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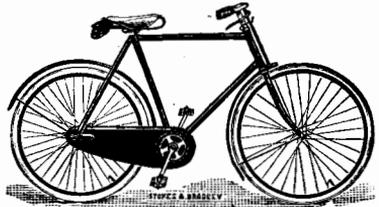
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THE  
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OCTOBER, 1898.

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ART. I.—LONDON DIOCESAN CHURCH HISTORY LECTURES.

NO. III.—THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE life of one who is faithful unto death to the principles which he believes to be true and vital must always be interesting and worthy of study. Even when the principles are not such as appeal to the mind of this century, or are such as we now see to be merely partial and transitory, the example of such a life is of the highest possible value; and by translating what does not fit our present circumstances, we may easily learn lessons that our own day could never teach.

Probably few would now be found to deny that the life of Thomas Becket (to give him his true name) is such a life as this. We may think his sanctity somewhat forced and his temper somewhat violent, but at least nobody would now deny his splendid courage, his absolute good faith, and his resolute devotion to what he believed to be truth. If, however, we would learn the fuller lessons of his life, we must endeavour to see something of the times in which he lived, their aspirations, and their ideals. The real importance of the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury must necessarily depend upon that for which he was fighting, viz., the liberty of the Church in relation to the State; and we must therefore begin by asking ourselves what were the relations which existed between them at the time in which he lived.

To begin with, then, the relations between Church and State before the Norman Conquest had been, on the whole, amicable enough. The State, in fact, was to such a degree the child of the Church that the two did not very frequently come into hostile contact. Purely ecclesiastical business was

often discussed in mixed assemblies of Bishops and laymen, held under the authority of the King, not because such business as the making of Church canons was really held to appertain to the civil power, but because there was little or no rivalry between the two things, and because nobody dreamt of doubting then that even Church canons were none the worse for being strengthened with the authority of the civil power. In the same way, the Bishop sat side by side with the Alderman, or later on with the Sheriff, in what ultimately became the County Court; and the two together tried all the cases that came before them, whether they were cases which touched the law of the Church or the King's law. Not, indeed, that anybody thought that the King possessed the authority of the Church, or that the Bishop, in his spiritual capacity, possessed that of the State; the question simply had not arisen. Here as elsewhere, Englishmen were content to let things go on as they were found in practice to work well, without troubling their heads with the question of the basis of theory which underlay the satisfactory practice. But here as elsewhere, it must be added, things did not really work nearly so well as they looked. There was a continual tendency for the two authorities, the Church and the State, to play into one another's hands, and for a conflict between them to be avoided by a distinct lowering of the standard of Church life. We shall not be faithful to the facts unless we bear in mind that this easy-going life tended to be very lax; simony was rife, and the lives of the clergy were often debased to an extent which we should find it hard to realize.

The reign of the Conqueror, however, saw a great and most notable change. There had been a much-needed reformation of the whole Church of the West, brought about chiefly by one great Pope, Gregory VII. And this reformation had proceeded mainly by making a sharp line of demarcation between the ecclesiastical and temporal elements in human life, or, as it was then expressed, by separating the Church from the world. In this there was much that was good: the whole status of the hierarchy was altered for the better. But, on the other hand, the fundamental error had been committed of forgetting the potential sacredness of all human life.

In England the effects of this reformation were soon felt, and before long there was a vast and noteworthy improvement in the whole standard of Church life in England. But perhaps the most striking effect of the reformation, so far as England was concerned, is to be seen in an ordinance issued by William himself, apparently in the year 1086. By this the King declares that "the episcopal laws, which up to my time in the kingdom of the English have not been right, or according to the precepts

of the holy canons, shall be amended. Wherefore I command, and by royal authority decree, that no Bishop or Archdeacon shall any longer hold, in the Hundred Court, pleas pertaining to the episcopal laws, nor shall they bring before the judgment of secular men any case which pertains to the rule of souls; but whosoever shall be summoned for any fault against the ecclesiastical laws shall come to the place which the Bishop shall appoint for that purpose, and shall there make answer before God and the Bishop, not according to the Hundred Court, but according to the canons and the episcopal laws. . . . Furthermore, I forbid that any Sheriff or other officer of the King, or any layman, shall concern himself in any matter of laws which pertains to the Bishop."

This is clearly a very important act. By it the King, or the civil power, has formally separated off ecclesiastical from temporal matters. Henceforward, to use the current language of the time, the Church is not to be contaminated by the profane contact of the world, but is to enforce its own law without let or hindrance; there is to be no further confusion of Church and State. Henceforward there stand side by side in England two distinct powers, in theory separate, yet in practice always conflicting—the Church and the State. For the ordinance has obviously opened up far wider questions than it has settled. Who is to decide what is secular and what is sacred? and what is to be said with regard to that great class of cases which involve consequences both secular and sacred? What, above all, is to be said with regard to temporal offences, if such there should be, committed by spiritual persons? All these questions are clearly left out altogether by the Conqueror's ordinance, and sooner or later they were bound to come to the front. They did so during the lifetime of Thomas Becket, but not until the course of events had greatly enhanced the difficulty. For one thing, the very fact of thus setting forward the Church as a distinct polity in civil life, as an *imperium in imperio*, had emphasized the fact that, thus regarded, the Church was not bound by the bands of national life, but extended beyond the seas no less than here. This, again, threw the English Church more and more into the hands of the Papacy; for the forces of centralization and subjection were at that time irresistible. Once more, the very fact that the Church had been thrown back upon her own laws had compelled her, in England as elsewhere, to systematize her laws; and the result was that presently, whilst the secular courts still administered—so far as they administered anything—a system which was composed of a rough rule of thumb and a number of arbitrary commands of the supreme power, the Church courts, or courts

Christian, were strong, merciful, and just, with a system of law which was fast becoming scientific in its regularity. Of course, all this was not done without consequences that were bad enough. The practice of the Church courts became remunerative in the extreme, and correspondingly sought after. It became no mean worldly provision for a young man to make him an Archdeacon, and to send him off to Bologna or Padua to learn something of law, in order that he might be able to fulfil the duties of his office. Of course, he generally learned a great deal more, which went far to ruin him for all time. In fact, so bad a name did the Archdeacon come to have in England, that people began to ask, as we are told by John of Salisbury (himself an Archdeacon and a saint), *whether it was possible for an Archdeacon to be saved.*

In a word, the reformation under William had left the Church far stronger as a polity, but it had ministered to that dangerous tendency of our nature which leads us to separate off part of life as sacred, and by so doing both to introduce a secular temper into that part, and to let the rest—go to the dogs.

Meanwhile, what of the State? Certainly, if the Church had become stronger, the State had for a while become far weaker; and at length, under King Stephen, the Government collapsed entirely, and the whole realm went to rack and ruin. As the English Chronicle graphically puts it, “every man that could forthwith began to rob somebody else.” It was the very Nemesis of feudalism, for the King, the centre of the whole system, had become a mere King Log, and utter disorder prevailed everywhere. In the downfall of institutions one alone survived: the Holy Church of England. First under Bishop Henry of Winchester, the Papal Legate, and then under Theobald, the Primate, all her influence was used, not for one side or the other, but for peace. The wise Theobald did more than this. He realized, if none other did, that the Church was not merely a section of the people, but the whole English people in their ecclesiastical aspect; and in his court were trained a body of learned clerks who were filled with his spirit. Nor is this all. So far as there was any order at all in England during the latter years of Stephen, it came from the English Church as led by him. So that at the time of the death of that King, in 1154, the whole kingdom owed to him a debt which it would be hard to overestimate; and the Church was powerful as perhaps it had never been since the days of Dunstan.

Such was the state of things when the young Henry II. ascended the throne. He was a man of tremendous force of character, bold and energetic and self-reliant; turbulent

indeed in his superfluous energy, but gifted with a clear-sighted purpose as few men are. In his veins, so his contemporaries said, flowed the demoniacal blood of his ancestor, Fulk Nerra, Fulk the Black—that blood which was inflamed at times into actual madness in his son King John, and which degenerated into imbecility in his grandson Henry III. The second Henry, however, was a very different man. He was violent at times; he could be cruel and vicious in private life; he shunned, so one chronicler tells us, he shunned regular hours like poison. His secretary, Peter of Blois, goes yet further, and declares: “Solomon saith there be three things difficult to be found out—yea, a fourth which may scarcely be discovered: the way of an eagle in the air, the way of a ship in the sea, the way of a serpent on the land, and the way of a man with a maid. I know a fifth: the way of a King in England.” But, none the less, there was method in it all. The King’s superabundant energy might show itself in many odd ways, but beneath it all there flowed a steady, strong purpose: the organization of his empire on a sound basis of law and government. This was his life-work, and it was his own doing. Justinian, it may be, owes the greater part of his fame to his Ministers, and the work is at least as much theirs as his. Our English Justinian was not less fortunate in his Ministers; but of all that was done, the merit is his, not theirs.

Henry found himself, whilst still little more than a boy, the lord of territories which included not only England, but the greater part of France, together with the overlordship of Scotland. It was therefore of the utmost importance that he should find a Minister at once—one whom he could trust as himself, and who would fulfil all that was in his mind. Where was such a man to be found? where but in the household of Archbishop Theodore? and where but in the person of his favourite pupil, Thomas Becket?

Let us now follow out the details of his life. Thomas Becket, or Thomas of London, as he was almost universally called until he became Archbishop, was a typical Londoner, like Colet and Milton and Lamb, born, as Colet himself was, under the shadow of St. Mary Colechurch, where the Mercers’ Hall now stands, just off Cheapside. His parents were neither Saxon, as one legend says, nor was his mother a Saracen, according to another very picturesque story. Gilbert and Rohesia Becket were simply sprung from respectable families in Normandy, the one from Rouen, the other from Caen. But they had settled in London, and their son Thomas never forgot that he was a Londoner and a man of the people; and when, in later days, people spoke of the Archbishop of

Canterbury's lack of noble birth, he only answered that in this respect at least he was like the Apostles of his Lord.

His parents, however, were people of some mark. His father had been Portreeve of London, and the house was well known to some of the noble-born knights about the Court. Thomas was well educated, at a time when the standard of education was by no means low, first at home in London, then by the good monks of Merton Abbey, and then at Paris; conquering his distaste for books, and checking his strong inclination for an outdoor life, for the sake of his mother, whom he tenderly loved. Owing to a reverse in the fortunes of his parents, we next find him seeking employment in the City, possibly in the business of the Sheriffs, but more likely in the counting-house of the merchant. Thence, however, he passed to be one of the clerks about the court of Archbishop Theobald, and now his fortune was made. Theobald at once saw what manner of man he was, took him for his favourite pupil, trained him in all the learning of the day, and filled him with the same lofty conceptions as he himself held as to the nature of the Church, its spiritual life and power, which is from within, its work in the whole sphere of human existence. In course of time he ordained him deacon and gave him the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, the most important office that it was in his power to bestow.

And now it was that Thomas was sent for to serve the King as his Chancellor and chief Minister. It was, of course, in those days the usual thing for the royal Ministers to be found in the ranks of the clergy. Where else could the requisite learning and devotion and probity have been found? But the effects were in many ways bad, in that there inevitably followed a secularization of all men's ideas as to the Church, and a further approximation of the ways of the Church to the ways of the world.

Thomas then, a young man of five-and-thirty, became the chief Minister of the young Henry. The most tender friendship at once sprung up between the two. Thomas "threw off the deacon," as his biographers say, and entered with all his soul into the life that lay before him. In the King's business none was so eager or so capable as he. If there was a difficult embassy to be despatched, he was the man for it; if there was some great reform needed in England, as the institution of scutage—that commutation of military service for money which did so much to break down the evils of feudalism—Thomas was the man to see it through. He was as much at home at the head of an army or hunting in the King's train. Meanwhile he vied with the King not only in his capacity for work, but in his magnificence of life and his

capacity for mirth. When work was over, the King and the Minister were, as it was said, just like two schoolboys at play. The emoluments of his office, according to the universal custom of the day, alone made this possible; and when they failed it mattered not, for the two young men had but one purse between them. One significant point was noticed, however, where Thomas could not go with the King. Men wondered at his profusion and his magnificence, but whilst the whole Court was given up to luxurious living, no word was breathed against the Chancellor's personal purity. Foul conduct or foul speech, lying or unchastity, were hateful to him, and he never failed to visit them severely. And once, at any rate, when Henry, with his usual disregard for the laws of the Church, was proposing to bring about a political marriage which was contrary to those laws, the Chancellor withstood him to the face, and apparently the evil thing was not done. Still, this did not affect their personal relations, and the great work of quelling the pandemonium which Stephen's reign had created, and restoring the English State, went steadily on.

But now there came the crux of it all. The King saw clearly that if his realm was really to be one, if there was to be anything of real government, the power of the Church—that power which had flourished and grown in the time of anarchy, that power which had been the one saving feature of English life—must be checked once for all. An *imperium in imperio* was really unendurable. This great polity of ecclesiastics included, it must be remembered, not merely Bishops, priests, and deacons, but monks and nuns, and a great host of clerks in minor orders—nay, it included pilgrims and widows and orphans, and sham pilgrims and wanderers, and anybody and everybody who could manage, by hook or by crook, to claim “benefit of clergy.” Could this great mass of people be allowed to remain practically outside the power of the King? Was it endurable that clerks who had committed some crime, for instance, should be tried by the lenient Church courts and condemned to mere spiritual censures, and then set free to do the same thing again? Crimes of this sort were all too frequent. No; Henry felt that the royal supremacy must be vindicated, the King must have his own, if there was to be anything in England that could really be called order. So he set himself to work to curb the temporal power of the Church, both by the operation of law at home and by the checking of interference from abroad. He did not propose to repudiate the spiritual authority of the Pope—of course, no Englishman did in his day; and few things are more deplorable and misleading than the ignorant nonsense

which is sometimes put forth on this subject. But, in the interests of his realm, he would curb appeals and references to Rome. Every such thing had a temporal side and no slight temporal consequences; he would, therefore, place a check upon them, and only allow them to be made in exceptional cases, when it suited the royal policy or convenience.

And who was to help him in all this? The King, of course, was quite clear that it was to be done by the great Minister who had helped him hitherto—by Thomas of London. Just then, too, the way seemed to have been made clear, for on April 18, 1161, the good old Archbishop Theobald died. Thomas should succeed him: so the King was resolved. He, too, like the Emperor in Germany, would have a Chancellor who should also be Primate, and so the double work might be done without any of the friction that there must otherwise be.

And now let us see why Thomas did not fall in with the King's plans. It is easy enough at the present day to perceive that the King was striving for what was really essential. It was clearly absurd to allow evil-doers to escape the due penalty of their misdeeds because they happened to be clerks, a fact which should have deterred them from their misdeeds. But this was not all. In the long run it is impossible for two independent powers to exist in one kingdom; sooner or later one or the other must succumb. Either the law of the realm must have its course over all men, and all men must obey that law or take the consequences, or else the civil power must become a mere administration subject to the ecclesiastical; and history shows what that involves.

But we see all this so clearly that we are apt to forget the other side altogether; and yet in the twelfth century men did not forget it. The one great power which received the reverent devotion of all men was the Church. The King, after all, was but such an one as themselves, holy as his election and calling were; but the Church is the mother of us all. Could it be right that the sacred persons of her ministers should be subjected to secular handling? Could it be right that Divine things should be harassed by secular restraints and polluted by secular defilement?

Then, again, there was a very real danger lest the Church should have been caught in the trammels of the State, and degraded into a sort of *ex-officio* ally of the secular administration; and we know, from our own experiences of Church life in the eighteenth century, what a detestable bondage that means. It was the very office of the Church to admonish and guide and warn the secular power from without. Could this be done if she were reduced to the level of the rank and file

of English life? Above all, the evils of the late reign had shown what she could do, and men could not readily believe that they were doing right if they tried to fight against this great power of God.

We can see that both causes were right. The one, however, was doing its work, the other had its work yet to do; the one must increase, the other must decrease. God is not tied to one means.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

We can see this now; but there were few good men in that age who would not have thought that when it came to the question it was better, more holy, more safe, to side with the Church in its struggle with the King; with the Church, as they would have put it, against the world. Yet even as they did so there may have been many who felt what was said by one of Becket's most faithful friends, Herbert of Bosham: "Both parties had a zeal for God; which zeal was most according to knowledge, His judgment alone can determine."

And so, when the King told Thomas, one fine day in Normandy, just as he was coming to England, that he would have him to be Archbishop, Thomas at once drew back in fear, tried to turn it off as a jest that a man in his gay clothing should sit in that holy seat, and then warned the King, in all seriousness, that such a step must needs be the end of their friendship. "I know your plans for the Church: you will assert claims which I, if I were Archbishop, must needs oppose." So far his way had been clear. Thomas was a man who could see good wherever it was. He could see the true grandeur of the King's aims, and as his Minister could loyally second them where they did not come into flat conflict with his obligations as a son of the Church. But he had never felt it his duty, perhaps, to look at the question from the other side. As Archbishop, he would be the guardian of another heritage even more precious. What might be in the future was not his business; it would be his bounden duty to hold fast that which the Church had. Thomas was a man who could see both sides, but, like many other men who can see both sides, he could only see one side at a time. He was the kind of man who would be as strenuous for one good work as for another. If it was the work of the Church, it must needs come first with him; and then the tenderly valued friendship would be at an end.

However, it was to be. Thomas resisted long and earnestly, and it was only when it was pressed upon him on all sides as his duty that he at length gave way. The monks of

Canterbury duly elected the King's nominee, as they usually did. Thomas was duly ordained priest, and then consecrated and enthroned in St. Augustine's chair, first receiving from the King's officers a quittance in full for all the moneys and the secular business which had passed through his hands.

He at once gave himself up to the duties of his new life. Henry was disappointed in his plan of an archiepiscopal Chancellor, for the Archbishop at once resigned the office of Chancellor. He changed his whole manner of life; began to wear the monastic dress and the hair shirt under his robes, gave himself to prayer and study and deeds of mercy, and, indeed, roused the wondering awe of his clerks by the sanctity of his life. His devotion, indeed, never entirely lost something of awkwardness; his answers were often harsh and hasty, and in Thomas there is never anything of the sweet reasonableness of Anselm. Still, his earnestness and reality were above reproach, and the man himself remained as attractive and as lovable to his fellow-men as he had ever been.

But the inevitable conflicts with the King began almost at once. I do not propose to go into details; they can be obtained from any biography of the saint—Robertson's, Thompson's, or Freeman's essay, or better still, perhaps, from Miss Norgate's "England under the Angevin Kings." For our purpose, it is more important to secure a right interpretation of the facts than to recapitulate details which are already well known, and I have therefore thought it well rather to dwell upon the subject in its larger aspects rather than to spend time over these.

It must be pointed out, however, that in the first great conflict between the King and the Archbishop, Thomas made himself the champion of the whole English people. The ancient impost of the Danegeld, a memorial of England's shame—of that tax which was levied in order to bribe off the Dane—had continued to be paid to the Sheriffs, not by law, but as a sort of voluntary rate for their services. Henry, who had a keen scent where money was going, proposed that this money should be turned into a formal tax, and should make its way into the Treasury. It was at Woodstock, in the summer of 1163. Thomas declared that the payment was a voluntary one, given to the Sheriffs so long as they did their duty well, and that it must not be turned into a tax. "By the eyes of God," swore the King, "what right have you to contradict me? I am not hurting you." "Then by those same eyes," swore Thomas, "not a penny shall you have from my lands, nor from any lands of the Church." The story breaks off, as stories have a way of doing, just at the most

interesting point, but the inference is clear that the Archbishop won; for the Danegeld, name and thing, disappears forthwith from the Pipe Rolls.

However, other questions soon followed. A chief tenant of the King had been excommunicated by the Archbishop, without previous notice being given to the King. This was contrary to ancient custom, which forbade any such thing, apparently lest the King should be contaminated by contact with excommunicate persons. Henry commanded that the excommunication should be removed. Thomas refused: it was not for the King, he declared, to say who should be bound or loosed.

Soon there arose again the old question of the criminous clerks. The King complained that such persons were not adequately punished by the penalties imposed upon them by the courts spiritual, and that, in any case, they were answerable to the courts of the realm. Thomas did his best to satisfy both the King and his own sense of justice. Of course he could not, consistently with his principles, think of allowing them to be punished by the civil court; but he was willing that clerks who had been deposed for one offence should for a second offence be answerable to the King's courts. He even overstepped the penalties recognised by the canons, and caused one criminous clerk to be branded, as well as degraded, and actually trenced so far upon the royal prerogative as to banish another from the realm. But even this did not satisfy Henry, for he, too, had a principle at stake. He was willing to let the Church courts try the man and depose him; but then, said he, let them hand him over to the temporal courts, that they might punish him for his crime against the laws of the realm. No, answered Thomas; that would be to punish him twice for the same offence, which, of course, was perfectly true. And so the dispute went on in a vicious circle. It does not seem to have occurred to Thomas that he was fighting for the least defensible point of the whole Church position, and thus weakening a cause which, after all, was in its essence of priceless value to mankind. He did not distinguish between what was vital and what was of secondary importance. To him the whole matter was perfectly clear; like many people of the present day, he could put it "in a nutshell." Here was a claim that was against the rights of the Church; therefore he must resist it in the name of God. But some people can see that a nutshell will not hold the whole of the truth: to these the matter has always seemed more complicated.

So far, however, the Bishops were heartily with him, and in fact the whole Church party held the same view. At length Henry endeavoured to bring the matter to a head. At a

Great Council of the realm held at Westminster in October, 1163, he demanded bluntly whether the Bishops would obey the royal customs; whether, as he understood it, they would be loyal subjects or not. The answer of the Bishops was "Ay, saving our order;" that is, they were loyal subjects, but they made a reservation of all that concerned their duties as Churchmen, as of course they were bound to do. But by so doing they were, in effect, begging the whole question—at least, from Henry's point of view. The King broke up the assembly in furious anger, with a displeasure against Thomas which distressed him beyond words. But a conference between the two at Northampton led to nothing. The tempers of both parties were now roused, and it was a question between the demoniacal blood of the Angevin and the blood, hardly less hot, of Thomas of London.

Then another council was arranged, to meet at the royal manor of Clarendon, near Salisbury, in January, 1164; and here the demand was repeated that the Bishops should bind themselves to accept the customs of the realm. Our accounts of the conference are confused upon some points, but it is clear that Henry was so furious that his courtiers were nearly frightened out of their senses. The Bishops, "not pillars of the Church, but reeds," were "like a flock of sheep ready for the slaughter"; they dared not speak or act, but looked helplessly towards their leader, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas alone held out; but at length there came to him two knights, who solemnly assured him that the demand that they should obey the customs of the realm was only persisted in for the sake of the King's honour, and that a verbal submission would end the quarrel, since there was no design of making the Church subject to any new laws. Thereupon, though not without considerable hesitation, he gave way, and publicly promised, with the Bishops, to obey the King's laws and the customs of the realm.

But whether or not the King was aware of it from the first, Thomas had been deceived. A verbal submission was not what Henry wanted, and the question was at once raised, what were these ancient customs. Thereupon the oldest and wisest of the barons, of course chosen for the purpose by the King, were bidden to search them out and write them down. The speed with which the work was done rouses the suspicion that they had been prepared beforehand; but however this may be, the Constitutions of Clarendon, when ready, were such that Becket could only feel that he had been tricked, and the Bishops too.

There are few constitutional documents that better deserve study than the Constitutions of Clarendon, and few which are

of more permanent interest, dealing as they do with the whole range of the points of contact between Church and State at the time when they were drawn up; but although in many respects they fairly represent what had actually been done at an earlier time, they are really rather an attempted settlement of the questions in dispute than a simple statement of fact. And this settlement is of such a character that in every single instance the King has his own way.

To give examples: All cases arising out of advowsons and presentations are to be tried in the King's courts; Bishops and other great persons may not leave the kingdom without the royal permission; nor may tenants *in capite* be excommunicated without due notice; and rustics may not be ordained without the consent of their lord. If a clerk be accused of any crime, he is to be tried in the King's court for whatever that court decides is within its cognizance, and then anything that is left of the poor man may go and be tried in the ecclesiastical courts. And as to ecclesiastical cases, an appeal is to lie to the Archbishop's court, and is not to be carried further without the consent of the King.

Such were the constitutions which Thomas was called upon to set his hand to; and it is not to be wondered at that he felt that to do so would be to give up everything. "Never! by the faith which I owe to God," he exclaimed; "never, whilst there is a breath in my body!" He left Clarendon humbled and full of remorse, yet resolved that the Church should not come to harm by his act, and at once wrote to the Pope, begging for absolution for the breach of his plighted word.

And now, as Thomas could not be gained to his purpose, the King was resolved to ruin him. Friendship was something, but Henry's friendship was now turned into hatred; besides, if the Archbishop stood in the way of the good order of the realm, he must be crushed. This was made easier by the fact that the Church party was now divided against itself. A few of the Bishops still held, with Becket, that there could be no compromise, and that the cure of souls itself must suffer in behalf of what was, after all, a secondary issue. Others, again, worn out by the struggle, had now fallen away entirely, and were ready, in impotent fear, to consent to anything that the King wanted. And a third and larger party, led by Gilbert Foliot, the learned and powerful Bishop of London, whom no man could ever have cowed, saw that the only thing to be done now was to make the best of a bad business, and acquiesce in the customs which they had unknowingly accepted. That, at any rate, was likely to be more profitable for the Church than fighting any longer: let them, therefore, bow their heads before the blast and hope for better things. Enlightened

Churchmanship and crafty policy for once pointed in the same direction; and Gilbert is a curious mixture of the two.

It therefore seemed an easy thing for the King to crush the Archbishop. He was summoned in ignominious wise to a Great Council of the realm, held at Northampton in October, 1164, and on his arrival found that all sorts of frivolous accusations were brought against him, the apparent object being to vex him beyond endurance. At last the monstrous demand was made that he should render his account for all the money that had passed through his hands as Chancellor. Such a thing was utterly unheard of; and besides, he had already obtained a quittance in full when he resigned the seal at the time of his consecration. Now, if not before, it was clear that the King meant to ruin him; although the common people were with him and remained so throughout, the barons and the Bishops were against him almost to a man. The Bishops in vain besought him to throw himself on the King's mercy; and Gilbert Foliot, after a last attempt to move the Archbishop, left him to his fate, exclaiming angrily: "A fool you always were, and you are now, and so I see you will be till the end of the chapter."

The Archbishop believed that he was about to lose his life; but he did not flinch. By the sheer force of his personality, and the sacredness of his office, he silenced those who came, in the name of the King, to pronounce judgment upon him; and then at length he left the Court, and the kingdom too, whilst Henry was still hesitating in anxious doubt as to what was best to be done against him.

Thomas left England on the night following All Souls' Day, November 2, and was an exile for over six years. The events of this dreary time of banishment need not delay us now. Negotiations were continually going on between the King and the Archbishop, the one aiming at securing the return of a foe who was more dangerous abroad than at home, the other trying in vain to secure the reversal of the King's ecclesiastical proceedings. The dispute was complicated and intensified by the encroachments upon the Archbishop's rights which, from the King's point of view, it inevitably made necessary. It was further aggravated by the bitterness which grew upon the two combatants, if only on account of their former close friendship, though it is clear that Becket never ceased to yearn for a reconciliation with Henry. But above all it was complicated by the fact that wherever he went Becket became the centre of political intrigues on the part of the Emperor, the King of France, or the Pope. Indeed, as it has been said, throughout the period of the exile the dispute between the King and the Archbishop is a mere side issue of European politics.

At length Henry became convinced that, at any cost, Thomas must be brought back to England. A hollow truce was patched up between them. The King managed to evade giving the kiss of peace to the Archbishop, as the latter earnestly wished, and as in fact it had been agreed; and Thomas landed at Sandwich on December 1, 1170.

The rest of the story we know well: how the Archbishop was met by enmity on all sides, and how his angry measures in reply provoked the hasty words of the King, which in turn led to the murder in his own Cathedral church on December 29, 1170. It would be a rash thing to describe it again after Dean Stanley's matchlessly picturesque account; but it is not necessary for our purpose to do so. Let it suffice to say that the murder of the Primate of All England in his own Cathedral not only roused universal horror, but helped men to realize that, after all, the struggle was a contest between the Church and the world. Thomas the Archbishop at once became Thomas the Saint in the estimation of all men; and as such, but for a comparatively short period, he has been regarded ever since.

We can see, no doubt, that Thomas was compassed about with many human imperfections. We can see that he jeopardized a great cause—the cause of religious liberty—by the rash and unwise means with which he endeavoured to defend it. We can see, as Gilbert did, that it might have been far wiser to give up a cause which was not really defensible and to strengthen the substance by the surrender of the shadow. And yet it is Thomas, and not Gilbert, who is counted as the saint. And it is right that this should be so, for assuredly the vital question with regard to every man is rather what he aspires to be and to do than what he attains to. And as long as we recognise that motives are greater than acts, and that what a man *is* is more than what he does, so long, assuredly, we must see that the popular discrimination is just, and that we rightly speak of the Archbishop as Saint Thomas of Canterbury.

W. E. COLLINS.



## ART. II.—THE SUPPLY AND QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CLERGY.

THE New Sustentation Fund is a fresh proof of the vitality and the faith of the Church. A few years ago, when assault gathered around her, she showed no alarm, but with quiet and unobtrusive fidelity pursued her career, did her daily

work, and developed her resources. To-day, when the sharpness of assault is past, she looks to the future, and with equal steadfastness she strives to increase those endowments which have excited the cupidity or awakened the fear of her foes; and she does this with no feelings of insolent pride and for no purpose of domination or display, but simply from the conviction of duty at once to those who work and to the work which must be done.

But the Fund will speedily show other effects, and of these most people have thought but little. No more serious question can confront a Church than that of the supply and the qualifications of her clergy. We may, indeed, divide the problem, and consider the supply separately from the qualifications; but, of the two, the qualifications are infinitely the more important. The ideal clergyman for a parish is a man of refinement and culture. He has a wide knowledge of the world, and he has read much upon many subjects; he is profoundly convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, and he has thought out its difficulties for himself, and viewed its parts in their mutual relations and their due proportion; he is in sympathy with men of thought and men of action, whatever their wealth or position, and he is filled with a passionate desire to lift himself and them into a nobler condition of life: hence he feels truly and deeply. The moral and emotional parts of his nature have been as carefully cultivated as his mind and as carefully developed as his body. He is filled with admiration and with passionate love for Jesus Christ. His crowning ambition is to contribute, by the man's strength and life that are within him, something to his Master's glory and to the development and strength of His kingdom. For this reason he has a message to his fellow-men. His heart longs to deliver itself of all it feels, and his mind to deliver itself of all it knows; hence, though his lips may stammer at the first, he grows into a man of eloquence, and in the truest sense becomes an orator. He is a teacher, too, in narrower circles and less exciting circumstances, and he bears his message with him from man to man, from house to house in his parish. He gradually draws forth the best persons within that little world, and develops, trains, and strengthens the best that is in them. A moulding influence is at work, and though sin may still vex men's lives and opposition to Christ still raise its ungrateful front, the parish becomes softened, subdued, and coalesced, because of the presence and the toil of a saint of God.

Ideals are never realized, and this one is yet afar off; but it is well to look at it, and see if we cannot approach it.

In the first place, then, we need a fair prospect of indepen-

dent work for each man, after he has learnt the best methods and developed his strength as an assistant to another. The age at which the curate should be placed in charge of a parish must vary, but the date of that promotion ought not to be so distant from his ordination as to give him any leisure or interval for relaxed exertion ; neither ought it to come so late that he has grown disheartened and has crystallized in method, thought, and aim. There are many miserable years in the history of some of our best and strongest curates, when they have found themselves neglected and overlooked, and while they look out into the world of the Church and see no definite road along which they may travel to the work which they feel they can do. It is often said that men of their calling ought to work still with the zeal and ardour which marked their first years ; but they were called because they were men, and as men they are ruled by the laws of human nature. One of those laws is hope, and the hope that is deferred maketh sick the heart of the curate as much as the heart of the soldier or the barrister. The danger of crystallization is greater than that of diminished energy. George Eliot remarks that at an early period in his life Charles Dickens ceased to assimilate impressions. He wrote always of the things he had noted in his early manhood. When a clergyman has reached five-and-forty years without free and independent scope for his energy, he finds it hard or impossible to accommodate and adjust himself to the wants and circumstances of a parish which, in all probability, is essentially different from those in which he served as curate ; means familiar to himself, but created and employed for other needs, are the only ones which are likely to suggest themselves to his mind. He has been, perhaps, a preacher of power to a town congregation that has always numbered many hundreds, and he is amazed that sentiments and thoughts which moved them to tears or to generous deeds fall absolutely flat in a country congregation of fifty, where no man has read a book since his boyhood or vexed himself with any question beyond the politics or the commercial interest of the village. All the organization of the great town parish is reduced to himself and his wife. His Bible-classes, his candidates for Confirmation, his choir, the tone and beauty of his services, are successive disappointments. There are few who can see the reason at once, and still fewer who can transform themselves so far as to fit themselves into the new lives, thoughts, sympathies, and habits that are before them.

In the next place, we need some adequate funds to provide payment for the work to be done. Our three sources of income are tithe, property, and voluntary contributions, given either as weekly offerings or as payment for "sittings" in the parish

church. To the last of these there are many limitations. Seat rents would be impossible in country parishes, and they are a vanishing income in many parishes of large towns, where the wealthy residents of the past have yielded to transient lodgers, or the houses themselves have been turned into places of business. Weekly offerings are always too uncertain, and nearly always too small. In one of the most influential parishes of London, where everything depended upon them, the Vicar was recently compelled to make a strong appeal to the people to pay off a couple of hundred pounds of debt which lay upon the year's work of the church. Yet there was not a single clergyman in that parish who was adequately paid. Tithe has sunk from ten pounds of premium in the sixties to thirty-two pounds of discount in the nineties. A hundred pounds of tithe was, in other words, worth a hundred and ten pounds thirty years ago, and now it is worth but sixty-eight. Landed property, which forms the endowment of many parishes, as well as of many cathedrals, has become more of a burden than an advantage. Even within the radius of eight miles from Charing Cross the endowment of one parish has fallen in value from five pounds an acre to one pound.

The working result of this is threefold. First, we have a state of poverty amongst the clergy that is at once disgraceful and mischievous. We have 14,000 benefices in England. Nearly 400 of these vary in annual value from a *minus* quantity up to £50; 1,100 more run from £50 to £100; and 4,000 more from £100 to £200. England rightly insists upon what is roughly known as a married clergy. The advantages of such a clergy overwhelm the supposed advantages of celibacy. The total number of our clergy is 20,000. The sum total of our endowments is £5,750,000 a year. If you distribute this equally amongst all, you have £280 a year for each. But such a dead level of mediocrity would be intolerable. Large expenses are involved in extended work. No Bishop could buy bread upon that sum. One Bishop told me lately that it would be impossible for him to do his work and live if he had not private means; and his income is several thousands a year. Another, who is now dead, reckoned the annual working expenses of his diocese at £5,000. The diocese, the parish, the Bishop, and the undergraduate would all suffer, and would all reject this remedy. If you have great offices, they must be sustained, not by paraded pomp, but by circumstances consistent with themselves.

A second evil is the necessity of seeking men of private means for the offices of the Church. The cry has become painfully common that none but men of fortune may be

incumbents of certain parishes. No patron likes an impoverished vicar. Every parish desires an incumbent who can take a chief share in subscriptions and in the hospitality and social life of his neighbourhood. The choice of an incumbent is therefore to be made from a narrow circle. The poor parish is most frequently unattractive from one cause or another, and many men of means will not accept it. The circle becomes narrower yet. The question is not who is the fittest, but who will undertake the work. And when at length someone is found, he enters upon his task without the inspiring sense that he was chosen because he seemed the fittest.

A third evil is a failure in the supply of candidates for Holy Orders. The great majority of young men must depend upon their professions for their maintenance. It is right that no man should seek the ministry of the Church for the sake of payment; but no man is fit for that ministry unless he has common-sense, and no man of sense, unless he has a private income, will accept a calling which does not promise a fair wage. There is, indeed, much competition amongst young men for work, but there is also strong competition amongst various kinds of work for men. The man of ability, character, and industry finds a hundred roads open to him; from all directions voices solicit his powers. And with a faint whisper the Church of God, whose tongue used to dominate and absorb the noises of earth, implores him to think of her and her works and wants. If the young clergyman could exist upon crumbs, or if he could be a mendicant, like the mediæval friar, then all that is holiest and strongest within him would heartily respond. But we are compelled to look facts in the face: to remember the necessary solicitude of parents, the life prospects and demands which modify the most eager self-sacrifice, and the heart-breaking report, too often repeated to be untrue, that many men seek admission to Orders only because they have failed in the pursuit of something else.

But over and above this, we have to face the uncertainty which most men feel of procuring independent work within reasonable time, and of moving forward in the work of the Church according to the development of their own powers and experience. The average curate has to depend upon his Bishop and his reputation. The Bishop's patronage is exceedingly limited: it is impossible for any Bishop to do what he would like for all the claimants upon his regard. Bishops of the present day cannot be accused of nepotism; they make mistakes—gross enough indeed—but they conscientiously endeavour to do their best for the highest interests of the Church. The other classes of patrons are the Deans and

Chapters of cathedrals, private persons, and the Crown. The cathedral patronage is limited by statute or by custom in such a way that Chapters can seldom make free choice from the whole Church. Private patrons have come within recent years to feel more than ever the responsibility of power, but they cannot know the brave, quiet, unobtrusive men who are bearing their Master's message and life from door to door of East End garrets or remote and unromantic villages. No one, I suppose, professes to understand the methods of the officers of the Crown. They make appointments; there is no appeal; and the matter rests. The world is silent, for amazement paralyzes utterance.

This systemless system is working irreparable wrong. It is wearing out the hearts of our young men; it is robbing the Church of invaluable energy and devotion; and it is making the public feel that neither worth nor power nor sacrifice will count in the career of a clergyman compared with luck or influence or obtrusive allegiance to some political or ecclesiastical party.

Our undergraduates and sixth-form boys pause before they embrace so huge a risk or encounter such a bitter disappointment.

Some remedies suggest themselves. The first is to raise such a Sustentation Fund all over the Church as will provide a minimum income of £200 a year to each incumbent, or, better still, to each clergyman. The fund which has been started is a happy combination of the principle of voluntary contribution with that of endowment and establishment. It owes its origin in chief measure to laymen, but it started not merely with the strongest approval of those in authority in the Church, but with the glamour and name of England's gladdest celebration. So far as public opinion goes, its permanent success is assured; but that success depends upon the extent to which it is worked in our 14,000 parishes. It is the small and steady gifts of the multitude which accumulate large sums rather than the princely gifts of the few. The Roman Catholics in Ireland know and work upon this. They are building all over the country beautiful churches and stately cathedrals. The people are nearly all poor. In the diocese of Derry a Roman priest recently demanded of a laundress £1 a year as her subscription to one of their building funds. She protested that she could not pay so much; but she was informed that nothing less would be accepted. Her reply was full of instruction: "I cannot give you a pound a year, but I will promise you *a shilling a week.*"

2. We must make some generous provision for our aged and disabled clergy. Let there be no confusion here between the

beneficed and the unbeneficed. In the present state of things many curates can never receive benefices, and many must not expect to receive employment as curates after attaining the age of forty-five or fifty. There is no sorer hardship than this. The British army pays its officers badly enough, but when a man becomes superannuated at fifty he is given a pension which will, at any rate, support him. The aged curate is given nothing. The Archbishop of Canterbury has recently written that ~~it~~ in the direction of pensions we must look for the relief of unbeneficed curates.

3. The amalgamation of small and scantily-populated parishes will effect a further improvement. Take an illustration: Two parishes lie together. One has a population of, say, 120, and the other a population of, say, 200. For these 320 souls there are two clergymen, two churches, two rectories, and four services at least every Sunday. The distance between the two churches is two miles. The incomes of the two parishes are £120 and £140. Now, neither parish provides sufficient income or sufficient work for the incumbent. It is, humanly speaking, impossible to produce so strong an effect and to exercise such strong influence for good, or to teach either in the pulpit or the houses of the people with such earnestness, as if the numbers were four or five times as large. Time must hang heavily upon the hands of men who are burdened with such a meagre and yet such a difficult task; but if the two parishes were united, and services were held in the churches alternately, and the double income given to one man, and the least desirable house rented or sold, the spiritual improvement, as well as the temporal, would be enormous.

4. Some reform in patronage is absolutely necessary. There is, as we said above, abundant and convincing evidence that patrons of all kinds act with an earnest and honest desire to appoint the fittest men they know; but in present circumstances it is impossible for public patrons, or for private, to take any general review of the clergy. Their sources of information are scanty, and their own range of observation affords but slender means of accurate acquaintance with the qualifications of either rectors or curates. Accident does as much in many appointments as judgment. Hundreds upon hundreds of men who would adorn the highest offices are unnoticed because they are undiscovered.

And it is hard to find a universal remedy. Some which have been suggested would cure one evil by creating another. The election of an incumbent by the communicants or the ratepayers must be rejected at once. The system of the Irish Church was carefully, most carefully, prepared, and it was expected to work smoothly and effectively. It created a board

of patronage for every parish, which consisted of the Bishop, three nominators for the diocese, chosen every three years by the Diocesan Synod, and three for the parish, chosen at the same intervals by the vestry. Thus, the Bishop was represented, the diocese, and the parish. Nothing, apparently, could be more perfect. And yet these boards were not ten years at work until there rose all over the Church loud cries of dissatisfaction. The parochial element became too powerful, and demanded that its choice should be ratified by the other members. Men of the highest character and ability were overlooked, because more showy or more noisy men had caught the fancy of the parish; and one of the Irish Bishops, who has closely watched the working of these boards from the beginning, confessed to me a few months ago that they were a failure. What he would substitute is a small board of patronage for every diocese, without any representation from the parish that may be vacant.

In this country patronage is one of the chief privileges of the Crown, and in private hands it is an article of marketable value. The Bishops would naturally be loath to surrender the only means of rewarding men who have done, and will do, good work, and similar feelings would be aroused amongst Chapters and in the Universities.

But, over and above these, without touching any of their rights, or in the slightest degree limiting their liberty, we might create diocesan registries of reference and information, where the names of the best men in the diocese might, without any motion of their own, be recorded by the Bishop, or by any other person whose recommendation might be trusted; and this register should contain the names not only of young men who are capable of administering parishes, but of older men who are fit for the highest work in the Church. The special qualification of each man would be attached to his name; a record, full and accurate, would be made of the work he has done. Care would be taken that the record should be correct and complete. The register would be open to all patrons, and to it all would be invited to refer.

And we might go further than this. It would not be difficult to create a board of advice and reference, consisting of such persons as the Patronage Secretary of the Treasury, the Patronage Secretary to the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of the diocese, or one of his suffragans, and four or five clergymen and laymen appointed by the Diocesan Conference or nominated by the Bishop. We should by this method have an opportunity of knowing the good men, and the Church would enjoy the conviction that all appointments are made after the fullest consideration and upon the completest knowledge.

5. This would give such confidence to young men and their parents that we should in a few years find a considerable increase in the number of candidates for ordination. With a sufficient stipend and a fair prospect of independent work, and the promise that the very highest offices would be open to merit, and to merit alone, the very ablest graduates from the Universities would seek Holy Orders. The standard of examination would be gradually raised, until no one would be admitted without the fullest proof of knowledge, of power to preach to large audiences and to small, to deal individually with men, and to adorn by their private lives the Gospel they proclaim. We could give more time to the preparation of the candidate after he has taken his degree, and we should soon remove the objection of many laymen, that they know more about philosophy, theology, the Bible, and the world than the man does who professes to teach them every week. So far as we can see, the progress of Christianity in this land depends upon the ability of the clergy to preach in the church, to persuade men in private, and to live lives of nobleness and truth.

WILLIAM MURDOCK JOHNSTON.



### ART. III.—THE HOPE OF ISRAEL.

#### PART II.

IN the last number I dealt with the direct predictions of a king Messiah, son of David, and the recognition they receive in early Jewish literature. I need not show here at length how in such works as the Sibyllines, the Psalter of Solomon, and the "Assumptio Mosis" this Scriptural expectation of a Davidic king is blended (and rightly) with that other cycle of inspired utterance which foretells the great "theophany," or manifestation of Jehovah's world-wide rule (*cf.* such Psalms as xciii., xciv.-c.). In this literature, we know, the Messianic hope is frequently distorted. But the Scriptural exegesis which lay behind the wild dreams of material conquest and the like is at least unassailable. The very vagaries of such literature (which was never deemed authoritative) corroborate the confession that the age of inspired prophecy had passed.

But it is to the Scriptures that all in the New Testament at least make appeal for their ideal of Messiah. And this leads me to another direct prediction. Why is it that we read that people who did not know the incidents of Jesus' birth reasoned

thus: "Hath not the Scripture said that Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was" ? (John vii. 42). Our possession of the Epiphany narrative enables us here to give a decisive answer. We know that the learned men consulted by King Herod as to the locality of Messiah's birth gave the answer "Bethlehem," and this on the authority of Micah v. 2-6. And in no other way can this prophetic passage be interpreted. What other King can He be of whom it is said that "His goings forth are from of old, from everlasting" (or from "remote antiquity") ? Now Jewish literature repeatedly endorses the exegesis of Herod's Rabbis. "Whence is He?" says the Gemara (Hieros. Beracoth, fol. 5, 3). "From the palace of the King of Bethlehem-Judah." "Out of thee," runs the Targum on Mic. v. 2, "shall proceed before Me the Messiah, that He may be exercising rule over Israel." There is no inconsistency when John vii. 27 attests a belief, based probably on Mal. iii. 1, that Messiah should come, no one knew from whence. For as Lightfoot ("Hor. Hebr.," Matt. ii.; John vii.) shows, "it was confessed without controversy that He should first make some show of Himself at Bethlehem," before this startling appearance.

Can we doubt that Ps. cx. is a direct prophecy of Messiah's exaltation after a career of humiliation; of His reign as King; and of His completion of all conceptions of Priesthood? Its repeated citation by our Lord and His Apostles is familiar to us. By the tacit admission of our Lord's unfriendly hearers (*cf.* Matt. xxii. 46) it was accepted as a Messianic prophecy. As such we find it interpreted by the Talmudists and earlier exegetes. It is only the later Rabbis who, under the stress of a peculiarly expressive evidence to our Saviour's claims, turn aside to find a proper subject for this psalm in Abraham or Hezekiah. The high critic of to-day waxes bolder, and identifies the psalm with the times of John Hyrcanus, 135-105 B.C. ! How in the space of a century and a half the scribes so forgot their Bible as to be of one mind in supposing a recent piece was as old as David, and in misconstruing a courtier's fulsome panegyric of a modern prince as David's prediction of Messiah, I do not profess to understand. But as there has been pretence here of arguing from linguistic features, I will remark that all the structural anomalies of the psalm find a parallel in pieces certainly many centuries older than John Hyrcanus. In addition to what I have said elsewhere on the Messianic character of Ps. cx., I will note that the idea of Messiah's priesthood is, as our inspection of Zech. vi. 13 has shown, not a feature peculiar to this piece.

What, again, is Zech. ix. 9 but a plain and direct prophecy

of Messiah's coming? Who else was to enter Jerusalem in this unusual way?<sup>1</sup> Are we to accept the alternative of Ibn Ezra's friend R. Moses the priest, and ascribe royalty to Nehemiah? Or are we to turn Zerubbabel, who was only a *pecháh* or governor, into a king? "It is impossible to interpret it, except with regard to King Messiah," confesses Rashi in the eleventh century; and so, doubtless, said Jewish exegesis from the first. The Targum renders the rather difficult נושע (A. V., "having salvation"; R. V., margin, "saved") by פריק, "deliverer," and the LXX. by σώζων. And there is here, of course, the consideration that if the Scripture passage was not understood as a Messianic prophecy, there is no explanation of our Saviour's making it one by acting as He did.

I have yet to adduce Isaiah ix. 1-7, a passage familiar from its association with our Christmas morning service. Apart from the unfortunate misrenderings of verses 1-5, which our Authorized Version presents, it is, I think, necessary to amend verse 6 in a way which may seem unfavourable to my argument. It is, at least, probable in this crucial verse that the titles "Wonderful in Counsel, Mighty God, Father of Eternity," apply to Jehovah, leaving only "Prince of Peace" for the title of the promised Child. Supposing this ceded, is the passage any the less a direct Messianic prophecy? By no means. No new-born child of the royal Davidic house corresponds to these high hopes, Hezekiah, the heir-apparent and successor to Ahaz, being nine years old at the time of its utterance. The title "Prince of Peace," if predicated of Messiah, strikes a familiar chord (*cf.* Ps. lxxii. 7; Isa. xi.). So too such a picture of endless rule in "judgment and righteousness" as is presented in verse 7. Even if there could be found a royal infant in Ahaz's harem to arouse the prophet's hopes, the temerity of such language would be unaccountable. He launches on a description of the endless reign of a child who certainly never came to the throne at all. And his temerity is the more striking when we remember that on this hypothesis it must be a child lately born, who could have given no signs of character of any sort. Here again the Targum admits the Messianic reference, though modifying the significance of verse 6 in the way I noticed above as at least allowable: "His Name shall be called by the Wonderful in Counsel, etc. . . . 'the Messiah,' in whose time peace shall be multiplied upon us."

<sup>1</sup> The spontaneous homage, and the cries, "Hosanna! Blessed is the King of Israel!" show a recognition on the part of the onlookers that our Lord had appropriated a Messianic prophecy. On the other hand, it is interesting to see how unconsciously the disciples, who were taken by surprise, played their part in its fulfilment (John xii. 16).

The case of the other Christmas Day selection is confessedly different. In Isaiah vii. we cannot say confidently that birth from a virgin mother is meant; or even that עלמה (despite the *παρθενος* of the LXX.) is intended to express more than "a young woman." There is no reason to associate the child of this chapter with the Davidic scion of chapter ix., apart from the application in Matt. i. 23—an application which does not of itself necessitate the hypothesis of direct prophecy. It is, at least, as likely that a son of Isaiah is meant, who, like his other two sons, is to bear a mystic designation. There is no sign in Jewish literature that the passage was referred to Messiah's birth, and no indication that the birth from a virgin was part of the Jewish Christology.<sup>1</sup> Finally, we cannot deny that there is point in Kimchi's reasoning: "Ahaz was afraid of the two kings lest they should take Jerusalem, and a sign was given him. . . . If the sign was such a matter as they say, what sign was this to Ahaz, this matter that took place more than 400 [? 700] years later?" On the other hand, the desolation of the realms that menaced Ahaz did speedily follow Isaiah's utterance. All difficulty vanishes if we suppose him inspired to foretell this relief to the troubled king, and to confirm its certainty by naming the son afterwards born to him "God-with-us." St. Matthew's citation passes thus from the province of direct prophecy. But we shall still include Isa. vii. 14 among those passages for which Divine Providence intended a fuller and sublimer meaning, and appropriate this birth so connected with assurance of deliverance as a type of the Saviour's own nativity.

Such, then, are the more obvious predictions of the Messianic King, the royal descendant of David. It is a larger task to blend these with the latent ideal of a suffering, a self-sacrificing Messiah, and to do this has not been the purpose of these pages. But I have, I think, adduced enough to substantiate the more familiar phase of Israel's Hope. Many other passages must be construed by the fact of its existence, many be deemed portraitures of the subordinate phases of the subject. The conception was doubtless left by God's purpose indefinite. Yet sufficient light was at least accorded to associate the promise to David with the "theophany" of the later psalmists and prophets. The Scriptures had so far prepared men's minds for the acknowledgment of a *Divine* Christ.

What, for instance, was signified to the contemporary Jew when Isa. lx.-lxiii. told of the light dawning on Jerusalem, and kings coming to the brightness of her day laden with offerings

<sup>1</sup> See further on this passage Dean Plumptre's notes in Ellicott's "Old Testament Commentary."

for her altar? Practically, I reply, it is what was realized by that writer who in the Messianic "psalm of Solomon" describes the nations coming to serve God at Jerusalem, and to see the glory of the Lord (Psalt. Salomonis xvii.) It is what it signified in the 12th century to Kimchi in his alienation from all New Testament revelation—the nations bringing "gold and incense as an offering to King Messiah and to the House of Jehovah."

Or how was Daniel's vision of the Son of Man in judgment understood before the Incarnate Word assumed to Himself this title? Men could see then, as we may now, that the title assigned primarily to the elect Israel is only Israel's as incorporated with her King. This was the exegesis of the Talmudists, and its early and general acceptance is attested by the Sibyllines<sup>1</sup> and the Book of Enoch.

Or who for Malachi's first hearers was that desired "Messenger of the Covenant" who should come unexpectedly with purifying judgment to His temple? The Apostles' question, "Why say the scribes that Elias must first come?" shows us that in their time the prophecies of Mal. iii., iv. were connected with Messiah's coming. And as far back as the date of Ecclesiasticus, *i. e.*, circa 175 B. C., Malachi's utterance about Elijah (iv. 5) is at least identified with one common feature in the Messianic ideal—the "restoration of the tribes of Jacob" (Ecclus. xlviii. 10). In the Talmudic literature Elijah's appearance in connection with the times of Messiah is so frequent a theme that, as Lightfoot says, "it would be an infinite task to produce all the passages." The very taunt on Calvary, "This man calleth for Elias," has lately been ingeniously connected with this familiar exegesis, and its Rabbinic limitations—that Elijah must literally precede Messiah, and that he would not come on the eve of a sabbath or festival.<sup>2</sup>

Such, then, are the predictions that from the time of David onward turned men's thoughts to the revelation of Messiah. I believe that equally real, though undoubtedly less clearly defined, was the hope of the chosen people in the earlier

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sibyll. xvii. The necessary political *dénouement* is here identified with Rome's gaining the supremacy over Egypt:

Τότε δὴ βασιλεία μεγίστη  
 Ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι φανεῖται  
 Ἡξει δ' ἀγνὸς ἀναξ, πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσων  
 Eis αἰῶνας πάντας.

The Messianic concept in the Book of Enoch takes us, of course, directly to Daniel, and to Messiah is given the title "Son of Man" (chs. xlv.-lvii.). Even supposing we regard the allegories of this work as an interpolation as late as the Christian era, Schürer acknowledges that the view of Messiah here presented is independent of Christian influences, and "perfectly explicable on Jewish grounds" (Div. ii., vol. iii., § 32).

<sup>2</sup> Lowe, "Fragment of Talmud Babli *Pesachim*"; notes, p. 67.

ages. It is connected with the special blessing attached to Abraham's seed. It is embodied in Jacob's prophecy of Shiloh,<sup>1</sup> itself apparently interwoven in Ezek. xxi. 32. It may be associated with Balaam's vague prediction of the "star" that "shall come out of Jacob," and the "sceptre" that shall "rise out of Israel."<sup>2</sup> But with these earlier phases of my subject I have not attempted to deal. My purpose will be answered if I have succeeded in proving the reality of the revelation in the post-Davidic age. It seems incontestable that from their first utterance such prophecies as I have adduced must have suggested to men the kingdom of Messiah. It is abundantly apparent that this is the exegesis of præ-Christian Jewish literature. It is undeniable that the popular mind was leavened with it when our Lord appeared, and that He gave it His commendation as the true meaning of the prophecies.

It was, indeed, frequently but a one-sided view of the trend of prophecy that the various classes of the New Testament narrative had appropriated. But who can deny the life and reality of this Messianic hope? It was familiar to the uneducated fishermen who were acquainted with John Baptist's testimony to Jesus (John i. 41). It rose to the thoughts of the dissolute Samaritan woman at the first indication of our Lord's knowledge of her past (*ibid.*, iv. 29). It induces the blind men who solicit our Lord's healing power to accost Him as the "Son of David" (Matt. ix. 27). It is the very standard of comparison by which the miracles are gauged—"When Christ cometh shall He do more miracles than these?" (John vii. 31). It needed only to be set in juxtaposition (Acts ii. 36) with evidences of the Resurrection and the Pentecostal effusion to win 3,000 adherents of the old dispensation to the infant Church of Christ.

Outside Palestine it helps to explain the anomaly of the large missionary successes of Judaism in the face of the prejudices so familiar to us from the classics—successes, too, which ceased when Christianity proclaimed that the prophecies were fulfilled and the days of Messiah come. "For the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain," says St. Paul to the

<sup>1</sup> Or rather "Sheloh," we may perhaps safely say. In whatever way we interpret this obscure passage, early Jewish exegesis certainly connected it with the hope of Messiah. The LXX. var.,  $\varphi$  ἀπβκεται, seems to point in the same direction as Targum Onkelos, "until the Messiah come to whom the kingdom belongs."

<sup>2</sup> The Targum here gives: "There shall rise the King from Jacob, and there shall be anointed the Messiah from Israel." Perhaps we may suppose the visit of the Magi was providentially ordered in connection with the significance of this passage.

deputation of the Jewish colony at Rome. And the allusion would be as intelligible as at Jerusalem itself. For the Jew was everywhere, and wherever the Jew, there was his Messianic hope.

Are convictions thus familiar wherever the Old Testament was read to be ruled out of significance by mere modern dislike of miracle and revelation? Are they to be classed with the figments of a perverted Christianity—with “transubstantiation,” “devotion to our Lady,” or even with clerical misconceptions “of the Church’s organization in the first two centuries”?<sup>1</sup> Are they not rather the key to all the high spiritual life of God’s ancient people, a spiritual life which is ours as a heritage from them, and of which the Hebrew psalmody remains to this day a most sublime poetical embodiment? Was not their source indeed that Holy Ghost who we still say “spoke by the prophets”? Was not their goal and object from the first He whose immediate care after His resurrection was to convince disciples of His fulfilment of what had been written?—“beginning at Moses and all the prophets, and expounding unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself”?

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.



#### ART. IV. — THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST AS PROVED BY ST. PAUL’S EPISTLES.

AT the commencement of this article it may be well to state the position which the writer would assign to the historic evidences of the Christian verities. Admitting that in former days they may have been too much dwelt on, and that a cold assent to the truth of Christianity, resting on such evidences, may often be mistaken for that life-giving faith which works by love, yet to reject them as of no importance, and to rely—as some are inclined to do—wholly on intuitions and spiritual perceptions, seems to be casting aside one of the great helps to faith which has been mercifully granted us. To judge from the Scriptural account, the faith of the Apostles rested not merely on inward enlightenment, but on the fact that they had seen the Risen Lord. Should we not hail historic evidence of the great fact to which they testified, as lifting us in some measure to the vantage-ground of sight on which they stood, even before the illumination of Pentecost?

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<sup>1</sup> “Liberal Catholicism,” *Contemporary Review*, December, 1897.

The illiterate, who have never known a doubt, are often far enough removed from real faith; but when their heart is touched, and they are honestly seeking after salvation, no intellectual difficulty bars the way. The man of culture and of thought, especially in this day, is often opposed by many such obstacles before he can trust in a living Saviour. Any evidence which removes or lessens these, whether it be Christ's character and teaching in the Gospels, the adaptation of Christian truth to the wants of man, and its actual effects in individuals and in the world, or the historic proof of the Resurrection, or any other, is a welcome boon to such anxious and honest seekers after truth.

The object therefore proposed is to state briefly one part of the evidence of Christ's Resurrection, which in the present state of New Testament criticism appears to the writer especially strong.

Four Epistles of St. Paul—viz., that to the Romans, that to the Galatians, and the two to the Corinthians—are by the most destructive critics admitted to be the genuine writings of the Apostle, and to have been written at the time and in the circumstances in which they purport to have been written. In all of these the Resurrection of our Lord is treated as a fact universally believed by those to whom the Apostle wrote—and by others also. It is not maintained, as much of his teaching had need to be, by argument, but is rather used as the admitted premiss of further conclusions, and as the sure basis of the faith; and it should be particularly observed that St. Paul does not speak of this belief as held by himself and his own converts only, but as common to the Jewish Christians also, who owed their conversion to other teachers, and as taught by the original Apostles. The following passages establish these points: Rom. i. 3, 4; Gal. i. 1—"Jesus Christ our Lord, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." "Paul, an apostle, by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead." 2 Cor. iv. 14—"Knowing this, that He which raised up our Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you." The whole passage 1 Cor. xv. 3 to 22 should be read, as it is long to quote. Verses 3 and 4 show that the Resurrection was one of the primary and elementary truths of the Gospel: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures." Then follows an account of Christ's appearances to the Apostles and others, as well as to Paul himself, with the conclusion

(verse 11), "Therefore, whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed." He further proceeds, on the ground of this undisputed fact, to argue for the resurrection of all that are Christ's at His coming (verses 12 to 17): "If Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are proved false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ." And while in verse 11 (given above) we see that the faith which St. Paul preached was preached also by the Twelve, in Gal. i. 23. we learn that it was already the received faith of the Church at the time of his conversion. He writes: "I was unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ: but they had heard only, That he which persecuted us in time past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. And they glorified God in me." That is at a period, according to different chronologies, three to seven years after the Resurrection had taken place.

Further, St. Paul tells us (Gal. i. 18) that on an occasion at latest ten years after this great event (it may have been only five or six), he went to Jerusalem on a visit to St. Peter, and stayed a whole fortnight in his house. Is it likely, is it morally possible, that he made no inquiries respecting the appearances of their common Lord when he was in the house of him to whom, of the Apostles, He had first appeared, and on the very spot where those appearances to him and to others had taken place? We feel this to be impossible, but if any think otherwise, St. Paul's own words make the matter sure. He says (Gal. i. 18, 19) that on this occasion he saw, besides Peter, James, the Lord's brother. Now, in his enumeration of the appearances of the Risen Saviour (1 Cor. xv.) he expressly speaks of one to James, mentioned by no other writer in the New Testament. Why is this? Clearly because, having been with St. Peter, and having met St. James, he had learned of this appearance from him to whom it had been granted. St. Paul, then, as we reasonably conclude, *did* learn during this visit facts concerning the Risen Lord, and that immediately from those who had seen and conversed with Him after His Resurrection. Their testimony was the testimony of eye-witnesses. St. Paul's report of it we have in our hands, written or dictated by him, and admitted to have been by him truly believed and honestly reported to others. Can any historical proof be stronger? There is simply one witness interposed between ourselves and St. Peter and St. James, who, according to the strongest presumptive evidence, as given

above, declared that they had seen the Risen Lord. St. Paul's writings have annihilated the distance of time. We all but stand ourselves by Christ's empty tomb, and hear the cheering word, "He is not here; He is risen."

We have, then, in these Epistles two lines of proof—the first, which has been briefly traced above, their testimony to the faith of the founders of the Jewish Church, and of that Church itself, when St. Paul first became known to them as a Christian. The second line deals with the further fact of St. Paul's conversion, and of his own confessedly deep-rooted conviction of the reality of Christ's Resurrection.

But before proceeding to this second line of proof, let us dwell a little longer on the first. We started with St. Paul's Epistles, because our opponents have put these in our hands as beyond dispute, whilst round the Gospels and Acts they raise the dust of controversy, gradually, indeed, being dispersed by the wind of truth, but still obscuring the evidence, if they are appealed to in the first case. But look at them in the light which these Epistles throw upon them, and their aspect is changed. We feel now that we are in the presence of real men, with their convictions, their words, their actions. St. Paul tells us that he sojourned among some of the original Apostles, and conversed with them on several occasions (see Gal. ii. 9); and all that we read of them in the later chapters of the Gospels, and in the Acts, harmonizes with his description. The historical character of these later records is thus confirmed by the unimpeachable testimony of a truthful man, who speaks to us from the midst of the persons and facts which the records describe. If our Risen Lord appeared to St. Peter and St. James, as they themselves, as above concluded, told St. Paul that He did, there is no difficulty in receiving the further statements of the Gospels and the Acts, that He appeared to many others, and that, as St. Luke puts it, "He showed Himself alive after His Passion to the Apostles whom He had chosen, by many proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." Rather we feel that the whole state of things which followed the Resurrection and Pentecost, as narrated in the Gospels and Acts, comes forth from the sphere of dimness and shadow into the light of reality and truth.

One other point must be briefly noticed. These original disciples were not only convinced of Christ's Resurrection, that they had actually seen and conversed with Him risen from the dead, whom they had known so well in His life—not only so sure of this, that in the face of opposition and persecution "they ceased not to teach and to preach" Him as the Living Saviour, but their whole character

was strangely revolutionized. They became, not simply in courage, but in moral and spiritual wisdom, new men, living witnesses of the Risen Christ having fulfilled His latest promise, and having endowed them with the Holy Spirit and power. It has yet to be explained—rather, it never can be explained without admitting the gift of the Comforter—how their religious fervour was never moulded by the false types of devotion which surrounded them, and their long-cherished ideas and prepossessions were lost in a diviner light. How, for instance, Jewish exclusiveness was exchanged for world-embracing love—the deep-rooted expectation of an earthly kingdom, with its outward glory, yielded to trustful acquiescence in a life of discipline whose reward was not yet; how formalism, asceticism, zealotry, theosophy, found no place in the pure and humble but joyous energy of a spiritual life, the beginning and earnest of life eternal; how, in a word, their new faith, instead of rendering these men fanatics, made them enthusiasts indeed in the best and noblest sense, but wise, sober-minded, gentle, forbearing and patient towards all men, and careful in enforcing political, social, and domestic duties. We may freely admit, without depreciating the glorious illumination of Pentecost, that this great renewal of Jewish minds was not perfected in a day; that there was a gradual loosing from the ancient moorings, a conflict for a while between the old darkness and the new and “marvellous light”; but we ask, and have a right to ask, whence came that new light, and by what power was its final victory achieved. In short, how did these disciples, with whom the Gospels make us familiar, become what they certainly did become, *not* intensified Jews, but fit founders of a catholic religion? And to this question can any other answer be reasonably given but that their convictions rested on fact, that they knew that they lived in union with a living and glorified Saviour, and that by His promised Spirit they were being guided into truth, and their judgment and character conformed to His own holy mind?

But now to revert to the history of St. Paul himself, our second line of proof. It has been, and is, maintained that before his conversion the Apostle was unsettled in mind and already half convinced—perhaps by the arguments and martyrdom of Stephen—of the truth of the Christian faith, and was only trying by excess of Jewish zeal to drown these growing convictions; and that, whilst in this mental state of conflict he was journeying on his mission of persecution, a thunderstorm, and possibly a sunstroke, completed the work. In the abstract such a mental condition is not inconceivable, but the suggestion of it in this case is liable to two fatal objections. In the first place, it is entirely opposed to the state-

ments of those records from which alone we learn of St. Paul's conversion; and, further, it utterly fails to account for his subsequent character and life. Read Acts xxvi. 9-20, St. Paul's latest account of this great crisis: "I verily thought within myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth"; and then follows, without any intervening matter, the narrative of his bitter persecution of the saints, down to the very moment of the vision which arrested him on the way to Damascus. Those who will carefully read the passage referred to will feel the full force of these remarks, and they are confirmed by the fact that amongst the many allusions to St. Paul's conversion in the Acts and the Epistles no counteracting statement can be adduced, none which lends the slightest colour to the sceptical view stated above. The record is dead against it.

But, further, this theory wholly fails to account for St. Paul's character as so fully and distinctly brought before us in his actions and his writings. First as to his personal belief in the Resurrection. We have seen that he does not rest this wholly—at least, so far as others were concerned—on the appearance granted to himself. In 1 Cor. xv. he enumerates several appearances to the Apostles, individually and collectively, and to 500 brethren at once, and, as has been mentioned, leaves on the reader's mind the conviction that he had learned particulars from St. Peter and St. James. Also, it must be noted how clearly he draws the line between these objective appearances of the Risen Christ, which were matters of history and the possession of the whole Church, and those "visions and revelations of the Lord" by which he himself was subsequently directed and comforted in time of need. He was not, then, such an enthusiast as to confound mental impressions with objective realities, or to overlook or be indifferent to the testimony of others; and whenever we see St. Paul in delicate or dangerous circumstances, we see a man of ready wit and practical ability—no dreamer absorbed in reveries, but, as we should say, very wide-awake, and capable of discerning and adopting the best methods of dealing with his surroundings. The latter chapters of the Acts, in particular, give many instances of his presence of mind. But to look at the still more important point, his Christian character. Here, as in the case of the original Apostles, we find ourselves utterly at a loss to explain the facts before us, except by admitting Divine interposition and influence. We have seen that these Apostles needed Pentecost, as well as Easter, to qualify them for their work; so St. Paul writes that he "neither received the Gospel of man nor was taught it, but by revelation of Jesus Christ," for that it had pleased God "to

reveal His Son in" him. And again, "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." And verily the effects of such inward revelation and enlightenment are evident in St. Paul's new life of faith and patience. He had been a man of strong purpose, carried formerly to relentless cruelty and the forcing of the consciences of those who differed from him. He is a man of strong purpose still, and seeing clearly the nature of the Gospel, he is firm and strong, even vehement, in denouncing any teaching which he discerns will counteract its essential truths. But how does he now deal with the weak and scrupulous believer? We have but to read Rom. xiv. to see a wondrous transformation of the Jewish persecutor. He no longer compels the feeble-minded to submit to what he himself perceives to be true, but leaves them to the guidance of that Spirit who had given him more perfect insight, and to the coming judgment and approval of their common Lord. He knows and is persuaded by the Lord Jesus that there is nothing unclean of itself. "But," he adds, "to him who esteemeth anything unclean, to him it is unclean. One believeth that he may eat all things; another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth, for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up." This is not the judgment, these are not the counsels of delusion and fanaticism, but of one who consciously lives in the light of truth, and whose heart is made tender and thoughtful for others by drinking in the love of Christ. Truly this fierce man has become "gentle among" all who are true-hearted, however short of perfect wisdom, and "even as a nurse cherisheth her children, so being affectionately desirous of them, he is willing to impart unto them not the Gospel only, but also his own soul, because they are dear unto him." We have to account for this new temper in St. Paul's case, as in the case of the Twelve; and those who will adequately study the subject, and let reason and conscience speak, will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to give any explanation of the problem without admitting the two grand facts of the Resurrection of Christ and the gift of the Holy Spirit.

It is wearisome as well as painful to turn from so well-attested and blessed truths to the objections, new and old, which have been, and are still, urged against them. We say objections, for arguments they can hardly be called, and would not probably be adduced as such, were it not necessary for those who deny the fact of the Resurrection to support

with some show of historical reasoning the proposition with which they start, and on which they really rely, that a miracle is impossible. Of course, if this axiom be true, it follows that all our evidence for a fact which contradicts it must be false; and it matters little to such opponents whether their attempts to answer our arguments be weak or strong. But to those who believe in God a miracle is not impossible; nay, though from its very nature it must be rare and inexplicable, it may be even probable, if necessary to effect a grand and beneficent moral result. And such we maintain that the fact of Christ's Resurrection was.

None, now, but the most ignorant would assert that the Apostles were impostors. Very few advocates could be found of a once-received theory that our Lord never really died, and that, being raised from His death-like swoon by the spices and coolness of the sepulchre, he escaped in some way or other from that prison-house, to prolong or end quickly a sickly existence; whilst His Apostles—one must suppose commissioned by Him—went forth to preach the falsehood of His life in glory. The popular theory is that which Renan has adopted, and which is commonly called the visionary hypothesis. The faith of the Resurrection, according to this talented and imaginative writer, owes its existence to the delusive impressions of the sensitive Mary Magdalen. She first, in the tumult of sorrow and hope, imagined that she had seen the Lord; and, raised by her report to the fit point of cerebral excitement, first one and then another of the Apostles and disciples believed that they had seen Him also. And thus the fact, which is attested by the strongest historical and moral proofs, is dismissed as the baseless and beautiful creation of a devoted woman's brain. But for the seeing of visions psychologists demand a previous state of mental prepossession, the dominance of a fixed idea. And here the very contrary condition was present. Those faithful women, Mary Magdalen and others, why were they so early at the sepulchre? They went to complete the embalming of the *dead*, not in hope of seeing the *living*. And the rest of the disciples, so far were they from expecting Christ's Resurrection that they rejected the testimony of those who had seen Him, and scarcely trusted their own eyesight when He appeared amongst them. And we are distinctly told by one of them that "as yet they knew not the Scripture that He must rise again from the dead." There is, then, here no room for the theory of a fixed expectancy, disposing to delusive visions and creating what it hoped for—the latest and most popular attempt of the sceptic to explain the inexplicable. But even when we look at the bare fact alone, without remembering

what above has been insisted on, its marvellously great and enduring effects, it seems by the clearest historical proof to be conclusively established. And this is the recorded judgment of a historian of great power and independence of mind, the late Dr. Arnold of Rugby. "I have been used," he writes, "for many years to study the history of other times, and to examine and weigh the evidence of those who have written about them; and I know of no one fact in the history of mankind which is proved by fuller and better evidence of every sort to the understanding of a fair inquirer than the great sign which God has given us, that Christ died and rose again from the dead." The Christian, indeed, has other and deeper arguments to trust; he "has the witness in himself." It is not a teacher alone, or an example, however perfect, which he requires, but rather a living Saviour, to be to him the Source of life. The Atonement, assured by the Resurrection, the indwelling Spirit, the guidance and sympathy of a heavenly friend—these are his daily, hourly need, the staff and comfort of his perilous way. And only in confidence that, like the protomartyr, he too shall be enabled to say, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," can he peacefully and joyfully contemplate the unknown darkness of death. Into this inner sanctuary of faith the unbeliever, indeed, in his present mind, cannot enter; yet he, too, may draw a last argument from the testimony of those who believe. He admits that true Christian character and conduct have blessed, and still bless, the world. If, then, the believer assures him, as he certainly will, that the vitality and endurance of this character are derived from faith in a risen and living Saviour, will he not recognise in this a further evidence—subsidiary, it may be called, but of deep significance and far-reaching power—that "we have not followed cunningly-devised fables," but that our "Lord is risen indeed," and "is able to save to the uttermost them that come unto God by Him"?

HAY S. ESCOTT.

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#### ART. V.—SOME NOTES ON CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

EXTRACTS FROM MRS. FAWCETT'S MANUAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY—(Concluded).

WE now turn for a short time to the dreams of the socialists. It must be remembered that there is no production of wealth without exchange, and that "exchange implies the existence of private property. The expression "exchange of wealth"

implies the existence of property. It also implies that property is possessed, not by society at large, but by individuals and classes. If property were possessed by the whole community in the same way as that described in the Acts of the Apostles as the custom of the early Christians, there could be no such thing as exchange of wealth. 'Neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own: but they had all things in common.' 'Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.'

"If the state of things described in these verses were general, the dream of the Socialist would be realized. Property would not be destroyed, but 'the exchange of wealth' would be a meaningless expression, for no one could exchange that which belonged as much to everyone else as to himself. The exchange of wealth consequently implies the existence of individual property."

"Modern Socialism, which has become a not inconsiderable force in recent years, demands the nationalization of the land and of all the instruments of production, that is of all capital. Karl Marx may be regarded as the founder of modern Socialism, and his work 'Das Kapital' is its chief text-book. Modern Socialism, which is frequently spoken of on its economic side as 'collectivism,' has in England taken the practical form of promoting the transfer to the State or the municipality of various duties and responsibilities hitherto devolving on the individual. Its adherents wish the State to fix the hours of labour, the rate of wages, and other conditions of employment; they also favour the acquisition of property and industrial enterprises, with or without compensation to their present owners, by the State or the municipality, as leading in the direction of the realization of their scheme for the complete nationalization of the land and all the other instruments of production. In every country some duties and responsibilities are discharged by the individual, and some by the community collectively. The division between individualism and collectivism is by most people regarded as a matter of expediency: the modern socialist regards it as a matter of principle, and loses no opportunity of minimizing the responsibilities of the individual and magnifying those of the State. He looks forward to a time when the State, having acquired all the land and all the instruments of production, shall be the absolute arbiter of the supply of all commodities; he is confident that this would cause all poverty to cease to exist;

competition would vanish, everyone would work for a short time daily (generally estimated at from two to four hours); all wants would be amply supplied, and everyone would enjoy abundant leisure. With the millennium thus existing in his imagination, he contrasts the existing state of society, usually exaggerating its defects and shutting his eyes to its merits. It should, however, be remembered that the evils of our present social system, whatever they may be, are, in the main, produced by defects in human nature, such as sloth, vanity, greed, selfishness, self-indulgence, and the like; and that as long as these exist they will bear their crop of ensuing misery. The modern socialists have not shown that their system will cut at these roots of moral and economic evil. On the contrary, some of them, by attacking marriage and the family, and by desiring to weaken parental responsibility, have sought to undermine what is morally the strongest part of the existing constitution of society. They would also take away what is economically the strongest motive which induces men and women to overcome their physical and mental repugnance to hard work—the desire to provide for their own wants, and the wants of those dependent on them. In newly-settled countries the stupendous labour that is required to ‘subdue the earth’ and render it productive will not be undertaken at all unless the settler can look forward to becoming the owner of the soil; nothing less than that is sufficient to induce him to overcome his natural repugnance to the years of privation and unintermitting toil, necessary to make it into a homestead yielding sufficient for the support of a family.”

“It must not be overlooked that every individual is capable of performing many different kinds of labour which are productive of well-being to the community in very different degrees. The community benefits not so much by exacting a certain amount of task work from each of its members, as by anything which stimulates each of them to do the best kind of work of which he is capable. For example, Count Leo Tolstoi, the Russian socialist, is a writer of fiction of the very highest order of merit. His novels have been translated into every European language, and are part of the most valued literary treasures of modern times; but under the régime of voluntary socialism to which he has submitted himself he now employs himself in shoe-making. The world is undoubtedly the poorer that Count Tolstoi can satisfy his conscience, which tells him it is his duty to labour, by sitting at his cobbler’s last, instead of doing intellectual work of which perhaps not five other men in Europe are capable. If the wants of every man and woman are to be satisfied, as the collectivists promise, by a few hours of daily mechanical toil,

the inducement to face and overcome the difficulties of the higher kind of production will be enormously, and perhaps fatally, weakened."

"There are many economic objections to be urged against socialistic schemes. In the first place, self-interest, one of the most powerful of all the incentives to exertion, is only partially operative; a man will not work with the same energy and zeal if the results of his labour are to be shared by the whole community of which he is a member, as he will if he is able to secure the whole fruit of his toil for himself and his family. In the second place, the existing checks to improvidence and recklessness with regard to the future are withdrawn. All the members of a socialistic society are supposed to be actuated by the loftiest sense of duty to their fellow-labourers. In the present order of things a poor man has to work hard to keep himself and his family, if he has one, from want; he knows that every additional child that he has will for some years be a constant source of expense; he, therefore, has the most powerful incentives to exertion and providence. But in a socialistic society such a man would know, whether he worked energetically and unceasingly or slowly and irregularly, that he and his family, however numerous it was, would be maintained; he would also know that it was quite unnecessary to make any provision in case of his own death, for his family would never be allowed to want. Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymer, satirized the defects of communism in the following verse:

What is a Communist? One who hath yearnings  
For equal division of unequal earnings;  
Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing  
To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling."

"A recognition of the tendency of socialism to weaken the prudential restraints on population led to the adoption in all the American communistic societies of the most absolute control over marriage and the number of births. Two of the most prosperous of the American socialistic communities are strictly celibate; in others celibacy is honoured and encouraged, and even in those societies where the opposite principle prevails, the governing body limits or promotes the natural growth of population as the prosperity of the community declines or increases, with as much ease as an English Chancellor of the Exchequer increases or reduces the income tax. It would therefore seem that, in avoiding the economic defect of weakening the prudential restraints on population, practical communism runs into the equally serious political defect of destroying individual liberty, and encouraging an

amount and kind of government control which a free people would find quite intolerable. This was notably the case in the socialistic constitution of Sparta, where the most minute affairs of daily life were watched and controlled by the central authority of the State."

"Notwithstanding these radical defects in socialism, the upholders of the present state of things ought not to condemn it as a monstrous and wicked absurdity. The present system does not work so well as to be absolutely incapable of improvement, and though it may not be thought desirable that an alteration of existing economic arrangements should be made in the direction of socialism, we ought to be ready to admit that some improvement is necessary in a community in which a considerable proportion of the population are either paupers or are on the brink of pauperism. It ought also to be remembered that some of the characteristic defects of communism are embodied in the existing state of society. The Poor Law system is practically socialistic. The system of paying workmen fixed weekly wages stimulates the motive of self-interest even less than it is stimulated in a communistic society. It is often remarked that workmen paid in this way only seem to care how little work they can do, and at the same time avoid dismissal. The remuneration of many of the servants of the State does not depend upon work done. Clergymen and ministers of State receive the same pecuniary rewards, whether they do their work ill or well, and in some cases, if they leave it undone altogether. These remarks are not made in order to uphold socialism, but to show that the proposals of the socialists should not be looked upon with hatred and derision, but should receive respectful consideration from all who desire freedom of discussion and action. If the defects of the existing system were borne in mind, and if it were also remembered that the early Christians were among the many religious societies who have practised socialism, it may reasonably be supposed that the denunciation of socialistic doctrines would be less passionate and declamatory."

For a complete consideration of the subject of capital and labour, it would be necessary to give a definition of *Value*; a definition of price; to show why there can never be a general rise in values, though there may be in prices; to speak of the functions of money, and of the value of commodities; to show how wealth is divided into rent, wages and profits; to speak of the rent of land, the wages of labour, and the profits of capital; to say something on trades' unions and strikes, and something on co-operation and co-partnership. We have but space for a very few concluding remarks:

(a) "*The Profits of Capital*.—It will not be possible here to

state the various agencies which produce the average rate of profit at different times and in different countries. The subject will be dwelt upon in a future section on the distribution of wealth. It is sufficient here to state that causes are constantly in operation which tend to make the interest of capital in all trades in the same country and at the same time approximate to an average. When capital appears permanently to realize higher profits in one trade than in another, these additional profits ought not in strict accuracy to be looked upon as profits of capital; they are either wages of labour, compensation for risk, for the disagreeableness of the occupation, or for its dishonourable reputation; or these exceptional profits may be the consequence of a natural or an acquired monopoly. Sometimes those engaged in a particular trade agree together to form what is called a 'ring.' A few years ago a 'ring' was made in quinine—that is, a few capitalists agreed to buy up all the quinine in the world, and, having done this, they proceeded to double its price, and thereby secure to themselves enormous profits. This is an instance of exceptionally high profits resulting from an acquired monopoly. When all the disturbing causes above enumerated are removed, it will be found that the interest of capital tends to an equality."

"The nature of capital has been already explained; it is now, therefore, sufficient to state that the profits of capital are the share of the wealth, produced by the joint agency of land, labour and capital, which is allotted to capital. The amount of this reward differs at different times and in different nations. In some countries capitalists obtain a clear return of £10 a year upon every £100 which they invest in trade, besides what they receive as compensation for risk and as wages for superintendence. When this is the case, the rate of interest is said to be 10 per cent. In most countries the average rate of interest is much lower; in England it is less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent."

(b) "*The Influence of Population on Wages.*—The greatest difficulty hitherto in permanently improving the condition of the labouring population has arisen from the fact that an increase of the wages-fund has been almost invariably followed by a corresponding increase in the number of the wages-receiving class. At the time of the repeal of the corn-laws, it was thought by some ardent repealers that the cheap food which the abolition of the duty on corn brought to every cottage in the kingdom would permanently improve the condition of the labouring poor; it was said that there would be no more starvation and no more pauperism. The workhouses, it was confidently asserted, would soon be in ruins. The result proved far otherwise. The cheap food which the repeal of

the corn laws brought to England stimulated a vast increase of population; the benefit which might have been derived from a plentiful supply of cheap food was absorbed by the demands of millions of hungry mouths. For a long time the principal effect on the labourer, produced by the repeal of the corn laws, was that cheap food enabled him, not to live in greater comfort, but to support an increased number of children. These facts lead to the conclusion that no material improvement in the condition of the working-classes can be permanent, unless it is accompanied by circumstances which will prevent a counter-balancing increase of population."

(c) "*The Importance of raising the Standard of Comfort.*— No circumstance would prevent over-population so effectually as a general raising of the customary standard of comfort among the poorer classes. If they had accustomed themselves to a more comfortable style of living, they would use every effort not again to sink below it. Ricardo says on this subject: "The friends of humanity cannot but wish that in all countries the labouring classes should have a taste for comforts and enjoyments, and that they should be stimulated by all legal means in their exertions to procure them. There cannot be a better security against a superabundant population." It is because there has recently been such a distinct advance in the standard of comfort among the agricultural labourers, that there is every reason to hope that the improvement they have effected in their condition will be permanent. The younger generation are prepared to enter other employments, to move to other localities and emigrate to other countries, rather than endure the life which their forefathers led. Many circumstances have combined within the last twenty-five years to raise the habitual standard of comfort among the English working-classes. Perhaps the chief of these is the Education Act of 1870. When people are educated, they endeavour by all the means in their power to release themselves from the degrading squalor which usually accompanies overcrowding. The spread of education is one of the chief means by which it may be hoped intemperance will be successfully combated. An increase of temperance would certainly raise the habitual standard of comfort. Education may have benefited the working-classes in yet another way: by developing their intelligence it would make them more efficient as labourers, and thus render it possible for them to receive higher wages without reducing profits. Increased facilities in travelling, and increased knowledge of the condition of their brethren in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, America and Canada, have also tended to raise the habitual standard of comfort at home. A cabinet-maker, for

instance, would no longer submit to very low wages in England when he hears from a comrade who has emigrated to Australia that he could easily earn ten shillings a day if he came to Rockhampton or Sydney."

(d) "*Adam Smith's Five Causes which produce Differences of Wages in Different Employments.*—If competition acted freely among all classes of labourers, the inequalities of wages for the same work in different localities would cease to exist. There are, however, differences in wages in different employments which are permanent in their character. Adam Smith has thus enumerated the five causes which produce different rates of wages in various employments:

1. The agreeableness or disagreeableness of the employments themselves.
2. The easiness and cheapness, or the difficulty and expense, of learning them.
3. The constancy or inconstancy of employment in them.
4. The small or great trust which must be reposed in those who exercise them.
5. The probability or improbability of success in them.

To these must be added the limitation of competition among the higher and lower sections or groups into which labourers are divided, which practically limits the choice of a labourer selecting his employment to trades of about the same grade as that in which he was born. The son of an agricultural labourer, for instance, would be as powerless to choose the employment of a banker's clerk as he would be to select that of a Prime Minister or an Archbishop."

It would need separate papers to deal with the subject of trades' unions and co-operation. One of the most remarkable and successful experiments in productive co-operation is that started by Mr. George Livesey in the South Metropolitan Gas Company. At the beginning of 1896 the workmen held £25,000 in the shares of the company, besides owning a sum of £33,227 in the form of accumulated bonus, interest, and savings, making in all £55,800 owned by the workmen, besides the original bonus of £8,000.

In co-operative distribution the most celebrated example is that of "the Rochdale Pioneers. In this society the ready-money principle is strictly adhered to, and the goods are sold at the ordinary retail prices. The accounts are made up quarterly, and the profits are divided in the following manner: 5 per cent. per annum is allowed as interest on the shareholders' capital; 2½ per cent. of the profit is devoted to educational purposes; and the remainder is divided among the purchasers, each customer receiving an amount proportionate to the sum which he has expended in purchasing commodities at the store. The Rochdale Pioneers' Society,

which was started by workmen, and began in 1844 with sufficient capital only to buy one chest of tea and a hogshead of sugar, has achieved such a remarkable success that it has found imitators all over the country. In Rochdale itself there were, in 1894, three of these stores, with 18,785 members; a share and loan capital of £457,871; an annual trade of £391,080, and a profit for the year of £53,303. Mr. Benjamin Jones, in his book 'Co-operative Production,' gives many interesting examples to show that the co-operators in the North of England were really pioneers in many important social reforms; they devoted part of their profits every year to educational purposes; they instituted the weekly half-holiday for their employés long before the custom became general, and were earliest in the field in shortening the hours of labour; they also acted on the principle laid down by the Married Women's Property Act long before there was any legal sanction for their doing so. Co-operation in its various forms is one of the best products of the energy and self-help of English working men and women."<sup>1</sup>

The whole result of our inquiry is that it is not by vain batterings of the wings against the established uniformities of human society and civilization that amelioration in the condition of the labourer is to be produced, but by trying at various points to improve the conditions under which he lives. We must aim at increasing the sympathy, the justice, the rectitude of the employer. We must improve the skill, the intelligence, the morality, and the trustworthiness of the labourer. We must teach him the iniquity of reckless and early marriages. We must improve his standard of comfort. We must impress him with the value of thrift and co-operation. We must give him every opportunity of self-education and technical instruction. And we must show him how, in an infinite variety of ways, "God hath set the members every one of them in the body . . . and if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary; and those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour . . . that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."

<sup>1</sup> These extracts are given in the hope of directing our readers' attention to Mrs. Fawcett's "Manual of Political Economy."—Ed.

## Review.



*Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.* By the Rev. Canon SANDAY and the Rev. W. HEADLAM. T. and T. Clark.

THE kingdom of Christ and the Roman Empire came into connection on the Day of Pentecost. Strangers from Rome are mentioned by St. Luke in the list of those present in Jerusalem on that memorable Whit Sunday when the Spirit was poured upon all flesh. It would have been impossible that from an event so momentous representatives of the imperial city and of the imperial race should have been wholly absent. Yet the mention of them by the sacred writer is so slight and incidental as to suggest that Roman grandeur itself appeared to him to be dim and meagre beside the glory of the Kingdom which should have no end. St. Luke's notice, however, slender as it is, furnishes the natural starting-point for a sketch of the beginnings of Roman Christianity.

It would seem that the Gospel was brought to the great city by private Christians. Their very names are unknown. In all probability they bore no public authority to preach. Almost certainly they were neither Apostles nor men, like Barnabas, of Apostolic rank. It is likely, indeed, that the first evangelists of the "Eternal City" were those strangers of Rome mentioned in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; but even this is not positively known.

Providence, indeed, has spread over the most fascinating chapter in the history of the early Church an impenetrable veil, and our curiosity to know more is tantalized rather than appeased by the notices of the Roman Church given by St. Luke at the end of the book of the Acts. The earliest tradition, moreover, scarcely adds anything to our knowledge. We know for certain that Christianity reached Rome early, and we know, though not for certain, that they who brought it there were not the Apostles.

One fact is clear amid the general obscurity. St. Paul was the principal agent employed by God in building the spiritual structure of the Roman Church, whose foundations had been laid by hands fortuitous and unknown. Irenæus associates St. Peter with St. Paul in this work, and so happy and noble a companionship is inherently probable, and there appears no sufficient evidence for rejecting the statement. St. Paul, however, is alone named by St. Luke as preaching in Rome; and as the Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul, and not St. Peter, addressed the Epistle to the Romans.

During his ministry at Ephesus, lasting from 56 to 58 A.D., the Apostle formed and avowed his purpose to visit Rome, and that purpose was confirmed by a midnight message from the Lord Himself: "As thou hast testified of Me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness to Me at Rome."

Doubtless the ardent spirit of St. Paul hoped for a quick and easy accomplishment of this sacred design, but a long postponement was decreed, and a mode of fulfilment painful and circuitous. He was arrested at Jerusalem, detained in captivity for two years, and eventually escaped only through an appeal to Cæsar, which released him from Cæsarea to confine him in Rome. At length, "Post varios casus, post tot discrimina rerum," he reached Appii Forum and the Three Taverns. There, as he received the salutations of the Roman brotherhood, the great Apostle of the Gentiles lifted up his heart to God in thanksgiving, and took courage from the past against the future. St. Luke concludes his history by narrating an incident which throws a clear light upon the

state of Christianity in Rome at the time when St. Paul arrived there. After three days' interval the Apostle summoned to his lodgings the local chiefs of Judaism, and explained to them the Gospel. The conference broke up without any satisfactory result. What the Apostle had written four years previously to the Roman Church concerning Israel was once more illustrated; the judicial hardening of Israel was already beginning.

We now turn to trace the inner life of the Church of Rome, and here our information is copious and distinct. The Epistle to the Romans supplies, obliquely, indeed, but abundantly, the materials from which to construct an image of the theology, order, and life of the Roman Christians at the dawn of history.

It is at this point that a commentary on the Epistle becomes valuable; for of the two offices of a commentator the first is to interpret the sacred writing in such a way as to show us what it meant to its first readers. It is no disparagement to Canon Sanday to say that the introduction is, perhaps, the best part of the commentary. One hundred pages, learned, luminous, and profoundly interesting, introduces his reader to the Church and Christianity of Rome, clear the ground and the air, and put us, so to speak, in the best place and posture for understanding the Epistle. This is probably the most important introduction to the Epistle to the Romans in the English language, and every lover of Christian science will thank the Professor for what he has achieved. The Church of Rome contained representatives of the three races which have left the deepest marks on the history of man. In the Latin metropolis the Greek and the Jew were present in large numbers; and the Church of the metropolis comprised them all. Its members were probably drawn at first from the humbler classes; but Dr. Sanday, by a skillful handling of the names contained at the end of the Epistle, shows that there was probably an element of persons of higher rank. Aristobulus may have been the son of Herod, and thus early may the Gospel have penetrated the precincts of royalty. It is not certain whether at this time the Roman Christians met in a single congregation, or whether the three languages and races represented as many places of meeting. The prevailing language was Greek, and accordingly St. Paul wrote to the Church of Rome not a Latin, but a Greek letter. From this we may infer that Greek was the language used when the whole Church met for the purposes of conference or of common worship. From a study of the Epistle we are able to gather what were the spiritual characteristics of the infant Church of Rome. Faith, goodness, simplicity, were renowned throughout the world as their distinctions. Concord prevailed, disturbed only by few and slight dissensions, the result rather of personal than of doctrinal differences.

There is no trace in the Epistle of organization at Rome such as we find at Corinth or at Philippi; no stated ministry is mentioned. The charismatic gifts of the Spirit certainly existed at Rome, but they held a secondary place in the estimation of the Roman believers, who formed in this respect a delightful contrast to the clamorous and licentious community at Corinth. Such is the image of that primitive Church of the Romans to which St. Paul wrote in the year of grace 58.

Two questions rise to the thoughtful mind when studying historically this wonderful document: Why did St. Paul write an Epistle to the Romans? and why did he write to the Romans the Epistle which he did? Various answers have been returned. Commentators like Bauer, who wished to show that Christianity is a product of natural causes, maintained that St. Paul wrote to the Romans to magnify the Gentiles at the expense of the Jews, and to exalt his own office as the Apostle of the Gentiles. Others have said that the Epistle was written to explain the

nature of Christianity, touching only by the way on the rivalries between Israel and the nations.

Dr. Sanday rejects the former theory, and thus opposes his authority to that of Bauer, the most tremendous antagonist of living Christianity in this century. With the second theory Dr. Sanday is in general agreement, but he will not allow us to call the Epistle to the Romans a *summa theologia*. He allows that in the main it is doctrinal, but local and contemporary conditions of the Roman Church were in the Apostle's mind when he wrote, and to some extent consciously shaped and coloured the composition.

His view of the subject may be thus paraphrased. Rome, the metropolis of the Gentile world, had long attracted the gaze of the Apostle to the Gentiles. At Ephesus his desire to visit it ripened into resolve. Only at Rome could the ministry of St. Paul find a fitting consummation; only there could he adequately discharge the debt which he owed to all men. The prospect of a personal visit seemed remote. He must on leaving Asia visit Macedonia and then Judæa, as the almoner of Greece to the Churches of Palestine. At this juncture a trusty messenger was leaving Ephesus for Rome, and by her he despatched his letter. Phoebe conveyed the precious document to the Church of the metropolis. In this view the letter to the Romans was primarily a relief to the pent-up energy and affection of St. Paul, a sort of *avant courier* of the Apostle. The view is no doubt true, but perhaps it is scarcely adequate, for it fails to tell us why St. Paul selected as the subject of his letter the doctrine of Justification by Faith. But if we realize the inspiration which moved and guided the Apostle, we may easily, without upsetting the facts of history, so supplement them as to perceive the naturalness and propriety of the selected theme.

Filled with the Holy Spirit, St. Paul fastened the gaze of his soul upon the city where was seen the triumph and perfection of unredeemed humanity in all its magnificence, in all its misery. By the light of the Spirit the Apostle pierced below the surface and the circumstance to the mischief corrupting the core. Thence his thought travelled to the redemption which grace had begun, and which glory should consummate, and which meantime should effect a remedial and renewing change. The seat and source of that renewal was the justification of man by faith in Jesus Christ. To expound justification became peculiarly natural to St. Paul when writing to the Church of Rome.

It seems somewhat surprising that a writer so cautious and learned as Professor Sanday should start on analyzing St. Paul from a passage of Mr. Matthew Arnold. That polished and ingenious writer seems to me very slenderly equipped as an interpreter of the Epistle to the Romans. Mr. Arnold's mode of examining the Epistle seems, moreover, to be highly capricious. Which parts of the Epistle, asks he, will bear scientific scrutiny, and which parts will not? Those parts which will stand this test are, in the opinion of Mr. Arnold, the parts really valuable; the others are of less value—are, perhaps, of little value. What did Mr. Arnold mean by "scientific"?

It is, however, gratifying to know that Dr. Sanday does not agree with the results determined by Mr. Arnold's scientific analysis. For this method assumes that the Epistle was the result of speculation, profound and religious, indeed, but speculation still not of inspiration; an assumption which Dr. Sanday negatives in firm though temperate terms. Moreover, this method of testing the value of our Epistle is opposed by the integrity, the logic, the coherence, of the composition. Experience and history are behind it all—the experience and the history of the great Apostle, too grand a man, too simple, too holy, to deceive or to be deceived.

If we reflect upon the contents of this Epistle and the circumstances of its composition, we can, I think, scarcely avoid the conclusion that the principal matter in Christianity is the doctrine of justification by faith. There were many other doctrines of which St. Paul might have treated—of which he did treat in other Epistles, but which he passes by in writing to the Christians at Rome: the Incarnation, the Second Advent, the nature of the Christian ministry and of the Christian Sacraments, will readily occur. Why was he reticent on themes so important? Dr. Sanday replies, Because the foundations had been laid at Rome before St. Paul's letter was received. Doubtless this was the case. Without such preliminary grounding, much of his argument would have been unintelligible. Yet, making this admission, we are still compelled to ask, Why did St. Paul insist so exclusively upon Justification, the consequences of that doctrine upon the Jews, and the fruits of it in the Christian life?

I have already tried to show that Rome offered a point of attachment for this doctrine peculiarly fitting. May we go a step further, and say that St. Paul wishing, as Professor Sanday declares, to pay the debt of a whole Christianity at Rome, paid the first instalment of that debt by his letter, and thereby has shown that the larger half of essential Christianity is the doctrine of Justification without the works of the law?

I have thus ventured to draw attention to this commentary in the hope that my words may contribute something to its deserved influence and reputation. The learned and devout authors can desire no higher reward than that their labours may help men better to understand, love, and obey this masterpiece of inspiration, and I venture to offer my humble concurrence in that desire. I may be permitted to offer a very few concluding words on the salient and specific merits of this commentary.

There may be some disadvantages connected with the plan of joint editorship followed by Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam. There are, however, some important gains: there is mutual aid and mutual restraint—perhaps, also, a certain enlargement of view. These may not unreasonably be held to compensate for some loss of unity, force of style, and completeness of treatment inseparable from the joint labours of even the best labourers.

The book under review is scarcely equal to the commentaries of Lightfoot, either in lucidity of exposition or in that vivid historical treatment of the sacred past in which the great Bishop of Durham is probably without a peer. Nor, for my own part, do I find here that profound insight, partly intellectual, partly spiritual, into the mind of the great Apostle which seems to me to make the commentary by Tholuck to be the model and masterpiece of Pauline exegesis. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanday and his accomplished fellow worker have brought to the interpretation of St. Paul many distinguished qualifications. Their learning is immense and solid; the extrication of the argument is extremely skilful; it is needless to say that the verbal scholarship is of a very high order.

To a candour circumspect and equitable is united a believing reverence thorough and sincere, and the results of long research and minute investigation are displayed with conspicuous clearness and modesty. Without being strictly apologetic, nor even quite so apologetic as might lawfully be wished, this work will be felt to be a distinct vindication of the historic rights of primitive Christianity.

For nearly a thousand years, from A.D. 400 to the thirteenth century, only five commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans appeared in the Christian Church. The three centuries between the Reformation and our own time have seen the publication of forty commentaries on the same book of Scripture. The contrast between the Middle Ages and the

Protestant centuries with respect to their comparative interest in St. Paul and Justification is startling and instructive. During the former period one commentary on the Romans appeared on an average every two hundred years; during the latter period one commentary on the Romans has appeared every seven or eight years. No better proof could be furnished of the impetus given by the Reformation to the study of the Bible, and no more pungent exposure of the fraudulent absurdity which calls the Middle Ages the Ages of Faith. In the long line of expositors of Holy Scripture no undistinguished place will belong to the learned authors of this Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

H. J. R. MARSTON.

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## Short Notices.

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*The Elector King and Priest.* By ANDREW SIMON LAMB. Nisbet. 1898.

THIS is a sequel to "A Briton's Birthright," and is a very forcible vindication of the Protestant character of the Church of England. It would be a valuable little book were it only for the fact that it calls attention to the "Book of Homilies" in the best possible way—viz., by giving large extracts from them in their original wording. The Homilies of our Church are hardly known to the present generation as they should be; yet, amid much questionable matter, there is a vast deal of "wholesome doctrine" to be found in them, extremely "serviceable for these times." Of course, it is to be understood that the authority of these Homilies is not binding upon Churchmen, as, for instance, the Articles are binding (*cf.* Gibson on the Thirty-nine Articles, pp. 723-728).

*Daily Steps Heavenward.* By Mrs. AUGUSTUS A. LYNE. London: Elliot Stock.

This little book contains a text for each day in the year, with an original verse of poetry. The spirit of the latter is unexceptionable, but we must confess that the wording is trite.

*Dr. J. L. Phillips.* A Biographical Sketch, by his Wife. Edited by W. J. WINTLE. London: The Sunday-School Union.

Dr. James Phillips was himself the son of a Baptist missionary in India, and followed in his father's footsteps. He was educated in the United States, and we may notice in passing that a vivid account is given of the reign of mob law in New York at one time during the Civil War. He qualified as a medical doctor, and on his return to India worked mainly amongst the Santals. But his labours extended over a wide range, and he eventually became secretary of the India Sunday-School Union, dying in 1895. Many an interesting glimpse into Indian life is given us in this very full memoir of a man who was evidently faithful and earnest in no common degree. From the point of view of the general

reader, a little excision would be profitable; but the volume will prove a useful addition to the libraries of gleaners' unions or missionary associations.

*The Anglican Communion.* Sermons preached in St. James's Church, Piccadilly. London: S.P.C.K.

This series of sermons was delivered during the time of the Lambeth Conference in 1897. The object contemplated was to bring home to English Churchmen the growth of the Church beyond the seas in lands of our own tongue. No preachers could better illustrate this than the Bishop of Kentucky, the Archbishops of Rupert's Land, of Sydney, and of Cape Town, and the Bishop of Calcutta. It is most inspiring to read the words of these fathers in God. At a time when imperialism is in the air, and federation in the future, it is most important that the part played by the Church should be made apparent to all. Nothing could make the elementary history clearer than this little book, full of facts and appeals, delivered by men of such authority.

*The Psalms at Work.* By the Rev. C. L. MARSON. Enlarged edition. London: Elliot Stock.

We gladly welcome a new edition of this bright, and, indeed, charming work, of which we spoke highly when it first appeared. Besides additional notes, there is now an appendix, but the price remains the same. We wish it continued success. Without in the slightest endorsing it, we cannot refrain from quoting a remark of the genial and humorous editor in his preface to the new edition:

"Without doubt the warmest praise of the book has come from its elder readers, and for these the editor is sure that it is still entirely suitable. He may be allowed to say this with less immodesty, because it has generally been found (upon inquiry) that the eyes of such students did not suffer them to read the small print, and that it is to David, therefore, that their thanks, and his, are wholly due."

*A Summary of the Psalms.* By Canon D. D. STEWART, M.A. London: Elliot Stock.

This is another valuable addition to the collection of those who are "lovers of David." The author's intention is to provide within a comparatively short space a commentary on the Psalms for each morning or evening service, which may be studied in about ten minutes before attendance at public worship. This object is eminently fulfilled. A careful synopsis of each psalm is given, with explanations of the chief difficulties, and its general motive is illustrated with apt quotations, verses and allusions. For instance, Ps. cxi. is compared to the saying of Pascal—"Philosophy seeks truth; Theology finds it; but Religion possesses it;" and under Ps. cxxiv. the use of the French *Églises Réformées* is noted, which always begin their services with its last verse. There are useful notes on parallelism and various musical terms. Altogether a deeply interesting book, which evinces wide reading and holy thinking.

## The Month.

**E**VENTS move rapidly nowadays. Since the last batch of Monthly Notes were sent to press, quite a host of far-reaching movements have taken place. On August 24 the Tzar issued his Rescript—which took Europe by surprise, indeed, but is hardly likely to result in any practical policy at present; on August 30 came the shock of the Dreyfus *dénouement*; on September 2, by the battle of Omdurman and Sir Herbert Kitchener's brilliant and decisive victory, Gordon's murder was avenged, and a blighting tyranny overwhelmed. In the middle of all this, rumours of an Anglo-German agreement became rife; and since then, the crisis in Crete, the brutal assassination of the Austrian Empress, and the (hitherto) unsolved mystery of Fashoda, have all been duly announced in the columns of the daily press. So much for the political world. In the religious world there have been no signs of any abatement in the interest which the recent Protestant crusade has evoked; and the columns of the *Times*, to say nothing of other papers, have been crowded, now with angry vituperation, now with wholesome warning or significant comment. Truly a notable month in many ways! *Quousque tandem?*

The order of proceedings intended to be observed at the first visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury has now been issued. The visitation will begin at Canterbury Cathedral on Monday, October 10. Morning Prayer will be said at 11, and after service the names of the Cathedral body will be called, and the Archbishop will deliver his charge. On the following day his Grace will again attend at the Cathedral, and the visitation will be for the deaneries of Canterbury, Ospringe, Westbere, Dover, East Bridge, Sandwich, and Sittingbourne. At 10.30 the churchwardens who are cited will appear at the chapter-house belonging to the Cathedral before his Grace's Vicar-General, or his surrogate, to make their presentations. At 11-45 there will be an administration of the Communion. Service ended, the names of the clergy who are cited will be called, and the Vicar-General or surrogate and the registrar will be in attendance to receive their papers, and the Archbishop will afterwards address the assembled clergy and churchwardens. His Grace will afterwards entertain the clergy, churchwardens and sidesmen at luncheon. Similar proceedings will be followed at the other centres fixed for his Grace's visitation—viz., Ashford Parish Church (October 12), for the deaneries of North and South Lympte, East and West Charing, Elham, and West Bridge; All Saints', Maidstone (October 13), for the deaneries of Sutton, North and South Malling, and Tonbridge; and Croydon Parish Church (October 14), for the deaneries of Croydon, East and West Dartford, and Shoreham.

The present state of things in the Church of England will more than warrant a clear and decisive pronouncement from the Primate, and his

charge will undoubtedly be looked for by the entire Anglican Communion with anxious interest.

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The *Homeward Mail* announces that "the Right Rev. Frederick Gell, Bishop of Madras, has sent in his resignation, having officiated in his diocese for nearly thirty-seven years, and having jurisdiction over the entire Southern province."

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The *Athenæum* says: "The late Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) in 1892, specially wrote a short sermon for *Lloyd's News*, and during the last six years two-thirds of the bench of bishops, with many other dignitaries of the Church, have continued the series week by week. The sermons thus published have reached a total circulation of nearly 300,000,000. The extension of this wide field of usefulness is assured by the present Archbishop of Canterbury having now given his support to the editor of *Lloyd's*. The Primate's sermon will appear in September."

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Canon Christopher has written to the *Record*, pointing out that the Rev. Dr. C. H. H. Wright, of Liverpool, is at present without a charge, owing to the recent demolition of his church in that city, and suggesting that it would be to the advantage of the Church if some post could be found for him whereby his special gifts might be employed throughout the country instead of being confined to one particular district.

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Quite recently, at a meeting of the Rebuilding Committee of the Swansea Parish Church, the Rev. Chancellor Smith, D.D., who presided, reported that £19,130 had been received towards the completion of the work, the overdraft at the bank being £600. Mrs. Llewellyn, Baglan Hall, had very kindly acceded to his request to lend the committee £1,000, free of interest, for two years. The chairman further explained the means he had adopted for obtaining further funds, which included £100 from the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and £50 from another Evangelical source. Alluding to the arrangements for the opening of the chancel and the consecration of the building on October 20, the chairman stated that, in addition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would preach at the morning service, and the Bishop of Ripon, who would deliver a discourse in the evening, he had secured the Dean of Bristol and the Bishop of St. David's to preach on the following Sunday. His Grace the Archbishop would be given an official reception at the Guildhall, and presented with an address. A sub-committee was appointed to make arrangements for a luncheon at the Albert Hall after the opening services on October 20.

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Owing to ill-health, Canon F. V. Mather has intimated his intention of resigning the vicarage of St. Paul's, Clifton, Bristol, which he has held as the first and only Vicar since 1853. The living is in the gift of the Simeon Trustees.

It is announced that a new society, the Churchmen's Union for the Advancement of Liberal Religious Thought, will shortly be inaugurated at Bradford. The union, according to its organ, the *Church Gazette*, has for its immediate policy the principles : (1) The reform of abuses within the Church ; (2) the assertion of the right of laymen to an adequate share in Church government ; (3) a conciliatory attitude towards Nonconformists, with a view to making the Church of England inclusive and truly national ; (4) the optional use of the Athanasian Creed ; and (5) the frank acceptance of ascertained truth though affecting dogmatic interpretations.

A correspondent in the *Guardian* for August 24 writes : " Lord Grimthorpe, who is now in residence at Batch Wood, near St. Albans (and in his eighty-second year), entertained Sir John Hassard, with others, at the close of last week, and did him the honour of personally taking him over St. Albans Abbey, and also the two old parish churches of St. Michael and St. Peter, within the limits of the ancient city of St. Albans, which his lordship has, since 1891, admirably enlarged and restored. The chancel of St. Michael's Church contains the remains and monument (a fine sitting figure) of Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans (Lord Chancellor Bacon), interred there in 1626. The registrar, we believe, had not entered the abbey since June, 1877, when it was his duty to attend the late Archbishop Tait officially as Principal Registrar of the Province of Canterbury, on the occasion of his Grace's 'investiture' of Bishop Claughton, in the centre of the abbey, into the see of St. Albans (as the first Bishop), and which event was made a great public occasion. The abbey was then (twenty-one years ago) in a sadly dilapidated condition, with a public passage running underneath from one side of the town to the other, and the Lady Chapel used as a schoolroom and sadly neglected from the Reformation downwards. Since 1877 Lord Grimthorpe is stated to have spent in all a sum of about £250,000 in saving from ruin, and in substantially preserving, this grand abbey to the English nation. No matter how in the past architects, lawyers, and priests may have differed about the outside, the inside now certainly presents a splendid appearance, is the pride of Hertfordshire, and is this summer largely visited by tourists and foreigners from London, and, indeed, by residents from all parts of England."

The Bishop of Wakefield has received from Sir Robert Tempest a further donation of £1,000 towards the Bishop How memorial scheme for enlarging Wakefield Cathedral. Further meetings are shortly to be held in the diocese, and it is hoped that the first £10,000 needed in order to commence actual work will shortly be secured.

The Bishop of Worcester has issued an especial appeal to the employers of labour in connection with the Church Mission that is to be held early in November. He asks them to allow services to be given in their workshops and houses of business, and to give their employés every opportunity of attending the mission services in the various parishes.

Few meetings of the British Association have been so full of interest as that lately held at Bristol. Sir William Crookes, the President, caused quite a sensation by his commentary on the possible failure of the world's wheat-growing lands in the near future. Whatever the exact value of the suggestions proposed by the distinguished scientist to remedy such an appalling disaster as a failure of the world's wheat-crops, we hope that his presidential address may shortly be published in pamphlet form.

The weekly journal, *M. A. P.*, edited by T. P. O'Connor, M.P., is responsible for the following paragraph (in its issue of September 24): "It is surely one of 'life's little ironies' that the bishop of a diocese which holds untold millions of gold should toil for an income that many a city clerk would despise. The Right Rev. W. Bompas, Bishop of Selkirk, counts among his flock all the thousands whom Klondike gold has drawn from every part of the earth. For thirty years he has 'lived laborious days' in the cold, inhospitable North-west corner of America; and his first diocese, 'the Mackenzie River,' had an area equal to nearly twenty times that of the whole of England. Throughout the whole of this vast tract the influence of this hard-working bishop was felt, and his personality known and loved. His present diocese covers 200,000 square miles, and the entire income of the bishop and his clergy barely reaches £1,000 a year!"

#### APPEALS AND BEQUESTS.

The C.M.S. have received a gift of £2,000 from Mr. R. H. Crabb, and a legacy of £2,500 under the will of the late Mrs. Rees, of Clifton.

The perilous condition of the Dukhobortsi in Russia is, according to *Evangelical Christendom* (the organ of the Evangelical Alliance), reaching a crisis. The Government insists on their performing military service, an obligation which is abhorrent to their feelings and convictions. They are, as most of our readers know, a pious, contented, law-abiding people, and careful students of the Word of God, but they absolutely decline to bear arms. It is very natural that the Society of Friends should be in perfect sympathy with them on this point, and some of them have formed a committee to enable these poor oppressed people to leave their homes in the Caucasus, and to emigrate to Cyprus. Many other Christians will doubtless be disposed to aid this movement. The Dukhobortsi are indeed sorely tried; their own sufferings, as well as those of their wives and children, are greater than they know how to bear. £10,000 is required to carry out this plan, towards which the committee has received £3,000. The persecuted people are willing themselves to give £4,700; but it is hoped a sufficient sum will be provided from other sources, so that the last-named amount may enable them to make a fresh start in the new country. Any donations for this object can be sent to Mr. Isaac Sharp, 12, Bishopsgate Without, E.C.

We are sorry to learn from the Rev. W. Wetton Cox, the Clerical Secretary of the London Association in aid of Moravian Missions (whose offices are at 7, New Court, W.C.), that the society is face to face with a serious and growing deficiency already exceeding £12,000, and this has arisen, *not* from increased expenditure, much as it is needed, but almost entirely from the widespread erroneous impressions (explanations notwithstanding) as to the terms of the Morton Legacy, which is still "in the clouds" of delay and uncertainty, and will ultimately be only available for new work. So grave is the situation that, unless the deficiency be soon met—without loss to the general income—the society will have no choice but to withdraw from some of their most important spheres of work.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—The Bishop of Exeter has contributed £1,000 to the centenary funds of the Church Missionary Society, and has promised to give the last £1,000 if a jubilee fund of one million sterling is reached. The Rev. G. F. and Mrs. Whidborne have promised £5,000 (£1,000 a year for five years), whilst among the other contributions to the fund already received or promised are £1,000 from Mr. F. A. Bevan (half of which is for medical missions), £1,000 from Mr. T. Fowell Buxton, £1,000 from Mr. W. D. Cruddas, M.P., £1,000 from

Captain Cundy, and £1,000 from Colonel R. Williams, M.P. Gifts of £1,000 each are also announced from "A Lady, anonymous," "B. M. M.," and "J. K. W. D." The centenary funds of the Society amount to £24,267, independently of about £45,000 previously contributed under the "Three Years' Enterprise."

CHURCH ARMY.—An anonymous donation of £500 and a donation of £200 from "A Lincoln Churchman" have just been sent to the Hon. Chief Secretary of the Church Army (the Rev. W. Carlile) in aid of the Society's work among the outcast and destitute in London and the provinces. The committee state that the severe strain upon them during the summer months has exhausted their funds, and that £2,700 a week is necessary for the carrying on of the various branches of the work in the Metropolis and throughout England. The Archbishop of Canterbury has written to the Hon. Chief Secretary (Rev. W. Carlile) warmly welcoming the proposed two Church Army mission and colportage vans for the Canterbury diocese. Last month a gentleman at Maidstone offered ten guineas towards the initial cost of one hundred guineas for providing a Church Army van for Canterbury, on condition that the remaining ninety guineas was secured by the end of August. The Church Army committee succeeded in obtaining within the stipulated time not only the requisite ninety guineas, but also an additional one hundred guineas for a second van, thus providing a van for each of the archdeaconries. In addition to this, "Two Friends" have just sent to the Hon. Chief Secretary (Rev. W. Carlile) the initial cost of one hundred guineas for providing one of the Society's vans for the Sheffield archdeaconry. The Church Army has now fifty-eight of these vans, which work summer and winter.

#### LITERARY NOTES.

Among publishers' announcements for the coming season, we note the following:

*The Life of Bishop Walsham How*, by his Son (Isbister).

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have nearly ready *The Life of Dr. Dale, of Birmingham*, by his Son, A. W. W. Dale, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The same firm also announce: *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* an important study by Professor W. M. Ramsay; *The Person of Christ and the Philosophy of Religion*, by Principal Fairbairn; and Professor G. A. Smith's *Life of Henry Drummond*.

Messrs. Longman announce: *Religion in Greek Literature*, by Rev. L. Campbell, M.A., LL.D. *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, by W. Bright, D.D.

For some years past numerous suggestions have been made that, in consequence of the diminution of clerical incomes, the *Guardian* should be published at a lower price. The proprietors have accordingly determined to make the change, and for the future the price of the paper will be threepence. The form and contents will remain the same.

#### Obituary.

WE regret to have to record the death on Monday, August 29, at Penmaenmawr, of Miss Sarah Geraldina Stock. Miss Stock, who was in her sixtieth year, was a sister of Mr. Stock, Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and was very widely known as a writer on subjects connected with Sunday-schools and with foreign missions.