extremes, that of temporary and voluntary abstinence from marriage until the circumstances or the necessities of the clergyman's position make marriage desirable; to defer marriage until, with the maturity of early manhood and with the corresponding ripening of the judgment, promotion comes and the power of making a right choice of one who shall be a help-mate in sacred things and the bright angel of the household. As in some Continental countries until quite lately, and in some communes still, no young man during the first three years of military service could marry without State authority, or settle in a village without showing that he was possessed of the necessary means of founding a home of his own, so as to prevent his family from becoming a charge to the community, so in the Church militant the younger officers should remain single during some years of probation, and before choosing a partner for life they should be able to give some security of being able to maintain a family with some power of redeeming "those hostages to fortune," to give which, Lord Bacon assures us, is the effect of peopling the world with human beings. Under such conditions the gain in sympathy and gentle influence on the part of the wife, and the widening of the sympathies of the husband in family life, are invaluable as aids in supplementing the manly character in the model minister by the womanly graces of the minister's wife.

St. Paul prefers, under certain temporary and abnormal conditions, the unmarried state altogether. Under entirely different circumstances, the married state may be preferable in furthering the cause of religious progress in the world, and, in so doing, also advancing the individual and social well-being of those immediately concerned. Where there are ample, or at least sufficient, means, or disposition and surroundings, all calling for female companionship and co-operation; where the work, carried on single-handed, would prove less efficient; there the duty of following the voice of reason and sentiment, conscience and convenience is plain enough: let them marry. In many such instances, feminine influence is a power much needed. Where the instinctive vision and delicate monitions of a refined tact, as in the case of Pilate's wife, foresee dangers ahead which the denser view of masculine judgment, warped by the disturbing actualities of life pressing on all sides, would overlook, or obstinately ignore, there the faithful *alter ego* of the hard-working clergymen often proves a blessing.

Of this we may be sure, that where young men thus, for a

time, prefer the single state to marriage, from a conscientious regard to the law of self-denial, there the reward will come in the greater calm of a happy-married life later on; nor will such be troubled much by vain regrets if the boon is denied: theirs has been a noble discipline, which bears the fruits of peace, that follow all acts of self-conquest. On the other hand, where the married state has been entered into at an earlier period from high motives, under a sense of duty and without violation of the Divine laws, economic or social, and without religious compunction as to the step taken, there the evil results of which we have spoken above, arising from an imprudent following of early inclinations, are not likely to follow. But in all cases where selfish motives and inconsiderate wilfulness have led to improvident marriages, individual pains and penalties, social inconveniences, and ministerial inefficiency will follow as a matter of course, with all their attendant baleful consequences, extending far beyond the circle of those immediately concerned, and perhaps influencing for evil the life and conduct of those who are yet to follow through many generations.

M. KAUFMANN.



ART. II.—THREE EXEGETICAL QUESTIONS ON PASSAGES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I.—MEANING OF ἀνεπαίσχυτος IN 2 TIM. II. 15.

A GREAT deal has been done of late in the department of exegesis in the New Testament, but more yet remains to be done. Even the simple verification and closer examination of a reference, which has for a longer or shorter time gone the round of editors and commentators, will sometimes furnish us with an unexpected and gratifying result. This is actually the case with regard to the first of the questions, which I propose to consider in the following pages, viz., the true meaning of ἀνεπαίσχυτος in 2 Tim. ii. 15.

Here—adopting the rendering of the unjustly traduced Revised Version—Paul urges Timothy to “give diligence to present himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed” (ἐργάτην ἀνεπαίσχυτον). The Vulgate translates ἀνεπαίσχυτος by *inconfusibilis*, and the English fairly expresses the Latin, though I think it will be found that it is far from expressing the point of the original Greek.

Let us first consider the sense or senses of the verb ἐπαίσχυνομαι in the New Testament, where it occurs ten times.

In Mark viii. 38, and Luke ix. 26, we find it twice with an accusative case in almost the same formula in each Evangelist. In Mark we have: "Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me and My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when He comes in the glory of His Father with the holy angels." In Luke: "Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me and My words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when He comes in His glory and that of His Father and of the holy angels." Note that here *ἑπαισχύνομαι* is not simply "to be ashamed," but "to be ashamed of."

In Rom. i. 16, Paul says: "I am not ashamed of the gospel." In Rom. vi. 21, *ἑπαισχύνομαι* is followed by the dative with *ἐπί*, but in the same sense of being ashamed of. Both versions translate: "What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death." I cannot forbear expressing my confidence that the right punctuation is that adopted by Tischendorf (ed. 1878), viz.: *τίνα οὖν κάρπον εἶχετε τότε; ἐφ' οἷς νῦν ἑπαισχύνεσθε· τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος.* "What fruit had ye then? Things of which ye are now ashamed; for the end of those things is death." This variation of punctuation is, however, of no importance to my argument. Paul has the word again in 2 Tim. i. 8: "Be not ashamed therefore of the testimony of the Lord, nor of me His prisoner." And in 2 Tim. i. 12: "For the which cause I suffer these things, yet I am not ashamed," where nothing follows and the word appears to be used absolutely. But surely there is an implicit reference in the preposition *ἐπί* in *ἑπαισχύνομαι* here, which carries us back to the same word in verse 8 above, which might be indicated by the addition of *it*. "I am not ashamed of [it]." In 2 Tim. i. 16, we find: "He was not ashamed of my chain."

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the word occurs twice. First in Heb. ii. 11, where it is followed by an infinitive instead of an accusative, and the translation might just as well be: "He is not ashamed of calling them brethren," as what it is: "He is not ashamed to call them brethren." In Heb. xi. 16, we find both an accusative and an exegetical infinitive: "Wherefore God is not ashamed of them, to be called their God."

As to classical usage, if we open Liddell and Scott's Lexicon at the word *ἑπαισχύνομαι*, we find it at once rendered "to be ashamed at or of," and a mass of instances are given, which it is unnecessary to quote in detail. I will just give a remarkable one from Herodotus, i. 90: Here Cræsus, sending a reproachful message to Apollo at Delphi, orders his messengers to inquire, "whether he was not ashamed of inducing by his oracles Cræsus to make war against the Persians"?

(εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήοις ἑπάρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας;)

Now what is the result of all this as regards *ἐργάτην ἀνεπαίσχυντον*? Even this, that the words do not mean "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed," but, "a workman NOT TO BE ASHAMED OF," "a workman of whom HIS MASTER needeth not to be ashamed," a skilful and trusty workman who can be sent out anywhere to represent his Master in any important business. How mean and paltry does the ordinary rendering, "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed," appear in juxtaposition with that which I am advocating, "a workman not to be ashamed of," "a workman, a missionary, truly *δίκαιος*, who can stand any test, and of whom God, his Master, will have no reason to be ashamed"! And how exactly this corresponds, as a grand particular application, with our Lord's own general expression above quoted: "He that is ashamed of Me *now*, of him will the Son of Man be ashamed *then*."

I might rest my case on reasoning alone with a fair probability of acceptance, but I cannot look upon it as completely demonstrated, unless I produce an instance in which the word *ἀνεπαίσχυντος* actually has this signification, and cannot possibly have any other. And such an instance I find in the only one, in which the word is as yet known to occur, viz., Josephus's Antiquities, xviii. 7, 1. Here Herodias, envying her brother Agrippa's elevation to the royal dignity, is represented as using various arguments to induce Herod Antipas, a mere tetrarch, to go to Rome and spare no expense to obtain the title of king for himself. The last of her arguments is: *μηδὲ δευτερεύειν ἀνεπαίσχυντον ἡγοῦ τῶν χθῆς καὶ πρῶτ' ἰλέμ τῷ σὺ διαβεβιωκότῳ*. "And don't think it a thing *not to be ashamed of* to be playing second fiddle to those who have but lately preserved their lives through your compassion." [Herod Agrippa I. had been compelled to flee from Rome to escape his creditors, and Herodias had induced Herod Antipas to allow him to reside at Tiberias with the rank of ædile of the city and a small annual income.]

In the above passage it is impossible to translate *ἀνεπαίσχυντον* otherwise than as "a thing not to be ashamed of." If we take the words of the versions and place them in this passage, what do we have? "And don't think it a thing *that needeth not to be ashamed*, to be playing second fiddle to those who have preserved their lives through your compassion." This is simple nonsense. Let us therefore take the clear and undoubted sense of *ἀνεπαίσχυντον* in this passage of Josephus, and transfer it to its place in 2 Tim. ii. 15, and thus exhibit in its full dignity the idea of "a workman not to be ashamed of," "a workman of whom God, his Master, needeth not to be ashamed."

II.—WHY DID JOHN THE BAPTIST SEND DISCIPLES TO ASK JESUS: "ART THOU HE THAT COMETH, OR ARE WE TO LOOK FOR ANOTHER?" Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19.

A great deal of discussion has taken place upon this subject, and various and very discrepant opinions have been held and maintained upon it. Was it for John's own satisfaction, or for that of his disciples, that he thus acted? Had his faith in Him, upon Whom he had seen the Spirit descending as a dove, and with regard to Whom he had heard the voice from heaven, "This is my beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased," become impaired by his long imprisonment? Were his disciples ceasing to believe in him, that he must have recourse to this step to maintain his authority? These and cognate questions have been discussed to a very great extent, but no really satisfactory result has been arrived at; and in fact the data are so small, and conjecture must play so great a part in the discussion, that it is not to be wondered at that the point is still *sub judice* and just as much a matter of controversy as ever.

But if a reason can be found in the Gospels themselves for John's sending to ask the question, quite independent of any such considerations, and leaving John's psychological condition and that of his disciples entirely out of the question, it may perhaps be a real gain to the theological student and even to theology itself. And the Gospels themselves do afford hints that, after all, this may have been the case, and the entire controversy may be utterly and entirely beside the point.

In John i. 19, 21 we read, "This is the witness of John, when the Jews sent unto him from Jerusalem priests and Levites to ask him, Who art thou? And he confessed and denied not; and he confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he saith, I am not. Art thou the Prophet? And he answered, No."

Now here is a manifest distinction made between "the Christ" and "the Prophet." The Christ must, of course, be the Messiah, the Prince; the Prophet, the person mentioned in Deut. xviii. 15, "The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken"; and 18, 19, "I will raise thee up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my word, which he shall speak in my Name, I will require it of him."

Now, were the Messiah and the Prophet one person or two?

Were they separate individuals, each fulfilling his own portion of God's work, or were they one and the same person in a twofold character? In Acts iii. 22, this prophecy of Moses is clearly taken as referring to the Christ, and so also apparently in Acts vii. 37, in both which passages it is quoted. So, also, in John vi. 14 (R.V.), "When therefore the people saw the sign which he did, they said, This is of a truth the Prophet that cometh into the world." In these passages *one* person only appears to be referred to as expected. But in John vii. 40, 41 we find a distinct reference to a current opinion that the Christ and the Prophet were not to be one and the same, but two distinct persons: "Some of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words, said, This is of a truth *the Prophet*, others said, This is *the Christ*."

It is manifest, hence, that the views of the Jews were not uniform upon this point, but that it was a question still under discussion, although it is commonly stated by commentators, that the opinion of the identity of the Messiah and the Prophet was the prevalent one.

Now, if we are to resolve the question of the reason why John sent two of his disciples to inquire of Jesus, whether He was the Coming One, or whether they were to expect another (*ἄλλον*), or a second (*ἕτερον*) as well, we have in this controverted point a complete solution for it at once. There may easily have been a doubt in John's mind, without derogation from his faith in Jesus, as One "greater than himself, whose shoes' latchet he was not worthy to unloose"—or possibly in the minds of his disciples only, which he could not remove—whether Jesus was the *One* coming Messiah *and* Prophet, or whether He was the Messiah *or* Prophet; while another was to be looked for as the Prophet *or* Messiah, whichever of the two Jesus was not, to complete or supplement his work. John knew a great deal by revelation, but it is not necessary to suppose that he knew *everything*. And upon a controverted point like this, we are surely not compelled to assume that he must have possessed full, certain, and precise information. Is it not at any rate more consistent with reasonable principles of exegesis to seek the solution of the question, why John sent two disciples to Jesus to make a certain inquiry, from hints given us in the Gospels themselves, than to wander in the realms of conjecture and imagination in search of the possible psychological condition of John's mind or the minds of his disciples?

Our Lord's reply was given after His usual fashion. A direct answer was not vouchsafed to the direct question; but an indirect reply was given by the performance of certain acts indicated in prophecy, from which John might easily infer

that Jesus was THE COMING ONE, and that they were NOT to look for another.

III.—IS IT CORRECT TO TRANSLATE $\nu\tilde{\nu}\ \delta\tilde{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$ (Luke xix. 42) "BUT *now* THEY *are* HID" ?

It makes little difference whether we translate the commencement of this passage as an unfulfilled wish: "Would that thou too hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things which belong to thy peace!" or adopt, with the English versions, an aposiopesis at the end of the protasis: "If thou too hadst known at least in this thy day the things which belong to thy peace"! . . . (I translate from Tischendorf's text of 1878.) The difficulty lies in the following words: $\nu\tilde{\nu}\ \delta\tilde{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\theta\ \delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon$. These literally translated would run: "But *now* they *were* hid from thine eyes," which is a contradiction in terms. It is a great liberty to take with the ordinary past tense of single action to translate it, "they *are* hid," just to bring it into consistency with the $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ preceding. But is there any necessity for this, or even any excuse for so doing? $\nu\tilde{\nu}\ \delta\tilde{\epsilon}$ has not necessarily any reference to present time or even to time at all. It is frequently used in the sense, "But as the fact is," "whereas." Indeed "whereas" is, in nine cases out of ten, the best and most vivid rendering of this non-temporal $\nu\tilde{\nu}\ \delta\tilde{\epsilon}$, although in the tenth instance it will not do at all; and we must content ourselves with, "But, as the fact is" or something of the kind. And I am happy to find that the very passage I am discussing is placed in Thayer's new edition of Grimm's Greek-Testament Lexicon among the passages, in which this meaning of $\nu\tilde{\nu}\ \delta\tilde{\epsilon}$ is exemplified.

Let us then boldly translate: "Would that thou hadst known at least in this thy day the things that belong to thy peace! WHEREAS they WERE hid from thine eyes."

"This thy day" is considered as so close to its conclusion, that it is treated as practically over; and it is stated that, during the whole of it, the things which belonged to the peace of Jerusalem had been hid from her eyes. Surely this is more consistent with both sense and grammar than to render $\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$ "are hid."

A. H. WRATISLAW.

ART. III.—BISHOP CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH.

THE Memoir¹ of the late Bishop of Lincoln, the joint production of Canon Overton and the Bishop's accomplished daughter, who presides over the Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford, is in many respects a remarkable book.

¹ Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln. Rivingtons.

We must begin by expressing our regret at the double authorship. There is a certain want of unity and proportion perceptible throughout, and in more than one instance a difference of treatment has led to a partial, not to say one-sided view of certain events in the Bishop's career. We wish, too, that the Canon and Miss Wordsworth had allowed the subject of the biography to disclose himself more fully in familiar letters. The method of Dean Stanley—a combination of narrative and selected letters—has always seemed to us well worthy of imitation. But the present volume has some admirable characteristics of its own. It is not too long. It gives an excellent account of the literary labours of the Bishop, and those who have regarded his long, single-minded, and most remarkable labours, with constant interest and attention, will not be disposed to find fault with the eulogy, which is perhaps more pronounced than general readers will expect to find.

Christopher Wordsworth was born in 1807. He was the third son of the poet's brother, himself no inconsiderable divine, and for many years Master of Trinity, Cambridge. Truthfulness and single-mindedness came to the Bishop as a natural inheritance. His mother, Priscilla Lloyd, was one of a remarkable family, and the account of her careful tendings of her three distinguished sons, who all achieved the highest academical distinction, will be read with great interest. She died before Christopher had reached his eighth birthday, and was long remembered by her husband's parishioners.

At Winchester and at Cambridge the career of Christopher Wordsworth was one uniform and continuous success. He was an enthusiastic lover of books. His scholarship was careful and searching. The extracts from his journal give delightful evidence of the freshness of his tastes, and his sympathy with earnest and thoughtful men. He owed much to the influence of his uncle, the poet, and it is not too much to say that the "plain living and high thinking," so characteristic of the Bishop, from first to last, must have received many an impression from the life at Rydal. A very full and complete life of the poet may soon be expected from Professor Knight of St. Andrew's, who has already done much to make the poetry and character of Wordsworth familiar to this generation. The letters of Sir Henry Taylor have lately given to the world more intimate revelations of the poet's domestic life, and it may be asserted with safety that few great men have ever stood the test of a searching scrutiny better. What William Wordsworth was to his own family, the two brief notices in the Bishop's memoir fully disclose. The letter on the religion of France, written to his nephew in 1828, is a most remarkable one. It is interesting, too,

to find that five years before the poet's death, he objected to some expressions upon Romanism in two pamphlets of his nephew's, as being too harsh and severe. Readers of the Bishop's controversial writings, admirable and incisive as they often are, will, we think, be inclined to wish that he had sometimes moderated the severity of his utterances, even although they never altogether obscured the working of a loving heart.

Christopher Wordsworth soon became an admirer of that sober-minded school of theologians which was represented by H. J. Rose, J. J. Blunt, and other Cambridge men less known to fame. In his early letters, there are many indications of the high standard of religious excellence he aimed at. "He is a high-souled young man," was the description given of him by an eminent Cambridge don in 1831, and Dean Blakesley, shortly before his own decease, said to one of the Bishop of Lincoln's children: "The three most magnanimous men I ever knew in real life, were your father, your grandfather, and your great-uncle (the poet)."

The first great disappointment in a life, tolerably free from anxiety, was the failure to obtain the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. His career as Head Master of Harrow was not successful. The reforms which he carried out, somewhat too stringently, made him unpopular. The numbers of the school fell away, and it is clear that he did not possess the peculiar combination of qualities now rightly demanded from the head-masters of great schools. But there are those still living, who delight to tell how the earnest exhortations of Christopher Wordsworth to search the Scriptures and never neglect private prayer, awoke within them thoughts and feelings which have never perished. The same intensity which made a careless member of Parliament, after hearing one of the earnest Abbey sermons, resolve to read his Bible as he had never read it before, impressed its mark on some Harrovians in unmistakable fashion. With his appointment to a Canonry of Westminster in 1844, a new and important field of labour opened to him. His intellectual energy was untiring. The list of his publications is really an extraordinary one. He had already made his mark as a great scholar, and his early publications on Greece indicate the accuracy of his mind and its fresh interest in classical studies. He edited the Correspondence of Bentley, and the book has a special value, as containing a brief but admirable memoir of his brother John, a scholar of rare merit, who, had he lived, would have shown the same genius for scholarship and literature, so remarkably manifested by the venerable Bishop of St. Andrew's, the only surviving brother, who in his old age finds time, even

in the midst of his generous desire to reunite the English and Scottish Churches, for the pursuits which gave him unique distinction at Oxford. Dr. Wordsworth, when he accepted the Canonry of Westminster, seems to have set before him the high standard of study in theology, which men like our elder divines Bull, Pearson and Butler, succeeded in attaining. But he never neglected the practical interests which his residence at Westminster aroused. It is impossible to say how much good has been effected by the Westminster Spiritual Aid Fund, of which the Canon was the life and soul. Many who lived near him during these years caught his noble enthusiasm for the relief of the spiritual destitution of Westminster, and the account given in the Memoir of his labours for the fund, might be largely supplemented by those who knew the full extent of his self-denying exertions. His sermons in the Abbey, though sometimes too long, greatly increased his fame as a preacher and theologian. Those were eventful days in the history of the Church of England. The secession of Cardinal Newman shook many minds to the foundations, and it was certainly most fortunate that the pulpit of the Abbey should have been occupied by one who was in all respects able to encounter the subtleties of the Theory of Development. Fault has been found with the tone and temper of the letters to Monsieur Gondon, and there can be no doubt that the polemical vigour is often most unsparing. Yet these letters did good service in their day. Christopher Wordsworth had a real insight into the grave issues of the controversy with Rome, and although at times he may have seemed too favourable to the old interpretation of the Apocalypse, and too little mindful of the practical piety, still fortunately to be found in the Roman communion, he is a champion of whom the English Church may well be proud. There is a most interesting note to be found at p. 400 of the Memoir, which gives an account of the impression made upon the Duke of Wellington,¹ by the Diary in France, a book which had a real effect in 1845, in disclosing the religious condition of the Continent. From that time its author seems to have taken a most particular interest in every attempt at religious revival in France and Italy.

¹ *Letter from Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity, to W. Wordsworth, Esq.*
 —By the way, you will not be sorry to hear what the Duke of Wellington's opinion is of Christopher's "Diary." "What, my Lord Duke, is your opinion of the state of matters on the Continent—in France, Germany, etc.—in respect particularly to religion, etc.?" So asked Gerald Wellesley, the clergyman, one morning at breakfast. "Think," replied the Duke, "I think very ill of it. I think they are in a very sad condition. But I have been reading a book by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth—his 'Diary'—and I like it much. You must read it, and then you will see what I think and what you ought to think."

It was fortunate that, in the year 1850, Dr. Wordsworth resolved to accept the charge of a Berkshire parish. At Stanford he worked with his usual energy. Few men who accept livings between forty and fifty are capable of throwing themselves with vigour into parochial work. But the interesting letters from old curates give a delightful picture of the reality of his work in his parish. He won the respect and love of his farmers, and took a fatherly charge of his school-children. It was at Stanford that he commenced his commentary on Scripture; and there is nothing more remarkable than the way in which he harmonized the work of a student with his ordinary pastoral labours. We cannot help wishing that there had been a fuller detail of this portion of his life, for, in these days of haste and bustle, the attempt to combine active work with study is not as common as it ought to be, and our younger clergy often need to be reminded that the life of a pastor can be something else than a mere round of services and preaching excursions. The Canon of Westminster felt it to be his duty to express his feelings as to Dr. Stanley's theological views when the appointment to the Deanery of Westminster was made. Whatever may be thought as to the wisdom of this action, no fault could be found with the tone of the Canon's remonstrance, and, in after-years, differences were forgotten, and the intercourse of Dean and Canon was of the most delightful nature. The Dean is known to have said, on one occasion when the Bishop preached a remarkable sermon on a subject with which he was not in cordial agreement: "The close of that sermon made me feel that the mantle of Hooker and Sanderson had fallen on Christopher Wordsworth."

The history of the controversies which arose out of the publication of "Essays and Reviews," and the attitude of the Bishop of Natal, as it is represented in the debates of Convocation, is full of instruction. The perusal of that portion of the Bishop's life has led us to refer to these well-nigh forgotten debates, but we feel confident that all who perused them can have but one opinion as to the fearlessness and tenderness towards individuals which Christopher Wordsworth displayed. He spoke like a man who felt that a necessity was laid upon him, and throughout the long and protracted struggle, he maintained an admirable temper and most careful regard for the interests of the Church. Sometimes he may have taken a somewhat stiff position; and it is true to say that he did not always appreciate the judicial suspense of men like Bishop Thirlwall and Dean Blakesley, yet he won the reverence and honour of opponents and friends. There is a delightful letter from the Bishop of Peterborough, from which we must make one extract. The Bishop is speaking of his experience in

Conference, and it is certainly seldom that we find such words as these, expressive of true and genuine feeling, in matters when it is not always possible to preserve equanimity: "He used to defer to the opinions of the youngest and least experienced of his brethren with a sweet old-world courtesy and graciousness that could only have come from a lowliness of heart that esteemed others better than himself. He may perhaps have possessed powers of sarcasm—he certainly was by no means wanting in a sense of humour—but never in the eighteen years of my acquaintance with him did I hear from him, even in the keenest debate, a sharp or scornful word. He was uniformly gentle, conciliatory, striving always for the things that made for peace; and though ready, if need be, to die for what he held to be the truth from other points of view than his, always willing to learn as he certainly was apt to teach."

The time came when the unexpected, and undesired, call to the episcopate had to be met. Mr. Disraeli, in a letter, which did him great honour, wrote to offer him a bishopric. He himself would hardly have selected the unknown land of Lincoln; but he soon threw himself into his new duties with all his energy. Christopher Wordsworth was a man of prayer. He shrunk at first from a new sphere of work. But his misgivings were happily overcome by the kindly presence of his brethren and other friends. They were certainly in the right. It would have been a grave misfortune to the English Church if men like himself and the late Bishop Moberly had not been raised to her highest offices. In recent years, the real life of the Church has been elevated and purified by the high standard of episcopal duty, aimed at by men differing widely from each other, but all in cordial agreement as to the essential characteristics of a bishop's duty, and high in the list of those who have done good service will stand the name of the late Bishop of Lincoln. Mistakes he undoubtedly made, and upon these it will be no pleasure to dwell. He was, however, nobly conspicuous as the spiritual father of his diocese. He could sympathize with men who differed widely from himself. His addresses to his clergy are redolent of his love of Scripture and his intense desire to speak the truth in love. At the Nottingham Church Congress, in 1871, a new feature of his character was unmistakably evinced. The Dissenters of that great town had shown unusual interest in the proceedings of the week, and the Bishop's address is an astonishing proof of the power with which he could express his genuine Christian feeling, without any sacrifice of his strong Churchmanship.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this noble and well-spent life is the determined and resolute desire to ground all

his teaching, and all his practice, upon Holy Scripture. Whatever may be thought of the exact position which the Bishop's Commentary is likely to retain as a work of interpretation, it will always remain a most interesting memorial of the mind of the writer. The unity of Scripture possesses him. It is well said that he holds to it like an anchor; and there are passages, particularly in his interpretation of the Apocalypse, which reflect in a wonderful manner the hold which the progressive development and unity of the Bible had over his mind. Some of his hymns in the "Holy Year" have become deservedly popular. The place of "Hark the sound of Holy Voices," and "See the Conqueror mounts in Triumph," is safe; and we remember well how the late Canon. Morse delighted to speak of the joyful expression of the Bishop's features as the choirs sang the first of these hymns at the reopening of St. Mary's, Nottingham.

Bishop Wordsworth was most happy in his marriage to one who was indeed a true helpmate. Indeed we could well wish for more details of the happiness and pleasure of his life at Riseholme. He had the satisfaction before his death of visiting his son, recently appointed Canon of Rochester, and had expressed a wish to retire to Rochester on his resignation. But this was not to be. In 1884 a sudden chill overtook him, and on the 13th of July he and Mrs. Wordsworth were in Riseholme Church for the last time. The hymn of Baxter—the great Puritan divine, so honoured and admired by the Bishop's father, the Master of Trinity, who gave Baxter's touching review of his own life a place in his "Ecclesiastical Biography"—"Lord, it belongs not to my care, whether I die or live," happened to be sung that Sunday. For some days after this, his condition was critical. He felt that his work was over. The Southwell bishopric was nearly completed, and it seemed as if his end was near. Mrs. Wordsworth was taken away in the October of the same year, and on All Saints' Day she was laid to rest in Riseholme Churchyard. The Bishop lingered until the following March; and after a mysterious struggle, recalling Walton's description of George Herbert's death, he passed away, on the very day when the Chapter of Lincoln had met to elect his successor. He had resigned the See of Lincoln in October, 1884.

The life of this admirable man ought to be in the hands of all our younger clergy. It is not too much to say that the whole man, with all the acquirements and wonderful learning of his life, was entirely dedicated to the service of his Master. We cannot conclude this brief notice better than in the words of the present Bishop of London, whose appointment to the

See of Exeter he had deprecated, but whom he gladly welcomed as the successor of Bishop Jackson. Dr. Temple said :

I can myself speak of unvarying kindness, from the time when he wrote to me on my nomination to the bishopric of Exeter, and when, soon afterwards, he was so good as to allow me to make use of his examining chaplain, as I was not able in the circumstances to get the use of my own. From that time I had much communication with him on various occasions, when his conduct was always characterized by the same wonderful gentleness and sweetness. But I think that his sweetness of character was even more conspicuous when there was anything like a strong difference of opinion. For he entered into controversy freely and boldly, but he never concealed the warmth of his affection for those with whom he was brought into contact, even though he might have had reason to contend earnestly with them on points which he thought of importance, but in which they considered he was mistaken. Such a man leaves behind him a treasure for all time.

G. D. BOYLE.



ART. IV.—JACOB AT PENIEL.

THE narrative of Jacob's wrestling at Peniel must have possessed an intense interest for the Jew, as revealing the origin and significance of the name *Israel* in which he gloried.

It was now twenty years since the memorable night when the lonely wanderer, as he lay sleeping on his pillow of stones, had seen in his dream the ladder which reached from heaven to earth, and upon which the angels of God continually went and came, and had received from God the promise that He would be with him and prosper him, would keep him in all places whither he should go, and bring him back again to the land which he was leaving.

The Divine promise had not failed, and the pilgrim, who had passed over Jordan with his staff and nothing more, was now, in obedience to God's command, returning, having become two bands, with "wives and children, and men-servants and women-servants, and much cattle." Naturally he would look forward with great anxiety to his meeting with his brother whom he had so deeply wronged, and who had determined in his heart to slay him as soon as his father died. Since that time the brothers had never met: and no message from his mother had reached the younger to say that Esau's wrath was turned away. Had those long years made him forget his wrongs and mitigated his anger, or was he still cherishing his thirst for vengeance, and only awaiting the opportunity to satisfy it? Hoping, yet fearful, Jacob had sent messengers before him to announce his approach, and to pray that he might find favour in his brother's sight. These had, however, brought back no friendly greeting in response; only the tidings that Esau was advancing to meet him at the head of four hundred men. This

intelligence greatly affrighted and distressed Jacob. Immediately he took every precaution with a view to secure the safety of his family, and having committed his cause to God, sent on in advance a present with a humble message, by which he hoped to appease his brother before they should meet.

It was now evening: and having sent his two wives and his eleven sons and all that he had over the brook Jabbok (a tributary of the Jordan) Jacob was left alone, full of anxious foreboding as to the morrow. Before him, dark as the night which surrounded him, was the issue of the coming day: and now the interval of time which separated him from that momentous crisis in his history was only as the narrow span of the stream which flowed between him and the rest of his company. None, save those who have known the painful suspense which attends the forecast of some impending calamity, especially when those whom we dearly love are concerned, combined with a sense of utter helplessness to avert it, can adequately conceive what must have been the thoughts which filled the breast of the patriarch on that night, while he anticipated even the possibility of his brother's coming against him in his former spirit of vindictive fury, and smiting him, and, terrible thought! "the mother upon the children." Doubtless also the bitter remembrance would be with him that it was his own sin in deceiving his father and robbing his brother which had brought this upon him. A guilty conscience would greatly add to his disquiet.

At such a time it is natural for a man to seek solitude. And Jacob sought it: chiefly, we may believe, in order that he might hold communion with God, and in the absence of his fellow-men draw near to Him. "And Jacob was left alone"—alone, yet, like our Lord, "not alone." Only alone with Him to Whom man's to-morrow is still to-day, and what to man is uncertain is known. For just as the eye of God surveys the whole universe while our limited vision takes in only a little space, so, as to time, while the present moment bounds our narrow view, the ages of eternity lie all unfolded before the Omniscient. Here, then, was the Helper for such a time of need. In casting his care upon God, Jacob had moreover much ground of encouragement, inasmuch as he was only following the leadings of God's providence, and obeying His command in taking this journey, and therefore, assured that he was in the path of duty, he might with confidence commit his way unto the Lord, and trust in Him that He would bring it to pass. He had, moreover, God's promise of safe-conduct in his returning, as during his exile, made at Bethel, to rely upon. He could, in addition to this, fall back upon his own past experience of God's faithfulness to that promise—the remembrance of the way in which

“unto this very day” (as he could testify upon his death-bed, when this and every other peril had been escaped) God had “fed him all his life long: the Angel had redeemed him from all evil.”¹ Nor was this all. Probably on that very day there had been vouchsafed to him a remarkable intimation that he was attended by a supernatural escort. “As he went on his way, the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them he said: ‘This is God’s host’ (Mahaneh). And he called the name of that place Mahanaim” (*i.e.*, two hosts, his own band and the celestial guard, like Elisha’s protectors at Dothan,² or perhaps angels encamped on each side of him. “He shall give His angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways.”³)

With confidence then could Jacob repair to God for help in this trying hour. And the blessing of trouble and anxiety is when they bring us nearer to Him, and in their dark night He manifests His presence most clearly, if we seek it. It was even so that night beside the brook Jabbok. We are told, “there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day.” The whole subject is involved in mystery: and we must beware of being wise above what is written. We may believe, however, that “the man,” “the angel,” was God appearing in the person of “the Angel of the Covenant” (as He had aforetime appeared to Abraham, and subsequently to Joshua, and at other times manifested Himself during the Old Testament Dispensation—appearances which may be regarded as foreshadowings of the Incarnation).⁴

This we infer from the language of the narrative, in which Jacob’s antagonist says to him, “As a prince hast thou power *with God*,” while Jacob declares, “I have *seen God* face to face.” In allusion to this incident, we read in Hosea, chap. xii., vv. 3 and 4, “By his” (Jacob’s) “strength he had power *with God*: yea, he had power over the angel and prevailed.”

There in the darkness and solitude Jacob became conscious of a Presence. An antagonist, closed and wrestled with him through the long hours of the night.⁵ “And when he saw that he pre-

¹ Gen. xlviii. 15, 16.

² 2 Kings vi. 17.

³ Ps. xci. 11. See also xxxiv. 7. The late lamented Charles George Gordon, in a letter written on his voyage out to Khartoum, in which he says that he hopes to reach Suakim on his birthday, adding, “I am quite restored to my peace, thank God; and in His hand He will hide me,” writes in a postscript: “The hosts are with me.” *Mahanaim*, an expression which Prebendary Barnes, to whom the letter was addressed, informs us he frequently employed.

So most of the Fathers, as Theodoret, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Augustine. See references in Speaker’s Commentary.

Dr. Marcus Dods, in the “Expositor’s Bible,” following Kurtz, holds that it was God Who came and laid hold on Jacob to prevent him from entering the land in the temper he was in, and as Jacob, p. 298, etc.

vailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint as he wrestled with him." Nevertheless, though thus rendered physically helpless, he wrestled on, and held his antagonist fast in his embrace, until "he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And Jacob answered" (for he had now learned at least with whom he had to do), "I will not let thee go except thou bless me. And he (the angel) said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob." The old name, representing the old character, with all its past of shame, must be confessed before the new name, representing the new character, could be conferred upon him. "And he said, Thy name shall be no more Jacob" (*i.e.*, a supplanter, an overreacher of men—of Isaac, of Esau, of Laban) "but Israel" (a prince with God, or of God, or he who striveth with God, R.V.); "for as a prince hast thou power with God" ("thou hast striven with God," R.V.) "and with men, and hast prevailed. And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name?¹ And he blessed him there."

There can be no doubt that we have in this narrative the record of an actual bodily struggle. The physical result in the halting thigh forbids us to understand the account otherwise than literally. There was, however, as certainly a spiritual conflict, of which the bodily wrestling was the accompaniment and symbol, and in which the soul grappled with God in prayer. The passage already referred to in Hosea throws much light on the real character of the warfare, and proves that its weapons were not carnal but spiritual. There we are told "he wept and made supplication unto him."

Jacob's prayer doubtless especially sought deliverance from Esau, probably after the manner of that which is recorded in v. 9-13—a notable specimen of true prayer, in which the suppliant pleads no worthiness of his own, but casts himself upon the mercy of God; rests upon His promises, and draws his encouragement from the knowledge of what He is and what He has done in time past.

Even so, still in prayer the soul may lay hold on God's strength (as it is written, "Let him take hold of My strength that he may make peace with Me, and he shall make peace with Me"²), and, as it were, force a blessing from Him through the earnest perseverance of importunate supplication: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent taketh it by force."

¹ Compare Judges xiii. 18: "And the angel of the Lord said unto him," Manoah, "wherefore askest thou after my name seeing it is wonderful?" Marg. or *secret* (R.V.). The question here may mean that Jacob ought to have known.

² Isa. xxvii. 5.

Such was doubtless the twofold character of the wrestling on Jacob's part. What, however, are we to understand by the opposing force put forth by his antagonist, by his seeming anxiety to depart, and reluctance to be overcome?

This, we may believe, was designed to teach Jacob several most salutary lessons: and, first, to lead him to realize that his sin against his brother, which had brought him into this strait, was a sin against God; and that there was One greater than Esau with Whom his peace must first be made; he was to learn the true character and guilt of sin. Secondly, it seems to have been designed to convince him that, although in his struggles with men hitherto he had prevailed by fraud and skill and craftiness, through the exercise of his own strength and the use of human expedients, it must be in a far different way he must obtain power with God and win His blessing if he would really succeed. The touching of his thigh, which robbed him of all personal physical strength to maintain such a contest, would serve to convince him of his utter weakness and inability to prevail with God in his own strength; while, by his mighty faith and unwearied perseverance, he did obtain power with God and overcame. Not until emptied of all self-confidence he clings to the Divine strength, and in that strength, made perfect in his weakness, becomes strong, can he succeed in such a strife.

Not for one moment can we believe that the resistance arose from any real desire to withhold the blessing which the patriarch sought. Rather was it designed, through the trial of his faith, to give him a far higher and better blessing than the temporal one which he had asked, as was the case in our Lord's apparent unwillingness to grant the petition of the Syro-Phœnician woman.

The change which was wrought in Jacob through this experience—a change which we may recognise through his whole after-life, from which all traces of cunning and selfishness have disappeared,¹ manifested itself at once. The dread of Esau had passed from his mind. It was no longer deliverance that he was chiefly concerned about. It was to gain the knowledge of God and to be blessed of Him that he desired to improve his opportunity, even when the daybreak was calling him to his earthly duties, and to prepare for the approaching meeting.² Like Moses crying, "I beseech Thee, show me Thy glory," he asked, "Tell me, I pray Thee, Thy name. Reveal Thyself to me." The actual request was not granted, any more than it was in the case of Moses. Nor could it be. Perhaps there was too

¹ See Gen. xxxiii. 11, etc.

² This point is brought out in Rev. F. W. Robertson's Sermon, iii., 1st series, p. 50, post 8vo edit.

much of curiosity mingled with it; and for this there was a gentle rebuke. Nevertheless, the desire of his heart, which that request expressed, was gratified: "and He blessed him there." And in that blessing, with all it conveyed of pardon, grace, and lovingkindness, he not only knew his prayer for deliverance granted, but also learned, in the best way it could be revealed, "the Name" which is the character of God.

Thus had he won a double blessing; and in token of his victory, he was "knighted on the field," and received from God the honourable name, significant of the new strength in which he went forth to meet Esau and to begin a new and higher life, *Israel*—"a prince of God." And he called the name of that place "Peniel," *i.e.*, the face of God, for (said he) I have seen the face of God and my life is preserved; or better, "My soul is healed or saved," as Luther translates it.

Sadly the night had fallen around him, but brightly dawned the morning. And as he passed over the river to rejoin his company, with God's blessing upon his head and God's peace within his heart, "the sun rose upon him," and the shadows of the night fled away.

Before that sun went down again, the two brothers had met, and "wept on each other's necks." He who had had power with God had prevailed against men (see verse 23, Sept. and Vulgate, in margin of Revised Version). He had overcome his brother's wrath by the power of love. That peace was made at Peniel. "I have seen thy face," Jacob says to Esau, "as though I had seen the face of God." Yes! because he had the night before seen the face of God, and that face was Love. And "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." "If He be for us, who can be against us?" "When He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble?"

But I suppose that after that night Jacob always bore about with him the traces of its mysterious transaction in his halting gait. This would serve, like St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh," to keep him from being exalted above measure by the abundance of the revelations which were granted to him, and to remind him continually of his own weakness and helplessness, as well as of the strength, made perfect in weakness, through which he had become "a prince with God." In the after-years it would often recall that night of weeping, and the joy with which the morning broke upon it.

This narrative is rich in lessons for the believer and the Church at all times. "For this reason," says Luther, "let us learn that these things are written for our instruction; that if the like should happen to us we may know to hold God in such a way that we become Israel."

It teaches us how near is God to us in times of distress—"a

very present help in trouble." In the darkest night we may find Him, if we only feel after Him, near to help, to comfort, to bless; brought near in "the Angel of the Covenant" in Christ Jesus. It teaches us to seek Him in each hour of sorrow and anxiety. Our troubles should send us to Him. We should see His hand *in* them, and turn to Him who smiteth us. And while, like Jacob, we do not neglect *our duty* to take every precaution and employ every means, having done this, it is *our privilege* to cast our care upon Him. Nor should we seek merely help and deliverance, but also the sanctification of affliction, that it may be good for us, and that we may come forth out of it chastened and purified and strengthened, knowing more of our own selves and more of the mercy and love of God towards us.

Thus we may make each Jabbok of trial, beside which we weep and wrestle, a Peniel bright with the shining of the face of God. Thus shall each night of heaviness end in a morning of joy, until every scar which we bear of a past wound, every memory of sorrow—yea, even the crippling of some earthly hope, or the darkening of some earthly joy—shall be the remembrance of some season of special nearness to God and blessing received at His hand.

Again, this narrative teaches us how such blessing is to be won. It witnesses to the power, the omnipotence of prayer to prevail with the Almighty—the prayer which dares to say, "I will not let Thee go, except Thou bless me." It teaches us the *qualities* of prevailing prayer—how real and earnest a thing it is—a wrestling, a close hand-to-hand struggle; and what a patient and persevering thing it is. It teaches us the *character* of the prayer that wins the blessing—the voice of deep-felt need looking away from self and resting alone upon God, His mercy, His promises, His past dealings. With such prayer may we make also each season of retirement in our chamber, each return of the Lord's day, each visit to the house of God—each approach to the Lord's Table, if only our faith lays hold on God revealed in Christ Jesus, and will not let Him go except He bless us—a "Peniel," where we have seen the face of God.

Thus, too, when we must stand at the brink of the "dark river of death," and there be "left alone" even by the nearest of earthly friends, shall we find the Lord with us, supporting and blessing us through the valley of shadow, if we cling to Him, nor leaving us until the breaking of the day, when, all our mortal halting healed, the sun that never goeth down shall rise upon the heavenly Peniel, where we shall see God face to face for ever.¹

T. ALFRED STOWELL.

¹ Charles Wesley's fine hymn "Come, O thou traveller unknown," well teaches the application of the story.

ART. V.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE problem indicated by the title of this paper is one of more than average interest. Though admitting of various possible solutions, the data are so indeterminate that it can never, perhaps, be solved conclusively. The plausible conjecture hazarded by Luther, that the Epistle was written by Apollos, rests solely upon the notices of Apollos which are given in the Acts of the Apostles. He was an eloquent man, "mighty in the Scriptures," and familiar with the teaching of St. Paul. So also, undoubtedly, was the writer of the Epistle; but that does not prove that he was the same person. It is strange that, if Apollos was the writer, no shred of a tradition should exist to that effect. The grounds upon which Luther bases his conjecture are sufficient in themselves to have occasioned a tradition, and the fact that they did not actually do so suggests the inference that they did not warrant it. If the author of the Epistle was not known, it may have been known that Apollos was not the author. It seems hardly likely that it would be left for Luther to identify a man who could so easily be identified.

Let us try to consider the question on its merits, and to see precisely the bearing of the evidence. Though we fail to arrive at any definite conclusion, the investigation may not be without its value.

Canon Farrar¹ names ten facts as regards the writer, which he thinks should help us to identify him. He was (1) a Jew; (2) a Hellenist, "for he exclusively quotes the Septuagint version"; (3) subjected to Alexandrian training; (4) a man of great eloquence; (5) a friend of Timotheus; (6) known to his readers, and empowered to write to them authoritatively; (7) not an Apostle, "for he classes himself with those who had been taught by the Apostles"; (8) much influenced by St. Paul, "he largely, though independently, adopts his phraseology"; (9) he wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem; (10) "it is doubtful whether he had ever been at Jerusalem, for his references to the Temple and its ritual seem to apply . . . mainly to the Tabernacle as described in the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch." For the most part these facts are undeniable. But as to the seventh, it is only certain that the writer was not one of the Twelve Apostles; he may have been "sent forth," as St. Paul was, with a special apostolic commission.² As to

¹ "Early Days of Christianity," chap. xvii.

² Cf. Acts xiv. 14 with Acts xiii. 1-3.

the tenth, it is so worded as to express a certain amount of diffidence, and it is not necessarily justified by those passages in the Epistle which seem to be relied upon.

Having named these facts, Canon Farrar assumes further that we ought to find, in the New Testament, the name of the writer amongst St. Paul's companions. In this assumption the possible names are Aquila, Silas, Titus, Barnabas, Clement, Mark, Luke and Apollos; and "the only way to decide between them" is "by a process of elimination." The Canon eliminates all but Apollos, whom he conceives to have been the writer; but though his objections to most of the others are conclusive, he is hardly so careful as he might be in dealing with the claims of one of them—St. Barnabas. With regard to him, this is what he says—it is best to give his actual words:

Tertullian, in his usual oracular way, attributes the Epistle to Barnabas; but he seems to have done so by an unsupported conjecture. The Epistle is incomparably superior to the Epistle of Barnabas, with its exaggerated Paulinism; but that Epistle is not by the Barnabas of the New Testament, and is not earlier in date than A.D. 110. The "Apostle" Barnabas, as a Levite, would more probably have described the Temple at Jerusalem *as it then was*, and if he had possessed the natural ability to compose such a treatise as this, he would not have been so immediately thrown into the shade by St. Paul from the very beginning of his first missionary journey. His claims have received but little support, and he would have been indeed unfortunate if a false epistle was attributed to him, and his real epistle, which was so far superior, assigned to another.¹

Now, what does all this amount to? If St. Barnabas did write the Epistle, and was "unfortunate," his misfortune cannot invalidate his authorship. The sole reason, then, for discrediting Tertullian is that a Levite, acquainted with Jerusalem, would have described the Jewish ritual differently. And this is really Canon Farrar's point, though he has feathered it with considerations which have no cogency. "No Levite," he has said, "who had lived at Jerusalem could have written on the Temple, or rather Tabernacle, as Apollos (?) does."

Dr. Gottlieb Lünemann, in his Commentary on the Epistle, is far more respectful towards Tertullian. "He names Barnabas," he says, "as the author, and that not in the form of a conjecture, but simply, and without qualification, in such wise that he manifestly proceeds upon a supposition universally current

¹ Dr. Farrar, in a footnote, says: "Perhaps he had heard of an 'Epistle of Barnabas,' and confused this letter with it." He adds: "The claims of Barnabas are maintained by Camerarius, Twisten, Ullmann, Thiersch—who, however, thinks that the epilogue was by St. Paul—and Wieseler. . . . Renan also inclines in favour of Barnabas. In the Clementine Homilies Barnabas (and not St. Mark) appears as the founder of the Church of Alexandria."—"Early Days of Christianity," chap. xvii.

in the churches of his native land."¹ Yet Lünemann agrees with Canon Farrar, and on precisely the same grounds, that Barnabas cannot have been the author. "Absolutely decisive," he says, "against Barnabas, is the fact that, according to Acts iv. 36, 37, he was a Levite, and must have long time dwelt in Jerusalem, since he even possessed land there. He must, therefore, have been more accurately informed with regard to the inner arrangements of the temple in Jerusalem at that time than was the case with the author of our Epistle."

And yet when we come to examine this objection it seems to have no real weight. The writer of the Epistle, whoever he may have been, may have been perfectly acquainted with the arrangements of the temple; although, no doubt for reasons of his own, he has chosen to draw his illustrations from the tabernacle. His allusions are not indicative of ignorance; they rather suggest familiarity—they are quite in harmony with the supposition that the person who makes them may have been a Levite. Even Hebrews ix. 4—which seems to identify the altar of incense with the furniture of the Holy of Holies—may be justified by comparison with 1 Kings vi. 22, which speaks of the altar as "belonging to the oracle"; or it may be explained, as Dr. Milligan suggests,² by the actual appearance of the tabernacle when the high-priest entered it on the Day of Atonement. Such an illustration as that in iv. 12, which compares the energy of the word of God to the action of the sacrificial knife "piercing even to the dividing of both joints and marrow," almost suggests Levitical experiences, and there is nothing in the Epistle, from first to last, to show that the writer was unacquainted with Jerusalem. No conclusion can be more gratuitous than that which Dr. Lünemann speaks of as "decisive." It does not follow from the premisses, and may quite unhesitatingly be set aside. Whether the writer of the Epistle was a Levite or no—whether he had never seen Jerusalem, or whether he had lived there all his life—on these points the Epistle is silent, and cannot give us any certain information. The writer did not write about the temple because it served his purpose better to write instead about the tabernacle. "As if to transfer," says Canon Westcott,³ "his readers to a more spiritual atmosphere, though this is but one aspect of the motive which seems to have ruled his choice, he takes his illustrations from the tabernacle, and not from the temple. The transitory resting-place, which was fashioned according to the command of God, and not the permanent 'house,' which was

¹ "English Translation," p. 7. The quotation is given at length from "De Pudicitia," chap. xx. Cf. Westcott on "The Canon," p. 339, note.

² "Biblical Educator," iii. 230.

³ "Canon," p. 42.

reared according to the design of man, was chosen as the figure of higher and divine truths." It was a matter of choice, not of necessity. It could only be decisive against the authorship of St. Barnabas, had it been a matter of necessity, and not of choice.

It appears, then, that the reasons given by Canon Farrar for eliminating St. Barnabas from amongst the possible authors of the Epistle are not conclusive. For anything that appears to the contrary he may just as well have been the author as Apollos. Let us examine rather more at length the considerations which may be urged in favour of his claims.

For one thing we have the assertion of Tertullian [A.D. 160—240], already referred to. He speaks of St. Barnabas as one whose authority was second to that of the Apostles, but, in naming him as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he seems to have no doubt whatever. "We have, too," he says, "a work of Barnabas addressed 'to the Hebrews' a sufficiently authoritative person, since he was one whom Paul associated with himself, 1 Cor. ix. 16." Later indications of a like opinion¹ may be no more than echoes of Tertullian, but the Stichometric catalogue inserted in the Codex Claromontanus, and also, apparently, of African origin, seems to refer to the Epistle to the Hebrews under the heading of "Barnabæ Epist."² The Epistle thus named is said to contain 850 lines. Now, in existing codices, for the Epistle to the Hebrews, the lines vary from 703 to 830; whilst the Epistle of Barnabas is a third longer, and would contain, on the lowest computation, over 930 lines. If the Epistle to the Hebrews be intended, then, the statement of Tertullian does not stand alone. It would seem that in North Africa, at any rate, the opinion referred to was at one time prevalent. And, *other things equal*, an opinion thus supported, dating from the close of the second century, and indicating a belief then current, ought surely to be reckoned of greater value than a conjecture, utterly unsupported by tradition, which was started more than a thousand years later. If St. Barnabas and Apollos are alike eligible as possible authors of this anonymous Epistle, we must needs conclude that it is more probable St. Barnabas, rather than Apollos, wrote it.

But if we admit the possibility that the author may, for aught we know, have been a Levite familiar with Jerusalem, then all the required conditions are fulfilled by St. Barnabas quite as well as by Apollos. He is even more likely than Apollos to have been familiar with the teaching, especially the earlier teaching, of St. Paul. He had, probably, as a Jew of Cyprus,

¹ Jerome, Epist., 129; "Philastrus Hær.," 89.

² Cf. Westcott, "Canon," p. 339, note, and Appendix D, note; also Lünemann, pp. 23, 24.

been subjected to Alexandrian training. He was so notable a prophet that not only is he named the first amongst the *Prophets* and teachers of the church at Antioch, but he had gained the name of "The Son of Prophecy"—the Son, *i.e.*, of prophetic exhortation—a fact in itself sufficient to assure us that he possessed a faculty for persuasive eloquence.

This last point has been too much overlooked. The name Bar-nabas has been treated as though it were a birth-name, whereas it was given, by those who knew the man, in acknowledgment of the owner's distinction as a prophet. His birth-name, as we know, was Joseph; but he proved that he possessed the gift of prophecy, and hence it was that he acquired his surname. And this fact has an important bearing on our argument; for if one thing is more certain than another as to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is that the author was a *prophet*—as that term is used in the New Testament—one who, whether he were Apollos or another, was worthy to be called a Barnabas. By comparison of 1 Cor. xii. 8 with 1 Cor. xiv. 3, we may gather the nature of the prophetic gift, as it was understood by St. Paul and his contemporaries. The prophet was distinguished from the teacher as conversant with "the word of wisdom" rather than with "the word of knowledge." The aim of his speech was edification, building up the character and building up the Church. The means which he employed were *παράκλησις* and *παραμυθία*—instigation which might lift the weight of sloth, and encouragement which might lift the weight of despondency.¹ The one notice of St. Barnabas' teaching which we find in the Acts of the Apostles (xi. 23) is quite in accordance with this view of a prophet's functions. "When he came to Antioch and had seen the grace of God, he was glad; and he exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord." It was good for men to believe in Christ, but belief might soon be chilled into indifference. It was the part of a prophet to urge them further to act on their belief with whole-hearted resolution—not to be content with having come to Christ, but to use their utmost energy to *cleave* to Him. Whoever may have been the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he has in view the same object, and his exhortations are essentially *prophetic*—exhortations relying in turn upon instigation and encouragement. No work in the New Testament better illustrates St. Paul's account of prophecy; its aim throughout is to build men up by *παράκλησις* and *παραμυθία*.

But if St. Barnabas may have written the Epistle, and if the Epistle is one which might have been written by St. Barnabas,

¹ Cf. Meyer and Bengel, *in loc.*

we may go yet a step further, and inquire if there are any personal indications which may confirm or modify our views as to the authorship. On the surface there is nothing much to help us. The allusions in the last chapter would seem equally appropriate from St. Barnabas or from Apollos. But we must remember that the association of ideas depends, in all men, upon their past experience, and where we find ideas so associated as to harmonize with an experience with which we are familiar, it is natural to suppose that the owner of the experience may be also the author or transmitter of the ideas.¹ Now, there are in the Epistle to the Hebrews associated ideas and verbal collocations, which, however we may account for them, are just such as what we know of St. Barnabas would justify. We cannot press them too far. Some may think that they hardly deserve notice. Still, they are not without suggestiveness, if the claims of St. Barnabas are, on other grounds, admitted. In chap. x. 24 we find the words *κατανοῶμεν ἀλλήλους εἰς παροξυσμὸν ἀγάπης καὶ καλῶν ἔργων*. The only other place in the New Testament where the word *παροξυσμὸς* occurs is Acts xv. 39, where it is applied to the sharp contention which separated St. Barnabas from St. Paul. If the writer had that scene in mind, nothing can be more natural than that he should thus use the word which it suggested. "Let your contentions be such as will draw you closer, not such as will tend to separation." Again, in chap. xiii. 1—2, "Forget not to show love unto strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares," may there not be a reminiscence of the fact narrated in Acts ix. 27? Barnabas had entertained a stranger and found in him an unsuspected angel. The next verse, "Remember them that are in bonds," may be an added link in the same chain of association. St. Paul may even then have been a prisoner, and, in any case, the thought of him may have suggested others similarly circumstanced. Again, in chap. xii. 5, if the writer was *Υἱὸς Παρακλήσεως* there may be a pregnant meaning in the connection between *τῆς παρακλήσεως* and *ὡς υἱός*. And a somewhat similar remark will apply to chap. xiii. 22, where, almost in place of a signature, he says, *Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ἀνέχεσθε τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως*. Further illustrations might, perhaps, be found, but these may suffice for our present purpose. They *prove* nothing, one way or the other; but if Tertullian had good grounds for believing that St. Barnabas was the author of the letter, then they help us to an insight into the writer's mind, and may better enable us to understand him.

In addition to what has been already urged, there are two more points which deserve consideration. Whoever the writer

¹ Cf., e.g., 1 Peter v. 5-8 with John xiii. 4, etc., and 38.

may have been, his relations with St. Paul must have been close and intimate. Whether he had been influenced by St. Paul, or had himself had to do with influencing his friend, may, perhaps, be regarded as an open question. It seems as likely as not that the influence was mutual. With all the similarity of thought between the Epistle to the Hebrews and St. Paul's Epistles, there is no relation of dependence as between the work of a copyist and the works he copied from. The Epistle to the Hebrews is, in its way, quite as original a production as the Epistle to the Romans. The marks of distinct authorship are evident, though it is equally evident that both the authors were familiar with the working of each other's minds. Now, though St. Paul was acquainted with Apollos, there is no evidence of any continued intimacy; whereas St. Paul and Barnabas were like brothers just when each must have been the most impressionable. We should expect to find common characteristics in their writings, resulting from their long-continued friendship. The fact is, we overlook the real importance of the connection between the two men, because, in the narrative, it is not emphasized, and the time during which they were together seems to dwindle by reason of the historical perspective. But when attention is directed to the point, and we try to realize all that it implies, the probability seems greatly strengthened that an anonymous "*Pauline*" Epistle should be by Barnabas.

Lastly, if St. Barnabas wrote this Epistle, how comes it that his claims should have been ignored, whilst another Epistle, far inferior, has been attributed to him? Let us assume that the Epistle which bears his name, though of early date, is not of his production. Since it was known that he had written an Epistle of some kind, if an Epistle purporting to be by him were in circulation, is it not almost certain that attention would be diverted from his connection with another Epistle which was anonymous? Had there been no *so-called* Epistle of Barnabas, might not the belief of the Latin Christians in Africa, as represented by Tertullian, have been generally accepted? Must it not have been a bar to its acceptance that the pseudonymous Epistle held the ground?

One other suggestion may perhaps be hazarded. As Dr. Westcott has pointed out¹: "There is at least so much similarity between the 'Epistle of Barnabas' and the Epistle to the Hebrews as to render a contrast possible. . . . Both Epistles are constructed, so to speak, out of Old Testament materials; and yet the mode of selection and arrangement is widely different. Both exhibit the characteristic principles of the Alexandrine school; but in the one case they are modified, as it were, by an

¹ "Canon," p. 43, 44.

instinctive sense of their due relation to the whole system of Christianity; in the other they are subjected to no restraint, and usurp an independent and absolute authority." Now, is not this the kind of relation which might be expected to exist between the two Epistles, supposing that the writer of the later had been a somewhat unintelligent disciple of the teacher who had written the earlier? He gives us platitudes where the other gives us principles, but the platitudes are, in some sort, the shadows of the principles. It is just as when Ruskin gives us Ruskin, whilst the Ruskinite aggravates us with Ruskinese. If this suggestion be anywhere near the truth, then it makes in favour of St. Barnabas as the writer to the Hebrews; for the master of the man who wrote the pseudonymous Epistle would most likely be the person chosen to father it.

Such then, briefly stated, are the reasons—more or less weighty—for hesitating to accept the popular opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Apollos. It is a matter of but little practical importance to discover who may or may not have been the author; but if, as the editor of the old Geneva Bible puts it, "it is not like" to have been St. Paul, and if Apollos and Barnabas¹ be the rival claimants, one is inclined to decide in favour of the latter.

C. A. GOODHART.

ART. VI.—TWENTY YEARS OF CHURCH DEFENCE.

TWENTY years have elapsed since the Church Defence movement in England commenced in serious earnest and took definite shape. Disestablishment in Ireland sent a thrill of alarm through the English Church, and caused many who had hitherto been apathetic in face of Liberationist agitation—because they had underrated its power—to take in hand the work of organization against Disestablishment in England. It is true that the Liberationists had been politic enough to profess that Disestablishment in Ireland was by no means of necessity the forerunner of the same process in England. The circumstances are different, said they, and "the case being altered, that alters the case." "No doubt," they explained, "we are in favour of Disestablishment in England as a philosophical theory;

¹ Dr. Farrar incidentally calls attention to a remark of Bishop Wordsworth's that, had the Epistle been written by St. Barnabas, Epiphanius, a Cypriot bishop, would probably have been acquainted with the fact, whereas he attributes the authorship to St. Paul. But, although St. Barnabas was a Levite of Cyprus, it does not follow that his writings were better known in Cyprus than elsewhere. Why should he, of all the prophets, be most honoured in his own country? And further, Epiphanius (circ. A.D. 401) lived almost two centuries later than Tertullian; and it is clear that by that time the prevalent views had no sure evidence to support them.

but we recognise that there is so very much to be said against its application to England in practice, that we are content to waive it in the present, and for ever so long to come. No English Churchman need fear that his institution will be endangered by the application of a measure of justice and right to the sister country. On the contrary, the position of the Church of England will be strengthened rather than weakened by its separation from the anomalies and outrages connected with the Church of Ireland. We seek not to establish a precedent, but to do an act of justice for and upon its own merits alone." This plausible declaration was to be but short-lived, as many who heard it suspected, and some felt assured. With the coming into operation of the Irish Church Act came to an end the soothsayings of the Liberators. It was thenceforward quoted as an unimpeachable precedent for Disestablishment in England—as but one step upon the road to absolute abolition of State recognition or patronage of Religion, and to complete Religious Equality. The Irish Church was disestablished in a hurry. Distorted statements of fact, perverted statistics, burlesque illustrations, inflammatory denunciations of imaginary wrongs, told their tale with an uninformed and impressionable electorate. The campaign was short and sharp. The fighting was not all on one side, for not a few gifted and courageous sons of the Irish Church came over to England and Scotland to plead her cause with the constituencies. Their eloquence gained them a ready welcome in the great towns; and in Lancashire, where their efforts were especially expended, a marked influence upon the electors made itself manifest. But taking the United Kingdom as a whole, there were too few of them, and they came too late. Prejudice and passion, ignorance, bitterness and dull apathy had been too long in undisputed possession of the field, and had effectively done their work. Said a Liberationist advocate to a talented Church Defence speaker, whose telling oratory was nightly moving great masses of men in the Lancashire and Yorkshire towns, "If you had six months before the election you would beat us. You have only six weeks, and we shall beat you."

In the earlier days of Liberationist agitation, subsequent to its Irish victory, the platform was made the principal engine of attack, and the great towns were selected for its operations. In most of them were formed local branches of the Liberation Society, the business of whose committee and secretary was: (a) to get up big meetings several times a year in big halls; (b) to carry on the agitation upon a smaller scale in the lesser towns in their neighbourhood; (c) to collect local contributions to the head-office at Serjeants' Inn. The order in which these departments of work are stated fairly represents the position

apparently assigned to them in the Liberation Society's plan of campaign. For money was not of prime importance in those days; or, at least, its provision did not entail the anxiety which has evidently attended it in later times. The sinews of war were provided mainly by a few rich men; the Salts and the Illingworths, the Masons and the Lees, gave of their substance with no sparing hand, and asked in return only for patient performance of the agitational work for which they were willing to pay so high a price.

It must be confessed that the organizers of Liberationist demonstrations thoroughly understood their business. To fill a huge hall is not an easy matter, unless the art of doing it is thoroughly grasped and boldly put in practice. Plenty of printer's ink, displayed profusely in leviathan letters upon big broadsides of coloured paper, is the prime necessary. Then the bill must set forth a goodly array of names—the Mayor, by all means, if he can be obtained; an M.P. or two forms a great attraction; as many J.P.'s as possible—and in boroughs they are not uncommonly of the Radical persuasion; a sprinkling of Town Councillors enhances the effect; and, for the rest, ordinary "Reverends" and everyday "Esquires" serve to fill in the blanks and bring up the rear. A good "platform" was truly held to be half the battle won.

At these meetings the oratory, if not of a high order, was, at any rate, marked by fervidness and strong speaking. Accuracy of statement was less than a secondary matter; but protestations as to "justice," "equality before the law," "liberty of conscience," "freedom of worship," "rights of the subject," and such-like good all-round catchwords, were never-failing items in the programme of the evening's entertainment. Above all, the sentiments that "it is unjust to make one man pay for another man's church," and that "it is grossly unfair to tax a working man for the services of a parson whose church he never attends," were sure to meet with approving response from the audience. The meeting was never suffered to close without a formal resolution of the "This meeting strongly protests" kind, and the national anthem was *not* sung as the proceedings came to an end.

Of a somewhat different kind, so far as procedure was concerned, but conceived and carried out in the same spirit, was the meeting gathered together to hear one speaker or lecturer, without other attractions. The Liberation Society secured the services of a thoroughly efficient staff to represent it officially on the platform, and rumour had it that these gentlemen were by no means underpaid for their labours.¹ They certainly could

¹ Mr. Miall, it will be remembered, received ten thousand guineas in a lump sum, in recognition of his literary work for Political Dissent.

not be accused of sparing themselves in the performance of their work. It was no uncommon thing for a Liberationist lecturer to speak five nights a week for several consecutive weeks, and to be heard of, for example, at Manchester on Monday, Newcastle on Tuesday, Wellingborough on Wednesday, Norwich on Thursday, Stafford on Friday, and Southampton on Saturday (and Sunday, for preaching purposes). One of the most active of these gentlemen admitted that he had been two hundred nights on the platform in a single year. The titles of the lectures were judiciously varied to suit time and place, but the main subject-matter was once and for all. Local circumstances were not lost sight of. The lecturer was brought up to date before he was put upon the platform, and shaped his course accordingly. If the Church was popular in the place, the clergy hard-working and respected, and the parochial organizations in good order, the protestation of "love for the Church" was brought to the front, and an earnest desire to set her free, that she might do yet greater and better work, was pleaded in excuse for the meeting. If, unhappily, the reverse conditions prevailed, the tone was changed accordingly. An idle, careless, disagreeable, or even only injudicious, parson was a great boon to an anti-Church orator. The prevailing local dissatisfaction or prejudice was played upon to advantage, and deductions drawn from the facts—of course, overwhelmingly in favour of the lecturer's contentions. Some of the lecturers made a point of conciliation in their style, and spoke softly and soothingly. These were almost always the more dangerous men. Other, less wary and more intense in their advocacy, were often violent to the point of outrageousness. The term "coarse" is too mild to be applied to many of their expressions and illustrations. The present writer heard on one occasion a speaker at a Liberationist meeting—and, by the way, a Nonconformist minister of renown in his own denomination—make a play upon the name of the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity so hideously blasphemous as to be impossible of reproduction on paper. "Black-footed locusts" was the elegant description of the clergy which another speaker, on another occasion, accomplished. Assistant-curates were by another defined as "reverend gentlemen's reverend gentlemen." The supposed attachment of the Bishops to their "lordly palaces," their "broad acres," their "chariots" and their "hot-houses" served to point many a moral and adorn no end of tales. Bold charges against the Bishops of brazen nepotism were by no means too unworthy to play their part on the Liberationist platforms. The facetious extravagances of

This was mainly subscribed by a few rich men, and was certainly not the only pecuniary remuneration accruing to the same recipient from similar sources.

Mr. *Punch* upon questions of patronage were quoted as sober facts.

The "iniquity of quotation" reached its height with the gentlemen whose advocacy we are now remarking upon. It came to be accepted as an axiom by Churchmen experienced in the controversy, that a Liberationist quotation should never be taken for granted. In numerous cases it would prove to be a misquotation altogether; in others it was so violently wrenched from its context as utterly to warp and pervert its meaning. Selden and Blackstone, to name two oft-quoted authorities, would have shuddered had they dreamed that their views could be so metamorphosed as they oftentimes proved to be. A leading article in the *Times* (October 9th, 1876) was rent into fragments. That fragment in which the writer summarized certain popular fallacies concerning the Church only in order to denounce and deny and expose them in his next paragraph, was cut clean away from its context, and was reprinted and placarded as the opinion of the *Times*. Protest and appeal, even to headquarters of the Liberation Society, were of no avail. "The public will judge," was the oracular but wholly evasive reply; and to this day the *Times'* misquotation is doing duty in the repertory of Disestablishmentarians. A return of subscriptions from the Disestablished Clergy in Ireland to the Sustentation Fund of their Church was hardly dealt with on one occasion. The body of the return gave certain meagre figures, which the speaker quoted with gusto as showing the selfishness of the Irish clergy. He forgot to quote a duly asterisked footnote on the same page, stating that this sum was in addition to a much larger amount which came into other accounts. Many more instances could easily be quoted, but—*ex uno disce omnes*.

It was dangerous in the extreme for a novice in the arts of the platform to come forward to confute the aggressor. His chance of success was poor at the best. To commence with, the audience was more likely to hoot him than to hear him, and his time was usually restricted with sternness by the chairman. To answer an hour's speech in ten minutes is the work of a genius, and few geniuses take the trouble to hear a Liberationist lecturer. When the lecturer has, as of course, the last word, and that an elastic one capable of occupying half an hour or more, the difficulty is insurmountable. An experienced opponent, if he undertook the unequal combat at all, would be careful to fasten upon one, or, perhaps, two points, and to engage himself with them alone. This was wise policy, for it made it more easy for him to oppose with effect, and less easy for the lecturer to edge off from the thorny points, under cover of answering the simple ones. But an unpractised Church Defender would try to cram as much as possible into his ten

or fifteen or twenty minutes, with the obvious unhappy result. Laughter-raising jest and sarcasm, at the expense of the opponent, was pretty sure to keep the audience in a good temper and on the lecturer's side. "I will not castigate the reverend gentleman any more, for a merciful man is merciful even to his beast," said one of these advocates by way of wind-up to a slashing reply to a curate who had ventured to try conclusions with him.

Little by little a spirit of opposition to the Liberationist lecturers made itself manifest. There were always a few young laymen sprinkled amongst the audiences, but generally they contented themselves with an occasional cry of "No, no," and with holding up their hands against the resolution. By degrees, however, they gained confidence, and began to cross-examine the lecturer. This was not at all to that gentleman's liking, when done intelligently and upon an organized system. Then came short speeches in opposition, and in due season reply meetings. Local Church Defence Societies were formed, and gradually the opposition to the Liberationists became of an organized kind, and began to attract public attention. Good service was done by parties of young Churchmen going out from the large towns to the smaller places, plying the Liberationist speakers with pertinent questions, and getting up reply meetings of their own. It must be confessed with regret that these pioneers of Church Defence received, as a rule, scant sympathy and help from leading laymen and from the clergy in general. The former turned a cold shoulder upon the enthusiasm of the humble but earnest young men who loved their Church and wished to play their part in her defence. In fact, they were of opinion that this attendance at noisy meetings, these excursions to outlying villages, were not quite "respectable," and must be reprov'd, or at least but coldly approved. The clergy in many cases followed suit. They doubted the wisdom, they said, of "stirring up strife;" they thought it better to "let sleeping dogs lie;" these controversies, in their judgment, did harm, and only advertised the Liberationists; "the best Church Defence was Church work," and so on. All very well in their way, but very little to the immediate purpose. Snubbed by their natural leaders, the Church Defenders were not favourites with their Liberationist foes, as may well be imagined. One of them was advised by a reverend Disestablisher, of a facetious turn of mind, to tarry at Jericho until his beard grew. Another reverend Liberator, who had lost his temper, met his young opponent with the choleric intimation that he was "an impertinent fellow." Yet another friend of freedom summed up his Church interrogators as "pestiferous pimps"—an expression of vague meaning, however excellent as an alliterative effort.

In time the great towns grew tired of the Liberationists. The meetings could no longer be depended upon to be filled with friends and to give a certain vote for Disestablishment. Repeated exposures of gross untruths had made the working men, who paid any attention to the subject, exceedingly suspicious. The Church Defence movement was making itself felt. The people were too intelligent, and too well informed, to take for granted all that was told them. Church work and earnestness in the midst of the people were patent day by day.

At Sheffield, on January 17th, 1876, a remarkable meeting was held in the large hall of the Cutlers' Company, in reply to one held by the Liberation Society. The speakers, five in number, were all working men, not of the working-men-who-never-work type, but *bonâ fide* in daily employment at their respective trades. Their speeches were vigorous, clear, and to the point. The arguments of the Disendowers were replied to with admirable force and skill, and to the evident approbation of the crowded audience who heard them. The meeting was a remarkable one in every sense, and its effect upon the town of Sheffield has not ceased to be felt to this day.

But the rural districts were in a different case. Here the people were less intelligent and less informed. The electoral franchise would be theirs at no distant date. Here was a fresh field, likely to yield a remunerative harvest. For several summers the mode adopted by the Liberation Society was to hold meetings in the open air in country villages. This plan had a twofold recommendation; it saved the cost of hiring a meeting-place, and the labourers who were too listless or too shy to go of set purpose to a meeting in a room would lounge about on the village green to hear what the "preacher chap" had to say, or would hang over their garden gates at a respectful distance from the actual meeting, but still within earshot of the powerful lungs of the agitator. The talk at these meetings was of course carefully planned upon a rustic pattern, and the illustrations were of a homely sort easily understood of the people who heard them. Tales telling of the wondrous wealth of the Bishops, and tithe stories in which parsons and pigs were by a rough process jocosely associated, were sure to make the audience laugh; and is not half the battle of persuasion won when you can get your auditory to laugh with you? Tithes, of course, formed the staple of the speakers' deliverances, for how excellent the opportunity of impressing upon the labourer the consideration that so much tithe to the parson meant so much less wages to him, and that the Disestablishment of the Church would "set free" those fabulous funds for the benefit of the people in general, and of the agricultural labourer in particular! When Mr. Joseph Arch came into public view, he was early

recruited to the ranks of Liberationist orators, and speedily proved himself *facile princeps* in the profession. For proficiency in scattering outrageous mis-statements at random, and sticking to them when they were found out with a courage in which doggedness was the chief ingredient, Mr. Joseph Arch probably has had no equal. "The withering, blighting power of priestcraft," as exemplified by the parochial benevolences of his own rector (who positively had the insolence to feed his poor parishioners with soup when they were hungry, to comfort them with blankets and coals when they were cold, and to administer medicines to them when they were sick), drew forth the fire of his intensest indignation.

The platform was substantially supplemented by the printing press. Millions of leaflets—"miles of printed falsities," as the Archbishop of Canterbury has aptly described them—were set in circulation, and were supported by placard reproductions of the same matter, posted in profusion upon dead walls and hoardings, and even at seaside places upon the rocks on the shore. To do all this was an expensive business, but a special fund of £100,000 goes a long way, especially when aided (as this was) by an income from ordinary subscriptions. In many country places the distribution of anti-Church tracts was carried out upon a house-to-house principle, on a large scale. It was astonishing how little the country clergy knew of this kind of work going on in their parishes, and visible, apparently, to everybody but themselves. "I never hear Liberationism talked about by my people," a rector would sometimes say, "and I don't believe they have ever heard of such a subject." He, innocent man, was the very last person who would be likely to hear people discuss such a question! Cases have not been unknown in which a Liberationist meeting has been held within a stone's throw of the parsonage-house, without the parson knowing anything about it.

Church Defence work during the twenty years of which we write has necessarily been of various kinds, and has adapted itself from time to time to the conditions of the attack. So long as the assailants devoted themselves to platform controversy, so long was it necessary for controversialists to meet them on their own ground. But of late years the Liberation Society has largely retreated from the position which at one time it was so anxious to occupy. Time was when it eagerly sought to meet Churchmen in set public debate, but its champions so often got decidedly the worse of the encounter that it grew more chary of its challenges. Those who are familiar with the course of the controversy during the past twenty years will readily recall to mind the famous public discussions at Sheffield

and Wolverhampton, at Manchester and Dewsbury, at Llan-dudno and Rhyl, and other places. The comparative cessation of this kind of assault caused Church Defenders to abate the boldly controversial in favour of the more simply instructive work, and it is this direction that Church Defence effort has taken in recent years. It has been felt that the Liberation Society can only be successful with people who are uninstructed in the history and claims of the English Church, and who are uninformed or misinformed as to the origin of her endowments, and the legal and moral basis upon which their tenure rests. Therefore, to teach and inform the people as to the simple facts of the case is wisely held to be in these days the most necessary and important object of Church Defence industry.

The Church Defence Institution, during a long, creditable, and distinctly useful career, has made itself the focus and centre of work against the Liberation Society.¹ From the time of its reorganization, in 1871, it has aimed at uniting upon a broad, common basis the efforts of those throughout England and Wales who wished to counteract the Liberationist agitation. The vital importance of union, if not of uniformity, must be manifest to the least experienced in public work of such a kind. The Church's own system of organization provides a plan of operations of the most valuable pattern. Her divisions of provinces, dioceses, archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and parishes furnish sections for organizing purposes ready to hand. Autonomy without independence should be the rule upon which branches are formed and set in operation. Diocesan organizations for Church Defence are well enough in their way, and are not to be discouraged, but prudence will prevent them from seeking to act without systematic combination with similar societies elsewhere—this being directly attainable by close and active union with the Church Defence Institution in London. A distinct headquarters control is plainly advisable in order to systematize the work of lecturing and to obtain the services of the most experienced and acceptable speakers; to arrange for the responsible preparation, editing, and publication of literature; to provide for the effective collection and economical disbursement of funds; to bring about, on occasions of emergency, simultaneity and force of action all over the country; and, not least, to be in a position to watch Parliamentary business and to provide for the due and effective representation of Church opinion in the House of Commons.

¹ Other societies, it is but fair to mention, have from time to time taken up the work—for instance, amongst others, the Northern Church Defence Society, at Manchester. But its operations have been limited to Lancashire and parts of Yorkshire, and it has at no time been able to take up the general work of Church Defence. It is only just, however, to mention it, and to say how greatly the cause has been indebted to its able and indefatigable secretaries.

By means of its system of illustrated lectures, the Church Defence Institution has brought the historical claims of the Church before classes of persons whom it had not previously been found easy to interest in Church Defence work. Country people are not greatly given to attendance at lectures, particularly when the subject is supposed to be a religious one, or what would colloquially be called "dry." But all are glad to see the effects produced by a good magic-lantern; and a skilful exhibitor can contrive to sandwich-in no small amount of sound technical instruction with the pleasing pictures that he throws upon his sheet. Young people in particular are attracted by the exhibition; and it is of no mean importance to teach the rising generation the truths of Church history and continuity in their land. To be well informed upon Church history is to be almost impossible of perversion to Liberationist distortions. When people grasp the facts of the Church's inextricable connection with the course of our national career, and see how closely from the beginning Church and State in England have grown together, they will be slow to swallow Liberationist fables about "a State-made Church." Already the unveracities about what happened in the time of that old favourite of the Liberationists, King Henry VIII., are almost universally discounted; and it is only in dark places that the legend survives that the bluff King was "the founder of the Church of England." Indeed, it is some time since an official platform representative of the Liberation Society admitted that he could no longer dispute the continuity of the Church of England at the Reformation period. It is hard to see how a fair and candid person could do otherwise, after the distinct declarations of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Freeman, and, later, Lord Selborne, upon this point, to name only some of the distinguished authorities who have borne such testimony.

It is all but certain that the Church in Wales will ere long require the energetic action of Churchmen in England, as well as in the Principality, for its defence. The next great pitched battle will almost inevitably be fought upon that ground. A policy of piecemeal Disestablishment has always found favour with the Liberation Society, and the shrewdness of its tactics need not be denied. It reckons upon the exigencies of a political party and the ambitions of a party leader to bring about a general engagement between its forces and those of the National Church at an early date. For its success in that engagement it relies upon distorted views of the position and claims of the Church in Wales perverting the judgment of the average elector in England, and even having the desired effect upon many English Churchmen who would be most strenuous

in opposition to Disestablishment in their own part of the country, and who would be equally strenuous with regard to Wales if they understood the facts of the case. Apathy on the part of Churchmen in England would be a formidable factor in aid of Liberationism in Wales. Whilst, then, it will be the policy of the Liberation Society to separate the case of Wales from that of England, it will be the duty of the Church Defence Institution to insist upon the oneness and indivisibility of the question. To this duty the Institution has long been keenly alive, and it has already met with encouraging success in pressing it upon Churchmen in England. In the meantime, there is a yet more immediate duty, which the Church Defence Institution has thoroughly recognised, and in the performance of which it is at this moment vigorously engaged; that is to say, the duty of organizing Welsh Churchmen for the defence of their local interests, and of sowing broadcast amongst the people of Wales sound and clear information as to the injury which it is proposed to do them, and as to the true facts connected with the history and maintenance of the National Church in their midst. Such work is meeting with a success which must be as discouraging to the Disestablishers as it is gratifying to Churchmen. The fact is that the position of the Church in Wales has grown stronger and stronger year by year. Since the Church Congress was held at Swansea, a progress has been made so great as to be fairly described as astonishing. And whilst the Church has waxed, Nonconformity may be said to have correspondingly waned. Almost every representative gathering of Welsh Nonconformists tells the same tale of diminishing numbers, increasing indebtedness, and failing funds. Church Defence lectures and publications are daily leavening the people. Numerous Nonconformists refuse to be identified with the Disestablishment agitation; and the conviction appears to be growing upon the Liberationists that "now or never" is the time for a successful issue to their endeavours. It is probable that if the single county of Glamorgan, with its huge population engaged in the trades of shipping, iron, and coal, were deducted from the Principality, the numbers of Churchmen and Nonconformists would be found to be pretty evenly balanced; so that it is by no means to be assumed that Wales would send a solid vote to the House of Commons in favour of Disestablishment if the electors were polled upon that specific question.

Church Defence work in Wales has especial difficulties to encounter, as compared with other parts of the kingdom. To say nothing of the remoteness and inaccessibility of many populous places, and of the truly melancholy condition of Welsh railway locomotion, there is the ever-present bilingual difficulty. It would not be true to say that Welsh audiences do not under-

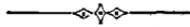
stand English—save in some exceptional cases. They understand it; but it fails to convey to them the fulness of meaning that is conveyed by their native tongue. A home-made lecturer is therefore a valuable acquisition to the ranks of the Defenders. Welsh audiences are good to speak to, for they are attentive, intelligent, and not unenthusiastic when moved. A good extempore speaker, transparently in earnest, with perfect command of temper, and vigorous in his platform “action,” may be sure of a hearing, and will probably feel what is to an advocate a most inspiring and exhilarating feeling, that he is “moving” his audience and winning his cause with them as he goes on. It has often been arranged, and with great success, to send two speakers to a meeting; the one an Englishman, and the other a Welshman. The former speaks first, and at length, in English; the latter follows, with a short speech, in Welsh, and repeats, in summary, the principal points of the other speaker. The present writer has had the pleasure of speaking to a good many meetings in Wales under these conditions, and they were some of the heartiest and most appreciative that he has ever addressed.

The Church Defence movement during the past twenty years has had an effect for good which perhaps did not enter into the calculations of those who were led to originate it. The asperities of parties within the Church have been softened, often melted, by the combination of men of different schools for common purposes of self-defence. What Church Congresses have done in the bulk, Church Defence Societies have done in detail. In their ranks all degrees of Church thought and practice have been brought together, and have generally assimilated. The presence of a common danger has hushed the tumult of internecine strife. Brought to know more of each other, and to work together, they have learnt to understand one another the better, and to distrust one another the less. If Church Defence organizations had accomplished nothing more than this good result, which unquestionably is due to them, although apart from their design and scope, they would deserve the warm appreciation of those who yearn for unity in our national Zion, and its resultant strength. Much more than this, however, has been accomplished. The English people to-day are far better instructed than they were twenty years ago in the distinctive merits of the English Church, and that Church is immeasurably better prepared now than then to give a good account of those who come against her in the shock of political battle. Much more remains to be done. Our opponents are not to be underrated. That would be a serious, and might be a fatal, error. Instruction and organiza-

tion must steadily go forward, and another twenty years, it may be, are before us for zealous effort and unwavering determination. For the past we should be grateful, for the future soberly confident. But flinching or flagging or tiring must find no place in our midst.

It remains to add what the writer would rather another added—this, that probably no public movement has been so loyally and zealously served by those concerned in it as the Church Defence movement has been. To its service many have brought talent and skill and learning, zeal, energy, and enthusiasm. No names need be named here; but many who read these lines will suggest names for themselves—some, of those who have passed away; and some, of those who still engage themselves in what they one and all hold to be the most sacred and best of causes.

H. BYRON REED.



ART. VII.—PAUPERISM.

PUBLIC attention has of late been repeatedly directed to the subject of the relief of the distressed as one of pressing interest and real importance.

We seem at last to be really waking up to the fact that we have in our midst a vast population who live more or less upon their neighbours. Our wealth, our nominal wealth as a nation, increases; but the increase of wealth seems to multiply those who are a useless burden upon it, those who cannot or will not work, those whose wages are insufficient, those whose employment is precarious, all of whom become more or less at one portion or other of their lives a burden upon the rates—that is, the forced contributions of their neighbours.

The problem that engages the attention of the social reformer, of the political economist, of the philanthropist, is how we are to deal with this very serious evil, how far it may be remedied, how far palliated, how far it must be accepted as a necessary evil and provided for accordingly. The same answer will probably not be given, as we regard the problem from different points of view. The hard logic of the social reformer, which may be concisely expressed in the homely proverb, "Let every tub stand on its own bottom," and give no man a legal right to live at another man's cost, seems pitiless and unreasonable to those who are aware of another law of "bearing burdens," as not only kind, but wise. But, on the other hand, the easy benevolence of so-called philanthropy wasting its substance on unworthy objects, and for one case of real distress

which it effectively relieves doing harm to nine who are encouraged in idleness or mendicancy, meets with no quarter from the man who does not mind his neighbour spending his money foolishly, but winces under the increased rates, which, as he thinks, are the result of fostering and encouraging the pauper class.

At the present time we are somewhat in danger of being overdone with purely theoretical remedies for a very practical evil. It is peculiarly difficult to take a calm, a kind, and yet a wise view of the subject of pauperism, and yet it is a subject which, to take the lowest ground, we cannot afford to neglect. Pauperism is already a severe tax on our resources, and may in time eat into the very heart of our prosperity. Discontent, moreover, is, it is to be feared, on the increase, and may become dangerous. Those who already live partly on their neighbours are beginning to think of a further division of property, which will, as they suppose, give them a larger share. Those, too, who have sunk into a state of great hardship from causes over which they have no control, such as foreign wars, fluctuations in the money market, changes of fashion, or strikes of workmen in other trades affecting a kindred industry, are apt to be clamorous and may become dangerous.

It is often said that pauperism must be referred entirely to the operation of the Poor Laws, especially the system of outdoor relief. There can be no doubt, that there have been grave errors in the administration of the Poor Law, which, instead of educating our population to be self-dependent, has to some extent perpetuated and intensified the old evils. Yet, even here, there are, as usual, two sides to the question. On the one hand, it is obvious that the Poor Law system does in itself tend to lower the wage rate. Take the case of a country parish of agricultural labourers who work for a few farmers. If the latter are compelled by law to provide for the former when they are sick or old, destitute, or out of work, it is plain that they will keep the wages as low as they can. The law of supply and demand works inexorably. They cannot afford to pay high wages and also bear all the risks of the labourer's life. Granted that low wages and a workhouse at last is a sad prospect for a man entering on life, but it is a question, not easily answered, whether the abolition of the workhouse, and a corresponding small rise in wages, would materially improve the labourer's state and prospects, so long as he is in his present condition, unable to command higher wages in the labour market and ignorant of the benefits of prudence and economy. But here there is every prospect of gradual, nay, rapid improvement. Farmers are learning to employ fewer men at higher wages, and to see that they are worth their money. But the workhouse

provision will not be made so freely for those whose earnings are sufficient without it. A peasant proprietary is a doubtful benefit to a country, especially when skill and capital are required for the profitable cultivation of the soil; but there is no doubt that things tend to a more independent position for the labourer so soon as he is fit to occupy it. There is a limit, moreover, to the burden which land can bear, and the time is coming when the farmer himself will require relief. The new departure in Local Government which is about to be made under Mr. Ritchie's Act is a wise movement in this direction. Even in towns and centres of industry we can trace the depressing effect of Poor Law provision for the poor. It is true that rates fall not on employers only, but on occupiers, and are very unequal in their incidence. The tradesman pays much more highly in proportion than the man of independent means, as business premises usually command a higher rental relatively than private residences; yet even here, whether for good or evil, the poor rates that we pay must reduce, and that considerably, the earnings of those who have, or who are supposed to have, a provision made for them out of the public purse. The Poor Law provision must tacitly enter into every bargain with a man who has only daily earnings to depend on; and, moreover, those who find the rates a burden have the less to spend in wages, for it must not be forgotten that every penny which goes to a pauper is so much capital that might have employed a labourer. And yet there can be no doubt that if kept within due bounds and intelligently administered, some such system is absolutely necessary for us in England at the present day. For be it remembered that the competition in life is for us necessarily keen.

The good workman will usually command sufficient wages and regular employment; but the weak, whether in health or ability, find it hard to hold up against the competition, and often fall out in the march of life. There is, also, an appreciable disturbance of the labour market caused by the immigration of frugal and industrious foreigners, and still more of those who, for one reason or another, are willing to work for lower wages than Englishmen. Our condition is totally different from that of a new country, where to support life is comparatively easy, and where competition is less keen—where every man thinks that he can do everything, and few things are done really well. The very nature of our position is such as to develop excellence in every walk of life, but in so doing we sacrifice the feeble. We may or we may not regret the necessity, but we must admit the fact; and it would be folly to apply to an old country the rules which suit a young one. Social improvement can never wholly do away with that which is peculiar in our position,

which is the secret of our excellence as well as of much of our misery—I mean the force of competition.

But pauperism among us does not only depend on the competition of trade and industry or the lack of employment. There are idlers in every class of life; there are thousands who prefer the miserable wages of pauperism to the well-earned rewards of honest work. The question, then, before us is this, how to give lame men crutches which will be of little use to sound men; how to apply the spur to the indolent, without pressing unduly the willing horse. We cannot leave the relief of the poor altogether to chance or to capricious or uncertain charity. In what way can we best bring pressure to bear on those who require to be taught self-reliance, and administer needful assistance to those who deserve it?

First, then, outdoor relief must be refused as a matter of *right*; it must be the rare exception, not the rule. I do not say that absolutely no relief whatever should be given from the rates to outdoor paupers, still less that no assistance should under any circumstances be given to those in distress; but I do say that the plan of supplementing earnings by weekly allowances, however alluring it may seem at first sight, is most pernicious in tendency. "Why cannot you foolish guardians see that it is cheaper to give a poor person half-a-crown a week than to take him into the workhouse?" is a favourite argument often employed by district visitors and other kind-hearted people. The answer, "I administer the Poor Law, not charity," may be a sufficient answer in many cases. But in the discharge of their duties as guardians, a certain amount of discretion is allowed; and my experience as a guardian is altogether against being liberal with outdoor relief. Take the case of the labourer in many a country parish. It is with many boards of guardians a standing rule that a man or woman of sixty is to have so much a week. This is thought fair, to treat all alike; and what is the result? Many a hale man is employed as a pauper at lower wages, and other men in the prime of life are either thrown out of work or have to take less than their proper rate. But worse than this, the workhouse provision stops all thought of laying by for old age; for, to receive parish relief, a man must have no resources of his own, and to save a little money means to lose the parish half-crown. I am aware that some boards of guardians differ in their treatment of aged paupers. Some even require a small provision as a condition of outdoor relief. The following instance may be of interest. An aged couple were received into an almshouse, provided by a charitable lady. Her object was to provide an asylum for aged and deserving poor who had some means of subsistence. But the guardians diminished the out-door allowance because there was

no rent to pay. Every rule has an exception, and here I think the action somewhat harsh. When I was in office, we were more considerate; but I am bound to say that cases like this always gave trouble. Again, children are relieved from the charge of their parents in old age by a system of outdoor relief. It is true that if parents become chargeable to the parish, an order can be made for contributions from such of the children as are able to afford them. But brotherly love and filial affection are sorely tried when the guardians' order is in dispute.

Another case, of frequent occurrence. This is a standing rule with many guardians, to allow a widow so much a week for her children; thus, it is argued, she is encouraged to do her best and keep respectable, and her home is not broken up. Now, consider what this amounts to. It is equivalent to what in another condition of life, would be called a marriage-settlement, at the public expense. The labouring man usually gains his best wages when he is young. In the middle classes few men early obtain a competence; but as a rule, in one way or another, a man who meets with ordinary success in life improves his position as time goes on. This at least is his aim, his ambition; but the labouring man is no sooner grown up than he earns his best wages. He marries very young, and he neither saves for a rainy day nor for the event of his own death; and this is very much because a provision is to be looked for, for his children, from the rates in the event of his death. I am no disciple of Malthus; and if a man can marry young with prudence, so much the better, in my opinion. But when a man marries, he must remember that, in all probability, not only a wife but children will look to him for support. And he ought to make a reasonable provision for the future. The labourer, as a rule, hopes that if he leaves a widow, the parish will keep her. And this provision she would surely lose, if he did his duty, and saved money by life assurance or provident club. Why, then save? Again, the cases are numberless in which the children have no benefit from the guardians' allowance, which goes straightway to the nearest public-house. Few can doubt that money *given* is much more likely to be spent in this way even than money earned. If, then, it be desirable or necessary, in a special case, to provide for children, we ought to be sure that the children have the benefit. It may seem more costly to board and educate a child, either in an industrial school or by boarding it out in a family, a mode of providing for children which is said to have the happiest results;¹ and it may seem somewhat hard to assume the parent's duty and take the child

¹ This opinion does not seem to be in accord with the report of the committee of the House of Lords, who find the district schools inefficient.

from its home. But the money spent ensures the child the food and education which the parent is unable to provide, and is, in fact, charitable as well as economical in the widest sense.

Other cases of distress there are for which it is difficult to suggest an adequate remedy or a course of conduct wholly consistent; such, for instance, as the prolonged sickness of the breadwinner of the family, or of his wife, or both, ending perhaps in permanent inability to compete with others of greater physical power. Here, perhaps, we may find an exception to the hard rule of no outdoor relief. But the kindly discretion of intelligent guardians will find some better way of ministering to the weak than the unsatisfactory, though obvious, expedient of a weekly dole. There is the case of the needlewoman, of inferior ability, whose work is not worth her keep. In this case assisted emigration may provide at least a partial remedy, or private charity may step in. There is the case of those who have been heavily visited by society for some fault, who are thrown off by their own friends, and have lost their position in life, and, like the unjust steward, cannot dig, though, unlike him, perhaps, they are not ashamed to beg, or are driven to do so. In investigation of such cases, charity organization societies may do good service. But the inexorable dictionary, with its record of the past and with its column marked *undeserving*, does not do much to encourage the latter class to amend, while there are cases in which the minute inquiries which are made would tell heavily against a man's prospects with his employers, when, as an independent man, he seeks for work. I have had some experience of the working of such societies. Too much must not be expected of them. They will do much to abolish mere mendicancy, and this will be an immense gain. They are often instrumental in keeping those who are in want from becoming recruits of the pauper army. But, except under the pressure of abject want, few persons who have any self-respect will submit to the searching investigation which involves revealing their distressed condition to those from whom they would wish to hide it; consequently, of those who apply, the majority are either Poor Law cases or *undeserving*, and multitudes who really require and deserve assistance, decline to seek it.

The subject of medical relief is one to engage special attention. There can be no doubt that public charities have been much abused. Society does not exist for the benefit of medical men; but it cannot be right for a number equal to one quarter of the population in the Metropolis to receive free medical advice during a year. Personally, I doubt the success of what are called "Provident Dispensaries," to which the healthy will not, the unhealthy cannot, contribute. Nor is

cheap doctoring to be advocated, which means inferior medical skill or inferior physic. There are those who would not relax the hard rule of no outdoor relief, even in the case of sickness; and undoubtedly some limit must be placed upon the too common notion that medicine and medical advice, including nourishment, are to be provided at the expense of the community—either the charitable few or the rate-paying many. Doctors are, on the whole, the most charitable of men, and the most self-denying, and they are too often imposed upon; but a popular dispensary doctor will seriously diminish the receipts of many of his neighbours. If people must pay, they usually contrive to do so; but it is human nature to take for nothing all that one can get. I fail to see the reason why one class in society should be provided free of cost with even the necessaries of life. Provision should be made for the relief of idiots, lunatics, and cripples, who can never take their part in life, and this surely at the cost of imperial rather than local taxation.

To men who can work, and are out of work, I need hardly say that no relief whatever should be given out of the rates in cash. Once admit it, and we should shortly be eaten up by those who would clamour to be fed. But the labour test is still unsatisfactory. The work at present usually provided in breaking stones or oakum-picking is not remunerative, and is unsuited for the hands of the artisan, such as the shoemaker, tailor, or other craftsman whose work requires delicacy of touch. And if a man is breaking stones for bread how is he to seek employment? Yet it is difficult to suggest a remedy. There is an objection to Government or parish workshops, which, it is asserted, would undersell the regular tradesman, and often make matters worse by overloading a market already overstocked. A similar objection applies to all prison and convict labour, while yet it appears but reasonable that all who eat at the public expense should, if possible, earn that which they consume. Relief works, moreover, directly discourage thrift and frugality, while it is found that of those who clamour for employment a very small percentage really desire it. The real difficulty, after all, is with the man who will not work, and the real remedy is one which in the present day it is not hopeless to supply. A man out of work is simply a man where he is not wanted. There is work for him somewhere. Why, for instance, should the neighbourhood of London, where prices range high, and the conditions of life are hard, be chosen for, or, rather, continue to be, the home of an industry which could be carried on elsewhere much more cheaply and with greater advantage both to capitalists and workmen. Yet this is the history of the collapse of the Thames shipbuilding trade, with its consequent miseries. Capital is, perhaps, easier to move than labour, but in the pre-

sent day the labourer must learn to find out where work is to be found. This knowledge will be promoted by such agencies as the Charity Organization Committees and labour agencies, where the workman may find trustworthy intelligence, and know that he will not be deceived. As time goes on, workmen will learn to take care of themselves; but for the present they may require assistance from those who are independent of trade combinations, either of masters or workmen. Arrangements could be made by an independent agency by which masters who require workmen might advance expenses either in whole or in part, to be stopped out of wages by reasonable instalments. But this could hardly be done by Poor Law officers, nor can workmen be allowed to dip into the ratepayers' pockets whenever it becomes necessary or desirable for them to change their quarters. We cannot hope to escape altogether temporary inconveniences from changes and fluctuations in the labour market; but although the wages of idleness be miserable enough, it is astonishing how many soon become reconciled to them, or even prefer them to the wages of industry.

I am not one of those who sympathize with the notion that emigration will be a sovereign cure for pauperism. I do not see that we have any right to assume that population is superabundant here, nor can the fact be concealed that those who succeed in a colony are those whom we can ill afford to lose. It is of no use to send incapables to a colony, and, further, unless capital go with them, it is cruelty to send labourers at all. True, that capital will go further in a colony than it does here; true, that prospects of a certain kind are open to a man in a colony which are closed to him here. For the most part land is to be acquired cheaply and easily, and may become of value in a short time. The absolute necessities of life are cheap, and labour commands a good price. The man who would have been at home a struggling labourer all his days may rise to be a farmer. The small capitalist may, by lucky chances or natural business talents, amass a fortune, but this is not the rule. The natural growth of a new country may be rapid, very rapid indeed; but those who reckon on this are often doomed to disappointment. To send emigrants faster than they are wanted is to do mischief. In this, as in everything else, demand should regulate supply.

I have said little about public charities, so called—the subject is too large even to touch; and nothing about Church alms, nor yet about the private charities of kind people, who, wisely or unwisely, exercise their benevolence upon objects more or less worthy. However undesirable it be for every reason to waste that which might be better spent, I do

not sympathize with those who consider that private charity, being, as it is, uncertain in its operations, is pauperising in its tendency; and, indeed, though it is much talked of, I believe that the total amount thus given is grossly exaggerated. When in charge of a large London parish, I found it hard work to obtain from a mixed congregation so much as £100 a year, or, say, £2 a week, that the sick and old might have a little help. And if we consider the hundreds of families among whom such a sum is to be distributed, it will appear that the average outlay per head is almost inappreciable, and cannot enter into the calculation of the chances of a livelihood. In a few favoured places, where the poor are few and charity money abounds, there is a compensation, often overlooked, withal higher rents are to be paid.

Almsgiving does not attempt to cure the disease of pauperism; it only applies a plaster to the sore of distress. Experience taught me, as a clergyman, that the hard-hearted guardian was doing his duty as truly as the kind-hearted clergyman. I, for my part, tried to act in both capacities, and found no difficulty in reconciling the two. The knowledge of the poor which I gained as a guardian helped me as a clergyman; the knowledge which I acquired as a clergyman was equally helpful to me as a guardian.

I have tried in this paper to show that the Poor Law should neither crush by severity nor demoralize by unreasonable liberality. I hold that a man should pay his own way, and earn enough to pay it with. I am not one who thinks that, because a man earns daily wages, he ought to have any of his wants supplied at the public expense. I would cultivate an independent spirit. Better let a man earn a shilling and spend it, than give him a shilling's-worth for nothing, be it food, physic, raiment, education, or recreation. But while this is the policy of the hard-hearted guardian, let me not be supposed to undervalue for a moment the ministrations of Christian charity—owe no man anything, but to love one another.

That anyone, cleric or lay, should enter the home of the sick, with the consolations of religion, and speak of a God of love and mercy, and be content to say, "Be ye warmed, be ye fed," when the grate is empty and the cupboard bare; that he should coldly argue that the parish should do the needful, or that the sick person ought to have provided for illness during health, and should deliver a mocking message of goodwill which he does not show by his deeds, is too much, I should hope, for even the coldest logician to expect. Evil will the day be, if it ever come, when the Church fails to be associated in the minds of men with deeds of charity and benevolence. The higher law of love should modify the hard

necessity of the struggle for life, or the Good Samaritan would have left the wounded traveller to take his chance upon the highway.

E. K. KENDALL, D.C.L.

Short Notices.

The Names of God in Holy Scripture. A Revelation of His Nature and Relationships. Notes of a course of Lectures. By ANDREW JUKES. Pp. 224. Longmans, Green and Co.

This work, as one would expect, is truly suggestive. It will repay reading, and lead many to profitable study. The subject, it appears, has long occupied the author's mind. He was led to it many years ago by noticing the four differing Names of God in the opening of the ninety-first Psalm :

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the MOST HIGH shall abide under the shadow of the ALMIGHTY. I will say of the LORD (Jehovah), He is my refuge and my fortress ; my GOD (Elohim), in Him will I trust.

The Homiletic Magazine. January to June, 1888. Nisbet and Co.

This volume contains a good deal that is worth reading ; but some of the papers are dry. The sermon sketches are made partly from published sermons : Liddon, Pusey, and Manning have been utilized.

The Discipline of Life. By the Rev. REGINALD G. DUTTON, M.A. Pp. 182. Rivingtons.

A preface to this posthumous work has been contributed by Canon Legge ; and what he tells us about the author adds much to the interest of these "last words of counsel." Reginald Dutton, from the time that he was an undergraduate at Cambridge, and had associated himself there with the Christian efforts which have for many years past drawn together so many young men, threw himself into the evangelistic work of the Church, whether as a layman at Portsea, or as a clergyman in Lambeth, in Lewisham, and in London. He caught a fever in the course of parochial visitation amongst the crowded back-streets of a London parish, and after a few days' illness, calm and firm in the faith, he sank quietly to rest. The book is spiritual and suggestive.

We have pleasure in inviting attention to Part I. of the "Penny Library" series, viz., *Strange Scenes*, by the Rev. James Neil, M.A., well known as the Author of "Palestine Explored," containing 40 original illustrations of Joppa and Jerusalem. The first edition of sixty thousand (Woodford Fawcett, and Co., Dorset Works, Salisbury Square) will prove, it may be hoped, the beginning of a worthily large circulation.

A new and cheaper edition of that admirable book, *Among the Mongols*, is very welcome, and will do a great deal of good (Religious Tract Society). Mr. Gilmour's detailed descriptions have well been compared to Daniel Defoe's. One type of Missionary work—and that a very interesting one—is, so to say, photographed. Mr. Gilmour is now living among his Mongol friends.

The Archbishop of York's Sermon, preached at the close of the Lambeth Conference, has been published, we are glad to see, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge : "The Manifestation of the Sons of God."

THE MONTH.

MR. GLADSTONE'S speeches in Wales have been, with justice, severely criticized. "If words have any meaning," says the *Record*, "Mr. Gladstone holds it no crime to break the law in Ireland."

In a letter to the *Guardian*, Canon Reginald Smith, referring to the Bishop of Lincoln's case, says :

Let the Bishop of Lincoln be approached with the respect and sympathy to which one of his sincere convictions of personal piety is entitled, even when misguided, as many think. Let threats of legal prosecution cease, and let him be entreated, not by the menace of penalties, but for Christ's sake and for the peace of the Church, which he loves, to abandon all such novelties in ritual as were unknown in the use of his predecessor, whose example he reverences. . . . Let an affectionate entreaty be drawn up and signed by the multitudes of Churchmen who belong to neither extreme, of a reckless ritualism on the one hand, or a mere negative Protestantism on the other, who prefer the Church to party and religion to ritualism, humbly representing to the Bishop that by making a small concession (on points on which not even those who cling to them with a passionate devotion will seriously maintain to be essential to vital godliness) he may heal the bleeding wounds of the Church. If such concession does not at once extinguish litigation, it will at least make its continuance by those who prosecute inexcusable. . . . Why should not both Bishop King and his assailants signify to the Primate, as under Christ the spiritual head of the Church, that if he would recommend the ritual practice of the late Bishop to be accepted by both parties, they would consent thereto as an eirenicon over which they would shake hands and cease from strife? This would avert deplorable calamities from the nation as well as from the Church.

A correspondence on "open churches," initiated by Lord Carnarvon, has brought out many suggestive facts. More than 2,000 churches, it is stated, are open daily for private prayer.

Lord Mount Temple has done well in calling attention to the sale of pernicious literature. In a lecture on Novels, Sir Theodore Martin said :

He hoped that care would be taken never to admit any of those works of extravagant and debasing fiction of which a very torrent had of late been poured out to gratify perverted appetites. See what havoc the literature of the Boulevards has wrought upon the life and habits of the young men and women of France, and then let men ask themselves what toleration should be shown to Englishmen who make a trade of translating and propagating this poisonous trash among their countrymen.

At his annual Visitation the Bishop of Meath referred to the unhappy condition of Ireland, aggravated by a system of robbery carried out by terrorism.

The Rev. J. J. Lias, by three letters in the *Record*, has done good service to the "Extended Diaconate" movement.

The Rev. F. J. Jayne, Vicar of Leeds (sometime Principal of Lampeter) has been nominated to the See of Chester.

Mrs. Charles Turner, of Liverpool, has placed at the disposal of the Archbishop of York the sum of £20,000 towards the creation of a fund for assisting with pensions the clergy of the diocese who may have become unfit for the discharge of their duties through infirmity. Mrs. Turner made a similar gift to Liverpool some time ago.

At the Annual Conference of the Diocese of St. Asaph, at Corwen, an admirable sermon was preached in the parish church by Professor Ryle. Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., contributed a paper on "Clergy Pensions, and the efficient working of Parishes."