ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Name of Candidate: JAMES REMWICK JACKSON, JR.

Degree: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Title of Thesis: "DEAN FARRAR: A STUDY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ANGLICANISM."

This thesis attempts to describe Dean Farrar's work as a part of the life of the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century. In this period the Nation reached the pinnacle of its power and the Anglican Church realized its peculiar character. The institutional structure of the Church was reorganized; the Evangelicals maintained a personal and protestant faith; the Oxford Movement recovered the Catholic tradition; the Christian Socialists influenced the social, economic, and political areas; the scholars reconstructed a truer faith in the light of the new knowledge; and the Missionary Movement carried the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

Dean Farrar was, in large part, a microcosm of Nineteenth Century Anglicanism. His concern for the Church institution was displayed in his restoration of St. Margaret's and Canterbury Cathedral; his efficient organization of St. Margaret's parish; and his Canterbury conferences which were attempts to reconcile hostile factions within Anglicanism.

His evangelical background infused his work: He had a poignant consciousness of sin; emphasized the saving work of Christ, the believer's personal relationship with God, and a holy life as the evidence of a sincere faith.

While he resisted the attempts of the Ritualists to negate the Reformation and restore Romanist practices, his ministry expressed the essence of the Catholic tradition. The Church was the Body of Christ through which God's purpose was being worked out in the World. He realized the efficacy of the Sacraments in nourishing the Christian's inner life, and, along with other celebrations, held evening communions when most non-Ritualists were opposing the practice. His comprehension of the history and meaning of Art enhanced the beauty of worship. He promoted monastic orders which were to live and work among the poor. His study of the "Lives of the Fathers" disclosed a common interest in early Church History.

Farrar worked with those who were relating the Gospel to the social, economic, and political issues. His temperance work was a social crusade; he aided the Salvation Army's work with the poor; influenced Parliament to legislate for the welfare of the weak; and reminded individuals of their responsibilities as citizens.

He reformed the public school curriculum, especially in the introduction of scientific subjects. He established a new pattern of friendship between masters and students, and had an extensive influence upon the embryonic leadership of the country. His philosophy of education continues to have relevance.

The revolution which science, history, and philosophy had caused in theology required a new Biblical and doctrinal statement. Many notable scholars were engaged in the task. Farrar's peculiar genius was the ability to disseminate the results of this scholarship to the public.

He reconstructed a Biblical theology. The origin of the Canon; the results of the critical studies; the meaning of Biblical inspiration and authority; the guiding principles for a sound interpretation; and the message and its application to life were all communicated in an
interesting fashion. He taught theology within the lives of the Biblical writers: it was not abstract theory but practical lessons in human experience.

His preaching presented the great truths of the Christian faith with straightforward simplicity. Complex theological questions like the Atonement and the Future Life were clearly explained and related to everyday life. Science and religion could not be in conflict because they were both revelations of God. Art, music, drama, literature, and the whole of life were true expressions of God and were consecrated to Him.

For nineteen years he was the rector of the Church of the House of Commons, Chaplain and Friend to the Queen and members of the House; and exerted the full force of his ministry upon the Nation when it was at the peak of its power. His published works and powerful preaching reached a larger segment of the British public than any other clergyman.

In an age of growing unbelief and indifference, Farrar presented, both in his life and work, a scholarly, truthful, and enthusiastic interpretation of the Christian faith which gave meaning to the belief of Church people, and effectively communicated to the intellectual, cultural, and common segments of society that Jesus Christ was still the Way, the Truth, and the Life.
"Dean Farrar: A Study in Nineteenth Century Anglicanism"

For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
University of Edinburgh

by
James Renwick Jackson, Jr.

Faculty Supervisors:
Principal Charles S. Duthie
Reverend James McEwan

1957
To my
Father and Mother
This thesis is a study in nineteenth century Anglicanism through the life of Dean Farrar. While this approach fails to comprehend either the Church or the period, it has several advantages. It avoids the abstractions of pedantry and the generalizations of surveys because it is both historical and personal. The character of the Country and Church, and the theological development of the century are rooted in the soil of Cambridge and Canterbury, in the heart of Victorian England, and in the labours and experiences of an Anglican clergyman.

This approach is consistent with Dean Farrar for he dedicated his life towards the communication of a modern, popular, and understandable Christian faith to ordinary people. Every generation requires this service of interpretation. The subtle temptation in scholarship is to become gradually divorced from the real world; to lose contact with ordinary people; to acquire a professional vocabulary. Those who have content often find it difficult to communicate it; those who have the art of communication often lack content. Dean Farrar sidestepped both perils: His expression had content and was popular. Though his teachings are dated, they avoided the extremes of his age and ours, and still have value. His life offers a challenge and calling to contemporary scholars to remember that ordinary folk have the right to know what the theologians are doing.

Dean Farrar and I have shared a mystical friendship which has opened some new fields and caused me to rediscover some old ones.
Britain is no longer strange. The experience of tracking his footsteps and living in his habitats has inspired a profound reverence for the power and beauty of this historic culture.

He has introduced me to the richness of the Catholic tradition which has brought a new reality in worship; a deeper experience of the healing power of the Holy Communion; a concern for closer relations between Church and State; and a broader understanding of the wholeness of the Christian faith. The lovely old churches of England have become more than beautiful landscape; they are the symbols of this meaning.

Dean Farrar has reminded me of the centrality of Jesus Christ; of the importance of the Bible; of the necessity for a Christian philosophy of education; of the responsibility and privilege of preaching; and that the depth of a man's communion with God is the measure of his spiritual influence. The effectiveness and continuing validity of Dean Farrar's life is revealed through his power to influence men in the present day even as he did in his own age.

I am grateful to my adviser, Principal Charles Duthie, for his encouragement to take up this subject and for his guidance in treating it. Professor J.S. McEwan has offered valuable criticism; Miss Leslie has helped with many details; Miss Susan Hawthorne has revised the proofs; Principal Marsh of Mansfield College, Oxford, and W.A.L. Elmslie, formerly Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, were gracious hosts and aided my research; Mrs. Constance
Farrar has shared personal details about the Dean and permitted me to examine his possessions; and the staffs of the New College, National Scottish, Bodleian, Trinity, Harrow, Marlborough, Mansfield, Westminster, Cambridge University, and Canterbury Cathedral libraries have rendered valuable assistance. I extend my grateful appreciation to them.

J. Renwick Jackson, Jr.

The Congregational Manse,
Witney,
Oxfordshire,
England.
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I

THE NATION AND THE CHURCH

"The sea of faith
Was once, too, at full, and round earth's shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd;
But now I only hear
Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
Retreating to the breath
Of the night-wind down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world.

Ah, love, let us be true
To one another! for the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night."

-- Matthew Arnold, "Dover Beach"

"It is not in itself a tragedy to be living in a
world in which the very foundations are being shaken.
The times of great disturbance have it in them to be
times of great discovery. They shake the sleep out of
our eyes. They force us to understand the men and the
movements of our age. They rouse us to seek the meaning
of life in that which is stable and abiding and eternal,
that is to say, in God."

-- C.S. Duthie, "God in His World"
The attempt to understand any individual must be undertaken in the light of the history of the times in which he lived. A man is seldom isolated from the world about him. From this world comes the sun and frost which mould his character. Without a knowledge of the happenings about him; the issues which moved him to speak; and the problems which he attempted to solve; it is impossible to understand the man. In preparing for our study of Dean Farrar we shall scan the century and the church which provided the background for his life and work.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century England was the focal point of revolutionary change. The major political upheavals in America and France had a direct effect upon English political thought and development. The expanding industrial revolution and its resultant population shifts created large urban areas which changed the social and economic structure. The decline in agriculture, and its near destruction by the end of the century, caused a radical transition in the lives of this segment of the population. While these changes were taking place, the energies and resources of the century were directed toward the Napoleonic wars, which meant that the internal problems had been left unsolved and unattended.

There was much poverty and social need. The lower classes were exploited through long working hours and inadequate pay. Masses of the population were compelled to live in slums. There was widespread hunger and disease. The franchise was still based upon property ownership, which meant that the poorer classes had no representation. These facts caused great dissatisfaction and grave unrest. Strikes and riots were common. William Cobbett, one of the principal agents in the reform movement, described the plight of the worker in his Weekly Register:
"Talk of vassals! Talk of villains! Talk of serfs! Are there any of these, or did feudal times ever see any of them so debased, so absolutely slaves, as the poor creatures who, in the enlightened north, are compelled to work fourteen hours a day, in the heat of eighty-four degrees, and who are liable to punishment for looking out a window of the factory." 1

However, England was in a superior position in relationship to the rest of Europe. She was respected because of her leadership in the defeat of Napoleon. Her industrial revolution was far advanced compared to others; her political government had a solid structure which many lacked; and she had a national unity when many other countries were trying to bring their people into the framework of a state.

The situation was dynamic. The course of the coming century would evolve an era of progress, prosperity, and power which would bring England to her highest pinnacle of influence in world affairs.

The belief in progress was the dominant philosophy of the age, and it influenced every area of the national life. Jeremy Bentham and the utilitarians believed that man’s reason and unrepressed self-interest could alleviate the ills of society. If everyone would follow his own self-interest it would ultimately create the happiness of all. The goal of society is to create happiness for the greatest number. The grand positives of Bentham were benevolence and veracity: passion for the relief of man’s estate, and passion for truth. 2 John Stuart Mill popularized his brand of Bentham’s teaching under the label of Philosophical Radicalism. Mill wanted representative government and complete freedom of discussion in politics; also national education, in order that everyone could achieve a level of reason. Aristocracy and the Established Church were to be abolished. Because men are conditioned by their environment, to improve it would elevate the moral and intellectual condition of mankind. Ancient prejudice and established dogmatism must come to an end. The utilitarians believed that all the sources

2. Willey, Basil, "Nineteenth Century Studies", p.132
of human suffering were in large measure conquerable by human effort.\footnote{For an interesting summary of the utilitarian philosophy, see J.S. Mill, \textit{Autobiography}, especially pp. 111, 142-3, and 239-40} Charles Darwin gave the "belief in progress" fuller expression in the field of Biology with his discoveries concerning the evolutionary process. Belief in progress became a general view and much of the practical progress of the century grew from it.

It was an age of enlightenment which required that traditional ideas be re-examined in the light of new pragmatic truth. Religious truth was no longer beyond scrutiny and it was brought under the microscope of rational criticism. Agnosticism became an increasing fashion as many rejected what they could no longer believe.

The period was filled with reform legislation. The franchise was widened and became representative. The Reform Bill of 1832 brought the commercial classes to power and the Whigs took over the reins of leadership from the landed gentry. In 1867 the town artisans were admitted, and in 1884 the rural landowners and the rest of the male population received the right to vote. In 1872 the Ballot Act gave the common man fuller freedom from coercion through secret voting. The process of democracy was formally completed when the franchise was granted to women in 1918.

Progress was made in religious equality. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 gave Roman Catholics the right to organize their dioceses and to hold public office and official positions. In 1836 the Established Church was reformed from within by the Tithes Commutation Act which removed the direct burden of the Establishment from the nonconformists. Marriage was made official in Non-Conformist Churches. In 1854 and 1856 dissenters of all creeds were admitted to Oxford and Cambridge, and finally, in 1871, the Universities Test Act gave equality in regard to degrees and most official positions. In 1869 Gladstone succeeded in bringing about the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

Town governments were reorganized and the new structures opened
the way for social improvements. In 1829 Parliament authorized local order and control, the seed of the police system, which developed in 1856. In that year the new Metropolitan Police Office was established at Scotland Yard, and Britain's first effective civilian police were placed under the authority of the Home Office. The security of the local citizen was increased and crime was checked. Penal reform was instituted which reduced harsh penalties and inaugurated a fairer code of justice for all. The Poor Laws were reformed and thereafter dealt more intelligently with the different types of poverty and cared more adequately for their needs. New town councils were elected which started municipal government. This resulted in the transition from the old corporations to representative local government which brought democracy to the village level.

The movement towards free trade finally triumphed and the transition was made from a protection to a free economy. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the passing of the Navigation Acts in 1849 removed the last obstacles to this development.

Chartism, a movement of the lower middle and working classes, was the first widespread and sustained effort by these groups to help themselves. The movement was directed toward the causes of parliamentary democracy and the organization of the trade unions. While its organizational power collapsed in the dramatic failure of 1848, its real effectiveness was revealed in the ultimate success of these causes.

The reformer's zeal spread into the social aspects of English life. Slavery was abolished in 1833. The British taxpayer bore the burden to the amount of twenty million pounds. This action awakened the conscience of the world and was a stimulus towards the ending of slavery in other countries.

The Factory Acts gave protection to children against the exploitation of cruel employers. They reduced the hours of labour, improved working conditions, and made provision for education. Other areas of common life were improved through the
Education Acts, which brought literacy to a large portion of the population; the Public Health Acts, which attacked disease and filth; the reform of the army and civil service, which made rank and position a matter of examination; and the education of women, which hastened their emancipation.

Advances were made in practical inventions. The penny post and the mail service; the railroads and their vast expansion; the electric telegraph and the transatlantic cable; plumbing and sanitation; and the availability of electricity; all combined to harness the progress for the benefit of all. The belief in progress seemed to be verified by these striking improvements and it became the accepted truth for most of the people. The age was infused with optimism and utopian hopes.

The widespread progress brought a golden age of prosperity. However, the converse was also true: the more prosperous the nation became, the more willing everyone was to continue to move forward along the progressive lines. The mechanical and commercial structures had been prepared for economic success.

"Railways and ocean steamers created a world market on a vast scale, of which England alone was prepared to take first advantage. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that in the middle of the century the five continents consisted in a number of countries, all chiefly and some entirely agricultural, grouped for commercial purposes round the manufacturing centre of England." 1

England capitalized on her opportunity to become the foremost economic power in the world. Her production, trade, accumulated wealth, and elevated standard of living demonstrated clearly that prosperity had come.

Production in every field made marked advance. At the mid-century even agriculture seemed to be having a phase of success. The cultivated land within Britain was growing three-fourths of the corn that she needed. 2 Better methods of agronomy coupled with

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1. Trevelyan, G.M., "British History in the Nineteenth Century", p.276
2. Thomson, David, "England in the Nineteenth Century", p.100
farm machinery made this achievement possible. In the steel, iron, coal, textile, and shipping industries, England was producing more than any other country, and in many cases, more than all the rest of the world combined. The statistics on coal production are an example of this superiority. In the decade of 1871-1880 Great Britain did not, as in all previous decades of the nineteenth century, raise more than half the world's coal supply. But she accounted for 1,305 million tons out of 2,855 million.  

In 1898, British shipyards, led by the Clyde, launched 1,354,000 tons, and in the same year Lloyd's Register reckoned the total production of the rest of the world at 532,000 tons, including both steam and sail.  

It was a time of prosperous growth in population. The population of Wales and England increased by some five millions between 1851-71. This increase was due to immigration, a higher birth rate, and a lower death rate.  

What was true of production was true of trade. The huge production, the highly developed system of railways, and the large merchant fleet, gave England an advantage over all the other countries. The actual statistics reveal how large this advantage was.  

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<td>France</td>
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<td>United States</td>
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The accumulation of wealth kept pace with both production and trade. Between 1851 and 1871 "the revenue of the country rose from

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2. Halevie, Elie, "Victorian Years", p.457  
3. Trevelyan, G.M. "British History in the Nineteenth Century", p.348  
approximately £57,576,000 to £75,434,000. Deposits in the saving banks rose from £30,000,000 to £53,000,000. The total wealth of the country was increasing rapidly, and it was more widely distributed throughout the community than ever before. The wider distribution of wealth gave strength to the middle class and the significance of this strength cannot be minimized in noticing the orderly transition to democratic structures. There was a better standard of living for everyone, and many of the poorer sections of the industrial community were enjoying a prosperity which neither their fathers nor grandfathers had known. This prosperity was realized in practical ways and meant a great advancement in the nation's general standards of living. Sanitation and the paving and lighting of streets spread rapidly, and beginnings were made with slum clearance. The actual hours of labour were shortening...and the half-holiday on Saturday became more general. There were changes in the habit of taking holidays; the rise of watering places for the working classes in the north and midlands began in the seventies...In Lancashire working people began to go away on trips. There was also a marked improvement in the behaviour and manners among people of the manufacturing towns. The streets were safer."

The creation of public facilities for the average man was also an improvement which made life more comfortable for the masses of the people. All over the island there was an immense expansion of municipal enterprise. Baths and wash-houses, museums, public libraries, parks, gardens, open spaces, allotments, lodging houses for the working classes, were acquired and maintained out of the rates. Tram-ways, gas, electricity, and water were municipalized in many places. The basic amenities of life had become available to more people. Many articles that were luxuries in the 1840's were common comforts in the 1890's. All of these factors gave abundant evidence that England was in the midst of an era of great

2. Trevelyan, G.M., "British History in the Nineteenth Century", p.348
4. op.cit., "British History in the Nineteenth Century", p.402
prosperity.

It was a period of peace. The eighteenth century had been a time of recurrent wars, mostly against France. In the rest of Europe the nineteenth century was a period of major revolution and big wars. England is distinctive in its period of quietness. The only two wars of the period were the Crimean and Boer conflicts. The one was fought in co-operation with France against Russia, the other was pressed against two farmer republics in spite of the hostility of all Europe. Neither was a major encounter nor a prolonged conflict. The progress and prosperity of the century were due in part to this respite from international conflict. Freed from external involvement, England was able to concentrate on internal development.

It was a period of power. The machine, symbolic of industrial power, produced manufactured goods at an unprecedented rate, and gave England her dominance in the fields of production and trade. The city of London, symbolic of economic power, was the centre of the world's commercial and banking interest. The Empire became the symbol which included all the others. The poets wrote about it, the commercial newsprint glorified it, and the common people were consciously proud of it. The national heroes were Kitchener, Gordon, and Rhodes — those who had played a part in the building of the Empire.

Queen Victoria became the grand symbol of the Empire. Disraeli made her the Empress of India, and Kipling told all to "walk wide o' the Widow at Windsor, for 'alf o' creation she owns." The Golden Jubilee of 1887 and the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 gave popular expression to what everyone felt. Both were "gigantic advertisements for the new Empire of which Victoria had come to be the crowned symbol, bringing enormous satisfaction to the masses and the classes who felt that two generations of material progress and commercial expansion were now suitably summarised in romantic pageants. To the first came representatives of the new self-governing Dominions and colonial governors, Indian rajahs and Burmese mandarins, Zulu chieftains and African headmen, representing the
vastness and variety of the Empire. To the second came not only these again, but representatives of foreign powers, halting their enmities and quarrels to join in homage to the old lady who was not only the Great White Queen but also the grandmother of Europe.  

The spectacle was a true symbolism. No other people or nation could have duplicated such an event. Truly the "sun never did set on Britain". Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, the islands of the sea, and other lands had been the recipients of over two million emigrants who were duplicating the institutions and customs of the mother country in far off lands. The Royal Navy made it all possible in protecting the home island and the merchant fleet, and in maintaining the bond between the colonies and the homeland.

It was an age of individualism and many giants in personality excelled in almost every field. Among the major prophets of the Victorian Age we may notice Carlyle, Mill, and Ruskin; among the poets, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold, and Browning; in history Macaulay and Maitland; in scientific discovery Darwin and Wallace; in divinity Newman; in medicine Lister; in exploration Livingstone; in romance Thackeray and Dickens; in political science Gladstone and Disraeli; in literature Stevenson, Hardy, and George Eliot; and in the popularization of science Huxley and Spencer. Perhaps more important than any other was the Queen herself, whose name was used to describe the major part of the century. She was much more than a symbol of the Empire. She had won a place in the hearts of the people. She embodied many of the characteristics of the period and her death marked the passing away of past traditions even as it foretold the new.

"The sky of England had been clouding for years before; what with the collapse of the countryside, the new-born social unrest in the towns, the waning of religious faith, and above all, the sense of an uncontrollable transition to the unknown – the feeling that the keys of power were blindly but swiftly transferring themselves to new classes,  

new types of men, new nations. The Queen's death focused it all. It is true that few credited her with much influence in state affairs; her grasp and tenacity in that hidden field were as much underrated by the general public as those of her son were overrated afterwards. But the reverence with which her subjects had come to regard her was a real factor in their lives. In a degree unapproached by any of her predecessors save Queen Elizabeth, she had made herself a national talisman."

There were some negative portents. Agriculture had been destroyed. Free trade had been a prosperous measure as long as things were going outward, but when the midwest of America began to produce wheat and corn, it was less expensive to import it than to grow it. This was one of the grave losses in English life.

Secondly, amid all the progress and prosperity, there was still extreme poverty. The squalor of urban slums and mining communities was a common sight that revealed the need of wider social reform. Social security which would free the lower classes from want and fear was the trend which the new age would develop in social and economic organization.

Thirdly, the decline had already set in although it was not yet visible. The competition from Germany and America, both in their increased production and demand for markets, began to bring England into a more equal status. A deficiency was evident in English education through its over-emphasis upon the classics and its neglect of technical subjects. The age of the engineer had come, and already it was obvious that German education was training more technicians than England. Germany was gaining ground in the production race.

"The establishment of the German Empire in 1870 had stripped off a film of insular self-confidence which was very imperfectly replaced by the glittering panoply of Imperialism. It is not only in the light of later events that we are constantly impelled to measure

England against Germany: the compact authoritative structure of the one, with the indolent fabric of custom and make-believe here called a Constitution and Empire. There across the North Sea, not in armies only, but in the factories, schools and universities of Germany, late Victorian England instinctively apprehended its rival or its successor. Germany was abreast of the time, England was falling behind.  

The paradox of all existence is seen in Victorian England. Many age-long evils had been abolished or diminished: the sin of slavery, the crime of ruthless exploitation, the distress of destitution, the plague of epidemics, the ills of bigotry and ignorance. But in spite of so much visible progress and improvement, other evils had descended upon them: the drab squalor of mining and industrial cities, the ravages of the countryside, the menace of mass unemployment, the terror of economic crisis, and the frightfulness of scientific war. It was against the background of these events that Dean Farrar lived and worked.

II

In this age of progress, prosperity, and power, the Church was faced with the grave problems presented by a changing social and philosophic structure. A storm of conflict raged about the Church institution and the Christian dogma. The utilitarians were comprehensive in their analysis and rejection of any tradition that was found to be untrue or impractical. The industrial and social revolution, the development of science and rationalism, the rejection of much pseudo-religious truth that had been disproven, the preoccupation with material benefits, and the stewardship of British power, were all problems confronting the Church. These factors required that the religious community

"provide for the spiritual needs of the new populations in the great towns, the growing separation of the classes, the

difficulties which were to come from the glorification of wealth and the absorbing power of business. There was the question of education, especially as the workers gained more political power. There was also the expansion of the Church into lands overseas to be encouraged and guided alongside the growth of commerce and discovery. Behind it all was the rising tide of liberalism, both in thought and politics; the demand for the removal of restraints and for better social conditions and wider opportunities."

The condition of the Church at the beginning of the century gave little promise of being able to meet the challenge. Its secure status of being established seemed to have lullled it into complacency and corruption. Wealthy in endowment and revenue, made up largely of the upper class, intricately involved in the status quo, it appeared to stand as a towering bulwark against all change. Much of its organization was shoddy; many of its clergy were little more than country gentlemen, and the distribution of stipends was unequal. Pluralism, non-residence, and the abuses of patronage were at their peak. Bishop Watson of Llandaff appears to have visited his diocese only once, and he held sixteen livings. It was difficult to justify the excessive stipends of Canterbury and Winchester in contrast with the widespread poverty among both the people and other clergy. Church discipline was lax. Church observances were neglected, and in many places the sacrament was only administered once in the year.

Because of the challenge of the new conditions something new had to happen within the Church. Matthew Arnold, who perhaps more than any other embodied the spirit of the age, stated that "at the present moment two things about the Christian religion are clear. One is that men cannot do without it; the other, that they cannot do with it as it is." As so often has been the fact, the crisis

2. The stipends of Canterbury and Winchester were £32,000 and £50,000 respectively. See F.W. Cornish, A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century, volume one, p.5
3. Arnold, Matthew, "God and the Bible", p.xiv
was the means of renewal. The century was to bring a severe testing and a great response. The creative streams burst forth from many sources into many different channels, and all combined to give the Anglican communion a unique consciousness and character of its own. Nineteenth century Anglicanism is the panorama of gifted men and seminal movements which, in their wholeness, combined within one century and one ecclesiastical framework, the breadth and richness of the Biblical faith.

The age of reform for the nation was also the age of reform for the Church. In 1836, the Established Church Act reset the boundaries of the old and new episcopal sees, adjusted the stipends of the bishops and archbishops, nominated and established the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and gave them power to carry out further necessary reforms. Also in 1836, the Tithe Commutation Act reduced the cost of the Establishment for the people, and finally in 1868 abolished it altogether. In 1838 the Pluralities Act ended dual holdings, limited non-residence, and adjusted the stipends of the curates. In 1840, the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act reorganized deaneries and other prebendaries. Through the termination of many unnecessary stations much waste was eliminated. Approximately £300,000 were saved per annum. These funds were used to build new churches, repair old ones, and augment the small livings of many of the poorer clergy.

The Church made improvements in its organisation and discipline, Edward Stanley, Bishop of Norwich, was active in this work in the middle portion of the century. He gave ecclesiastical meaning to ordinations, visitations, and ordinances by his personal appearances. He made every activity within his diocese seem important.

Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, was the central figure in the reorganization of the episcopal office and the revival of church convocation. Towards the close of the century advances were achieved in the creation of new dioceses, the construction of new churches, and the improvement of the general level of the clergy.

The Lambeth Conferences were begun in 1867, and all the Anglican
Bishops were invited. These conferences gave a sense of unity to the Anglican community throughout the world. By the end of the century the Church's institutional structure had been modernized to render efficient service to the nation.

An efficient ecclesiastical institution can never be a substitute for the internal organic life of the church. The most vital force in the Anglican Church in the early portion of the age was the Evangelical party. The eighteenth century had been the period of the Evangelical Revival, and while Wesley and Whitefield had deeply affected English society, their influence had scarcely affected the clergy, the universities, or the upper classes. However, there was a small dynamic group of evangelicals within the Anglican Church who exerted their influence in a powerful manner.

Charles Simeon and his Cambridge circle were one centre of influence. Simeon, against the protest of many of the parish, was the preacher of Trinity Church. In spite of much abuse he maintained his position and affected many of the undergraduates with his warm evangelical faith. One of the outstanding converts was Henry Martyn who later rendered significant service in the overseas mission.

The Clapham Sect was the other major group, which gathered in the home of Henry Thornton, a prominent banker and Member of Parliament. William Wilberforce was the moving spirit, and the abolition of slavery was its primary objective. Hannah More, Bishop Porteus, and Thomas Powell Buxton were other members of this wealthy, influential, and dedicated company.

Although the powerful influence of the Evangelicals came through these two groups, there were many other individuals who expressed the evangelical spirit in their lives and ministry. The faith of the Evangelicals began with a concern for personal religion and conversion. Their theology was basic and simple, including the traditional Christian beliefs with an emphasis on the Incarnation, the substitutionary death of Christ, justification by faith, the assurance of salvation for the individual, and the present operation of the Holy Spirit.
Their practice included private and family prayer, Bible study, and meditation. They stressed the seriousness of life in moral concern and such external practices as the observance of Sunday. They were self-sacrificing in their generosity to charity and were philanthropic in their concern for social reform. The singing of hymns had a large part in their worship and fellowship. They believed in the overseas mission of the Church and did much to aid it. They co-operated with non-conformity and with any others who shared their concerns. They had a spirit of brotherhood and intimate friendship which grew into a fellowship of love and oneness. They were enthusiastic and zealous in their faith and contagiously shared it with others.

In spite of their small numbers their contributions to the nation and the Church were important. The record of the abolition of slavery through the labours of Wilberforce and Burson is a story of selflessness, courage and persistence. The Sunday School, begun in 1780 by Robert Raikes, brought Christian education to poorer people and gave an impulse to national education. The prisons, working conditions, and general plight of the poor were improved through the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury.

The Evangelicals wrote hymns. Henry Alford's "Come ye thankful people, come", and "Ten thousand times ten thousand", and Francis Ridley Havergal's "Lord, speak to me that I may speak", and "Take my life and let it be consecrated, Lord, to thee", were but a few of a large number.

A large devotional literature, missionary enterprise, and a number of societies including the Religious Tract Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Bible Society were all a part of their contribution. They established centres for training and fellowship at Exeter, Mildmay, and Keswick. They founded two theological colleges: Wycliffe Hall at Oxford in 1877, and Ridley Hall at Cambridge in 1881. Their personal lives affected many, and the influence of John Newton on William Wilberforce and that of Thomas Scott on John Henry Newman has often been noted.
The Evangelicals were a source of dynamic power for the Church and they inspired many other movements. Opinion concerning the Evangelicals differs. Obviously they had their weaknesses. They lacked a theology of the Church and had little interest in Church order and tradition. They paid little attention to dogma and Christian thought. They had a limited understanding of the Church's mission and made little attempt to conquer the world in its cultural aspects. They tended to separate themselves from the world. On the other hand, in addition to the already mentioned contributions, they were "the moral cement of English society. Their influence invested the British aristocracy with an almost stoic dignity, restrained the plutocrats who had newly risen from the masses from debauchery and vulgar ostentation, and placed over the proletariat a select body of workmen enamoured of virtue and capable of self-restraint. Evangelicalism was thus the creative force which restored in England the balance momentarily lost by the explosion of the revolutionary forces." Even though the force of this impact was largely outside the Church of England, it is a tribute to all the Evangelicals from a non-biased French Roman Catholic. The difference of opinion can be partially resolved by noticing the wide contrast between the early strength and later decadence of the Evangelical movement.

When the reaction against the spirit of liberalism and the deficiencies of the Evangelicals came, it issued forth in a powerful movement from the heart of Anglicanism. It was not new, for there had always been a high church party. Joshua Watson and Thomas Sikes had maintained a high church centre at Hackney. They had long wanted to return to the true primitive creed, to the authority of the early church purged of medieval corruption and disentangled from the unauthorized interpretations of foreign reformers. While there was a similarity of purpose, this movement

was independent of Hackney and much more powerful. Oxford was the place and John Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, John Henry Newman, and Edward Bouverie Pusey were the men.

John Keble was the son of an Anglican clergyman who had been nourished in the high church tradition. Laud, Ken, and Hooker were his teachers. He had a brilliant student career at Oxford and was respected by his colleagues because of his brilliance of mind, his firmness of character, and above all, his holiness of life. In 1827 he published "The Christian Year", which went through over one hundred and fifty editions in fifty years.

Richard Hurrell Froude was the most lovable of men who united within his personality a gracious charm and a fiery impulsiveness. He had a deep love for the Roman Catholic Church and a violent antipathy to the Reformation. Although he died at the age of thirty-three, his influence on Newman and Keble was profound. He called himself Keble's poker, and stimulated the conservative Newman to action.

John Henry Newman differed from the others in his evangelical background. His words might have found their echo on many a Scots hillside and in many an English village wherever the Puritan tradition was still alive. Through his gifts of genius he became the leader of the movement and maintained that position until he was received into the Roman Catholic Church.

Edward Bouverie Pusey joined the movement after it had begun. Son of a wealthy and prominent family, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church in Oxford University, he brought scholarship, prestige and continuity to the group. After the exodus to Rome he became the leading figure and continued the movement's influence in the Ritualist development.

The Oxford Movement emphasized the Catholic tradition and desired to reassert the identity of the Anglican Church with the pre-Reformation Church in England. They taught and stressed the authority and unity of the Holy Catholic Church, an enhanced view of a mediatiorial clergy, apostolic succession, the centrality of the sacraments, and the doctrine and discipline of the Prayer Book. There was a cultural
attractiveness about the movement in the beauty and dignity of worship, the revival of religious art, the veneration of antiquity, and the adventure of discovery. A zeal for truth gave it a sound intellectual foundation and a learned scholarship. The teachings of the early church fathers were particularly studied. An enthusiastic piety marked by holiness of life and an imitation of the lives of the saints gave it a depth of spiritual power that united all other features in a spearheaded penetration of the English Church and society.

This penetration manifested itself in improved worship, in educative power, in a revival of Christian devotion, and in a new corporate sense of Church authority. The movement recovered for Protestantism much that is essential and valid within the Catholic tradition.

The Oxford Movement formally began in 1833 when John Keble preached a sermon in St. Mary's on "National Apostasy". The sermon was an objection to an act of Parliament which had reduced the number of bishoprics of the Anglican Church in Ireland. Through Newman's preaching in the University pulpit of St. Mary's, and the publishing of ninety "Tracts for the Times", the movement became widely known. Its strength and influence were great until 1845 when Newman and others became members of the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of severe criticism, Keble, Pusey and the majority remained steadfast, and had a continuing impact within the Anglican Church in the expression known as Ritualism.

If public attention is any barometer, Ritualism was a central issue in the Church during the closing half of the century. Legal suits raged to and fro as to how much ritual was lawful in worship. There were controversies concerning the high altar, candlesticks, coloured altar-cloths, altar lights, incense, the mixed chalice, kneeling, embracing, and genuflecting. One curate was charged with thirty-six illegal offences including the hanging of a stuffed dove over the holy table on Whit Sunday. Upon conviction some of the clergy were imprisoned for as long as nineteen months.
The Ritualists made many fine contributions. They were deeply concerned about the environment, symbols, and aids in worship. Along with those mentioned above, they were also concerned about altar furniture, clerical vestments, and the restoration of Catholic liturgy. The observance of holy days and an increased celebration of Holy Communion brought new meaning to the Christian year and the Sacrament. They were influential in cleaning and restoring churches. They founded religious societies of all kinds. Some were active, while others were contemplative; some had disciplined rules, while others had a large spirit of liberty. Through their ministry to social need the sisterhoods met a great need in the larger towns. Against intense opposition the Ritualists continued to develop their practices and widely influenced the church in its worship and work.

Along with evangelical piety and catholic tradition it is heartening to find some churchmen who were concerned about relating their faith to the social, economic, and political issues of their contemporary world. While some were looking upward and others were looking backward, the Christian socialists looked around. John Frederick Denison Maurice was the spiritual leader of this group. His father had been a liberal Unitarian clergyman and school teacher, and Maurice had spent some of his boyhood attending anti-slavery meetings in his company. After being educated at Cambridge and ordained into Anglican orders, Maurice became a professor at King's College, London, and the chaplain to Lincoln's Inn. In 1837 he published "The Kingdom of Christ", which outlined his view on the nature of the Christian Church.

Maurice was a scholar who incarnated his philosophy in life. Through journalism and education he prepared the masses for intelligent participation in the new age. He edited a series of papers: Politics for the People, The Christian Socialist, and the Journal of the Association. In 1853 he organized a Society for Promoting Working-men's Associations, and within one year set up eight Co-operative Women's Associations. These failed to continue but gave impetus to the Co-operative Movement. Maurice believed that
Christianity was the only sound basis of socialism, and that true socialism was the necessary result of a sound Christianity. Because of his liberal theological and social views, Maurice was deprived of his professorship at King's College in 1854. Undaunted, he pursued his purpose by establishing a Working-men's College.

There were others who shared the same objectives. Charles Kingsley wrote, preached, and worked closely with Maurice. F.W. Robertson's sermons and lectures to working men were effective in bringing the Gospel to the workers. Through these and other activities Maurice and his colleagues demonstrated that practical ethics were a concern of the Church, and gave a Christian influence to the social movement within English society.

The new thought in science, philosophy, and Biblical criticism seemed to destroy the foundations of the Christian religion and make faith untenable for intelligent minds. Bentham in his Utilitarianism, Mill in his Philosophical Radicalism, Darwin in his "Origin of the Species", and Huxley in his propagation of them all, had created a new situation which challenged the Church to intellectual reconstruction or retreat.

The widespread communication of the new thought brought a secular spirit which began to permeate the whole of society. The public debate at Oxford between Bishop Wilberforce and Thomas Huxley, in which Huxley was the popular victor, extended the conception that the post-Christian era had dawned. George Eliot in the pilgrimage of her life became a paradigm of the age. Starting from evangelical Christianity, she passed through doubt to a reinterpreted Christ and a religion of humanity. The temper of the day was revealed in a conversation between Miss Eliot and F.W.H. Myers:

"I remember how at Cambridge, I walked with her in the Fellow's Garden of Trinity, on an evening of rainy May; and she, stirred somewhat beyond her wont, and taking as her text the three words which have been used so often as the inspiring trumpet-calls of men - the words God, Immortality, and Duty - pronounced with terrible earnestness, how inconceivable was the first, how unbelievable was the second, and yet how peremptory and absolute was the third. Never, perhaps, have sterner accents affirmed the sovereignty of impersonal
and uncompromising law. I listened and night fell; her grave majestic countenance turned toward me like a Sibyl's in gloom; it was as though she withdrew from my grasp, one by one, the two scrolls of promise, and left me the third scroll only, awful with inevitable fates. And when we stood at length and parted, amid the columnar circuit of the forest trees, beneath the last twilight of the starless skies, I seemed to be gazing, like Titus at Jerusalem, on vacant seats and empty halls, on a sanctuary with no presence to hallow it, and heaven left lonely of a God.  

God is replaced by humanity, faith by ethics, and the supernatural by the natural.

The Church undertook the task of reconstruction with energetic vigour. An early contribution was made by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Before the storm came he had already laid the foundation of the Christian faith on a sounder foundation. His mature religious convictions were given in "Aids to Reflection" and his "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit". He maintained that the Christian faith is the perfection of human intelligence. The scheme of Christianity, though not discoverable by reason, is yet in accord with it.  

He did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, but declared that "whatever finds me bears witness to itself that it has proceeded from the Holy Ghost. In the Bible there is more that finds me than in all the other books which I have read."  

He distinguished reason from understanding and redefined it as an organ of the supersensuous, an inward beholding, the eye of the spirit by which we directly perceive religious truths.  

Thomas Arnold was influenced by Coleridge and remembered for his contribution to public school education as the Headmaster of Rugby. He desired to realize a fully Christian society in which the total life would conform to Christian ideals. He held that the modern criticism of the Bible was valid and felt that the new thought merely aided in separating the accidents from the essence of the Christian faith.

1. Willey, Basil, "Nineteenth Century Studies", pp. 268-9
John Frederick Denison Maurice also rendered significant service in re-stating theology in new forms. His book "Theological Essays" was written primarily for Unitarians and liberals. It was an attempt to give new meaning to traditional dogmas.

The three friends, Hort, Westcott, and Lightfoot, made a needed contribution in the fields of Biblical scholarship and historical research. Lightfoot's work on Paul and the early church illuminated both subjects, while Hort and Westcott established the Greek text of the New Testament.

The controversy raged within the Church between those who accepted the new thought and those who reacted violently against it. In 1860, "Essays and Reviews" were published by seven friends; among them were such figures as Frederick Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury, and Benjamin Jowett, Professor of Greek at Balliol College, Oxford. Stating some of the new criticism, it aroused a storm of protest, and was condemned by the Synodical action of the Bishops in 1861. Fifty years later it would seem to be a moderate document.

John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, published "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined", and in 1862 the long Colenso controversy began. His work startled many by declaring that little if any of the Pentateuch was written in the Mosaic age; that Moses may never have lived; that Joshua is a purely mythical figure; that the Books of Chronicles are fictitious; and that Christ's knowledge of history in speaking of Moses was not more than that of any educated Jew of his day and might be faulty. Forty-one Bishops advised Colenso to resign, he refused, and the unhappy conflict continued until the time of his death.

In 1889, "Lux Mundi" was published by an earnest group of scholars under the leadership of Charles Gore. These men had a strong dogmatic faith and were loyal to the creeds. Their object
was to demonstrate that the new knowledge was capable of being combined with everything that was essential in orthodox Christianity. They had no desire to expound new truths, but so to interpret traditional ideas that they might be understood by their contemporaries.¹

The Church needed to confess that her truth had been wrongly based upon an external view of Biblical authority which was untrue, and upon unimportant questions of dates and authors which could no longer be accepted. The service of science and criticism must be acknowledged. This ground having been cleared, the Church must then reconstruct a Biblical theology which included the results of contemporary scholarship. This had been done in many theological lecture-rooms. The desperate need was to communicate this scholarship to the people beyond the academic world. The work of Dean Farrar, who was particularly gifted and trained to undertake this task, will occupy a large portion of our remaining study.

The record of the Church's mission to the world is a drama of exciting adventure and courageous achievement. Whether it be Reginald Heber ordaining the first deacon and initiating an indigenous ministry in India, or Charles Frederick Mackenzie tracking with Livingstone and freeing natives from slave-traders in the unexplored wilds of Africa, or John Coleridge Patteson being martyred on an isolated beach in Melanesia, one catches the thrill of high purpose and the challenge of deep commitment.

These accomplishments were practical and permanent. Native languages were given form and the Bible and Prayer Book were translated into them. Schools were founded to teach the natives to read and write, and these beginnings were the seed of a more total educational system. The first-aid station gradually evolved into the hospital. Theological training was provided and an indigenous ministry and church were born. The Anglican Church

¹ Elliott-Binns, L.E., "The Development of English Theology in the Later Nineteenth Century", p.64
became world-wide and its bishoprics grew swiftly. By 1835 only four more had been added, but by 1854 there were thirty, and by 1882 the number had risen to seventy-two.1

The significance of the missionary movement of the last century is only beginning to be realised. Archbishop William Temple said that the "Christian fellowship which now extends into every nation, and binds citizens of them all together in true unity and mutual love is the great new fact of our era".

What a century! In a world of fragmentation where the human race seems able to grasp only parts, nineteenth century Anglicanism, in its wholeness, shatters one's world of provincial narrowness and opens to view the expansive breadth of the Christian faith.

The institutional structure has been cleansed and reorganized. The Evangelicals have kept faith personal and protestant, while the "Oxfordists" have recovered its corporate catholicity. The Christian Socialists have related doctrine to ethics in the social, economic, and political worlds. The scholars have integrated the latest knowledge into a restatement of theology for the intellectual world. The missionary movement has encompassed and penetrated the geographical world. United in one Church, in one century, they blend their individual strains into a symphony of harmonic wholeness. The creative streams of this century, bringing new resources and power, have flowed into every part of the Christian church.

In spite of this, towards the end of the period, the Church had lost ground. Church attendance had declined, people were less interested in religion, and the country was more secular in tone. The forms of faith had been questioned and found wanting, and the people not knowing what to believe, in some numbers decided to believe nothing. Others, while still having a vague belief in a higher being, tried a Wordsworthian answer by forsaking the institutional church and questing after a "rainbow in the sky" and "the presence that disturbs with joy" in the olime of mother nature.

Girded with a truer faith that was broad and rational, the

Church's task was to give meaning to the belief of church people, and to communicate to the intellectual, cultural, and common segments of society that the Christian faith was still the way, the truth, and the life.
II

THE MAN

"John, like some iron peak by the Creator
Fired with the red glow of the rushing morn."

— F.W.H. Myers, "John the Baptist"

"Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core, aye, in my heart of heart."

— William Shakespeare

"The names of those who in their lives fought for life,
Who wore at their hearts the fire's centre,
Born of the sun, they travelled a short while toward the sun
And left the vivid air signed with their honour."

— Stephen Spender,

"I Think Continually of Those Who Were Great"
Frederic William Farrar was born in the Fort of Bombay, India, on August 7, 1831. He was the second son of Charles Pinhorn and Caroline Turner Farrar, his father being the Chaplain of the Church Missionary Society. At the age of three, with his brother, he was sent back to England, where they were placed under the care of two maiden aunts in Aylesbury. Fortunately for the boys, these women were emotionally mature, and the days spent with them were carefree and happy. The pleasant physical surroundings added to their contentment. "Fairholm" was a large, comfortable home surrounded by a spacious garden.

Farrar's love of literature began while he was at Fairholm. His favourite books at this time were Milton's "Paradise Lost" and the novels of Sir Walter Scott. His mother had given him the little volume of Milton and it was his constant companion until he died. He assimilated it so thoroughly that he knew many passages by heart when he was very young. "Ivanhoe" was the favourite novel and its characters were as real to him as the people in the street.

At the age of six he was sent to the Aylesbury Latin School. The educational standard of the School presented little challenge. However, he learned one lesson there which conditioned his attitudes toward people throughout the remainder of his life.

"There was one point about the Ayrton (Aylesbury) Latin School which he never regretted. It was the mixture there of all the classes. On those benches gentlemen's sons sat side by side with plebeians, and no harm, but only good seemed to come from the intercourse. ... Many a time afterward when Eric, as he passed down the streets, interchanged friendly greetings with some young glazier or tradesman whom he remembered at school, he felt glad that thus he had learnt to despise the accidental and nominal differences which separate man from man."

It was a valuable lesson which Farrar always remembered. In later years he was friendly towards everyone regardless of class distinctions. While a Master at Harrow School he mingled freely

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1. Farrar, F.W., "Eric, or Little by Little," p.8. (This novel was largely autobiographical.)
with the working folk of the town; and later at Westminster, his ministry, both to the members of the House of Commons and to the inhabitants of the tenements, was unmarked by preferential treatment.

In 1839, his parents returned to England for a three year furlough and acquired a home on Castleton Bay on the Isle of Man. The family was reunited. Farrar was grateful for the privilege of living with his parents again. Whether because of the separation through his early years, or because of his father's austere and reticent temper, Farrar never had a close relationship with him. On the other hand, he and his mother shared a deep bond of love. She was a saintly, warm-hearted woman whom he cherished with deepest affection. In 1890, when he was nearly sixty years old, he wrote,

"First among the influences which have formed my life, I must mention the character of a mother who has been dead for nearly thirty years, but of whom my reminiscences are as vivid and tender as if she had passed away yesterday. ... She was canonized by all who looked on her, and I echo with all my heart the words of the poet laureate:

'Happy he
With such a mother! faith in womankind
Rests with his blood, and trust in all things high
Comes easy to him.'"  

The power of her influence was found in the beauty of her life and the depth of her faith. Every day, immediately after breakfast, she would withdraw to her room and spend an hour in Bible Study, meditation, and prayer. From that experience she drew the strength and sweetness which enabled her to fulfil all her duties and remain unruffled by the worries of daily life. She was always Farrar's lovely ideal of a Christian lady. The example of such a mother’s life is always deeply impressed upon the character of her children. Farrar was no exception, and in his personality are to be found many of the fine qualities which he first witnessed in his mother.

1. Alfred Tennyson
While living at home with his parents Farrar was enrolled at the neighbouring King William School. After his parents had returned to India he remained as a boarder. In his eight years of attendance he won every possible honour and became the "Head of the School." There was one characteristic of the School's discipline which had lasting benefit for him. Passages of English poetry had to be memorized. In these exercises he memorized long passages of Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and others. This practice gave beauty and rhythm to his own style of expression. Also, he laid the foundation for a knowledge of English poetry which in range and accuracy has rarely been equalled. ¹

The scenic beauty of the Isle of Man gave Farrar an early love and appreciation of nature which remained a source of keen delight throughout his life. He revelled in the out-of-doors. The mystery of the sea had a peculiar fascination for him. He was a tireless walker and found pleasure in long rambles among the coastal scenery and mountains for which the Isle of Man is famous.

At this time Farrar's parents returned from India and his father became the incumbent of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in the north of London. He took advantage of the opportunity to live at home and attend King's College, London.

King's College afforded larger scope for him to broaden his education and culture. Outstanding professors and keener student competition challenged him to higher achievement. Frederick Denison Maurice made a strong impact upon him. His broad scholarship and creative thought prompted Farrar to re-evaluate his faith and the forms in which it was to be expressed. Maurice was

¹. F.D. Maurice wrote in 1859 that "there cannot be found anywhere a man more competent to conduct examination on English Literature." Canterbury Testimonials. Also Farrar wrote, "In my own schooldays it was part of our weekly work to learn by heart a certain amount of English poetry." Among the Poets, p.v
concerned with the meaning of words and felt that much controversy and confusion resulted from the same words being interpreted differently. Farrar's first interest in philology was stimulated by this idea. Through this contact with Maurice, Farrar was privileged to be in communication with one of the seminal minds of the century. His later thinking and ministry revealed the extent of this influence. Farrar was aware of the privilege.

"To have known, appreciated, and loved him (Maurice), has been to me an inestimable advantage. As a professor, theologian, and friend, he rendered to me service for which I shall never cease to be grateful. I have since those days formed the acquaintance, and have been honoured by the intimacy of many who are justly regarded as among the eminent writers of this generation, but I have never met any who have left on my mind a deeper impression of admiration and reverence than I first felt as a boy and continued to feel in advancing life for the goodness and greatness of Frederick Denison Maurice." 1

Conversely, Maurice had a deep respect for Farrar's ability. In 1859, when he recommended him for an Examiner's Post in English Literature, he wrote,

"My friend, Mr. Farrar, attended my lectures at King's College on English Literature and Modern History. ... His essays and his answers to my questions at Examinations used to surprise me then by the amount of knowledge and the command of English which they displayed. They gave promise that he would become an accomplished writer as well as an earnest student and an excellent man. That promise he has abundantly fulfilled.

... There cannot be found anywhere a man more certain to be thoroughly conscientious in every matter which he undertakes, or who will go more to any learned body with which he is associated." 2

Future correspondence between them reveals the affection of their mutual friendship and, especially, how indebted Farrar confessed himself to be to Maurice for his contribution to his own thought.

Dr. Plumptre, afterwards Dean of Wells, was like a father to Farrar during these years. His affectionate interest filled a vacuum in the young student's life. This relationship also

2. Canterbury Testimonials, F.D. Maurice to the Examiner's Board of London University, from Lincoln's Inn, London, 8 March 1859.
matured with the years, and Farrar's gratitude was well expressed in his own description of what Dr. Plumptre meant to him.

"Dean Plumptre of Wells was a life-long friend to me, since the days when I was a boy at King's College. He weekly looked over my papers, and gave me excellent advice and useful encouragement together with the blessing of his unflailing regard and kindness. I was very diffident about myself, and I might almost say of Dean Plumptre, as Jeremy Bentham said of Lord Lansdowne, 'He raised me from the bottomless pit of humiliation; he first taught me that I could be something — however small.' ... I count his friendship among the conspicuous blessings, and his teachings among the formative influences of my life." 1

While the professors know something about a student's ability through his class participation and examination work, the private tutor is in a position to know him much more thoroughly. Dr. Henry Hayman, later Headmaster of Rugby School, who was Farrar's tutor at this time, wrote that "he had never had a more interesting pupil, nor one more remarkable for rapid acquisition, ready insight, and careful retention." 2

Farrar's brilliance and industry were confirmed by the fine record which he made at King's College. In 1848, he was the first prizeman of his year in English Literature and Divinity. 3 He was placed first in Examinations both for matriculation and honours.

In 1852, Farrar went up to Trinity College, Cambridge. The beauty of that College in the midst of the gardened banks, on the green banks of the "Cam" River, with its low-hanging willows and white-blossomed cherry trees, provided a pleasant environment

2. Canterbury Testimonials, Dr. Henry Hayman to the Council of Marlborough College, 15 December, 1870, from Rugby.
for his continued development. He came as a "sizar," a term which designated his status as a poorer student. The sizars had their meals after the other undergraduates, and in similar ways, were separated from the main current of university life.

During that first year Farrar economized in many ways. He had water with his breakfast instead of tea. He withdrew from social activities, but before the year had closed he had won a Trinity scholarship, which, combined with his King's College grant, enabled him to leave the ranks of the sizars. Farrar was always proud of being able to provide for his own education without burdening his family.

His life in Cambridge was stimulating and interesting. He was honoured by being invited to become a member of the Apostles, which was a select society limited to six of the best intellects of the university. It was formed for the reading and discussion of papers, and had included among its members Archbishop Trench, Dean Alford, F.D. Maurice, Alfred Tennyson, Arthur Hallam, and F.J.A. Hort. The cultured and intelligent fellowship of this group was very satisfying to Farrar. In his novel "Julian Home," which like "Eric" was partially autobiographical, Farrar described those meetings.

"How impetuous, how interesting, how thoroughly hearty and unconventional they were! How utterly presumption and ignorance were scouted in them, and how completely they were free from the least shadow of insincerity or ennui. If I could write down but one such conversation, and at all express its vivacity, its quick flashes of thought and logic, its real desire for truth and knowledge, its friendly fearlessness, its feliciscus illustrations, its unpreamed wit, such a record, taken fresh from life, would be worth all that I shall ever write. But youth flies, and as she flies all the bright colours fade from the wings of thought, and the bloom vanishes from the earnest eloquence of speech." 2

The skill of study is difficult to master. Farrar's

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   In his journal Hort records Farrar's admission to the society.
progress in this discipline revealed an intellectual awakening.

"For the first time in his life, Julian (Farrar's pseudonym in this autobiographical novel) found himself entirely alone in the great wide realm of literature — alone to wander at his own will, almost without a guide. And joyously did that brave young spirit pursue its way... Julian read for the sake of knowledge, and because he intensely enjoyed the great authors whose thoughts he studied. He had read parts of Homer, of Thucydides, of Tacitus, of the Tragedians, but now he had it in his power to study a great author entirely, and as a whole. Never before did he appreciate the 'thunderous lilt' of Greek epic, the touching tenderness of Latin elegy, the regal pomp of history, the philosophic mystery of the old dramatic fables. ... Those hours were the happiest of Julian's life; often he would be beguiled by his studies into the 'wee small' hours of the night; and in the grand company of eloquent men and profound philosophers he would forget everything in the sense of intellectual advance..."

The increasing breadth of Farrar's scholarship is displayed in an experience which he had with Professor J.S. Mill. In the University Scholarship Examination, Professor Mill had presented five Latin and Greek passages for translation, and had asked the candidates to assign them to their proper authors. One of the passages was by the soldier-historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who had been an officer in the bodyguard of the Emperor Julian about A.D. 390. Farrar was the only one who assigned the passage to its correct author. Professor Mill was surprised at the scope of the young man's knowledge and told him so.

Education must develop the character as well as the mind. Farrar's moral integrity and friendly personality continued to mature. His Trinity tutor, J.L. Hammond, selected him from a long list of pupils "as the one most remarkable for mental activity and eager pursuit of knowledge. To this vigour and earnestness of purpose he united a high and generous spirit and a blameless character. The pleasantness of his manners and the frankness and amiability of his disposition made...

1. Farrar, F.W., "Julian Home," This is a brief summary of pages 70 - 74
him one of the most agreeable, as he was one of the most distinguished of my pupils."  

Farrar's industry and ability again won high honour and numerous prizes. In 1852, he won the Chancellor's Medal for English verse with a poem entitled "Arctic Regions." It was the first prize given for a blank verse poem since Lord Tennyson had won it in 1829 with a poem called "Timbuctoo."  

In 1854, Farrar graduated B.A. with a First Class in the Classical Tripos and a junior optime in the Mathematical Tripos. In 1855, he won the Le Bas prize for an essay on "The Influence of the Revival of Classical Studies on English Literature during the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I." He was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1856. In the same year he won the Norissian Prize for an essay on "The Christian Doctrine of the Atonement not Inconsistent with the Justice and Goodness of God." He received his M.A. degree in 1857.

Before his academic work was completed Dr. G.E.L. Cotton invited him to become an Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Farrar's acceptance of this invitation directed the course of his life for the next twenty-two years.

Marlborough College nestles in the rolling hills and pleasant valleys of Wiltshire. During Farrar's single year as an Assistant Master he discovered it to be a place of refreshing quiet and peaceful beauty. He gained a lasting affection for this landscape.

When Farrar arrived the College was passing through a critical period. It was financially unsound. The provision for the students was insufficient. Farrar was shocked to see a sign on the wall which read: "Bread or blood." The leadership of Dr. Cotton and the co-operative sacrifices of his colleagues

2. Farrar sent Tennyson a copy of his poem. Tennyson thanked him and said that he wished that he had never written "Timbuctoo." This communication commenced a friendship with the Tennyson family. Farrar received letters from Mrs. Tennyson and Hallam, the poet's son, at regular intervals through the years. In 1889, Farrar helped to bring the poet out of a depressed condition by suggesting that he begin a work on St. Telemaechus. "Alfred Tennyson," by Charles Tennyson, p.521. Also some Canterbury Letters
See Bibliography.
brought the College through the storm. The Masters and the Assistant Masters consented to work without salary. Farrar admired the Christian temper of Dr. Cotton's life and there commenced a friendship which lasted until the latter died.

Farrar was ordained as a Deacon by Bishop Walter Kew Hamilton in Salisbury Cathedral on Christmas Day, 1854. Poor transportation facilities between Marlborough and Salisbury required him to get up in the middle of the night and travel in an open coach. He arrived in a frozen and sickened condition but still managed to gain first place in the examination. The Bishop complimented him on the content and expression of his doctrine. He was given the privilege of reading the lesson in the Cathedral Service and was also invited to preach at the workhouse in the afternoon. It was his first attempt at preaching and his lack of preparation and practical training made him feel that it was a miserable failure. He records the experience with straightforward honesty.

"I remember the scene now: my walk to the Salisbury Infirmary; the gathering of the poor feeble old men and women in the bare and miserable chapel; the ill-equipped and unprepared young Deacon, a few hours old in the ministry, who had to read and preach to them, the vacant gaze of the old women, and the stony stare of the old men as they listened to a sermon of a style somewhat academic, and wholly unsuited to them; the fact that one at least, and I think several, unceremoniously got up in the middle and walked out, which under the circumstances was very excusable."

Soon after this experience Dr. C.J. Vaughan offered Parrar a House-Mastership at Harrow. He accepted the post and remained there fifteen years. The last eleven years were served under Dr. Vaughan's successor, Dr. H.M. Butler.

Farrar's work at Marlborough had been fruitful both as an educator and a leader of boys. Dr. Cotton wrote that

"in my somewhat long experience at Rugby and Marlborough I never knew anyone who had a greater power of stimulating intellectual exertion and literary taste than Mr. Farrar. The impulse which he imparted to my sixth form was quite extraordinary."

Besides being a thoroughly good classical scholar, he was a man of very extensive general reading and literary culture. Especially was he versed in the writings of our chief English authors. He was uniformly kind to his pupils, and deservedly popular, but his popularity was not gained by any laxity of discipline or indifference to idleness or misconduct.  

It was rather due to Farrar's genuine interest in the boys and his open-hearted friendship with them. He invited them to his rooms for tea; he took them on interesting educational journeys to places like Stonehenge; he participated in their rugby and cricket; and most important, he made them feel that he cared about each one of them. These practices and this spirit characterized Farrar's educational career.  

If the playing fields of Eton have received credit for England's military victories, the hallowed halls of Harrow-on-the-Hill should receive the praise of the nation for its diplomatic triumphs. Harrovians claim that Etonians and others look up to their School, not only because it is on a hill, but because from its student roster have come eight of England's Prime Ministers.  

During his tenure of service at Harrow Farrar gained his popular reputation and made many outstanding friendships with men of influence. His habit of industrious scholarship continued and these years witnessed the publication of many books. He worked primarily in the fields of Fiction, Philology, Education, and Theology.  

In 1858, "Eric, or Little by Little," was released to the public. It was partially autobiographical, founded upon experiences of Farrar's childhood. The book was extremely popular and went through thirty-six editions. Many criticized its "unreal puritan tone," but the people ignored the critics and continued to buy and read it. "Eric" revealed Farrar's idiosyncrasies. He had a sharp sensitivity to sin and made much of what most people considered mere peccadillos. This was part of the book's power. It showed  

that final tragedy begins in small ways. "Eric" taught that God was a loving Father who was always present. It stressed that boys should be honest, truthful, kind, and brave. The beauty of nature provided the background for exciting adventures in which the boys had thrilling experiences. Through the years Farrar received letters from all over the world from young men who thanked him for helping them to know God through his novels.

In 1859, "Julian Home," a story of college life which was drawn from Farrar's Cambridge experience, was published and also received popular notice. He followed this novel with "St.Winifrid's, or the World of School" in 1862. These last two books were not as popular as "Eric." They conveyed the same general message in new narratives. These three books combined to introduce Farrar to the public and his name became a household word throughout the country. They were excellent vehicles for the popular communication of Christian truth and practice. They were a strategic introduction, and prepared the way for the more profound works which were to follow.

In 1860, Farrar published the results of his philological studies in a volume entitled "Chapters on Language." It was the "only book distinctively devoted to philology which had appeared in England since the end of the eighteenth century." He was invited to present four lectures before the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1869, and he published these, along with his earlier work, in "Language and Languages" in 1870. Farrar's conclusions were evolutionary concerning the origin and development of language. Charles Darwin was attracted to his work, and was so impressed with it, that he nominated Farrar for the Fellowship of the Royal Society. He was subsequently elected. This was a distinctive honour for Farrar, for it was rarely accorded to a clergyman.

The mutually satisfying friendship which began between Farrar and Darwin was equally important. It enabled them to

1. Farrar, F.W., "Language and Languages," p. ix
understand more clearly the relationship between science and faith. It was a bridge which spanned the controversy of the age. Amid the surprise of many and the protest of some few, Farrar arranged for Darwin's interment in Westminster Abbey. He served both as pall-bearer and preacher.¹

Farrar simplified the teaching of Greek with the publication of some concise Greek Grammar Rules, and A Brief Greek Syntax in 1867. These were widely used in Public School education and by 1880 they had passed through their eleventh edition.

The need for the revision of Greek instruction directed Farrar's attention to other areas of the educational system which needed reform. In 1867 Farrar lectured "On Some Defects in Public School Education" which emphasized the pedantic obscurantism of the present system both in its limited curriculum and methodology. He particularly stressed the importance of including scientific subjects in the curriculum.² He believed that education should be more practically related to the needs of the individual and the nation. Also in 1867, Farrar edited a series of "Essays on a Liberal Education" which were contributed by leaders in the field. He was invited to read a paper on this subject before the meeting of the British Association in Nottingham. As a result of this meeting, upon Farrar's recommendation, the Association formed a committee to investigate the deficiencies in the present system of Public School education. The group was composed of such noteworthy men as Professor Tyndall, Professor Huxley, and Mr. Herbert Spencer. Several meetings were held in Farrar's home in Harrow; a report was drawn up; the Association approved it; and the subsequent amendments to the educational system largely followed these suggestions.

² "Farrar did more than any other single individual to introduce the teaching of Science into the English public school curriculum." Charles Smyth, Church and Parish, p.169
Farrar published "Seekers after God" in 1868. It was a popular study of Stoicism as found in the philosophies and lives of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. This work expressed the truth and morality of Stoicism; taught the fuller truth of Christianity; and challenged Christians to live as nobly as the Stoics. "The Fall of Man and Other Sermons," published in 1867, comprised mostly sermons which had been delivered before the University of Cambridge and Harrow School.

Farrar was invited to be the Hulsean Lecturer to the University of Cambridge in 1870. His subject was "The Witness of History to Christ." These lectures attempted to show the credibility of the miraculous; the adequacy of the Gospel records; and the historical evidence for the truth of the Christian faith. The teachings of Confucius, Buddha, and Auguste Comte were briefly examined. Farrar declared that "Christianity had rendered clearer and brighter the whole atmosphere of life." He powerfully supported this assertion.

Other single sermons, lectures, and articles appeared which displayed an amazing amount of production for a man who was actively engaged as a School-Master. These works revealed the development of Farrar's thought. There are different types of scholars. The intensive scholar limits his study to the examination of the minute details of a specific subject. The extensive scholar seeks to attain a bird's-eye view which sees the wholeness of truth. He explores many subjects and attempts to correlate truth. Farrar's scholarship was of this latter type.

The breadth of Farrar's studies brought him into contact with some of the leading men of the day. In many cases these

2. Charles Smyth supports this view with some criticism. He wrote, "Farrar had an astonishing range of erudition in a variety of fields. Though something of a polymath, he was not a scholar in the real sense. His industry was inexhaustible: his reading was encyclopaedic: his memory, if inaccurate, was prodigious ..." Church and Parish, p.169

We shall consider the criticism at a later point.
contacts grew into friendships. Dr. Butler was grateful for the benefits which the school derived from these relationships. Farrar arranged the first lectures of Tyndall on Sound, Huxley on The Anatomy of the Lobster, and Ruskin on Minerals. He brought the wider intellectual world to Harrow.

There was larger benefit. Farrar helped these men of literature and science to understand the Christian faith. As with others, Farrar had many conversations with Professor Huxley.

"In my conversations with Professor Huxley on religious subjects, I always found him perfectly open-minded, reverent, and candid. But in his case, as in the case of other eminent men of science and literature, I found that his conceptions as to what the clergy are bound to believe and maintain were exceedingly wide of the mark. He imagined that we are compelled to defend a great many opinions, especially with reference to parts of the Old Testament, which might possibly have represented the views of a hundred years ago, but which are now repudiated even by learned archbishops and bishops. When I showed him that some difficulties and objections to parts of the Christian Creed which loomed large upon his mind had no connection with faith at all — that they affected beliefs which had never been incorporated into any Catholic formula — that some of the statements which he impugned were the mere accretions of ignorance, the errors of superstition, and the inventions of erring system, he would listen with sincere interest, and promise to consider the points of view which I had tried to explain, but which were wholly new to him."

Farrar's influence upon outstanding men was a significant service. He had separated the accidents from the essence of his faith. Armed with a reconstructed intellectual faith, he opened the way of belief to those who had accepted the new truths and could no longer believe the old traditions. Farrar attempted to show that there was no conflict between a true faith and true science.

Some major events took place in Farrar's personal life during these years. In 1860 at Eastertide, he met and loved a beautiful young lady, Lucy Mary, who was the third daughter of the late Mr. Frederic Cardew of the East India Company.

They were married before the end of the year.

Mrs. Farrar was an unusually gifted woman. She was tiny; quiet with Victorian reserve; and possessed a scintillating sense of humour. Her life was wholly dedicated to Farrar. She managed all the practical details of their home, including the budgeting and banking. At Westminster she aided him in the parish administration. Each week she met with the curates and helped them to organize their responsibilities. She gave many hours to the revision of his author's proofs. Utterly loyal to Farrar, she would never allow him to be criticized. Often she would go into the Westminster tenements with flowers and other needed gifts for the poor. She became friendly with a woman who was dying of consumption. As she was departing after a visit, Mrs. Farrar leaned over the bed, kissed her, and said, "I love you." Her sensitive love quietly healed those whose lives touched hers.

A man's inner self is clearly revealed in the intimate fellowship of the home. Regardless of the extension of his public influence, the stature of the man is measured most accurately by those who company with him in the ordinary circumstances of daily life. It is here that his life tells most deeply.

The Farrar home was orderly and quiet. Cultured, intelligent discussion was common. While on vacation Farrar would gather the family together and read to them what he had written. The children seemed to enjoy these occasions.

The ten children were wisely nurtured. Their future lives honoured their parents and revealed their influence. Reginald became a prominent physician who did important sanitation work for the government. Evelyn wrote narratives of the Bible for children. One of her own sons became a clergyman. Eric followed his father into the church. Hilda married Lord Idsley. Maud married Bishop Montgomery of Tasmania who played a leading role in the organization of the Pan-Anglican Conferences. Their

son was Bernard Montgomery, the famous Field Marshal of the Second World War. Cyril died at an early age in the Civil Service in China. This loss made the entire family more sensitive to the sorrows of others. Sybila married Canon Savage who initiated the restoration work at Hexham Abbey, Northumberland. Lillian became the wife of John Darlington who was the rector of St. Mark's in Kennington. The two younger sons, Percival and Ivor, both became clergymen in the Church of England.  

Farrar's life and work would have been impossible without Mrs. Farrar. She was a wonderful wife; an ideal and gracious hostess; and a source of joy and peace to him and his home throughout forty-three years of married love. She was buried by his side, as he had requested, in the Cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral.  

In 1857 Farrar was ordained to the priesthood by the Bishop of Ely. During these years he made several visits to Rome and promoted his interest in art. In 1868 he was invited to be the University Preacher at Cambridge. He became Honorary Chaplain to Queen Victoria in 1869. The Sovereign Lady appreciated Farrar's service in his books, sermons, and friendship.  

There was a major disappointment when, in 1867, Farrar was defeated in his candidature for the Head Mastership of Haileybury School by a Harrovian colleague, E.H. Bradby. Some ascribed his defeat to his views on the needed reforms in public education.  

At Harrow, Farrar had a fruitful ministry as a teacher, preacher, and pastor. He was especially endowed for this work.  

1. Dean Vaughan wrote: "I like to make Eric speak of you — Such true childlike love is in every word." To F.W. Farrar from Llandaff, 9 October, 1888. Canterbury Letters.
2. Sandford, E.G., Editor, "Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury" where reference is made to the gracious hospitality of the Farrars, p. 258.  
3. The details about Mrs. Farrar, the home, and the children were given to me in an interview with Mrs. Constance Farrar at Plas Hen, Dolgelley, Wales, on August 15, 1956.
In a testimonial which recommended Farrar for the Head Mastership of Marlborough College, Dr. C.J. Vaughan described his character as being most lovable.

"He wins to himself all who approach him. He would be, I am sure, the magnet of all that is noble and generous in the hearts of those whom he ruled. And it would be with no selfish motive, but with single-minded desire to implant and cherish in his pupils everything high-minded, and religious and Christian, that he would put forth this singular power of attraction." 1

Penetration into the inner core of Farrar's character reveals the purity of his heart and the wholeness of his dedication to Jesus Christ. Professor Lightfoot, the accurate scholar and efficient bishop, who knew Farrar well, described the integrity of his life.

"Of his acquisitions in scholarship and literature Mr. Farrar has given frequent and undoubted proofs; and in vigour and brilliancy of exposition he has probably few equals. ...Having become acquainted with him first as his private tutor at Cambridge, and having known him for many years, I have been deeply impressed with the singular uprightness, purity, and consistency of his whole life." 2

The many letters written to him and about him by his students and colleagues confirmed Professor Lightfoot's impression.

As we shall deal with Farrar's teaching skill in Chapter Three, it will be sufficient to notice that Farrar did an outstanding work in the education of boys. Matthew Arnold, who was then Professor of Poetry at Oxford University, shared his observations of Farrar's relationship with his own sons.

1. Canterbury Testimonials, Dr. C.J. Vaughan to the Council, Marlborough College, 17 December 1870, from Harrow.
2. Canterbury Testimonials, Professor Lightfoot to the Council of Marlborough College, 5 January 1870, from Cambridge.
"I owe him a large debt of gratitude. The young Duke of Genoa, who is living in my family, and two of my own sons, have been under the charge of Mr. Farrar as their tutor. All that I have heard before of his kindness, his diligence, his resource, his power of making boys take an interest in their work, of investing it with freshness and life for them, and of widening its range, personal experience has enabled me to verify and confirm." 1

The progress and interest of Farrar's forms of boys were the best proof of his success as a teacher. His vivid imagination made education a thrilling experience and his students began to enjoy the pursuit of knowledge. G.W.E. Russell, a student who later became an M.P., said that Farrar "made them ashamed of ignorance and anxious for knowledge." 2

Farrar's preaching had a powerful influence throughout the School. His sermons were filled with interesting illustrations which held the attention of the boys. F.D. Maurice, then Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Cambridge, wrote that "Farrar as a preacher is unusually eloquent and impressive. No one would be more likely to win the attention of the boys in the pulpit." 3

The Head Master, more than any other, can gauge the effectiveness of the preacher. Dr. H.M. Butler felt that Farrar's position as a great preacher during the last thirty-five years of the nineteenth century was part of the significant history of the Church of England. At Harrow his position was unique.

Farrar's turn to preach was eagerly expected both by the boys and by the parents of our home-boarders. There was always great pressure to obtain admission to the Chapel on the Sundays on which he preached. He was listened to with breathless attention. The solemn cadences of his fine, rich voice were weighted with most intense earnestness. He seemed always to have before him two haunting visions, the one of boyish innocence, the other of boyish wickedness. ... Hundreds of Harrow boys will look back upon his words from the chapel pulpit — his voice, his look, his whole personality — as among the chief blessings of their school life.  

Farrar was concerned about individuals. He brought a new pattern in master-student relationships to Harrow. Previously, it had always been characterized by aloofness. The friendly interest which enabled him to draw near to the boys at Marlborough also hurdled the barriers at Harrow. F. Storr, an Assistant Master at Marlborough and a former member of Farrar's House at Harrow, told how this happened.

"What distinguished Farrar's House from the others was that each boy felt that he had in Mr. Farrar a personal friend who would never grudge time or trouble to help him in any difficulty either in work or school life. ... Mr. Farrar was the first to break through the barriers of long standing prescription between boys and masters, by constantly seeing boys at his house, asking them to tea, and taking walks with them. This was so strange that at first it was misunderstood both by boys and masters; but he steadily persevered, other masters followed his example, and he has ended by greatly modifying at Harrow the relations between boys and masters."  

Farrar was particularly sensitive to the needs of those who were ill. He received many letters from parents who expressed their appreciation for his sympathy towards their sick sons.

In 1870, Farrar had begun to work on his "Life of Christ." In that year he journeyed to Palestine to gain a first-hand knowledge of the original environment in which the Gospel events

1. Canterbury Testimonials. From Dr. H.M. Butler to the Council of Marlborough College. No date. From Harrow.
had occurred. When he returned he stood for the Head Mastership of Marlborough College and was elected.

Farrar felt blessed in being able to return to his "old school" in the pleasant countryside of Wiltshire. Marlborough College was again passing through a difficult period. Epidemics of scarlet fever had broken out and parents were keeping their children at home. After studying the situation, Farrar improved the sanitation system by overhauling all the drains. He had ventilators installed in the dormitories and classrooms. Seeing that the facilities were overcrowded he first reduced enrolment and then proceeded to build new dormitories for the accommodation of more students. In 1872, Cotton and Littlefield Houses were built and were soon filled with students. These new Houses provided studies for the boys. Also in 1872, the Chapel was redecorated. This brought new meaning to the religious life of the College. The Bradleian Library was built in 1873, and the first science rooms were completed in the same year. The cricket pavilion was constructed in 1874.

New activities were introduced into the life of the School. In 1871 Farrar initiated the Rifle Corps Drum and Fife Band, and in 1872, the first training in voice was available. To stimulate musical development prizes were given to the House which won the choral competition. Hockey was introduced as a game for the Lenten term in 1874.

As at Harrow, Farrar gave impulse to learning; stimulated scholarship by his own industrious example; raised the moral level through his preaching; and entered into sympathetic friendship with the students.

After a Chapel sermon Farrar received a brief note which told him that "A Marlborough boy desires to express his greatest gratitude and thanks to F.W. Farrar, for a sermon, which, he trusts, has done him more good, and brought him nearer heaven, than anything he ever heard in his life." 1 Amid all the

external improvements, the popularity of his published works, and the general success of his life, this kind of letter brought him his greatest satisfaction.

While carrying the full responsibility of a Head Mastership, Farrar published his "Life of Christ," through which the world knows him best. In twelve months it passed through twelve editions and was translated into many other languages. It was a scholarly, devotional work which set forth the person of Jesus Christ with imaginative simplicity. ¹

"The Three Homes, A Tale for Fathers and Sons," was published in 1873 under the pseudonym, F.T.L. Hope. This was adopted from Lord Tennyson's "faintly trust the larger hope." Farrar used this method of publishing in order that the public's attention would not be diverted from his major work, "The Life of Christ." This novel illustrated how three fathers trained their sons. One father dominated his son, another exercised no authority at all, and a third guided his boy with loving wisdom. The book attempted to help fathers understand their sons.

"Silence and the Voices of God" was published in 1874. It was a series of sermons delivered before the University of Cambridge. Farrar taught that God revealed Himself through nature, the moral law, conscience, history, the Scriptures, and Christ. "In the Days of Thy Youth" was released in 1876. It was another series of sermons on practical subjects which had been preached before Marlborough College.

In 1875, Disraeli offered Farrar the crown living of Halifax. He declined. Disraeli offered him the position of Canon of Westminster Abbey and Rector of St. Margaret's in 1876. Farrar accepted. After more than twenty years in public education he took up the task of parish priest. The news of his resignation

¹ Farrar's *Life of Christ* will be examined in Chapter Six.
was received with sadness at Marlborough. The Council of the College, meeting on 2 May, 1876, expressed its feeling in a resolution which recorded:

"their deep sense of the grave loss which the College will sustain through his removal, and of the debt of gratitude due to him for the eminent services, which by his varied ability, by his untiring zeal, and by the inspiration of his high Christian example, he has rendered to the College during upwards of five years." 1

To these words of appreciation they added a sum of five hundred guineas "in recognition of the distinguished services which the Master has rendered to the College."

The Council of the College was not alone in its sadness. Farrar had many misgivings which he shared with his friend, Archdeacon Vesey.

"I start tomorrow for Folkstone, where we stay until we exchange the sweetness and freshness of God's country - the air full of roses and jasmine scent, the garden, the river, the downs, the forest, the woods - for the choking atmosphere and dusty purlieus of Westminster. I change the inexplicable dearness of a good, bright, and most flourishing English School for the dull, close-fisted suspicions, envies, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness of grown traders in the 'big, brutal, brick-bombed Babylon.'

... Why God removed me from this work I know not. I know that all we have in life is His, not ours, lent, not given, sometimes given back in the same or other forms. May He grant this to me, and give me back, if not the past, and work so sweet and encouraging, and so suited to my powers (for that cannot be), at the least the country again.... I shall work at St. Margaret's, at least I shall try. God knows what will come of it all." (2)

This decision marked a turning point. Why did Farrar change the course of his career in middle life? While the motivation behind a man's decision is seldom clearly revealed, it is usually possible to ascertain some of his

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1. Canterbury Papers, Resolution dated 29 July, 1876, signed by John S. Thomas, Bursar.
reasons.

Farrar had never intended to spend his whole life in Public School Education. There are times in life when an era closes. That which had meaning loses its zest. The challenge passes. Farrar's educational work was finished. He had pioneered in reforming the curriculum. He had introduced a friendly relationship between masters and students. Having come to Marlborough College at a time of crisis, he had established it as a prominent, prosperous Public School. For twenty-two years he had guided boys in their mental and spiritual development. He had achieved success as a sound scholar and capable Head Master. There were few worlds left to conquer.

There were personal reasons. Farrar loved to preach. The Westminster position placed him in the heart of the nation. His active energy, unsatisfied by the insulation of the academic community, yearned to be involved in the battle of common life in the ordinary world. The new post afforded greater opportunity for ecclesiastical advancement. Farrar has been accused of wanting to be a bishop. Which Anglican priest does not want to be a bishop? Farrar was worthy of such elevation. Why was he overlooked? One reason was that he courageously proclaimed, sometimes in exaggeration, what others feared to preach.

God works in the good and the evil of man's life. Farrar believed that God willed this change for him. These years, commenced so reluctantly, proved to be the years of his widest influence. The results of his industrious scholarship were to be shared with the larger world. Farrar was

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1. Charles Smyth writes that Farrar's desire to be a bishop "was the flaw in the bright metal of his character." Church and Parish, p.172. Also, G.K.A. Bell writes in a similar manner in his Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, pp. 74, 152 and 393. We shall consider this subject later.
to exercise an unparalleled spiritual leadership. 1

St. Margaret's is an interesting and important Church. It has a long and rich tradition and whereas the larger Abbey was mainly for the monks, St. Margaret's was the parish Church of the people. It was mentioned in a charter of King Edward as early as A.D. 962. 2 It has rendered valuable service to the House of Commons and to the people of Westminster.

Farrar's first self-appointed task was the restoration of this historic Church. The task had been proposed in former times and a small sum of money had been raised, but the work never commenced because of insufficient funds.

Georgian apathy and Philistinism had defaced the original beauty of the building. There was a large balcony around three sides of the nave; the pulpit was an ugly two-decker; an apse marred the chancel; and repulsive mural tablets were thickly plastered on the walls. Farrar began the restoration work immediately. The balcony and the apse were removed; the plaster scraped from the walls; the mural tablets transferred to the tower; and the churchyard cleared and resodded. A lovely west porch was erected. Farrar added the final touches by filling the windows with stained glass and having outstanding poets, such as Browning and Whittier, write fitting verses for them. 3 When the work was completed St. Margaret's was one of the most beautiful English Churches. The entire project cost more than £30,000, most of which was raised by the herculean energies of the new rector.

1. Bishop Lightfoot wrote, "You are the most enviable of men at this time, for you have a larger circle of readers and hearers than any English preacher or theologian." Canterbury Letters, 1 September, 1881, from Gairloch.
3. Hood, T.L., Editor, "Letters of Robert Browning," where reference is made to Browning's quatrain for the Jubilee window at St. Margaret's, p.280
Farrar's leadership in worship soon attracted the London populace to St. Margaret's. He had many gifts. His finely trained mind drew from vast resources of knowledge. The misery and forgiveness of sin, the justice and love of God, the meaning of suffering, the battle of life, the defeat of death, the beauty of life in Christ, and other truths of the Christian faith were proclaimed with sensitive power. Biography, art, poetry, literature, history, science, and other varied fields were used to illustrate the lessons he taught.

His voice was pleasing. Charles Silvester Horne heard Farrar preach a sermon on Missions in Glasgow in 1886. He wrote his impressions to his mother, telling that the main thing which struck him was the marvellous quality of the preacher's voice.

"It was like a beautiful silver bell, clear and ringing. The language was beautiful." 1

Farrar's personal appearance was attractive. The purity of his life was manifest in his presence. A London editorial attempted to express the inspiration of the man.

"Canon Farrar, one of the rarest preachers the world has ever seen, reads every word of his sermons. His sermons in Westminster Abbey sometimes moved me to tears. ... There is a wonderful moral and aesthetic wholeness in him; one rejoices in his rare courage and lofty moral indignation. I know of no man who combines, as he does, the simplicity, repose, and finish of Greek literary art, with the high religious devotion and unwavering courage of a Hebrew prophet." 2

Intense conviction characterized Farrar's message. There are men who are able to see both sides of every question. They plead for the recognition of what is valuable in beliefs and practices other than their own. Farrar, as a scholar, often presented both sides of an argument before he gave his own view. But when it came to preaching, Farrar was clothed

1. Selbie, W.B., "Life of Charles Silvester Horne," p.25
2. Canterbury Scrapbooks, news cutting, no date, no identification.
with the prophet's mantle. "What he was convinced of, he was convinced of, and all his ardent soul went into the proclamation of it, whoever might take the other side." ¹

He had courage. He never shrank from identifying himself with unpopular causes at whatever detriment to his worldly prospects. ² His motto might have been the prayer of the old Homeric hero: "Slay us, so it be but in the light." His sermons on "Eternal Hope;" his support of the cause of the Salvation Army; his attacks on the exaggerations of the Ritualists; his temperance work; his Biblical interpretation which exposed the narrow bigotry of the fundamentalists; were only a few of the many causes he contended for against severe criticism. He believed and practiced what St. Gregory the Great said, that "If a scandal be caused by the utterance of truth, better the creation of the scandal than the suppression of the truth." ³

Farrar was sensitive to human need. He received hundreds of letters from those who heard his sermons, who felt that he had spoken to them and helped them. ⁴ His hearers were drawn from every rank of society.

As Farrar was the Chaplain to the Queen, he was invited to preach in the Chapel at Windsor on numerous occasions. Queen Victoria admired him, and liked him personally, even though she thought he was sometimes too vehement in his expressions. ⁵ She thought highly of his preaching. When the Prince of Germany

3. Hensley Henson stated that "Dean Stanley in the Abbey, and Canon Farrar in St. Margaret's, had linked the great churches in the public mind with religious tolerance and theological liberty." Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, p.53. Tolerance and liberty are often unpopular.
was coming to visit, she requested that "Farrar be asked to come and preach because she wanted the Prince to hear a good preacher."¹ Farrar sent her some of his books and she always expressed her appreciation. He was often invited to the Castle for dinner, and, on these occasions, they discussed many varied subjects. The Queen wrote to Farrar expressing her sympathy on the death of his father. They were both relieved when they discovered that it wasn't Farrar's father who had died. Through these many points of contact Farrar had a direct influence upon the first lady of the land.

Farrar exerted every effort to make the official connection between St. Margaret's and the House of Commons a living reality. He reserved seats for them. He held special services to commemorate the Queen's Jubilee and other occasions.² The Speaker, several officers, and many of the members were regular attenders.

The official relationship was infused with close, genuine friendships. A letter from Speaker Brand mentioned a sermon which Farrar preached concerning the duties of M.P's and expressed the hope that it would be published. He told Farrar that "when I told Mrs. Brand," she said, "I hope he will publish it for it will do you all good."³ Farrar had a voluminous correspondence with House Members dealing with legislation, personal affairs, and official services.⁴ In 1890 Farrar was appointed to be the Chaplain to the Speaker and the House. This honour expressed the gratitude of the House for the ministry which he had already performed. This office gave him a strategic opportunity to influence the men

¹ Canterbury Letters, no date, from Queen Victoria to the Dean of Windsor. At Windsor.
² For an account of this service see op. cit., Church and Parish, p.29 ff.
³ Canterbury Letters, Speaker Brand to F.W. Farrar, no date, Westminster.
⁴ For example, Farrar officiated at the burial of Viscount Hampden's father, Brand Gladstone's marriage, and the confirmation of Lord Sudley's daughter.
who were guiding the affairs of the world.

Farrar's ministry was not only to the elite. Appreciative letters from chimney sweeps, poor tenement-dwellers, and ordinary working people who lived under the shadow of the Abbey revealed that the lessons which Farrar had learned on the benches of the Aylesbury Latin School were not forgotten.

Two letters of 1876-1877 from a working lad will show the influence of Farrar's preaching upon common folk.

"The writer earnestly implores your pardon and attention while he lays the burden of his mind before you... in respect to a sin which pains my body and mind. In an eloquent invitation to your listeners yesterday morning you asked them to look at themselves and see if there was nothing sinful in each one's life unknown to the others. I did not want to reflect. Full well I knew it was only too true in my own person. I have been under the influence of a beastly sinful habit for about two years, (I am over twenty), which has entirely disturbed my peace of mind and health. I have striven earnestly and have done everything within my power against it but to no effect. I've told no one of it. I'm an orphan so I pray you as the minister who above all I admire, and as your words make a strong impression on me, write to me a few remarks against the lowest habit of self-abuse so that I may learn and ponder on them, and that my peace may be restored."

Four months later another letter was received from the same young man. He told Farrar that his pulpit ministry and personal letter had helped him.

"It will no doubt be fresh in your memory that the writer is the youth who wrote to you for advice on an evil habit that had then entire possession of him, but he is able to say now that through your advice he has been able to combat it altogether."

This kind of letter could be multiplied by hundreds.

1. *Canterbury Letters*, name, date, and residence withheld.
2. *Canterbury Letters*, name, date, and residence withheld.
These letters revealed that Farrar was being used to lead men to Christ; help them in Christian growth; and guide them towards Christian service. 1

St. Margaret's and Westminster Abbey were crowded every time Farrar preached. A London paper in April, 1891, pointed out that

"It was necessary to go about an hour in advance for the three o'clock service at Westminster Abbey. Here Archdeacon Farrar, the Canon now in residence, was the attraction. Whenever and wherever he preaches there is a crowd, and the present occasion was no exception although the afternoon was wet." 2

Another contemporary editorial commented:

"I was present at the Abbey service on Sunday evening last, and although I arrived half an hour before the time of the service I could hardly find a seat." 3

These were not isolated events. A filled Church was the average occurrence throughout the years of Farrar's ministry at Westminster. A London survey of Church attendance supported this claim.

"When in accordance with his almost invariable custom, the Rector preached in his own Church on Sunday mornings, he attracted enormous and influential congregations: every inch of standing room was occupied. On the Sunday on which the census was taken of Church attendance, St. Margaret's had a larger congregation than either the Abbey or St. Paul's. Conversely whenever the Canon occupied the Abbey pulpit on Sunday evenings, the notice "Abbey full" sent an overflow congregation to St. Margaret's." 4

The size of the congregation should not determine the inspiration of the preacher, nevertheless, a large expectant

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1. For example, a medical student volunteered to the Church Missionary Society because of Farrar's preaching ministry. Canterbury Letters.
2. Canterbury Scrapbooks, unidentified cutting.
3. Ibid., unidentified cutting.
company of Christian people can bring forth the best from a man. Stopford Brooke wrote to his father of the thrilling experience of preaching in Westminster Abbey.

"It was really a grand sight, that vast nave crowded to the doors, and hundreds standing in the side aisles. Stanley said that there were somewhat more than 2500 persons there. I was greatly thrilled and excited — that strange electricity of a mass of men had its own way with me. ... I thought of all the thousand years in which God had been worshipped in that place, and a tremble of excitement made my blood dance. Then the organ rolled out its chords ...."

This was a common experience for Farrar. His gifts joined to this environment provided every opportunity for effective preaching. He was a good steward. As discerning a critic as Bishop Lightfoot said that "Farrar's sermon on Jonadab, the son of Rechab, was the finest that he had ever heard." 2

Robert Forman Horton, after a visit to the Abbey, wrote in his journal that "Farrar is magnificent." 3 Many who differed with Farrar acknowledged his eloquence and power. 4 The faithful attendance of the large congregations confirmed the general consensus of opinion.

Some critics thought otherwise. In a letter to Dr. Reynolds, R.W. Dale of Birmingham wrote,

"I don't agree with the British Quarterly about Farrar's superior eloquence. Much of Farrar's eloquence is mere rodomontade." 5

There were people who found Farrar's style unattractive. 6

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6. Hensley Henson wrote that "his wide learning and genuine intellectual power were obscured by the Asiatic richness of his literary style, and the purple rhetoric of his preaching." op. cit., Church and Parish, p.170
True to the Anglican tradition, Farrar realized that the sermon was only a part of the service of worship. St. Margaret's and the Abbey were not "preaching stations;" they were sanctuaries consecrated to the worship of God. The purpose of this worship was to glorify God; to receive His grace in Christ; and to offer oneself to Him. The ministry of preaching was a means to this end.

Farrar was much more than a great preacher. His work was constructed upon more solid foundations, because he never regarded himself primarily as a pulpit orator, but as a parish priest. Under his leadership the poverty-stricken parish was reorganized. St. Margaret's, which had probably been saved from demolition because of its historical associations, became the centre of a vigorous religious life. Assisted by capable curates, Farrar built a Mission Hall; taught in the Church Schools; founded clubs and societies; and gathered a large company of voluntary workers with whom he maintained a close communication. His Sunday Schools, with their sixty teachers, were among the show-pieces of the Diocese of London. Popular Saturday evening entertainments, Sunday services for children and infants, Bible Classes, mothers' meetings on two days in the week, Girls' Friendly Society classes, temperance meetings, concerts, literary and scientific lectures, and a Youths' Institute furnished with a gymnasium were some of the numerous, varied activities provided for the members of the parish.

Despite his widespread interests, Farrar made it a regular part of his work to familiarize himself with everything that was going on. He required his colleagues to report all cases of sickness or distress, and presided regularly at the meetings of district visitors, where the circumstances of the infirm or

1. *Church and Parish*, p. 205
indigent were fully discussed with a view to their relief. While systematic house-to-house visitation was left to the curates, the Rector was always ready to go when his presence would bring comfort.

Dr. Farrar worked for his people, thought of them, and prayed for and with them. One of his curates remarked that he "never knew the possibilities and beauty of extempore prayer until he knelt with him one day by the bedside of a dying man in a small street close to the Aquarium." His last night at St. Margaret's was symbolic. He had invited all whom he had presented for confirmation to join with him, his curates, and his family, in the holy rite of the Lord's Supper. Though the weather was wild and torrential six hundred came. It was a signal manifestation that Farrar's parish ministry was characterized by a sensitive love to persons.

Farrar was a crusader. He had seen the ravages of drink, crime, and prostitution in the back alleys of his own parish. This first-hand experience ignited his moral indignation and made him a zealous advocate of the cause of temperance, and an unflinching champion of General Booth and the Salvation Army.

He was a leader in the Temperance movement. He believed that the drink traffic "caused the most amazing waste of the national resources; was chiefly responsible for pauperism; and accounted for seventy-five per cent of the cases of domestic ruin." Farrar agreed with John Ruskin that:

1. "Memorial Sermons preached at St. Mark's, Kennington, on 29 March 1903," Morning sermon by W.J. Sommerville, p.15
"Drunkenness is not only the cause of crime, but that it is crime, and that if any encourage drunkenness for the sake of profit they are guilty of a form of moral assassination ..."  

1. Farrar, F.W., "Results of Temperance Agitation," p. 7

Farrar taught that temperance tended towards simplicity of life, strength of body, clearness of mind, and longevity of life. More important than these reasons, he was a total abstainer because he felt compassion towards human suffering. He had seen the havoc which drink had wrought in degraded women, neglected children, broken homes, and wasted lives. He attempted to rouse the conscience of the Nation in order that this sickness might be healed. He pressed for legislation and felt that little could be accomplished without the help of Parliament.

When Farrar first read the scheme of the Salvation Army he was filled with gratitude and hope. The city colony, the shelters for the homeless, the depots for the supply of food, the labour bureaux and factories, the houses for ex-criminals, the rescue homes for fallen women, and the farm colony of twelve hundred acres, were practical approaches to remedy social need.  

Farrar appealed to his parish for funds to aid this movement. He defended it against unjust criticism. General Booth was grateful for the benefit of his influence.

"I cannot express my gratitude for your prompt and hearty co-operation rendered just in my hour of need. I am sure God will bless you and I am equally confident that the future of this scheme will be a joy and satisfaction to you. Your name has been a tower of strength ..."

While Farrar worked with the Temperance Movement and the
Salvation Army he knew that a more collective solution was required. He reminded the Government that it had a responsibility

"to protect the interests of the poorest and the weakest; to save the Nation from that deadliest and most despicable of all forms of rule, the tyrannies of strong and united fraud; to protect men from the wrongs of others, and, if need be, even from the vices of themselves. Men talk of a laissez-faire policy, but a laissez-faire policy is in plain English a do-nothing policy. It is no policy at all. It consists merely in not doing, and not letting others do. It is to throw the reins loose upon the neck of headstrong selfishness. It is to leave us victims to powerful rings of organized monopolists, supporting by ill-gotten wealth immoral interests. ... Vested interests in national wrongs must end."

It is important to recall that this sermon was preached to some of the members of the Government. Farrar believed that it was the duty of the Church to relate the Gospel to the social, economic, and political issues.

In the midst of this strenuous activity Farrar published with prodigious abundance. In 1878 "Eternal Hope" and "Saintly Workers" were released. The former was Farrar's sensational sermon series which proclaimed that physical torment was not eternal and suggested that there was a possibility that everyone might be saved. The latter was a Lenten series on martyrs, monks, and missionaries. "The Life and Work of Paul" was given to the public in 1879. It was an excellent study of the Apostle's life and writings. Many critics thought that it was his best work. "Ephphatha," a volume of sermons, and "The Gospel according to St. Luke," the Cambridge Bible for Schools, were published in 1880. "Mercy and Judgment," a sequel to "Eternal Hope," was sent forth in answer to Dr. Pusey's "What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment," in 1881. "The Early Days of Christianity," a study of the Catholic epistles

against the background of the Roman world; and "The Lives of the Fathers," a biographical approach to the teaching of the early Church leaders; brought Farrar's scrutiny of the development of Christianity down to the fifth century. "The Messages of the Books," an interpretation of the message of each New Testament book, was published in 1884. He was invited to give the Bampton Lectures at Oxford University in 1886, which was an unusual honour for a Cambridge man. He published these addresses under the title "The History of Interpretation." It was a comprehensive study of Biblical interpretation from the days of the pre-Christian rabbis to the present time. Biblical commentaries, volumes of sermons, and varied publications on such subjects as the **African Drink Trade**, **The Life of Christ in Art**, and **Our English Ministers** were written during these years. He contributed to the "Speaker's Commentary" "Bishop Ellicott's Commentary," "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," "Kitto's Biblical Encyclopedia," and the "Encyclopedia Brittanica."

Through his published works; his contacts with Americans in England; and his commemoration of American events in the Abbey; Farrar was well known in the new world. In response to many invitations he decided to make a preaching tour of the United States and Canada in 1885. His visit included most of the principal eastern cities. Both the Canadians and Americans received him warmly. A significant result of the visit was Farrar's introduction of Browning's poetry to the American people. Browning often expressed his gratitude for this service.

Farrar's Westminster ministry was powerful. He was at the height of his influence. While the masses were crowding to hear him preach, and his books were circulating in ever increasing numbers, Farrar believed himself to be a failure. He had just returned from preaching the University Sermon at Cambridge. The undergraduates had so crowded the Church that
the Master of Trinity and Farrar could hardly get in. He disclosed his inner feeling in a letter to Canon Bell.

"I am very tired of London life and get great fits of depression in which all life seems a hollow failure; but the great remedy is work, and faith — even if faith does not brighten always into life." ¹

God can use men who feel their weakness and are open to receive His power. Farrar was.

What Westminster Abbey is to the Nation, Canterbury Cathedral is to the Church of England. Farrar, who always revered worthy tradition, recounted this sacred history in his Inaugural Sermon. He reminded the Congregation that the Cathedral

"has its memories of Henry II and Edward III, and its tomb of Henry IV, and relics of the flower of English chivalry. Here lie many of the English Primates; here are concentrated the memories of thirteen centuries of the Church's history — memories of St. Augustine of Canterbury; of the Danes, Lanfranc, and the Conqueror; of St. Anselm and William Rufus; of Thomas a'Becket and Henry II; of Stephen Langton and Magna Charta; of Chaucer and the Canterbury pilgrims; of the tragic martyrdoms and violent deaths of Archbishops Sudbury, Cranmer, and Laud." ²

It was fitting that this pilgrim city, trodden by the feet of uncounted saints, should be the place where Farrar's earthly pilgrimage should end. Having accepted his nomination to the Deanery from Lord Rosebery, Farrar came to Canterbury filled with a sense of its rich tradition and symbolic meaning.

His departure from the Abbey and St. Margaret's brought forth many interesting comments. Joseph Parker, the popular City Temple preacher, wrote a letter to the editor of the London Times which expressed the thoughts of many.

1. Canterbury Letters, F.W. Farrar to Canon Bell, April 9, no year, from Westminster.
2. Farrar, F.W., "Canterbury, Mother City of the Anglo-Saxon Race", p.53
"May I writing from a Non-Conformist point of view express my gratitude for the appointment of Canon Farrar to the deanery of Canterbury? I cannot but deplore the loss which will be sustained by the London pulpit by the removal of Canon Farrar, who is beyond all question its most illustrious and commanding figure. In this respect it is known to all the world that he has rendered precious and invaluable service. What shall the man do that cometh after the King?" 1

The London Daily Telegraph reported that "Young London will remember him gratefully for his share in the promotion of seaside camps." 2 The Manchester Guardian, which is seldom over-generous, declared that "his loss to London will be keenly felt for there is no other Anglican preacher who possesses such power to impress the multitude." 3

There were some personal changes. It meant a reduction of stipend to the extent of £780. 4 The quiet beauty of the Dean's yard would be a pleasant change from the din and dust of Westminster, and there would be more opportunity for literary activity.

Farrar immediately began the restoration of the Cathedral. Appealing for funds to every conceivable source, including the German National Republic, 5 he finally collected £19,000. This was barely sufficient to carry through the planned improvements. The roof of the Chapter House, the Cloisters, and portions of the Nave were re-leaded. The Crypt and Chapter House were restored to their ancient beauty. Farrar, who had seen "our Holy Mother Canterbury sitting with tattered robes," had

2. Canterbury Scrapbooks, news cutting, no date.
3. ibid., news cutting, no date.
4. Farrar received £1,000 as Canon of Westminster; £200 as Archdeacon of Westminster; and £400 and his house as Rector of St. Margaret's. The stipend at Canterbury was £820 and the Dean's accommodation.
5. Canterbury Letters, Count Halzfeldt informing Farrar of the refusal of the German government to give funds for the restoration of the Canterbury Cathedral; no date.
succeeded in mending a few of the tatters.

Farrar attempted to make the Cathedral the centre of Canterbury's communal life. He kept in touch with the municipal events; visited the soldiers in the barracks; gave his services to St. Augustine's College and the hospital; and guided the programmes of the parish churches.

He continued to love persons. He revived the custom where the Dean and the Chapter would go down into the nave and shake hands with each member of the congregation at the close of the evening service on Christmas Day. His affection for boys found expression with the lads of King Edward's School, the Cathedral Choir, and King's College. He delighted in the visits of his grandchildren.

More books were published. Volumes of sermons, Bible Studies, miscellaneous essays, and "The Life of Lives," streamed forth out of his ceaseless industry. The latter work widened the scope of his earlier study of "The Life of Christ" by developing such varied themes as "The State of Religion in Palestine," and "Christ's Method of Evangelism."

The closing days of his life were filled with suffering and limited activity. Atrophy of the muscles, induced by a fall some years before, gradually stole over his whole body. His hands and arms became useless and he was unable to hold his head erect. They were days of sadness.

Farrar did not give up. He did what he could as long as he could. He lectured to the boys. Each day he was carried to the Cathedral where he joined in the worship. He never complained. His life witnessed that God's love casts out fear and Christ's presence sustains in the midst of pain.

Mrs. Farrar was a strong inspiration.

On Sunday evening, 22 March 1903, while the congregation worshipped in the Cathedral, Farrar passed quietly away. Shortly after Mrs. Farrar received a note of sympathy from Archbishop
Davidson. He told her that she was able to be thankful amid all her sorrow in the thought that
"the life which has been lived in such strenuous and noteworthy service towards God and man is now set free
from the burden of the flesh which has weighed upon it in these last years.
He leaves a splendid heritage to those who come after. The whole English race is the richer for his word and
teaching, the poorer now for the loss of his presence from among us.
To me he has been a helper, a guide, and a stimulus from my earliest school days and I join with thousands
in thanking God for his noble witness, so consistently and courageously borne, in joy and sorrow — in strength
and weakness."

The case was not overstated. Farrar's churchmanship disclosed how noteworthy his service to God and man had been.

Some Christians think of the Church as a small remnant of society. They outline a narrow framework which determines whether individuals are, or are not, members. They want all expression to be confined within the ecclesiastical organization. Farrar had little sympathy with these views. He envisaged the "whole race of mankind as gathered up into one under the Headship of its Lord." He emphasized that while there was only one flock, there were many folds.

This broad view determined his opinion towards the Establishment. He declared that the Church and State were indivisible.

"In narrower senses, the State is the nation regarded in its civil capacity, and the Church is the nation regarded in its religious capacity; but in the widest and highest senses — so long as we are Christians, so long as nations profess any religion at all — the Church and State are names of accident, belonging to the same substance; they are the same body regarded only in different spheres of action." 3

These convictions made him an ardent defender of the Establishment against the attacks of Nonconformists and non-Christians. He stated that Disestablishment would weaken belief and lower morality. The Church would lose its unity, toleration, and comprehensiveness. He recounted how the public welfare had always suffered from the abuses of unrestrained civil or ecclesiastical power.

The Nonconformists liked Farrar and often invited him to address their anniversaries. On these occasions he proclaimed his belief in the unity of all churches in Christ. He did not believe that Anglican doctrine, liturgy, or polity were the only true forms.

"The scholarly discoveries of every year decisively demonstrated that the widest latitude was left to the Apostolic Church on these matters. As to ceremonial, St. Paul's one sufficient rubric was: 'Let things be done decently and in order.' As to organization, our Lord said, 'Other sheep have I which are not of this fold.' 1

The Nonconformist temper was part of Farrar. In an address which he gave at a Methodist Conference in 1891, he praised the pioneers of every communion.

"Worlds and churches were not saved by committees and conferences, nor by men who lived and walked in the hard-beaten paths of custom. These revivals were called into existence by men who escaped the average, men who had the love of God burning like a consuming fire on the altar of their hearts ..." 2

This common spirit fused a bond of mutual sympathy between Farrar and Nonconformity. It is unfortunate that he did not follow his belief to its conclusion. The established church of the nation should include all churches. How could there be unity, toleration, or comprehensiveness without an establishment which

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1. Farrar, F.W., "Sermons and Addresses in America," p.271
2. Canterbury Scrapbooks, News cutting which reported Farrar's speech.
represented all Christian citizenry? He did not believe that structural unity was possible in his lifetime, but stressed that there could be wide co-operation in good works.

Farrar was critical of the various movements within his own Church. He commended their true teachings and decried their false accents. His comment on the Evangelical and High Church movements was typical of his general attitude.

"The Evangelical and High Church Movements each brought into prominence forgotten truths; but those truths have deadened and stiffened into party shibboleths and practices. Each reformation needs itself to be reformed. Neither to them nor to any movement yet on the horizon do I look for any deliverance from the perils which gather round us; or for any reawakening of the people to the great ideals which have faded out of their minds. Both movements have been blessed, but both alike have lost their inspiring impulse, and their essential power." 1

Though he was not identified with any party, Farrar included aspects of each school within the breadth of his ministry. He helped to modernize the institutional structure. He defended the Establishment. His efficient organization of St. Margaret's made it a model for other parishes. He held conferences at Canterbury which attempted to reconcile hostile factions within Anglicanism. He was loyal to episcopal order and always obeyed his bishop.

His evangelical background, always the substratum of his life, was displayed in the enthusiasm which characterized his work. He had a poignant consciousness of sin; emphasized the saving work of Christ; stressed the believer's personal relationship with God; and taught that the evidence of faith was a holy life.

Farrar resisted the attempts of the Ritualists to negate the Reformation and restore Romanist practices. He attacked sacerdotalism, which he defined as the "changing of the English ministry into a sacrificial priesthood or the interposition of a caste of men between the soul and its free, immediate access to God." 1 He pointed out that the doctrine of transubstantiation "was not accepted even by the Romish Church until the Lateran Council of the thirteenth century." 2 He declared that this doctrine was "a very terrible retrogression into materialism." 3 Auricular confession "was a late innovation which was unknown to primitive antiquity, the Fathers, or the New Testament." 4

On the other hand, he held Evening Communions when most non-Ritualists were opposing the practice. His "Life of Christ in Art" revealed an extensive knowledge of the history of art and its relationship to the Christian Church. He desired worship to be an experience of beauty and helped to restore both St. Margaret's and Canterbury Cathedral to their original attractiveness. He promoted monastic orders which would live and work among the poor. His study of the "Lives of the Fathers" disclosed a common interest in early Church History.

Farrar joined with those who were relating the Gospel to the social, economic, and political issues. His temperance work was a social crusade. He aided the programme of the Salvation Army in its ministry to the poor and despised. He challenged Parliament to fulfil its Christian responsibility by legislating to protect the poor and care for the weak. He proclaimed that what was morally wrong could not be politically right. He reminded individuals of their duties as citizens.

3. ibid., p.10
4. ibid, p.11
Farrar was no other-worldly pietist; he worked to re-order this world according to God's design.

This thesis will attempt to show that Farrar's Biblical studies met a crucial need in communicating the results of the reconstructive scholarship to the English public.

He often spoke in support of the Missionary Movement and helped to raise funds for overseas work.

Farrar was, in large degree, a microcosm of nineteenth century Anglicanism. He gave popular expression to the major movements of the Church of England.
"Would you your son should be a sot or dunce, lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once; Train him in public with a mob of boys, Childish in mischief only and in noise, Else of a mannish growth, and five in ten In infidelity and lewdness of men. There shall he learn, ere sixteen winters old That authors are most useful pawned or sold; That pedantry is all that schools impart But taverns teach the knowledge of the heart."

-- William Cowper

"There are some who seek to know only that they may know, and it is base curiosity; and some who wish to know only that they may be known, and it is base vanity; and some who wish to know only that they may sell their knowledge, and it is base covetousness. But there are some also who wish to know that they may edify, and it is charity; and some who wish to know that they may be edified, and it is heavenly prudence."

-- St. Bernard

"If God had not sent me to be a preacher of His Word, I should choose, before all things, to be a schoolmaster."

-- Martin Luther
Education determines the quality of a nation's life.
Knowledge and advancement have always characterized the country which possesses a progressive and truthful system of education. Welfare, at home and abroad, stands upon enlightenment of the people. The personal happiness of individuals has always depended upon their freedom from the prison of ignorance.

In the nineteenth century the English system of education was inadequate and antiquated. Ignorance and illiteracy were the general rule. It was not until 1870 that elementary education was theoretically placed within the reach of every child, and not until 1880 that the facilities were provided which made the theory a reality. Higher education was limited to a special elite. Oxford and Cambridge were still virtually closed to dissenters and Roman Catholics by religious tests, and expensive costs removed them from the reach of the middle and lower classes. The Test Act of 1871 opened the doors to all religions, and the birth of other universities at Durham, London, Manchester, and Birmingham provided a university education for a larger segment of the population. This opportunity was widened further by the university extension plan; evening classes for adult education; and the establishment of higher institutions for the education of women. By the close of the Victorian era education was largely available to those who desired the privilege.

The reformer's corrective was needed, not only in the outward

1. The work had been done so well that in the election of 1886, out of 2,416,272 votes cast, only 38,547 were those of illiterates. See P. O. K. Ensor's "England, 1870-1914", p. 147.
structure, but also within the system. The content of the curriculum was almost exclusively classical. The major portion of time was devoted to Greek and Latin grammar and composition while other important subjects were neglected. Neither schools nor universities offered any widely extended facilities for the study of those sciences from which the industrial revolution had sprung, and which were required for every step of its further development.¹ Because of this deficiency England began to lose her place of world leadership both in industrial production and international trade.² Germany and the United States, with more scientific subjects in their curricula, were developing finer technicians and machines which enabled them to forge ahead in the competitive race.

Farrar's contribution to educational reform was a widening of the scope of the curriculum to include scientific and other essential subjects. He was critical of the existent system because he felt that it deprived the individual of the best that

1. Ensor points out that "until Clerk-Maxwell was appointed professor of Experimental Physics at Cambridge in 1871, no front rank figure in any natural science except geology, had, as such, held a post either there or at Oxford during the nineteenth century. So far as teaching or co-operative study in such subjects had been available at all, it was supplied by the Scottish universities, by the Royal Institution in London, by the recently established School of Mines, or by "Mechanics Institutes," and local scientific societies in various industrial towns. Thus though between 1800 and 1870 England contributed a great many discoveries in science and technology, most of those who made them were comparatively self-taught men, owing little to the schools, and nothing to the universities, unless the Scottish." Ensor, R.T.K., "England 1870-1914," pp. 150-151

2. "At the Great Exhibition of 1851, out of a hundred different departments in which goods were displayed, Great Britain had won the palm of excellence in nearly all. But at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 she excelled her competitors in only ten per cent. Lyon Playfair, who had been a juror at Paris, wrote a letter ascribing England's loss of ground to the fact that her competitors possessed 'good systems of education for the masters and managers of factories and workshops, whereas England possessed none.'" Ensor, R.T.K., op.cit., pp. 318-319
education could give, and also, because the security and welfare of the nation were being jeopardized by an unwillingness to adapt traditional patterns to the demands of the new age. Farrar was qualified to speak of this situation because he had spent the larger portion of his life within the system; not only as a pupil, but as a Master and Headmaster in two of England's foremost public schools, he had toiled for more than thirty-five years. He had worked within the framework; had achieved success within it; attained deep appreciation of its good qualities; and first-hand knowledge of those weaknesses that needed to be remedied. From this vantage point Farrar undertook his labour, and his contributions along with others of similar minds, resulted in a vastly improved system of education.

Farrar was a dedicated scholar throughout the whole of his life. This was the foundation of his work and influence.

He was an industrious student, often rising early and completing several hours of study and writing before breakfast. The responsibilities of his mastership would occupy him until nine in the evening, and then, having concluded the business of the day, he would stand at his writing desk and work until midnight and, occasionally, into the early hours of the morning. This was his usual pattern for more than twenty years.¹ When on vacation he would work six hours each day, and in the evening, would gather the family together and read to them what he had written. More surprising than this was the fact that the children seemed to enjoy these occasions.²

The results of his labours demonstrated that these hours were creatively employed. Throughout this period at Harrow and Marlborough many and varied works came from his pen.³ The content

2. These details were given to me in an interview with Mrs. Constance Farrar at Plas Hen, Dolgelley, Wales, on August 15, 1956.
and bibliography of the works reveal the amount of toil expended. These years established strong habits of disciplined work which Farrar maintained throughout his life, even amid the pressure of heavier duties. His industry and productivity were a challenge to his colleagues and students.

Some scholars direct their attention to specialized research in one field, others towards a broad scholarship. Farrar was of this latter type. He had an insatiable curiosity which led him into many varied fields of truth. His early interest was in philology and his work in this subject merited him membership in the Royal Society. His interest in languages continued throughout his life and his knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, German, French, and Italian opened foreign literature to him. His knowledge of English prose and poetry was probably as broad as that of any of his contemporaries, and included a most comprehensive apprehension and assimilation of Milton, Shakespeare, and Browning. He had a broad knowledge of Jewish literature and was requested to write an introduction by a noted Jewish scholar. His own literary expression included such broad diversity as four novels; a volume of poetry called "Lyrics of Life;" "The Passion Play at "Oberammergau;" "The Stained Glass in Canterbury Cathedral;"

1. Elliott-Binns, L.E., "English Thought, 1860-1900," states: "This volume (Farrar's History of Interpretation) is a vast store of varied learning and should counteract the idea that Farrar was merely a popular expositor with a slightly sentimental outlook." p. 186 Also, Professor Max Muller, Chair of Comparative Philology in Oxford University, wrote: "I may add, from an intimate knowledge of his works on language, that they seem to possess merits of the highest order both as to form and as to substance." Canterbury Letters, 21 December 1870.

2. J.B. Lightfoot, Hulsean Professor of Divinity in Cambridge University, and later Bishop of Durham, wrote, "I was most struck with his (Farrar) varied and extensive acquaintance with English literature. I do not remember to have met anyone who possessed a larger amount of knowledge, or exhibited a livelier interest in the subject." Canterbury Letters, Cambridge, 12 March 1859.


Farrar's grasp of these subjects was more than superficial. His scholarship had depth as well as breadth. This scope was made possible by a well-trained mind with highly developed powers of analysis, assimilation, and retention. Mrs. Farrar also helped. She early acquired very helpful knowledge of the traditional marks by which author's proofs are finally revised and thereafter gave every spare hour to this work. This service proved to be a great economy of his sight, time, strength, and nervous force.

At a relatively early age Farrar had gained the respect of the intellectual community for his industrious and broad scholarship.

J.R. Seeley, Professor of Modern History in Cambridge University, wrote,

"In education it may be said of him that he combines, more than almost any other that can be named, experience of the traditional subjects and methods of English education with knowledge of the subjects which now press for admission into the course, and intelligent views of the new methods proposed." 3

1. Farrar, F.W., "Social and Present Day Questions".
Although Farrar moved with ease in scholastic circles he had a practical pattern of thought which related his work to the common man. He used his scholarship for the service of the larger community, not directing it towards the scholars, but attempting to bring the benefits of learning to those who did not have the privilege of academic pursuit. In his introduction to the "Life of Christ" Farrar stated his purpose and it might be taken as his general design.

"I returned from the Holy Land more than ever confirmed in the wish to tell the full story of the Gospels in such a manner and with such illustrations as might serve to enable at least the simple and unlearned to understand and enter into the human surroundings of the life of the Son of God."  

Farrar never forgot the simple and unlearned. He made it possible for a large class of the English people to read religious books who had never read them before. He took the great characters and themes of the Christian faith and made them live for people to whom they had been mere abstractions.

Farrar's works were severely criticized with regard to style and scholarship. Many literary critics scorned his "purple passages" and glowing adjectives. They accused him of an excited enthusiasm which tended to see only one side of a question; maintained that he fell into a monotony of invective that was directed at straw men; that he heaped reference upon reference without restraint or discrimination; and that he was careless in his quoting and failed to give the sources of his quotations. We shall consider these criticisms at a later point.

Farrar's philosophy of education was broad and positive. He gave true expression to it by his own example throughout his years of educational leadership. He emphasized that the goal of education was to make men. In his farewell address to the boys of Harrow School he said,

"Its object and purpose is to prepare the boy to become an intelligent and worthy man, to provide for the health and vigour of the body; to foster his opening intelligence and teach him the value of time, and save him from the disgrace and stagnation of idleness and ignorance; above all to see that he grows pure, virtuous, manly, a gentleman and a Christian — one who takes Christ for his Captain and does his service to all the world." 1

A true education is one that develops and disciplines the mind, the body, and the spirit. 2 It must deal with the whole man. The body must be trained to temperance, purity, and robust health so that it aids growth rather than impedes it. The mind must be trained to study, concentrate, and think. The spirit must be nurtured to a sense of eternal reality and oriented to a consciousness of the presence and will of God. Farrar's motto might well have been: "A whole education for a whole man."

Education should be interesting and intelligible. Farrar felt that a large portion of the present curriculum was dull and meaningless. He believed that teachers were not sufficiently inspired in their instructing and were not making their course of study interesting. This dullness was one of the major reasons for the failure of education. It seemed a great tragedy that some should think education boring and burdensome when to him it had been

"Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets
Where no crude surfeit reigns." 1

It was the teacher's task to be possessed by his subject so that his enthusiasm would inspire his pupils. Those who worked with Farrar credited him with having this talent to the highest degree. 2 He often quoted Goethe in saying that "a teacher who can arouse a feeling for one single good action, for one single good poem, accomplishes more than he who fills the memory with rows on rows of natural objects." 3 Farrar had found study to be an interesting, exciting adventure and he did his utmost to communicate this experience to his students.

Education should also be intelligible. The reason behind the assignment should be explained to the student in order that he could understand the purpose of his work. Any lesson or procedure that was unsupported by reasonable purpose was waste. If it was not intelligible it could not be interesting. 4 Farrar attempted to fulfil this ideal in his "Brief Greek Syntax

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2. Dr. Cotton, former Headmaster of Marlborough College and later Bishop of Calcutta, observing Farrar, said, "I do not hesitate to say that in my somewhat long experience at Rugby and Marlborough I never knew anyone who had greater power of stimulating intellectual exertion and literary taste than Mr. Farrar." Canterbury Testimonials, 9 September, 1865, Murree, Punjab, India. Also H. Montagu Butler, Headmaster of Harrow School, wrote "one of the highest and most contagious gifts of a teacher is to possess in himself an intellectual fire and moral fervour forcing all about him to believe that he believes in them, in himself, and in his work. This inspiring gift Mr. Farrar possesses in the very highest degree." Canterbury Testimonials, no date and no locale.
4. "General Aims of the Teacher and Form Management," p.25
and Hints on Greek Accidence."

"I aimed above all things at making every point intelligible by furnishing for every usage a satisfactory reason; and by thus trying to eliminate all mere grammatical mysticism, I hoped that I should also render grammar interesting to every boy who has an aptitude for such studies."  

Many educators were aware of the excessive amount of time which was spent on Greek and Latin Grammar and the meagre results which were achieved. Some wanted to eliminate it from the curriculum altogether. Farrar, while sympathetic with the view that it occupied an overbalanced place in the curriculum, wanted to bring it into proportionate relation to the other subjects and by making the Classics intelligible, to show their true value for the student's education.

"Taught in a parrot-like manner to crude minds, I believe that grammar becomes bewildering and pernicious; taught at a later age and in a more rational method, I believe that it will be found to furnish a most valuable insight into the logical and metaphysical laws which regulate the expression of human thought, and that it will always maintain its ground as an important branch of knowledge, and a valuable means of intellectual training."  

Farrar had found this to be true and through his Greek Syntax and Grammar Rules he attempted to share his discovery with others. His teaching in this field was both interesting and intelligible. Fragmentation, the isolation of one field of study from another, is the perversion of education. Farrar always attempted to reveal the inter-relatedness of different subjects. Because of the unity of truth some relationship can be developed between specialized areas of study. Through natural evolution the student

1. Farrar, F.W., "A Brief Greek Syntax and Hints on Greek Accidence," preface viii  
2. Farrar, F.W., "A Brief Greek Syntax and Hints on Greek Accidence," preface viii
could find some phase of a subject which would kindle his interest. In his classes the student had the sense of being in a living, mysterious world where everything was pregnant with meaning. Greek, which for many was a tomb, was here the embarkation point for a journey into one of the richest cultures of the world. Beyond this, it was one way to a clearer understanding of all language. In this regard he said,

"I feel great hopes that a student who has gone carefully through the following pages, will, in addition to what he will have learnt about Greek, have acquired some insight into the principles of his own, and of other languages. Further than this, I shall have failed in my endeavour if he does not also gain some interest in observing the laws and great cyclical tendencies of language in general."

Farrar also felt that it was important not to teach anything which he would have to un-teach in the future. This was not only good educational method but a matter of integrity. It was particularly important in the field of Christian Education. With the impact of the higher criticism the Church was confronted with the problem of what it was going to teach to the young. Farrar believed that every question must be dealt with honestly. He knew young people who had lost their faith because the church had taught them untruths. Feeling that such an experience was needless, he said,

"If children are still taught to regard as articles of their religious belief opinions about the innerancy, universal equal sacredness, verbal dictation, or supernatural infallibility of all that is contained between the covers of the sixty-six books which we call the Bible, the faith of these children, if they develop any intelligent capacity or openness of mind hereafter, is destined to undergo a rude and wholly needless shock, in which it will be fortunate if much of their religion does not go by the board."

1. Farrar, F.W., "A Brief Greek Syntax and Hints on Greek Accidence," preface viii - ix
2. Farrar, F.W., "The Bible and the Child," pp. 9 - 10
Farrar adhered loyally to this principle. He dealt honestly with his pupils at every point, placing truth and the welfare of the individual before tradition.

"Traditionalism or professionalism, or self-interest should never for a moment be suffered to obscure our sense of its (truth) eternal obligation. We are not bound to teach children all we know, but we are most solemnly bound not to teach them anything which we feel to be doubtful as though it were certain ..."  

Farrar emphasized that the school years were not only a preparation for life but also a part of it. The future was moulded during these years. Whenever this is forgotten the student tends to isolate this phase from the main stream of his life.

Education loses its mission and the individual falls into indolent sloth. He becomes selfish and forgets that his student opportunity is a privilege made possible by the labouring community. What he is, what he does, and what he envisions during the student years will, in large part, shape his future being and destiny. It is therefore imperative that he develop habits that shall prepare him for a mature, useful life.

The curriculum should be moving towards wholeness. It should include within its province the whole range of human knowledge. Farrar's primary criticism of English education was directed towards this deficiency. In many public schools the curriculum consisted solely of a study of the Greek and Latin tongues. "It was a training which neglected some of the powers of all minds, and, what was worse, all the powers of some minds. A multitude of boys, with aptitudes for many noble acquirements,

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Bible and the Child," p.22
were suffered to grow up in an ignorance which was deplorable." 1 Farrar felt this tragic waste deeply and in lectures and essays he exerted his influence to reform the system. His message again and again was that

"the hours now devoted to (Greek and Latin verse) composition should be assigned to other studies of the highest value, which have hitherto been very partially recognized or very openly ignored. Among these studies are Comparative Philology, History, Modern Languages, the Hebrew Language, and the language and literature of our own country; but foremost in the weight of its claims is the study of Science, a study so invaluable as a means of intellectual training, and so infinitely important in the results at which it arrives, that the long neglect and strange suspicion with which it has been hitherto treated can only be regarded as a fatal error and a national misfortune." 2

While criticizing the deficiencies of an exclusively classical education, Farrar never desired that Greek and Latin should be wholly excluded. His plea was rather for wholeness; for a balance between the classics and the other subjects. In his lecture to the Royal Institution he said, "I am no enemy, but a sincere supporter of classical education properly supplemented and properly understood." 3 He had a deep appreciation of the value of Greek and Latin. They were not dead languages but were the text of many of the original documents which had been the seeds of western civilization. They could keep the contemporary age from the "dangerous error of trying to divorce and dissever itself from those who have gone before." 4 It was their inherent power which had enabled them to gain such dominance.

1. Farrar, F.W., "Sermons and Addresses in America," Modern Education p.238
3. __________, "On Some Defects in Public School Education," p.41
4. __________, "Sermons and Addresses in America," p.242
Each had lasted in its glory for more than a thousand years.
Farrar not only reformed; he restrained. He communicated to
an unenlightened generation the value of their heritage enshrined
in the Greek and Latin languages.

"Greek is not only the language of Homer and Hesiod,
of Aeschylus and Sophocles, of Plato and Aristotle, but
also of the late and noble Stoics, of the glorious slave
Epictetus, of the holy Emperor Marcus Aurelius. It is
the language not only of Demosthenes in the Pnyx, but of
St. Paul on the Areopagus. It is the language also of
Revelation and of the Fathers. In it the New Testament
was first written, and the Old Testament was first
translated. In it Philo as well as Heraclitus philosophized.
In it Chrysostom as well as Socrates preached. And Latin
is not only the language of Ennius and Virgil, but also of
Augustine and Jerome. It was the medium of communication
between scholars for many generations. It is the language
of the legislators, from the Twelve Tables down to
William the Conqueror; of theology, from Tertullian to
Thomas Aquinas. It is the language of the Reformation —
of Melancthon's Loci Communes, and of Calvin's Institutes.
It is the language of freedom — alike of the Magna Carta
and of Milton's Defensio. It is even the language of
Science." 1

While conscious of the value of Greek and Latin, Farrar
stressed that the "best Greek and Latin scholar who ever lived
is but indifferently educated if amid the deepening knowledge
of living organisms, and the exquisite inventions of applied
science, he has been suffered to grow up in ignorance of the laws
of nature." 2 Science had brought new meaning and security to
life. Farrar described the pleasure which an individual enjoyed
when he was trained to see, hear, and understand the composition
of the physical world. He was also grateful for the benefits
which science had conferred upon society. She has been

1. Farrar, F.W., "Sermons and Addresses in America," p.245-46
2. ibid. p. 247
"as a great Archangel of mercy devoting herself to the service of mankind. Her votaries have laboured to extend human happiness, to economize human effort, to extinguish human pain. In little things and in great she has alike striven to serve us. She has by her anaesthetics enabled the sufferer to lie hushed and unconscious as an infant on the mother's breast. ... She points not to pyramids built during weary centuries by the sweat of miserable nations, but to the light-house and the steamship, the railroad and the telegraph. She has restored eyes to the blind and hearing to the deaf. She has lengthened life, she has minimized danger, she has mitigated madness, she has trampled on disease."

This expression of society's debt to science and its discoveries was important, not only for education, but for the church. To have a churchman speak thus, when science seemed to be destroying the foundations of the faith, was a sign of hope and understanding. Farrar's broad scholarship gave him an understanding of truth in its wholeness and he shared this concept with his age. He succeeded in this undertaking with the result that his criticisms and recommendations were largely implemented in the educational reforms. He had transcended the conflict and revealed both the value of the classics and the claims of science.

Farrar pointed men to the end beyond the educational system. This was to train men to serve. One of his frequent illustrations was the school experience of Anthony Ashley, later Lord Shaftesbury. His life work was conceived when, as a school boy at Harrow, he saw two half-drunken men who were conducting a pauper's funeral. The noble boy was filled with indignation and disgust. Then and there he dedicated his life to the

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1. Farrar, F.W., "Sermons and Addresses in America," p.255
service of the poor and suffering among his fellow-men. ¹
This was the purpose of education: to make men sensitive to
need and to equip them to minister to it. If the scholar's
truth did not incarnate itself in service to humanity it was
a prostitution of study to unworthy ends.

Hence something more was required if the benefits of
education were to be used for the service of the community
rather than the selfish purposes of the educated. Religious
faith was required. Education rarely achieves the end of
service without religion. Farrar said it well —

"Nothing but religion in one or other of its great
essential forms can make us through all our lives
faithful to the best we know — faithful to God,
faithful to our country, faithful to our fellow-men,
and to ourselves. Our education must be, like the
ancient temples, lighted at the top." ²

Farrar has not systematized his methods of education and
hence we are limited in speaking about this area of his work.
In two lectures given before the University of Cambridge ³ he
laid down some practical hints to teachers which give us insight
into his method.

From his own experience he felt that a primary need in the
class room was the power of discipline. After an early incident
at Marlborough he wrote to a friend stating that "the circum¬
stances were so distracting that to be a teacher one needed the
voice of a Stentor, the hands of a Briareus, and the eyes of an
Argus." ⁴ Discipline was a common problem and there were two

¹ Farrar, F.W., "Sermons Preached in the Cathedral at the
Commemoration of Founders of the King's School, Canterbury,"
p. 153
² Farrar, F.W., "Sermons and Addresses in America," p.258
³ Lenten Term, 1883
⁴ Farrar, F.W., "General Aims of the Teacher and Form Management,"
p.11
A Stentor was a loud-voiced herald in the Iliad; a Briareus
was a monster in Greek Mythology with a hundred hands; and
an Argus was the hundred-eyed monster set to watch Io.
extremes in practice. One was little or no discipline so that the boys were unruly; or extreme severity so that they were repressed. The traditional method of maintaining discipline was by threat of punishment which assumed three forms: flogging; the writing of "lines;" and abuse, taunts, or sarcasm. Farrar liked to tell of the incident in the life of Lord Lawrence, who, when asked if he had ever been flogged as a boy, replied with grim satisfaction and spartan brevity, "I was flogged every day of my life at school except one, and then I was flogged twice." 1 Farrar called this kind of punishment "the discipline of death" and felt that incalculable harm resulted from it. He said "the more you punish in any way, the worse master you are; he is the best master who punishes least." 2 He thought that the writing of "lines" was a meaningless time-consumer which wasted the talent of the student. It was a confession of weakness. He felt the same way about the use of abuse, taunts, or sarcasm which only humiliated the student. Positive discipline was needed. Make their work interesting. Make them work. Stimulate them to do private work. Deal with offenders individually and, through sympathetic understanding, discover their interest and start them to work in that sphere. In these ways many of the discipline problems can be overcome in a positive way. Of course there were occasional cases where the boy had to be sent down.

Some of the disorder was precipitated by the lack of preparation on the part of the teacher. Farrar stressed the necessity of diligent preparation. Make a rule of faithful regularity in routine duties. Prepare interesting lessons. Vary your approach to avoid monotony. "It is important that the teacher's manner should not be dry or dull, and he should enlist on his side the intellect, the reason, the imagination, and the fancy." 3

1. Farrar, F.W., "General Aims of the Teacher and Form Management," p.14
2. ibid. p.15
3. Farrar, F.W., "General Aims of the Teacher and Form Management," p.25
Illustrative material should be used whenever possible. Farrar had used this technique with success and strongly recommended it to others.

"If you are dealing with some historic scene or character, no way of impressing facts upon the memory is comparable to that of putting your pupils into immediate contact with the person or the event, by letting him see or handle something which visibly recalls it. A coin, a medal, a bust, a picture, an inscription, a relic, actually examined and handled, will do more to awaken the interest and impress the memory than almost anything which you say." 1

In this practice Farrar anticipated the age of visual education. His insight was sound and through his personal collection of coins, medals, busts, pictures, and other items he made Greece and Rome come alive for his pupils.

Farrar's greatest effectiveness came as a result of a natural affection and concern for boys. He cared about them individually. The personal friendship he shared with them outside the class room made them more attentive within the class room. The example of his own life and industrious scholarship inspired them to take a new interest in study. Farrar trusted the boys. He was kind to them and made them feel that he believed in them. He advised teachers "to take their word whenever possible, and sometimes when it seemed impossible to do so." 2 This approach brought out the best in the boys and Farrar was seldom told a falsehood.

When a lad was deserving, he would give a little judicious praise and encouragement.

Farrar was not only a teacher but a sympathetic friend. His home was open to the boys and they often came to tea. He played with them in their games. He walked and talked with them. Even

1. Farrar, F.W., "General Aims of the Teacher and Form Management," p. 25
2. ibid. p. 17
when he was Dean of Canterbury the boys of the King's School Sixth Form would come to the Deanery for breakfast and it was a familiar sight to see the Dean walking with a lad in the garden.

The boys responded to this affection. When Farrar stood for the Headmastership of Marlborough College many of his old students wrote testimonial letters warmly recommending him for the post. They often asked him to preach at their reunions. They continued to seek his aid in their personal problems. They came back to the school that he might officiate at their marriages. His love and friendship, which won their affection and enabled him to become a part of their lives, revealed his strong influence.

The Bishop of London, after his death, remarked,

"I was six years a pupil of Dr. Farrar's when he was Headmaster of Marlborough. I value the opportunity of saying on behalf of many other Marlborough boys how much we appreciated his personal kindness to us all ..." 1

Farrar's years of education and scholarship had many positive results. His criticisms and reforms of English education, joined with those of similar mind, caused a widening of the content of the curriculum. Science was given its rightful place and the classics were taught in a more interesting and enlightened fashion. Penal discipline in the form of flogging, "lines," and abuse was largely abandoned for more positive patterns. The new thought had questioned the traditional orthodoxy of the church and caused it to restate its creed in a truer form. Farrar had pioneered in all these changes, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his ideas gain general acceptance.

Farrar had a direct influence upon many of the future leaders of the nation. The best of English youth passed through Harrow and Marlborough. Members of Parliament, Bishops of the Church, Headmasters in education, and prominent men in other fields came

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under his influence at a formative stage in their lives.

While of benefit to society and men in significant ways, these years had their greatest meaning in the life of Farrar himself. Mental knowledge, physical discipline, moral purity, and spiritual power all matured silently through this period. In the fullness of time Farrar was given the ear of the nation, and, faithful as a prophet and priest, he was a channel of God's judgment and healing to England.
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE BIBLE

"He that takes away Reason to make way for Revelation puts out the light of both."

-- John Locke

"To turn back in dismay from the problems which may be the entrance to higher truth... to flee before the gale which, rightly faced, might have carried us far on our way, is not of faith, but of unbelief."

-- John Oman, "Vision and Authority"

"For inspiration is a continuous energy of the present, not a mere exhausted and isolated spasm of the past. Pentecost was not a single outpouring. There are many Pentecosts. The Holy Ghost was not given once, or once only. He is constantly descending into holy hearts."

-- F.W. Farrar
The impact of the new knowledge in the fields of science, philosophy, and history created a new situation which involved the rejection of much that was regarded as essential to the Christian faith. The statements of science concerning the origin and structure of the physical world contradicted the literal interpretation of the Genesis record. The principle of evolution strengthened the idea of progressive revelation. Truth was not something that had been given at a particular occasion in a neat package but was rather an unfolding revelation. The scientific viewpoint gradually became the norm of all analysis. This led to a critical, suspicious attitude towards faith, and particularly towards the miraculous elements in Christianity.

Bentham and Mill were the fathers of the new utilitarian philosophy which attempted to unify and systematize all knowledge. It created new categories of thought which were wholly rational and therefore fragmentary. It attacked the concept of absolute truth and declared that everything existed for something else. It scorned the dogmatists' claim to know the unknowable and stressed the limitations of human knowledge. Since history was so uncertain it emphasized that the essence of truth was to be found in metaphysical abstraction and pragmatic observation.

The historical work had the strongest impact. The rigid application of historical methods to the records of Christianity did more than anything else to revolutionize theology. Improved methods of critical study and archaeological discovery revealed the spurious nature of many of the sources upon which earlier conclusions had been based.
The fruits of these three expressions were applied to Biblical studies by the sympathetic as well as the hostile. Tradition was laid aside and the attempt was made to determine what the background of the records actually was, what they said, and what they meant to those who originally read and heard them. This study was known as Biblical criticism. It was divided into higher and lower divisions.

"'Lower criticism' attempts to restore the original text of a book, when it has been subject to variation in the course of transmission. 'Higher criticism' discusses such questions as those of date, authorship, relation to other documents; it compares documents with one another, notes divergences or contradictions, and attempts to determine between them." 1

The Old Testament was examined first. Critical study of the manuscripts revealed that traditional Jewish beliefs about the composition, dates, and authorship of the books were unsound. The order of the books in the canon was found to be chronologically wrong. Examination of the contents led to the rejection of some parts of the books as being inaccurate. Archaeology rendered significant service in showing that Israel was not an isolated people but that she had much in common with her neighbours. The Old Testament gained clearer meaning as it came to be understood in its historical setting of Semitic religion. Many of the difficult problems were settled through this new approach to the Old Testament. A clearer understanding of the meaning of the scheme of divine grace was attained by tracing its growth through a prolonged, uneven, and interrupted process. 2

The work in the New Testament was done in the fields of historical, literary, and textual criticism. A study of Church history in relation

2. W. Sanday summed up the results of Old Testament criticism as having shown the untrustworthy character of the Jewish tradition concerning authorship, the composite character of many of the books, the presence in the Pentateuch of matter which in its present shape is not earlier than the Exile, and the composition of Deuteronomy not long before its discovery under Josiah. Inspiration, p.120-1
to its environment gave a new appreciation of Jewish and Hellenic influence upon the early Church. A knowledge of the origin and growth of the canon changed traditional ideas about inspiration and interpretation. The recognition of the diversity among the writers revealed the variety of viewpoint within the New Testament. Attention was concentrated upon the person of the historical Jesus. While this development ultimately went too far, it served to stimulate a rediscovery of his humanity. New knowledge was gained through a critical examination of the sources, authorship, and dates of the books. Perhaps the most valuable work of the period was the setting of the Greek text of the New Testament by Westcott and Hort.

The results of this critical scholarship caused a revolution in theology which brought a varied response. The traditionalists rejected the new knowledge because it contradicted their religious belief. They closed their eyes to the sound basis of the new truth; denounced all who professed and accepted it; and some even suggested that God had sent this new knowledge to separate true believers from the rest. They did great disservice to Christianity, and had they succeeded, a tragic cleavage between the Church and the intellectual life of the nation must have followed.

The leadership belonged to those who accepted the new knowledge and tried to construct a truer faith in the light of its criticism. They believed that the new criticism purged the faith of many inaccuracies and gave it an expanded scope and meaning. The universities were the centre of this influence. Some of this group were extreme enthusiasts who scorned the old and did immeasurable harm in causing many to turn from a moderate progress.

Some accepted the truth of the new knowledge and continued in the old forms without facing the inconsistency of their position. Others let metaphysical questions of faith fade into the background and busied themselves in philanthropic works of charity. The large majority lost

interest and became indifferent. Since theologians could not solve their problems there was little hope that the layman might do so. The literary guides displaced the official guardians and exponents of the Christian faith in the popular mind. There was a decrease in candidates for the ministry, in church attendance, and religion was no longer a vital question. Life increasingly became centred upon the things of this world, and many new competing interests absorbed the people into secular activities.

The panic was needless. The foundations of the faith were not being attacked. S.R. Driver, in his "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," stated the case clearly.

"It is not the case that critical conclusions such as those expressed in the present volume, are in conflict either with the Christian creeds or with articles of the Christian faith. Those conclusions affect not the fact of revelation, but only its form. They help to determine stages through which it passed, the different phases it assumed, and the process by which the record of it was built up. They do not touch either the authority or inspiration of the Scripture of the Old Testament."  

This truism needed to be communicated to the popular mind. Perhaps the greatest failure was that the Church seemed to have lost her spiritual vitality in the crisis. The need was to find a fresh expression of the Christian faith which would combine traditional teaching with the new knowledge. This expression required a spiritual vitality and reverent devotion which would speak to the heart as well as the head. It would also need to embody the significant achievement which had been made in academic centres in a popular framework. Farrar was particularly gifted and trained to fill this need. Trained in theology he had a sound grasp of the essence of the Christian tradition. Experienced in education he had a wide knowledge of the new developments in critical scholarship. Dedicated in faith he had an enthusiastic

devotion which infused his work. Practical in interest he understood the popular need and addressed himself to it. He spent the large portion of his life in a reconstructive study of the Bible which combined these elements and made a truer and more meaningful faith possible to many.

Farrar found that most of the objections which were urged against the Christian faith were aimed at dogmas which formed no essential part of the faith. He attempted to clear away the spurious part of tradition in order that the essence of faith might be grasped. He was careful to point out that his work was similar to that of a surgeon — he operated only to heal. He hoped that his work would result in a clearer acceptance of the supremacy and authority of the Scriptures.

The literature of the Bible requires a background knowledge if it is to be rightly understood. Farrar attempted to give this necessary introduction and asked only that the reader should lay aside all prior considerations, and examine the Bible analytically, hence arriving by induction at a real knowledge as to its claims and character. 1

He pointed out that the Bible is not a single, nor even a homogeneous book, but rather a library. It is composed of sixty-six books. These books were commonly referred to as 'the writing' (Scripture) or 'the writings' (Scriptures), to which names were frequently added the epithets "sacred" or "holy." They were called "sacred" because they dealt with the relations of God to man, and contained revelations of His will. They were called "holy" because their ultimate end was to promote holiness. The particular name 'Bible' dates from the fourth century. The neuter plural 'biblia' was mistaken in the Western Church for a feminine singular, and from it is derived our familiar name 'The Bible.' 2

Next Farrar traced the gradual process by which the Canon was formed. The outline of the Old Testament Canon had generally been

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agreed upon before the time of Christ. The Jewish community did not place the writings which we call "The Apocrypha" on the same level as that of the other books. The fixation of the Canon of the Old Testament was the work of the Scribes and Rabbis who exercised their own judgment in accordance with the best insight that they possessed. Objections were made to the "Song of Songs," "Ecclesiastes," and "Ezekiel." It is commonly accepted that the Canon of the Old Testament was not settled before A.D. 70. In that year the Jews held a Council at Jamnia (Jabneh) which decided in favour of our present thirty-nine books, which they called twenty-four, namely, (1) The five books of the Law; (2) The eight books of the Prophets, by which they meant Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and twelve minor prophets; (3) eleven writings, called by the Jews Kethubim, namely, Ruth, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. The gathering at Jamnia was a tumultuous assemblage, and in the faction fights of the Rabbinic parties, blood was shed by their scholars. Hence the decision was regarded as irrevocable and sealed by blood.  

The Canon of the New Testament was also formed in a gradual manner. Farrar described this process.

"In the first two centuries many Gospels, Epistles, and Apocalypses were current, and some of these obtained a brief and limited acceptance in the Church. Other books such as the Shepherd of Hermas were so highly regarded that they too were quoted as sacred books and read aloud in Christian Churches. Most of the New Testament books were universally received and were called "acknowledged books." Seven of them, however, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, those of St. James, and St. Jude, and the Revelation, were classed together as "disputed books." There was no final test of their canonicity except the verifying faculty of Christian consciousness." 2

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1. Farrar, F.W., "The Bible, Its Meaning and Supremacy," p.31
2. ibid. p. 27-8
Farrar emphasized the human element and its limitations. Regarding the Old Testament the Christian Church accepted the conclusions of the Jewish Synod at Jamnia. That Synod simply reflected the critical and spiritual ability of Rabbis who were far from being unanimous; who were bound in an impossible system; and who were by no means free from error. 1

The Canon of the New Testament was first officially settled by three provincial synods -- that of Laodicea (A.D. 363), and those of Carthage (A.D. 397 and 419); but these churchmen exercised no independent judgment on their books, nor was their critical knowledge other than elementary. No oecumenical council has formally considered the question of the Canon, but only three provincial synods. 2

The formation of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments was a work which God left to the ordinary influences of the Holy Ghost. It was not due to any external inspired authority. No vision of the night, no voice from heaven declared the books of the New Testament to be the Word of God; nor did any Church Council for some centuries certify their canonicity until it had been practically settled by the common methods of criticism. 3 E.F. Scott puts the matter clearly.

"The selection was made unconsciously by the mind of the church at large. All the writings were at first accepted without much discrimination but, as time went on, some of them grew arid and meaningless and ceased to be read; others retained their freshness, and seemed to become always richer and deeper. The church, in the end, selected those writings which had already selected themselves." 4

Many people thought that the Bible was the complete literature of the Jewish and early Christian communities. Farrar showed that the Bible represents the remains of a much wider literature. The

2. ibid. p.33
3. ibid. p.29
sacred books of the Old Testament are the fragments of a larger
group of writings. The Old Testament

"contains quotations from and references to a number
of other books — at least sixteen — which are now
lost. Many such collections were quoted and utilized
by the compilers and editors of the Pentateuch and the
Historic Books. Among these were "The Acts of Solomon,"
"The Chronicles of King David," "The Chronicles of the
Kings of Israel," "The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,"
"The Books of Nathan the Prophet, and of Gad the Seer,"
"The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," and "The Vision
of Iddo the Seer." Two were of special importance: "The
Book of the Wars of the Lord," which is quoted in Numbers,
and "The Book of Jasher," or "The Upright." The latter
was, in part at any rate, a collection of poems from which
there are some remarkable and magnificent quotations on
the glory of the Ideal Israel." 1

The New Testament also represents the extant portion of a
literature which was much more extensive in the earliest centuries.

"The First and Second Epistles of Clement," "The Epistle
of Barnabas," "The Shepherd of Hermas," "The Teaching
and other books all possessed a sort of Scriptural
authority in the early Church; and several of these works
had a circulation and popularity considerably in excess of
some of the books now included in the Canon." 2

The fact of this larger literature placed the writings of the
Bible in a new light. Because there were other contemporary
writings the Scriptures were less unique, but, on the other hand,
comparison revealed the superiority of the canonical literature. 3

The question of the unity of the Bible has come full round.

2. ibid. p.38
3. Richard Heard states "None of the other Christian writings
which survive from the first and second centuries can rank
as serious competitors for inclusion; neither in information
about Jesus nor in the formulation of Christian
document do they add anything that is at once important
and primitive." Introduction to the N.T., p.19
The last century saw scholarship emphasize the diversity of the Scriptures in protest against a false understanding of Biblical unity. Criticism revealed this diversity and completely changed popular ideas about the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, as well as the unity within each Testament. This movement went too far. In stating that St. Paul had perverted the teaching and person of Jesus, in teaching that the Old Testament's relationship to the New was merely one of continuity, in making the different New Testament writers oppose one another, and in drawing too clear a contrast between the prophets and the priests in the Old Testament, the basic relationships within the Bible were broken. This critical work was too analytical and concentrated too one-sidedly on differences, but it is important to realize that the present understanding of Biblical unity is only possible because of this work which broke up the old ground.

At the present time the emphasis is upon the unity of the Bible. It is not the old idea of Biblical sameness. It is a deeper, more profound understanding of unity which captures the essential oneness of the Biblical revelation within all the diversity.

Farrar, a part of his age, emphasized that the Bible includes a broad variety within its unity, both in form and content. He would have agreed with C.H. Dodd, when he wrote,

"There is prose narrative, both historical and fictitious; there are legal codes; there are proverbs and moral maxims; there is even personal correspondence. There is lyrical and dramatic poetry; there is the peculiar genre of literature which can only be described as "prophetic;" and there is liturgical literature, designed expressly for use in public worship." ¹

It was not only in kind, but also in personality and expression that the literature of the Bible has wide variety. Farrar, whose literary tastes were keen, was particularly conscious of

this fact.

"The Bible is not the work of a single intellect. It speaks to us in various language, and many voices. It furnishes us with the wisdom and experience of widely different ages; it springs from the deep heart of humanity under the most opposite conditions of patriarchal simplicity or complex civilization. ... It was written by all sorts and conditions of men, by the poor as well as by the rich; by the lowly as well as the exalted, by aristocrats as well as peasants; by priests and prophets; by warriors and husbandmen; by poets and chroniclers; by passionate enthusiasts and calm reasoners; by unlearned provincial and Alexandrian theologians; by philosophers who attained from reasoning, the mystics who saw by intuition, and practical men who learnt by experience, the truths of God." 1

But the serious diversity, which many called contradiction, was to be found in the content of its teaching. If the essential message was the same this variety of expression would add to its colour. Many questioned the unity of the message. The Bible became a literary humpty-dumpty shattered in pieces. A.M. Hunter points out the results of this type of analysis. Having pointed to the differences in the writings of Paul, James, and John, he goes on to say,

"And so we might go on drawing contrasts, distinctions, differences. The central figure in all the documents is Jesus, but how variously he is described. Now he is "the Son of man;" now he is "the Servant of God" (Acts); now he is "the second Adam" (Paul); now he is "the eternal High-priest after the order of Melchizedek" (Hebrews); now he is "the Logos incarnate" (John). ... It is on such differences that analytical criticism concentrates; it reveals contrasts, divergences, inconsistencies; it distinguishes the various christologies, soteriologies, eschatologies in the New Testament and labels them Synoptic, Pauline, Petrine, Johanine, and so on." 2

Farrar was aware of these differences, but he was also conscious of a deeper unity which lay beyond the diversity. His independence of scholarship is seen in this insight. Of course he was not alone in this understanding, but in an age which

emphasized the disunity of the Scriptures, he was among those who moved through the critical analysis to the deeper reality of Biblical unity. He wrote,

"The essential unity of the writings is hardly less remarkable than their infinite variety, and in spite of its manifold elements the Bible may be regarded, under certain limitations, as an organic whole. It has the unity of nationality from the bosom of which it mainly sprang. It has the unity of monotheism. It has the unity which rises from the fact that it deals exclusively with religious ends ... Above all it finds its unifying element in Christ. In the Old Testament Christ is prefigured; in the New Testament He is revealed. Apart from Him all the deepest elements of the Old Testament become unintelligible." 1

He not only saw the unity of the Bible, but further, he saw that the diversity was necessary to the unity. He pointed out that unity does not exclude diversity, but that without diversity there can be no true and perfect unity. 2 Illustrating this statement, he said,

"There is, in the diversity, a deeper unity. St. Paul had dwelt prominently on Faith; St. Peter dwells much on Hope; St. John insists most of all on Love. But the Christian life is the synthesis of these Divine graces, and the works of which St. James so vehemently impresses the necessity, are works which are the combined result of operative faith, of constraining love, and of purifying hope." 3

Farrar stressed the essential truth in stating that the unity of the Bible was to be found in Christ. He said, "The Christian Faith does not centre in a Dogma, or in a Book, but in a Person,

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Bible, Its Meaning and Supremacy," pp. 53-4
3. ibid, p. 361
and this is the cause and pledge of its essential unity." 1 The whole Bible finds its unity in Him. 2

The emphasis upon the unity of the Bible has reached fuller flower in our day. The unity underlying the Law and the Prophets, Promise and Fulfilment, Old Testament sacrifice and the Cross, and other themes, has been developed more fully. Farrar's work, with the labours of others of similar thought, constituted the seed of this later development. 3

Farrar showed that there were different levels of value within the Bible. The Old Testament does not stand on the same level with the New. The treatment which attaches equal importance, equal value, equal validity to all the books of the Bible — the teaching which represents all their statements as equally authoritative, and which binds us to accept them without reference to the ages or the circumstances in which they originated — is unnatural, dangerous, and false. 4

Such treatment misunderstands the unity of the Bible. It is a dynamic unity. 5 It moves. It is not static. The Bible contains an ever-advancing revelation. In many of the books of the Old Testament the spiritual insight is limited and the moral standard is imperfect. Farrar expounded at length to show that the failure of the church to understand this truth had resulted in tragedy again

2. See James Moffatt. "The true connexion of early Christianity with the Old Testament prophecy is not to be deduced from isolated correspodence in detail, but in the fact that Christ fulfilled the great ideals adumbrated in Hebrew prophecy at its best." The Approach to the New Testament, p.85
3. See H.H. Rowley, "The Unity of the Bible."
5. See H.H. Rowley."The two Testaments are one in the sense in which the parts of a musical cadence are one. Without the final chord it is incomplete, a process that does not reach its goal; on the other hand, the final chord, however beautiful it may be as a chord, is robbed of its full significance without the chords that should precede it." The Relevance of the Bible, p.82  See also H.H. Rowley, "The Unity of the Bible," p.17 ff.
and again, He said,

"If dark deeds are ascribed to God's commands, we, who know that He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, can only suppose that, to the defective knowledge of them of old time, those deeds appeared to be in accordance with His will. Nothing can be regarded as the message of God which the Spirit of the Son of God has taught us to reject and condemn."

Farrar believed that much of the Old Testament morality should be condemned.

The Scriptures presented many difficulties to the understanding. Farrar attempted to face these problems honestly. The Bible was often assailed because it contained coarse and unedifying stories. Farrar stated that "we must remember that the rigid external modesty and propriety of modern and English literature is disgusted and offended by statements which give no such shock to ancient and Eastern readers. The earthy quality of the record gave another assurance of its authenticity. Furthermore, in the reality of human sin and sensuality God's grace came to men.

Farrar used the case of Hosea to illustrate another purpose for this type of writing. It was in the tragedy of Hosea's personal experience that he discovered the sacred meaning of marriage. Also, the degradation of Gomer, the prophet's wife, caused Hosea, through his anguish, to understand the anguish that the infidelity of Israel had caused God. Farrar wrote,

"In the agony of personal experience he learned the true spiritual meaning of the marriage tie as a doctrine of holy love. He was taught to understand that it should be separated from henceforth from the carnal alloy which disgraced the crude-nature worship of idolaters, and that it was an emblem of the union between Jehovah and His people, as it signifies to us the mystical union which is between Christ and His Church."

1. See Farrar, F.W., "The Bible, Its Meaning and Supremacy," p.75 ff
2. ibid. p.58
3. ibid. p.221
4. ibid. p.223-4
Another major problem is that of stupendous supernatural inferences for inadequate ends. The Bible makes impossible demands on our credulity, and asks us to believe in the most fabulous portents. A true understanding of the Scriptures requires a sound interpretation of miracles. While he exercised his critical powers in regard to miraculous events, Farrar stated that he would not withhold his credence

"from any occurrence — however much it may be called miraculous — which is adequately attested; which was wrought for adequate ends; and which is in accordance with the revealed laws of God's immediate dealings with man." 1

Having affirmed his belief in miracles within these limits, Farrar goes on to explain his position more fully. He wrote,

"I may hold that some stories represented as miraculous may have borrowed from error or metaphor their supernatural complexion. I may hold that the providential has sometimes been confused with the supernatural. I may attach to miracles less evidential value because, in many cases, I may regard the miracles not as the attestation of other truths, but as themselves being attested by those truths, which depend on deeper and more cogent evidence. I hold myself at perfect liberty to believe that some events once regarded as miraculous were due to the action of laws once unnoticed or ill-understood; and that others may be but poetic and symbolic descriptions, and may have been prosaically misinterpreted from incidents in a cycle of ancient and poetic legend. I therefore admit the right to consider each miraculous narrative with reference to the amount and credibility of the whole testimony on which it rests." 2

In these views Farrar shared the thoughts of others who saw miracles in a new light as a result of the new knowledge and Biblical criticism. Thus a complete change of point of view came about;

2. ibid. p.225
miracles, instead of being relied upon as evidence for the truth of Christianity, were now to be accepted because of their connexion with it. They were moreover, no longer regarded as violations of law, or as a kind of running repairs by the Creator to a machine which threatened to go wrong. It was man's sin and the disorder which it had occasioned which made them necessary.  

An acquaintance with Oriental literary methods removed difficulties over Joshua's halting of the course of the sun, over Balaam's donkey, and even over Jonah's whale. The scientific view of the world made much that had hitherto been hidden and mysterious seem natural. There was a distinction made between the various miracles, and there was a tendency, justified on the grounds of historical criticism, to reject many of the miracles of the Old Testament. The New Testament, for the present time, was spared.

Farrar believed that the majority of the attacks on the Old Testament resulted from misunderstanding. He dealt with these areas of attack by attempting to show how Biblical criticism revealed their meaning. Let us take his treatment of the Fall of Adam as an example. He wrote,

"When infidels turn it into ridicule they ridicule one of the profoundest and most instructive lessons which was ever penned for the warning and instruction of mankind. They are most certainly not called upon — nor is any Christian called upon — to believe that there was an actual garden, an actual talking serpent, actual trees of which one bestowed the knowledge of good and evil and the other an immortality of life. Such an interpretation was rejected two thousand years ago by Philo, and it has been rejected by many Christian interpreters since. The Bible is a book of Eastern origin, and can only be understood by the methods of Eastern literature. Now there is no other Eastern book in the world which we should have dreamed of understanding literally if it introduced speaking serpents and magic trees.

2. ibid, p.15
3. ibid. p.57-8
Even the Rabbis, stupidly literal as were their frequent methods, were perfectly aware that the story of the Fall was a philosopheme—a vivid pictorial representative of the origin and growth of sin in the human heart." ¹

Having shown the background of the story by revealing its nature as a symbolic myth, ² Farrar goes on to point out its positive teaching.

"The inspired character of the narrative is to me evinced by the fact that all the literature of the world has failed to set forth for human warning any sketch of the course of temptation which is comparable in insight to this most ancient allegory. The effect of a prohibition in producing in man's free will a tendency to disobedience; the peril of tampering with temptation and lingering curiously in its vicinity; the promptings of concupiscence, reinforced by the whisperings of doubt; the genesis of sin, from the thought to the wish, from the wish to the purpose, from the purpose to the act, from the act to the repetition, to the habit, to the character, to the necessity, to the temptation of others; the thrilling reaction in the sense of fear, shame, and an innocence lost forever; the certain and natural incidence of retribution; the beginning of a new life of sorrow and humiliation; the workings of deathful consequence with all the inevitable certainty of natural law—all this, and the awful truth that death is the wages of sin, and the fruit of sin, and that death is sin, has been set forth since then by all the loftiest literature in the world. ... What then, does it show but our own ignorance if we ridicule the very symbols which were required by the understanding as its literary form, and which have proved so incomparably vivid and appropriate for the preservation and conveyance of such necessary truths?" ³

Farrar deals similarly with the account of Babel, Balaam and the ass, Joshua and the sun standing still, and Jonah and the sea-monster. He asks, "Can not the Holy Spirit use myth and legend?"

² See C.H. Dodd. "Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge and the building of Babel are symbolic myths." The Bible Today, p. 112
He points out that this no more discredits their value than the
parables of Christ are discredited because they were not of
historical occurrence.  

The rise of Biblical criticism made necessary a new doctrine
of the inspiration of Holy Scripture.  The great obstacles to a
right understanding of the Scriptures were concepts of Biblical
infallibility and verbal dictation.  These views had raised
problems for all thinking people and had shipwrecked the faith of
many.  Farrar was particularly concerned about this issue because
he was aware of the measure of harm which it had caused.

He began by stating his concept of Biblical infallibility.

"The Bible is amply sufficient for our instruction
in all those truths which are necessary to salvation.
Its final teaching is our surest guide to all holiness.
We hear the voice of God breathing through it; we see
the hand of God at work in its preservation for the
human race.  The Bible contains the historic
revelation of the Eternal Christ.  In everything which
is requisite for man's salvation, the lessons contained
in Scripture — with the co-ordinate help of that Spirit
by whom its writers were moved to aid us in our
discrimination — are an infallible guide to us in
things necessary.  This we hold with all our hearts,
and for this we thank God continually.  But that is
wholly different from the assertion that the Bible is
throughout and in all respects infallible and inerrant."  

Having drawn this distinction between a true and false
Biblical infallibility, Farrar goes on to demonstrate the truth
of his opinion.  He shows that there are scarcely any two great
branches of the Christian Church which are even agreed as to
what constitutes the Bible; or which is the authoritative text;
or what are the rules of interpretation.  Continuing his argument
he states that an infallible guide would be useless without
infallible decisions as to what the guide is and what it says.
Such decisions are impossible because the Christian Church has

2. ibid. p.138
never had any unity on this issue. 1

The theory of verbal dictation was linked with the concept of Biblical infallibility. This view maintained that God was solely responsible for every statement in the Bible and that its divine origin guaranteed it against all error. Intelligent people could no longer believe this dogma and Farrar tried to show that it “was no part of the Christian faith to maintain that every word of the Bible was dictated supernaturally.” 2 He declared that the theory of verbal dictation was not a sign of holy devotion but rather an irreverent idolatry. He felt that it robbed the Scriptures of their most precious human and divine elements.3 He demonstrated that it was an impossible blasphemy because the text had undergone thousands of variations, some of which affected questions of extreme importance. Some passages had been interpolated; others had ceased to be comprehensible; some had been falsified; and in a few the text was hopelessly corrupt.4

Farrar felt that the plainest facts which lie on the surface of the Scriptures revealed the impossibility of these opinions. The writers had shown themselves indifferent to verbal fidelity. He cited examples which included the dual record of Psalm 18 which is found both in the Psalter and in 2 Samuel xxii. The two accounts were not identical and the one version was very inferior to the other. He pointed out that the Old Testament contained variant narratives of the Creation, the Flood, and the Decalogue. Even the discourses of Christ were not reproduced by the Evangelists with verbal identity.5

2. ibid. p. 18
3. ibid. p. 99
4. ibid. p. 100
5. ibid. p. 101
Continuing his argument he showed that the Apostles and Evangelists were not concerned with the actual words of the Old Testament writers because they frequently relied upon the Greek translation (LXX). They freely used this version, though it is sometimes altogether erroneous and untrustworthy. He said "If there were the least truth in the doctrine of verbal dictation we should have to claim it for the Septuagint also, as Augustine did; but that is a proposition so flagrantly absurd that it has been universally abandoned. Out of two hundred and twenty-eight passages quoted from the Old Testament in the New, there are but fifty-three which agree accurately with the original Hebrew. In seventy-six the New Testament differs from both the Greek and the Hebrew; and in ninety-nine the New Testament, the Greek, and the Hebrew are all variant. Also, the Apostles appear to quote passages which do not occur in Scripture at all."

Farrar believed that this was sufficient evidence to prove that the theories of Biblical infallibility and verbal dictation were spurious creations of men. It was an attempt to give the Bible an external, literal authority which it had never claimed. The results of this attempt had caused tragic consequences which impeded the advance of knowledge. Farrar illustrated this fact by showing the effects of this dogma upon the development of science.

He attempted to show that there was scarcely a modern science which had not been brought into deplorable conflict with the Bible by theologians who misunderstood its scope and misapplied its expressions. He asked,

"What has become of Lactantius' denial, on the authority of Scripture, that the world is round? What has become of the confident assertion of Ambrose, and so many of the Fathers, that the sky is a solid vault? What has become of the assertion of Augustine that there could be no

Antipodes, because such a belief would be contrary to Scripture? What has become of the arguments of bigoted Spanish priests who tried on Biblical grounds to argue the impossibility that Columbus could discover another hemisphere?¹

Farrar then recalled Roger Bacon, Galileo, Buffon, the discovery of anaesthesia, the work of geology, and in the present day, the treatment given Charles Darwin and his theory of evolution. In all these cases the religious attitude had been one of fierce persecution; then of timid compromise; lastly, of thankless and inevitable acceptance. ²

This kind of Biblical interpretation had not only obstructed science. It had done great injury to the majesty of the Scriptures. The pride which had led incompetent interpreters to assume that they could utter infallible oracles respecting every branch of human knowledge had only forfeited popular confidence in anything that they might say. This view of inspiration had impeded progress, made men of religion dishonest and bigoted, and had caused many good, intelligent people to turn from the Christian faith.

What then is meant by inspiration? Farrar, while pointing out that the church had never defined what it meant by inspiration, suggested that "we mean the influence of the Spirit of God upon the mind of man - dilating, strengthening, elevating, revealing - and we believe that every pure and sweet influence upon the soul - all that is best and greatest in philosophy, eloquence, and song - is due to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God."³

Farrar believed that the Scriptures taught this broad view of inspiration. He wrote,

2. Farrar, F.W., "The History of Interpretation," p.427
"The Bible uses the word 'inspiration' of that manifold and perpetual, but neither extinct nor abnormal, enlightenment, which is not confined to any one period or any one set of men." ¹

He said that while no theory of inspiration is taught by Christ or the Apostles, in so far as they speak of it, they tell us that it is granted to all believers. ² The Christian Church had held four theories. Farrar enumerated these and gave an explanation of each.

The first was the organic, mechanical, or 'dictation' theory, which when universally professed, was not held with any consistency even by the Rabbis and Fathers. This is the view which Farrar had strenuously attacked.

Second, was the dynamic theory. It maintained that the Bible, though not dictated by God, was yet written under the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit. This view recognized the divine energy, but had not entirely annihilated the human co-operation.

Third, the theory of illumination confined the divine guidance to matters of faith and doctrine. It recognized degrees in inspiration.

The fourth theory was that of general inspiration. Those who held it did not regard the inspiration of the sacred writers throughout the whole extant of Scripture as more extraordinary, transcendent, and supernatural in kind, nor even always in degree, than that which had been vouchsafed to other noble and holy souls. Those who held this view believed that, by its witness to Christ, the Bible animated and awakened the religious consciousness of men, but they attached no attribute of infallibility or supernatural sanctity to all its particular phrases or incidental references.³

2. ibid. p.111
3. ibid. p.111-3
Farrar believed that it was clear, that the maintenance of the opinion that the Bible was, in every text and utterance, inerrant was no part of the Christian faith. The majority of Christians held that it was throughout both human and divine; or that it was only illuminated in differing and intermittent degrees; or that it was divine only in matters of faith; or that it was only divine in that sense in which all else was divine which was good and noble.

Farrar taught that inspiration extended beyond the Bible. He said, "God has provided us with other means of knowing Him, and it is not piety, but ingratitude and neglect, to close and repudiate the other works of God for the undue glorification of any one among them." ¹

Demonstrating that the Bible taught this, he said, "Scripture is not God's only revelation to mankind. On the contrary, one of the priceless blessings which Scripture bestows upon our race is that it constantly refers us to other sources of revelation, and gives us our best help towards their interpretation." ²

History, biography, nature, and conscience were the other Bibles which God had provided as a means of revelation. "The moral lessons taught us by nature and by science are absolutely accordant with the moral lessons of Holy Writ. Nature teaches us that punishment is no arbitrary infliction, but that it is due to the working of beneficent and inevitable laws. It enables us more clearly to understand the relation of our mortal bodies to the surrounding universe. It reveals to us the glory and majesty of the Creator. More overwhelmingly even than Scriptures do the starry heavens above make manifest to us the magnificence of the Creator. No portions of the Sermon on the Mount are more impressive than those in which the Saviour points to the lessons

¹. Farrar, F.W., "The Bible, Its Meaning and Supremacy," p.113
². ibid. p.158
³. ibid. p.158
of the lilies and the sparrows." 1 History, biography, and conscience reveal similar truths.

Farrar confirmed this truth by showing that God had revealed Himself to men without the Bible. The Gentiles, by the aid of His Spirit, realized many of the same truths which are brought home to us by the witness of those Scriptures which they did not possess. He said, "We feel no misgiving when we are told that there is scarcely a single moral precept of Christianity which may not be paralleled from heathen sources. These truths were revealed to the Gentiles by the same light which shines on us. There is inspiration whenever the Spirit of God makes itself heard in the heart of man. Inspiration is the eternal act by which God imparts Himself to men, manifests Himself to their divine nature; and God can do this and has done it, and that for ages, without any aid from the written word." 2

Farrar illustrated this truth by pointing to the high virtue of men like Socrates; that multitudes of the heathen are saved who know not Christ by name; that faith existed in many Old Testament characters before the Scriptures were written; that the early Christians' enthusiasm, love, and evangelization of the world were maintained, not by written records, but by the constant sense of Christ's living presence. He emphasized that for many a century the religious life was maintained with but indirect support from the written word. Great indeed was their loss, but their loss was not such as to wholly cripple the religious life. 3

If the text of the Scriptures is not infallible, and if inspiration is so general, how are we to know what is the Word of God contained in the Scriptures? Farrar answered, "We recognize it precisely as the Church has always done, that is, by the

2. ibid. p.164-5
3. ibid. p.165-7
standard of Jesus Christ Himself." 1 The Church has always had to distinguish between the word of God and the word of man by the ordinary means of criticism and spiritual discernment. 2 "The voice of God speaks to us out of Holy Writ, far more intensely than out of any form of human speech, and, if only we have the courage to be sincere, it will always speak directly and un­mistakably to our inmost hearts and consciences. We shall hear it each according to our capacity and power to receive it, and we shall hear it all the more surely in exact proportion to the measure in which we have arrived at truth in the inward parts." 3

Farrar next asked, "What is meant by the Word of God?" "The Bible as a whole may be spoken of as the Word of God, because it contains words and messages of God to the human soul; but it is not in its whole extent, and throughout, identical with the Word of God. Not once throughout the New Testament is the Old Testament called the Word of God; not once throughout all Scripture is the Bible called the "Word of God," though the phrase itself occurs between three and four hundred times. Even as applied to the Gospel message the phrase is used in a secondary sense. In its true and supreme sense the title "The Word of God" is applicable to Christ alone." 4 Farrar concluded by stating that "the superiority of the Scriptures over the other Bibles of humanity is this — they set before us the Gospel of the Eternal Christ." 5

Next Farrar discussed the supremacy of the Bible. He believed it to be the supreme revelation. He wrote,

"I place it first because it must ever continue to be of the supremest importance to the race of man. It contains the record of God's special revelations

2. ibid. p.118
3. ibid. p.121
4. ibid. p.135
5. ibid. p.164
to one chosen people, and of that final, all-inclusive revelation wherein he hath spoken to us by His Son."  

Farrar attempted to prove the supremacy of the Bible by sharing the testimony of many varied individuals. He declared that "their evidence will show that the ignorant contempt with which the Bible is often disparaged only proves the incapacity of its assailants to grasp its real significance.  

Speaking of its influence he said,

"It dilated and inspired the immortal song of Dante and Milton. All the best and brightest English verse, from the poems of Chaucer to the plays of Shakespeare in their noblest parts, are echoes of its lessons; and from Cowper to Wordsworth, from Coleridge to Tennyson, the greatest of our poets have drawn from its pages their loftiest wisdom. It inspired the pictures of Fra Angelico and Raphael, the music of Handel and Mendelssohn. It kindled the intrepid genius of Luther, the bright imagination of Bunyan, the burning zeal of Whitfield. The hundred best books, the hundred best pictures, the hundred greatest strains of music are all in it and all derived from it."  

After this survey Farrar presented a mass of personal testimony which included among others, a Roman Catholic cardinal, a German Jew, an American Unitarian, a German higher critical scholar, a French sceptic, and several scientists.

He continued his account in demonstrating how the Bible met the different needs of the human race. There were two special emphases. Firstly he spoke of the power of the Bible over individual souls, illustrating this truth by giving biographical accounts of Augustine, Luther, Francis Xavier, and H.M. Stanley. Secondly, he revealed the comfort that the Bible had given to humanity, recounting the experiences of St. Paul, the martyrs, St. Perpetua, Savonarola, John Huss, and others. This comfort

3. ibid. p.244
was adequate for bereavement; severe sickness; anxiety about the means of sustenance; injustice which resulted from oppression; and the agony of personal guilt and sin.

The Bible had blessed nations and made them prosper. He mentioned the Jews and claimed that it was the Bible which had preserved them in the midst of oppression. He attempted to prove that Germany, England, New Zealand, and Japan had progressed because of the Bible.

Farrar concluded by affirming his belief that Holy Scripture was given by inspiration of God; that it contained all that was necessary for salvation; and that it was the most valued of all human documents because it was the fullest and clearest revelation of God's will and purpose, and that without it all other revelation would have become absolutely silent. He distinguished between general and Biblical inspiration when he wrote: "We believe that the Bible contains the record of truths which appeal to history, nature, and conscience for their confirmation, but which differ in kind from those which we should have inferred from these sources of knowledge only." His final word, written towards the close of his life, was,

"We know that God speaks to us out of His Holy Book; we know that it contains His revelation of Himself; we know that it is, as a whole, the most supreme of collected literatures." 3

Farrar's introduction to the Biblical literature made the Bible more intelligible to the age. His work included the best fruits of past and contemporary scholarship, and his honest approach resolved many of the Scriptural difficulties.

There are limitations in Farrar's work, and we must be careful not to judge his scholarship by modern standards. Our problems

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Inspiration of Holy Scripture", pp. 29-30
2. ibid., p. 30
were not his. He was confronted with different questions and therefore gave different answers. The surprising feature of his work is that he transcended many of the limitations of his period. While analyzing the higher critical material, he never lost his way in it. His statement on the unity and diversity of the Bible was well-balanced and anticipated the further scholarship which has been done. His view of 'progressive revelation,' while infused with evolutionary ideas, was sound. His primary emphasis was upon the centrality of Christ.

His concerns were to disprove the theories of Biblical inerrancy and verbal dictation, and to show that God's inspiration was universal. He performed these tasks in an effective manner, although one feels that he was so occupied with these endeavours that he never adequately defined in what sense Biblical inspiration was uniquely different from other general inspiration. Farrar does make this distinction \(^1\) but it fills a minor place in his treatise, and he fails to develop it.

The Bible is a special form of divine revelation. It contains the records of the historical events of the life of Christ; the records of God's dealings with His chosen people; and the believing-witness of those events by prophets, apostles, and others. With regard to our knowledge of God's revelation in Christ, Professor Emil Brunner wrote,

"Without the witness of the Apostles we should not know Jesus as the Christ. For instance, had a Jewish or pagan chronicler transmitted to us the deeds and words of Jesus, we should not be able, through their "historically faithful" account, as eye-witnesses, to know Jesus as the Son of God and Redeemer. In order to become Christian believers, we needed not only eye-witnesses of Jesus, but also believing-witnesses of the resurrection of Christ." \(^2\)

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1. See page 113
The uniqueness of the Bible goes further. It is the only book in the world which has always claimed that God not merely spoke to those who wrote it in the past, but that He still speaks to those who read it in the present. Through the Bible God speaks to us and reveals the meaning of that which He wills to say and give to us.

Farrar would have given whole-heartedly agreement. The seed of its maturity is in all that he says. The work of his generation broke up the old ground and set this development in motion.

The problem of Biblical authority is different. Farrar seldom speaks of the authority of the Bible. His term is "the supremacy of the Bible." He believed that the Bible was supreme because it was God's special revelation; because its influence had inspired so much goodness; and because it had blessed individuals and nations.

Farrar's mass of personal testimony would have had great value for anyone impressed by the witness of important people to the influence of the Bible in their lives. It would be natural for people to think that they too could receive its power and comfort, but the lack of a formal statement of Biblical authority could only leave many questions unanswered. While the ultimate test of religion is its validation in experience, much more than an experiential authority is required. Experience is relative. Objective truth and conditions of experimentation are also needed.

Farrar gives little in the way of a thesis of Biblical authority. There were some reasons for this. The problem of authority is central in our day as it was not in his. Individualism was at its height. The Church, on the whole, was a neglected doctrine and forgotten experience. The spirit of the age was in reaction against a false Biblical authority.

1. See page u1-u2
The authority of the Bible is implied in the meaning of its inspiration. It is authoritative for us and for the whole Church of God because through it God speaks His word to us and to the whole Church. His word commands our obedience.

The inspiration and authority of the Bible cannot be considered apart from the Christian doctrine of salvation. Emphasizing this fact, Alan Richardson has written,

"God purposed to save the world through Christ — not through religion in general, or philosophy or science or mysticism. Christ is the only saving revelation of God, and there is salvation in no other name. God may be known in other ways, notably by the things which He has made; but the knowledge of God which saves men from their sins and restores their fellowship with Him is through Christ alone."

The unique authority of the Bible is that it alone is the record of God's revelation in Jesus Christ; it alone gives the believing witness of those who knew Him; through it alone God continues to speak the good news of salvation.

Dogmatic statements like these always stimulate strong resistance among those who do not accept them. The authority of the Bible is not arbitrary. Its ultimate authority is truth as it reveals itself in experience and compels assent. Jesus Christ is the key to the Biblical revelation. He revealed God, not by uttering dogmas which were to be accepted blindly, but by leading men into such an attitude to life that they could see that certain things must be true. The Bible is the instrument of the Holy Spirit in creating an experience of God. This is its authority.

1. Richardson, Alan, "A Preface to Bible Study," p. 39
"In the long run historical criticism has never been able to maintain a "denial" which affected any vital point in the faith; and the theology of the Church, on the other hand, has had to renounce many "historical facts" hallowed by tradition but not forming part of the substance of the faith, and has had to recognize the claims of historical research."

-- Emil Brunner, "Revelation and Reason"

"One who forgets all the discoveries of all the years of yesterday will never see but a broken fragment of the truth."

-- B.H. Streeter, "Foundations"

"It is always possible to believe the Bible from cover to cover without uncovering the truth it contains. It is equally possible to know the historic truth regarding the documents that make up the Bible and egregiously fail to hear the voice of the Eternal in Biblical history. A profitable and scientific study of the Bible must be preceded by a spiritual encounter with the God of the Bible."

-- John A. Mackay, "Preface to Christian Theology"
The publication of *Essays and Reviews* ended the silence which had shielded the public from the current problems in Biblical interpretation. The volume caused widespread alarm and denunciation, and also a measure of appreciation, because it brought the subject into the open. While many feared that the new knowledge in science, history, and philosophy would have a destructive impact on Biblical studies, there were many churchmen who realized that "it was rather a call to fresh examination of the Scriptures in the light which they brought, and it might be, to the realization that the records, though suited to the requirements of humanity in a lower state of development, stood in need of reinterpretation." Subsequent developments revealed that the new knowledge was the "purgatory of religion and theology, and that when the things which were shaken had been removed the structure was seen to be more secure."

Benjamin Jowett, in his contribution to *Essays and Reviews* "On the Interpretation of Scripture", expressed the opinion that "nothing would be more likely to restore a natural feeling on this subject than a history of the interpretation of Scripture." He clarified what he meant by "a natural feeling" in listing numerous contributions which such a study would make.

"It would take us back to the beginning; it would present in one view the causes which have darkened the meaning of words in the course of the ages; it would clear away the remains of dogmas, systems, controversies, which are encrusted upon them. ...Such a work would enable us to separate the elements of doctrine and tradition with which the meaning of Scripture is encumbered in our own day. It would mark the different epochs of interpretation.

2. Ibid., p. 31
3. "Essays and Reviews," p. 338
We should see how the word inspiration, from being used in a general way to express what may be called the prophetic spirit of Scripture, has passed, within the last two centuries, into a sort of technical term; how in other instances, the practice or feeling of earlier ages has been hollowed out into the theory or system of later ones.  

Jowett thought that such a work could "form a kind of preface to the study of Scripture; like the history of science, it would save many a useless toil; it would indicate the uncertainties on which it is not worthwhile to speculate further." Its ultimate aim would be the elucidation of what the Scripture really means.

Twenty-five years later, in his Hampton Lectures of 1885, Farrar acted upon this suggestion and expressed his appreciation to Jowett by dedicating the volume to him. Farrar's main object was to show "the true basis whereon rests the sacredness of Holy Scripture." Opposed to the obscurantism which would retreat from the critical attacks, Farrar tried honestly to face the difficulties. He felt that the Church needed to confess that the Scriptures had been misinterpreted in the past. An inadequate knowledge of Hebrew and Greek resulted in faulty translations. Controversialists had misused the Bible to support their own opinions, while mystics, placing the interpreter above the text, had fallen into an exaggerated subjectivism. Interpreters who saw the Bible as a series of verses destroyed its wholeness and distorted its meaning. Old Testament accounts of brutality had been used to sanction similar, contemporary actions. Systematization had forced meaning from the text which was not there.

2. Ibid., p. 341
3. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation", p. xxvi
Farrar showed that the Crusades, the Inquisition, the persecution of witches, the martyrdom of heretics, the suppression of national liberty, and the buttressing of tyrannical despotism had all been justified by Biblical texts.

"Texts have been used to bar the progress of science, to beat down freedom, to destroy the benefactors of humanity, and to silence the voice of truth." 1

A study of the history of exegesis would not only correct errors, but aid a true interpretation of the Scriptures. Farrar maintained that the old needed to be re-studied and rediscovered for the present, and that the interpreter’s task was to discern the significance of manuscripts and terminologies in their original settings. He declared that the new knowledge and critical methods would illuminate the Biblical background, authorship, and chronology. He believed that his study would result in a clearer understanding of the truth and meaning of the Bible.

"The results of this study leave us with a Bible more precious than of old, because more comprehensible, while it is at the same time impregnable in every essential particular against any existing form of assault." 2

Farrar divided the "History of Interpretation" into seven major periods. He analyzed these in chronological order, giving the major exegesists, accounts of their work, and the emphases of the various schools. He evaluated the importance of each period with regard to the development of exegesis and concluded with a series of interpretive principles which had evolved through his study.

Farrar declared that rabbinic scholarship had contributed relatively

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1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation", p. 41
2. Farrar uses exegesis and interpretation interchangeably. By both terms he means "the explanation of the immediate and primary sense of the sacred writings." History of Interpretation, p. vii.
3. ibid., p. xi.
little to Christian exegesis. Ezra, the founder of exegesis established the principles that "every word in the five books of Moses was supernaturally communicated" and "every tittle of Levitical formalism was of infinite importance." Hillel classified Ezra's work and founded the Talmudic system. Jewish interpretation has always emphasized that the whole of Scripture is divine and homogeneous, and that if it appears otherwise, one had to penetrate beyond the superficialities to the unchanging meaning. Aquiba strengthened this opinion by developing the mystic meaning, which taught that every verse of Scripture had many explanations. Farrar drew attention to the debt which Christians owe to the rabbis, and maintained that the tragedy of rabbinic exegesis was that it substituted the "Law for the Scriptures so that the Talmud became the sacred book of Judaism."

"To the Jewish scholars we owe indeed the boon of a text preserved to the utmost of their power; we owe the priceless labour of the earlier Masorets, and the philosophical knowledge of those medieval rabbis who furnished the grammars and lexicons on which, after fifteen centuries of Christianity, a sounder exegetical method was gradually built. Indirectly too, they have preserved many traditional facts of an interest and importance greater than have yet been fully understood. But even the most favourable estimate must reluctantly admit that their writings are principally valuable to the historian, the archaeologist, and the student of psychology. This judgment is no more harsh than the words of Jesus: "Ye have made void the Law of God because of your tradition."" 2

Subsequent Christian scholarship has drawn similar conclusions.

Farrar stated that the two major contributions of the Alexandrian School were the allegorical method and the Septuagint. He traced the origin of allegory from its Grecian source and described it as "a

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation", p. 48
2. ibid., p. 107
hybrid born of rabbinic dogma and Greek philosophy." The Septuagint, "the first apostle to the Gentiles", kept many of the Jews in the faith of their fathers and exercised a powerful influence over the thought of the Evangelists and the development of Christian exegesis.

Philo, the central figure of this school, systematized the allegorical method. Farrar credited Philo's contribution as a philosopher but asserted that his exegesis was futile, false, and baseless.

"Philo destroyed the true sense of Scripture and practically created a Bible of his own, endowed with claims and interpreted by methods which were not derived from its own pages but were a feeble exotic transplanted from the theories of Greek philosophers into a completely alien soil."  

Farrar declared that the earlier Fathers added little to the development of exegesis, while the later Fathers of the third and succeeding centuries made a significant contribution. These later Fathers comprised three primary schools: the literal and authoritative; the allegorical; and the historical and grammatical. Farrar summarized their principles.

Tertullian, the outstanding scholar of the literal and authoritative school, maintained that all Scripture was uttered by God, and was of great value; that the Scriptures contained all truth and had no contradictory elements; and that the Church alone had the right to interpret the Scriptures. Farrar stated that this position was untenable.

Origen, the leader of the great catechetical school of Alexandria,

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 147
2. ibid., p. 117
3. ibid., p. 147. See also W.C.E. Cesterley's Record and Revelation, p. 404.
4. F.M. Grant makes a similar analysis and concurs with Farrar's conclusions in "The Bible in the Church", pp. 60-97.
united philosophy with revelation; was the founder of textual criticism; and furnished the Church with her first continuous exegesis. Farrar praised Origen for his outstanding achievements.

"His book on First Principles was the earliest attempt at a systematic view of the Christian faith; his knowledge of the Bible, and his contributions to its interpretation were absolutely unrivalled. His labours mark an epoch. A deep thinker, an acute grammarian, a laborious worker, and an earnest Christian, he not only laid the foundation, but to a very great extent, built up the fabric of Biblical interpretation." 1

Origen maintained that the Bible was homogeneous throughout and supernaturally perfect in every particular. He was aware of Scriptural difficulties, but felt that these were not to be taken literally, but allegorized. Farrar described Origen's threefold interpretation of Scripture, pointing out that he made little use of the moral and literal senses, because the mystical meaning provided such an excellent base for his allegorical schemes. In spite of his admiration of Origen's achievements, Farrar declared that the "foundations of his exegetical system were built upon sand."

Farrar felt that the "School of Antioch possessed a clearer insight into the true method of exegesis than any which preceded or succeeded it during a thousand years." The Antiochenes were the reformers of the ancient Church: they held that the Scriptures were the basis of all

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation", p. 188
2. W. Robertson Smith declared that "it was impossible to interpret Scripture rightly so long as men sought in it for what it did not contain,—for a system of abstract intellectual truth instead of a Divine history of God's workings among mankind, and in men's hearts, to set upon earth the kingdom of heaven. The real reason why men failed rightly to understand the record of redemption was because they had no true comprehension of the work of redemption."

Lectures and Essays, p. 224.
knowledge. They were conscious of the differences between the Old and New Testaments, and believed that "their relationship lay mainly in a homology of facts due to a pre-established harmony; that by God's divine administration the facts themselves were a dim revelation of the future, and that the prophets were led by divine inspiration to express what they saw in larger terms than would have been warranted by contemporary circumstances." They recognized degrees in inspiration, limited the messianic nature of the Old Testament, and denied that the Jews had any real knowledge of such truths as the Trinity and the Incarnation.

Theodore of Mopsuestia was the outstanding scholar of this school, whose work was characterized by close attention to linguistic details; the study of Scripture in its context; and a strong emphasis upon the primary importance of the literal meaning. Farrar felt that it was regrettable that the scholarship of Theodore and the Antiochenes did not have larger influence upon the Christian Church.

Farrar noted two independent figures, Dionysius of Alexandria and Julius Africanus, who "furnished the finest pieces of Biblical criticism in this epoch." Dionysius' commentary on the Apocalypse and Julius' dispute with Origen were unique among early writers for clarity and scholastic precision.

Farrar concluded his study of Patristic exegesis by recounting the work of Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. Chrysostom, though mainly a homilist, had "fewer errors and vagaries in his writings than in those

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 218
2. ibid., p. 207.
of anyone of the Fathers." Jerome, the "Origen of the western Church", produced the Vulgate translation, and endeavoured to develop the literal and historical senses. While Augustine was greater as an apologist and theologian than as an interpreter of Scripture, he did formulate some sound exegetical rules. He stressed the desirability of multifarious knowledge; that allegory should be based upon the literal sense; that revelation has a progressive element; and that spiritual intuition derived from love perceived the deepest truths of the Bible. Farrar maintained that Augustine forgot these principles in his actual comments. E.C. Blackman, in his recent book, Biblical Interpretation, criticizes Farrar for this "very partial view". But Blackman, after noting Augustine's dictum: "Love and act as you like", and its implications for "the understanding of Scripture", concludes: "This remarkable insight did not govern all Augustine's treatment of Scripture." The true conclusion about Augustine's Biblical interpretation will be drawn by the scholar who undertakes the "full study" which Blackman has suggested; we can only record that Blackman's evaluation of Augustine's Biblical interpretation seems to be the same for which he impugned Farrar, that is, that Augustine forgot his principles in his actual comments.

Farrar declared that Scholastic exegesis was a disappointing period of Biblical studies.

"During the dark ages, from the seventh to the twelfth century, and during the scholastic epoch, from the twelfth to the sixteenth, there are but a few of the many who toiled

in this field who added a single essential principle, or furnished a single original contribution to the explanation of the Word of God."

The primary reasons for this sterility were a verbal dictation view of inspiration and the rigid authority of the papal system. The latter had established a "secure despotism over the minds of men. The sources of all Christian truth were supposed to be furnished by Scripture and tradition and the Church was held to be the infallible interpreter of both."

Among the few independent thinkers were Johannes Scotus Erigena who declared that "reason was not to be overruled by authority", and Nichola of Lyra who noted "the corruption of manuscripts; the necessity for an improved text; the importance of understanding the original languages; and the primary duty of building all developments upon the literal sense."

Farrar maintained that the Schoolmen were weakest in their Biblical exegesis. The comments of Thomas Aquinas, in spite of his gifts as a theologian, were dependent, traditional, and unprogressive. Farrar included the Schoolmen's contributions in his summary.

"If they had left nothing else to the Church, they have left the best of all legacies, the legacy of holy lives and an immortal example; the legacy of men who during years of unselfish sincerity spurned delights and lived laborious days... Their lives were better than their learning. I have not been speaking of their writings in general or of the many high services which they rendered to their generation.

2. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 246
3. ibid., p. 278
4. ibid., p. 269
and mankind. I have been speaking only of their exegesis, and respecting that branch of their labours it is impossible to avoid pronouncing the judgment that it was radically defective — defective in fundamental principles and rife on every page with all sorts of erroneous details." 1

Miss Smalley's "Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages" credits Farrar with having made the last serious effort to describe and estimate medieval exegesis which had appeared in England. She then gives his conclusions of the subject, informing that she has quoted from his 2 Bampton Lectures of 1888. She never refutes Farrar's statement, but declares that Farrar's opinion of medieval exegesis was the general view of medieval culture as a whole. Miss Smalley asserts that

"the last fifty years of scholarship have left us less ignorant. We have learnt to see the middle ages as essentially creative, in law, government, theology, philosophy, art, even in science, disguised as alchemy, but not, so far, in biblical scholarship." 3

We expect that Miss Smalley's book will end this ignorance of medieval creativity in Biblical scholarship. We are disappointed, on the whole, because she tells us that

"the middle ages could produce biblical plays and works of art, which we cannot. For that very reason we need not hope to learn anything from their naive attempts at biblical scholarship." (underlining is mine). 4

Miss Smalley tells us that this is a valid argument within limits because medieval Biblical studies have a "very great historical interest", and also, "the middle ages are not too remote a period to be explored as a background to modern biblical scholarship." We appreciate Miss Smalley's labours which have made possible a more minute knowledge of

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 302
2. Farrar gave the Bampton Lectures in 1885.
4. ibid., p. xii.
the study of the Bible in the middle ages, particularly of the literal emphasis of Andrew of St. Victor and the communications between Jewish and Christian scholars. Miss Smalley accents a point which Farrar overlooked, that from the thirteenth century onwards "Hebraic truth" ceased to mean the Vulgate version from the original Hebrew; it came to be used with reference to the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament. The real value of Miss Smalley's work is that it shows how medieval Biblical studies helped to construct foundations for later development. E.C. Blackman, who had examined Miss Smalley's work, concurred with Farrar's general conclusions when he declared that the medieval scholarship "added nothing of moment to the elucidation of the Scripture." But these conclusions cannot be regarded as final; further investigation is required.

Farrar thought that the Protestant Reformation revealed the importance of principles of Scriptural interpretation. He was aware of the pre-Reformation contributions made by men like Wyclif and Hus, and also of the influence of the humanists. He noted the work of Lorenzo Valla, a Canon of St. John Lateran, who had learned from the revival of letters that Scripture must be interpreted by the laws of grammar and language; of Jacque Le Fevre d'Etaples, who published the first French version of the entire Scriptures; of Reuchlin's contribution to Hebraic studies; and of Erasmus' exegesis of the New Testament.

Farrar regarded Erasmus as the chief founder of modern textual

criticism. He repudiated the exegetic infallibility of Pope and Church, and his writings evidenced emancipation from untenable traditions. His philological merits were of a high order, and his notes on many of the rarer words and phrases in the Greek Testament have lasting value. He did not confuse inspiration with supernatural infallibility in details. He knew Greek, Latin, and Hebrew when most theologians did not. He taught that Christ alone was the Truth.

Having recounted the beginnings, Farrar praised Martin Luther as the emancipator of Christianity from sacerdotal tyranny and false exegesis. In support of this high praise, he wrote,

"He gave the Germans their Bible; he gave them the perfection of their language; the sense of their unity; the conviction of their freedom before God; the burning hymns, rich in essential truth, and set to mighty music; the example of a family life, pure, simple, and humbly dependent upon God... But his highest glory, the glory he valued most, was to have fulfilled the vow of the doctorate — to have given an open Bible which could be closed no more. More, he taught them and all the world how best it might be interpreted... In his commentary on Galatians, his German Bible, his Prefaces, and other works, he enunciated rules to which the complete revolution of exegetical methods in modern times has been due."

Farrar emphasized that Luther's exegetical work grew out of his experience. Having studied scholasticism, he began to concentrate on the Scriptures, and lectured for eight years at Wittenberg in this field. His teaching became increasingly practical and he began to study Hebrew and Greek, to draw from his own spiritual experiences, and to depend less upon the Fathers. He began to gain truer insight into the meaning of Biblical words and gradually acquired a clear grasp of the principles of Biblical interpretation which he listed in his preface to a study

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," pp. 320-322
2. Ibid., p. 324
of Isaiah in 1528. Farrar noted these:

1. The necessity of grammatical knowledge.
2. The importance of considering times, circumstances, and conditions.
3. The observance of the context.
4. The need of faith and spiritual illumination.
5. The need to keep the "proportion of faith."
6. The reference of all Scripture to Christ. 1

Farrar agreed with the first three principles but declared that the latter three contained many germs of error.

"Except in power to understand the few and simple truths which are essential to salvation, it is not true that piety and orthodoxy can claim any inward light or infallible authority for the interpretation of the Bible, and in the face of the age-long mistakes of even the holiest of men, it is nothing short of arrogance to put forth such a claim. It requires faith, it requires the aid of the Holy Spirit, so to read the Holy Scriptures as to attain that best end which the reading of them serves -- namely, to become thereby wise unto salvation. But when we speak of the whole Bible, we speak of the national literature of many hundreds of years, and throughout by far the largest part of the sacred writings, the decision of what the authors say and mean, apart from its personal application, pertains far less to piety than to grammar, intelligence, unbiased candour, historical knowledge, and literary tact." 2

This is a good statement which reveals one of Farrar's strong convictions, but it is an unfair criticism. Luther, in his first three principles, has already stressed what Farrar desired. He placed the need for "faith and spiritual illumination" fourth in order.

Farrar asserted that number five, "the proportion of faith", paved the way "for the distortions and sophistries of later Protestant scholasticism" and was soon made to mean "the same as the old Romish rule that no explanation is to be admitted which runs counter to the current ecclesiastical dogmas." Continuing his criticism, Farrar

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 332
2. ibid., p. 332
maintained that number six, "the reference of all Scripture to Christ", while homiletically sound, was liable to the abuse of finding Christ in places of the Old Testament which did not warrant it. While Farrar's concerns are justified, his criticism of Luther is unfair because the reformer cannot be held responsible for the distortions of principles that are sound. Farrar's criticism must be understood in the light of his reaction against the perversion of these principles by the obscurantists of his own time.

Farrar praised Luther's manly independence which caused him to search for the Canon within the Canon. He valued some books above others; thought it unimportant whether Moses had written the Pentateuch; declared that St. Paul's epistles were more a gospel than Matthew, Mark, and Luke; and maintained that St. John's Gospel, the Epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle of Peter were the "right kernel and marrow of all the books." He saw the historic inferiority of the Books of the Chronicles as compared with the Books of the Kings; noticed that some of the Old Testament books had been revised; refused to believe that Solomon had written Canticles; pointed out the unchronological order of Jeremiah; and dated Ecclesiastes in the time of the Maccabees. He considered an argument of St. Paul's in the Epistle to the Galatians too weak to hold; suggested that the Epistle to the Hebrews may have been written by Apollos; stated that the Epistle of Jude was non-Apostolic; and called the Epistle of James "a right strawy epistle", declared that it contradicted St. Paul, and rejected its apostolic authorship.

Farrar accented Luther's teaching on inspiration because of its

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 336
relevance for his own contemporaries who held verbal-dictation theories. Luther declared that the Word of God was not to be regarded as identical with the Holy Scriptures. Christ, and Christ alone, was the essential Word of God. The Bible was not a stereotyped collection of supernatural words: the actual writing of the Scriptures was a human, not a supernatural act. The Word of God was not in the Scriptures alone: Inspiration continues: The essential Word is still a living and speaking Word.

Farrar believed that Luther's teaching "revealed a clearer vision and a more vital faith in the Holy Spirit than had ever been fully manifested since the Apostolic age, or has

"since been attained by any but a brave and faithful few. It was the ripe fruit of the long results of Christian time, and it furnished a more valuable contribution to the principles of exegesis than interminable folios of traditional commentary." 2

In spite of this conviction, Farrar maintained that John Calvin was the most "influential exegete and theologian of the Reformation". His commentaries continued to be a living force. They were more profound than those of Zwingli; more thorough and scientific, if less original and spiritual, than those of Luther.

Farrar enumerated Calvin's merits: he had a vigorous intellect, a logical mind, a quick insight, a thorough knowledge of the human heart, and a glowing sense of the grandeur of the Divine. The neatness, precision, and lucidity of his style; his classic training and wide knowledge; his methodical accuracy of procedure; his avoidance of needless homiletics; his careful attention to the entire context of every passage; and his commentary on almost the whole of the Bible

2. ibid., p. 341
made him tower above the great majority of Biblical interpreters.

The most original feature of his work was his anticipation of modern criticism concerning the messianic prophecies. In his preface to the Romans, Calvin laid down the basic rule that it is the first business of an interpreter to let his author say what he does say.

Farrar declared that the highest achievement of Reformation exegesis was its strong literal, historical, grammatical, and philological criticism which centred in Jesus Christ. Medieval theology had regarded the Bible as a book full of divine information about doctrine and morals. Reformation theology believed that the Bible was a means of grace: the Reformers gave to the Bible the meaning which they had found in it. Luther's personal experience of sin and grace lay implicitly in all that was fresh in the Reformation. Farrar would have agreed with Robertson Smith that "Luther and his followers were borne on in spite of themselves by the self-asserting power of the Truth which was at work within them." Their exegesis was the flowering of that experience.

Farrar severely judged the post-Reformation epoch, which in spite of much theological labour, was a period in which liberty was exchanged for bondage, truth for dogmatism, and religion for system.

"A living reverence for Scripture was superseded by a dead theory of inspiration. The work of this period was retarded by a threefold curse: tyrannous confessionalism, exorbitant system, and contentious bitterness. It was the age of creeds, symbols, theological systems, and rigid formulae."

2. Smith, W. Robertson, "Lectures and Essays," p. 223
Farrar noted the exceptions in mystical and pietist movements, and in the scholarship of Wetstein and Bengel. Wetstein, professor at Basle, emphasized the necessity for devoting a free and unprejudiced study towards the New Testament as towards any historical and literary writing. Bengel, the "heir and propagator of all that was best in pietism and mysticism", was the "first great German critic of the New Testament text." Farrar thought that his fundamental virtue as an exegete was that

"while he was diligent about minute points of textual criticism and Greek philology, he could also, like Chrysostom, and like Luther, enter into the very soul of the sacred writers and reproduce for others the melodies which once rang in their hearts." 2

Farrar concluded: "With these exceptions, the post-Reformation period was sterile."

Farrar's description of modern criticism comprised an excellent analysis of German Biblical scholarship in the later nineteenth century. J.S. Semler, by placing primary emphasis upon the circumstances and environment of the original writers, greatly developed the historical method. Herder added the "glowing heat of a poetic soul" to all the merits of Semler. Schleiermacher exercised a profound influence on Biblical exegesis through his psychological interpretation. Hegel attempted to make religion a phase of philosophy and had a wide influence upon religious thought.

These varied contributions were popularized in D.F. Strauss' Leben Jesu, which produced the sensation of an earthquake in theology.

1. For full treatment of these movements, see Rufus Jones' "Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries."
2. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 393
Strauss skilfully exposed the difficulties and discrepancies of the Gospels and denied their genuineness. He proceeded to account for their existence by mythical theory: the facts of the Gospels were stories evolved from ideas.

Farrar stressed that good things resulted from this attack. F.C. Baur's criticism led to a more thorough examination of the Canon which, in the end, strengthened the genuineness of most of the books. Criticism became more positive after F.C. Baur. Winé produced a thorough grammar of the Hellenic dialect. Tholuck, by his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, taught that "the whole religion of the Old Testament, in its essence, was one great prophecy." Neander shed the "glow of his fine learning and large-hearted piety over Church history." Dorner's "Christology" was worthy to take its place "beside the very greatest works of Christian orthodoxy." Ewald, prophet and critic, "combined learning, originality, and eloquence, flinging over every part of Scripture the meteoric gleam of his stormy genius." Farrar concluded that this dedicated scholarship purged the Christian faith of its false bases and established it with a "deeper certainty than historical criticism could either bestow or destroy."

Farrar lamented the conservatism of the English Church which, in large degree, had held to the dogma of Biblical infallibility. He was grateful for the pioneering work of S.T. Coleridge, who had helped to deliver English churchmen from their ignorance and fear of German scholarship. Coleridge's protest for freedom of thought in religion

1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 420
2. ibid., p. 418
and his belief that the Spirit of God was the most trustworthy guide in matters of faith brought comfort to many. He showed the need for historical criticism: Scripture should be estimated from the contents and claims of Scripture itself, not from theories and inventions of men. Stressing the importance of Coleridge's contribution, Farrar wrote,

"If in later days the Church of England has made immense advance, the progress is perhaps more due to Samuel Taylor Coleridge than to any ordained or professional theologian." 1

While Farrar was conscious of the extremes of some of the modern critical studies, he believed that, on the whole, they had made possible a truer understanding of the Bible. He declared that "many of its results have taken their place among valued truths; its extreme assertions have been refuted."

Farrar had claimed that his study would evolve principles which would aid a true interpretation of the Scriptures. He put forth the following:

1. Everything essential in Scripture is clearly revealed.
2. The true sense of Scripture can only be decided by the original text.
3. Every doctrine and inference drawn from any passage must be deduced from the literal sense.
4. Ignorance of the certain meaning of many passages must be freely admitted.
5. Theological conclusions cannot be founded on the language of metaphor and parable.
6. The true sense of Scripture is Scripture.
7. Scripture must be interpreted in accordance with the ordinary rules of human language.
8. Revelation is progressive. Scripture must be interpreted with reference to the views and morals of the age in which its various books were written.
9. Bias and party spirit are frequent and fatal sources of exegetic error.
10. We must welcome truth from all quarters. Our faith, so far as it is knowledge, is imperfect, and requires not

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1. Farrar, F.W., "History of Interpretation," p. 422
2. ibid., p. 430
only enlargement, but correction. Great movements of the human spirit are not hostile to theology, but introduce the conditions of a more perfect development of it.

11. Interpret literally and grammatically. Illustrate where possible by reference to history, topography, and antiquity. Interpret with reference to the context. Elicit the full significance of details.

12. Interpret in a spirit of piety and humility.

Farrar added one final principle: The centrality of Christ for all Biblical interpretation. The Spirit of Christ was not only to be expressed in the interpretation but also in the life of the interpreter.

"Biblical interpretation would be true, if the interpreters would strive to regulate their lives by their theology, and to sway the whole movement of their intellect by the spirit which Christ manifested and by the divine example which He set." 2

Other scholars were attempting to formulate principles of Biblical interpretation. As we have already noted, Essays and Reviews brought the subject out into the open in 1860, largely through Jowett's contribution "On the Interpretation of Scripture." He stressed that the Bible should be studied like any other book, and that this must be done under conditions of free enquiry. He declared that revelation was progressive. Also, Scripture had only one meaning and the interpreter should recover the original intent of the author. To discern this, a thorough knowledge of the original languages and the logical power to perceive the meaning of words in reference to their context were required. The nature of inspiration could only be understood from within the Bible, and no theory of inspiration was tenable which did not conform to scientific and historical knowledge. Scripture was to be its own interpreter.

2. ibid., p. 436
Jowett described the preceding principles as the "externals of interpretation". While he did not speak directly of the "internals", he gave several indications of what he probably had in mind. He stated that there was a clear distinction between classical and sacred literature. Also, the interpreter needed to be fashioned "according to the mind of Christ; he needed to be born again into a new spiritual or intellectual world, from which the thoughts of this world were shut out."

These principles have not warranted the severe criticism which Jowett has often received. They stressed the necessity for critical study and formulated the beginnings of a new Biblical theology.

Biblical criticism made progress in Britain after 1860, and "by 1880 the subject of controversy was not whether the Bible ought to be studied by the methods of historical criticism, but whether the views of the leading critics were sound." The landmarks of the advance were the Old Testament studies of Colenso and Robertson Smith, and the New Testament work of the Cambridge trio: Hort, Westcott, and Lightfoot. The Colenso controversy and the Smith trial brought the Old Testament criticism to the public notice, while the textual studies of Hort and

1. "Essays and Reviews," p. 380
2. Willis B. Glover's unfair criticism of Jowett is a good example. Glover writes: "The most disturbing thing about the essays was the denial or implied denial of the personality of the Holy Spirit and original sin." Glover lists other "denials" but these are the two for which Jowett is impugned. (See "Evangelical Nonconformity and the Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century," p. 49). This comment does violence to Jowett's meaning. He is illustrating "the extraordinary and unreasonable importance attached to single words, sometimes of doubtful meaning," in reference to the personality of the Holy Spirit and original sin, along with other Biblical teachings. Jowett is not contending for or against these doctrines but merely showing that they have often been founded upon texts that do not teach them.
Westcott revealed the difficulties of fixing the original text.

Smith and the Cambridge trio witnessed to the unity of Evangelical orthodoxy and Biblical criticism. The publication of *Lux Mundi* in 1889 registered a new advance in this synthesis for the editor, Charles Gore, recipient of the mantle of Tractarian conservatism, had accepted, with care and reservation, the new critical methods and had placed them in an orthodox framework.

Gore's essay on "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration" has been credited with "representing perhaps the best thought on this subject produced in England in the nineteenth century." It was significant because he constructed a Biblical theology which included the critical studies. Gore maintained that the Scriptures must be considered in the larger context of the Christian Church and faith.

"In order to have grounds for believing the facts, in order to be susceptible of their evidence, we require an antecedent state of conception and expectation. A whole set of presuppositions about God, about the slavery of sin, about the reasonableness of redemption, must be present with us. So only can the facts presented to us in the Gospel come to us as credible things..." 2

By these presuppositions Gore meant the tradition behind Scripture, the experiences and insights of those to whom God had revealed His truths. Their recorded writings of these events have an authority which is unique -- unique in its witness and as the constant test of the Church's life and teaching. The work of the Spirit in the Church is "to keep alive and real the presuppositions" and to interpret the

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1. Dillistone, F.W., Editor, "Scripture and Tradition," Essay Four: The Nineteenth Century, by F.P. Williams, p. 120.
2. "Lux Mundi", p. 557
meaning of Scripture.

Inspiration was not ecstatic, but envisaged everything "from a special point of view: everything is presented to us as illustrating God's dealings with man." There were various kinds and degrees of inspiration. Christ stands forth as their test and measure. To believe in the inspiration of Holy Scripture is to put ourselves to school with every part of it; to read it in the same spirit in which it was written.

The Revelation was given in history, but the details need not be historically accurate. Sometimes history is idealized, by which Gore meant "the reading back into a past record of a development which was really later; always supposing that the result read back into the earlier history does represent the real purpose of God and only anticipates its realization." Christ's comments on the critical questions of the Old Testament did not settle the problems because Christ "showed no signs at all of transcending the science and history of His age. His true Godhead is shown in His attitude towards men and things about Him, in His moral and spiritual claims, in His expressed relation to God, not in any miraculous exemptions of Himself from the conditions of natural knowledge in its own proper province." Dramas and myths could be vehicles of inspired truths just as much as history. But all these questions could only be decided "not by foreclosing the question with an appeal to dogma, but by facing in fair and frank discussion, the problems raised." Gore concluded

1. Lux Mundi, pp. 338ff.
2. Ibid., p. 344
3. Ibid., p. 346
4. Ibid., p. 353
5. Ibid., p. 360
6. Ibid., p. 361
with a plea for accurate knowledge and fair interpretation coupled with reverence and spiritual insight.

Gore's work was an attempt to unite the critical developments with a new orthodoxy which, freed of its error, conserved the truths of Biblical authority and inspiration. Subsequent developments have expanded this aim. The close of the century was marked by the work of Driver in the Old Testament and Sanday in the New, which largely applied Gore's principles to the exegesis of the Bible. It was temperate, balanced, and constructive.

Where did Farrar fit into this development? An examination of his principles of interpretation reveals that though his date of writing was closer to Gore (1885), his principles were more similar to those of Jowett. It would seem that Jowett not only gave Farrar his idea, but also the trend of his thought. Farrar's principles contain nothing new; they are an enlargement of Jowett's guides in Essays and Reviews. Their deficiency, as we have previously noted, was a lack of Biblical theology. Farrar never worked out a constructive scheme of thought.

However, this was to be a major task of the twentieth century. The nineteenth century had to discriminate between inspiration and infallibility, and show the dishonesty of reading things into the text which were not there. Jowett and Farrar, as well as many others, clarified these issues, and formulated a critical approach which was founded on the literal sense. While the earlier critics had emphasized this alone, Jowett and Farrar had maintained the uniqueness of the Bible, the need for the interpreter to have his thought and life fashioned according to the mind of Christ, and the necessity of an
interpretation which was based on the literal sense and developed beyond it. They failed to develop these principles, but their work helped to initiate the movement towards the construction of a new Biblical theology. The Christian Church owes a debt of gratitude to the German critical scholars, and their English followers, who pioneered this work. They relieved an impossible apologetic burden and attempted to reconcile the religious and intellectual life. They constructed a correct text and took the humanity of Jesus seriously. As a result of the successes of the critical method

"we now know a great deal about the historical situation in which most of the books were written, the general outlook of the times, the kind of persons who wrote them, their manner of life and "social conditioning", and the literary devices and conventions which were extant in their own days." 1

Of course they had their limitations. They tended to understand the dynamic drama of the Bible in evolutionary terms and did not take seriously the claim that the Bible is God's Word amid all the human words. The critics often got lost in details, forgetting that these were a means to an end, which was making real and contemporary the Word of God. Farrar did not share these deficiencies: his interpretation was better than his principles.

Gore's essay revealed the progress which had been made by 1889. Modern scholarship has corrected the extremes of the critical work, conserved its sound results, and constructed a new Biblical theology on its foundation.

"We have seen that at one period a rigid scheme of

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1. Richardson, Alan, "Christian Apologetics," p. 205
interpretation tended to blanket the direct impact of the Bible upon the mind; and at another period the license of private interpretation threatened to befog it in a cloud of individual predilections. The critical method finds its way between the horns of the dilemma, it rejects restraint from without upon liberty of interpretation, and at the same time excludes an arbitrary or capricious use of liberty by accepting the intrinsic control of the historical movement itself."

This statement reveals how modern scholarship has not superimposed presuppositions, but has allowed the Bible to construct its own theology out of the intrinsic control of the historical movement within itself. In other words, the synthesis has advanced to the position where the literal meaning of the Bible has become the foundation upon which a whole Biblical theology has been constructed. But this theology, in its presuppositions, criticism, and content, is a true exegesis. This is the neo-Orthodoxy: new because it takes scientific, philosophical, and historical criticism seriously and is compatible with them; orthodox because it proclaims the unique authority of the Bible as God's Word.

We cannot expound the neo-Orthodox theology here; we shall only notice several of its principles. The Bible is unique in that it conveys God's Word in Christ to men; it imparts the experience of God's redemption in Christ. This Word humbles the hearers so that they are ready to listen and receive rather than make demands. The interpreter seeks to determine the original meaning of a passage in Scripture in relation to its own time. He then examines its meaning in relationship to the whole historical movement covered by the Old and New Testaments,

and attempts to establish its significance as part of the witness to the absolute revelation in Jesus Christ. The final authority of the Biblical revelation is its witness to the Gospel.

The historical character of revelation is taken seriously, not so much in systematic exposition, but as dynamic movement. God revealed Himself and His will through a series of historical events which individuals of prophetic insight interpreted to the people. The climax of this revelation came in the "perfect response to the divine intention made in the life of Jesus who demonstrated in the fullest manner what God willed life to be." Revelation has meaning for modern man because

"the experience through which it had been mediated and the meaning which those experiences had communicated could be shared through intimate acquaintance with the record of revelation left by those who experienced it." ²

More important, the God who revealed Himself in the past confronts men in the present. Revelation is not only history but a living encounter in which God confronts men with His judgment and mercy, and commands their total obedience.

It is not an arbitrary demand, but the inherent authority of truth learned from history and through experience. This illumination of the record and realization of the present encounter are the work of the Holy Spirit. The Bible is not truly interpreted until its critical results and theological meaning have been the means of making God's eternal purpose contemporary and personal. But this is not a new individualism: quite the contrary; the experience has its

fullest meaning and reality through and within the Christian community.

The application of the Biblical message to the social, political, and economic aspects of the modern world has been a primary concern which has resulted in the formulation of Christian ethics.

Farrar's "History of Interpretation" filled a need in his own day and continues to have relevance for the present. His study was unique, being the first comprehensive examination of exegetical history which had been attempted in the English language. It cleared away many spurious ideas of Biblical interpretation and guided the way towards a new Biblical theology. It contains a wealth of information about Christian thought, biography, and exegesis.

Miss Gardner declares that one of the uses of a scholar

"is to help preserve the creative thought of his own day from provincialism in time, by keeping alive and available to his own age what is neglected or disparaged by those absorbed in the preoccupations of the hour. His humble task is to protect his betters from the corruption of fashions." 1

Farrar's work did this; he gave a bird's eye view of the study of the Bible within the Church which placed the contemporary critical studies in their proper perspective. The popular anxiety about Biblical criticism seemed to indicate that many people thought that the Bible had never been criticized before. Farrar demonstrated that a critical interpretation of the Scriptures was as old as the Church.

Farrar realized that the meaning of the Bible is not limited to its original setting, but requires interpretation in the light of what it has meant to subsequent generations. The Scriptures have a

continuous life within the Church, and in new settings have often revealed new meanings. Farrar's study revealed the meanings which the Scriptures had for different ages.

Farrar combined evangelical faith with critical scholarship.

Willis B. Glover maintains that

"The relation of higher criticism to evangelical theology determined its reception in England. As long as higher criticism was identified with a naturalistic philosophy, it was categorically repudiated by Evangelicals. Only when presented in a manner consistent with Evangelical theology did higher criticism win a real foothold in Victorian England." 1

Farrar's influence played a large part in the establishment of this foothold. The London Quarterly, commenting on his "Minor Prophets", described the sensitivity which characterized his work.

"Archdeacon Farrar is always learned, eloquent, and attractive; always earnest, sympathetic, and devout. At the same time his intellectual training and sympathies lead him to incline towards the modern school of what can only be described as rationalistic criticism. ..... Nevertheless, Dr. Farrar's personal Christian faith is so sincere and deep, that his mode of presenting even questionable views is generally such as not to offend the sympathies of the Christian reader." 2

Farrar's belief in the evangelical doctrines and his acceptance of the critical methods showed that there was no conflict between them.

Gabriel Hebert's book, "Fundamentalism and the Church of God", is a contemporary plea for this reconciliation. While exposing the errors of the Fundamentalists, he points out that they proclaim the "authority of the Lord God and of His Lord Christ over the whole man and world."

They emphasize the fundamentals of the faith, particularly Biblical

2. Ibid., p. 208
authority, Christian conversion, and the power and presence of the Holy Spirit. Hebert argues that the new Biblical theology which "is deeply orthodox in faith and thoroughly critical" has incorporated the truths of both Fundamentalism and the Critical studies in a synthesis which is freed of the deficiencies of either. Long before, Farrar had contended for this synthesis and had contributed to its development.

"The History of Interpretation" embodied the scholarly in popular form. Adam S. Farrar, who had examined the proofs of these Hampton Lectures, wrote: "You have a difficult task in trying to speak at the same time to the people and to the scholars. It might be said that you are too learned for the people and too popular for the scholars. But this may be inherent in the task." This comment reveals the scope of Farrar's influence: he did speak to both scholars and people. Elliott-Sinns asserted that the "History of Interpretation" was "a vast store of varied learning and should counteract the idea that Farrar was a merely popular expositor with a slightly sentimental outlook." Blackman's new book, "Biblical Interpretation", helps to illustrate the authenticity of Farrar's scholarship. His treatment of the development of exegesis, on the whole, follows Farrar's pattern of outline and concurs in his major conclusions. The important differences are in style and scope: Blackman is more concise and places the development of exegesis in a larger theological framework.

Farrar's study communicated a new understanding of the Bible to the public beyond the theological lecture room. Though the average

individual would find difficulty in many places, he could read and understand these lectures. The historical and biographical approach, filled with human experience, was interesting and entertaining. The lack of contact between the theologian's study and the ordinary world is not an old problem. Blackman emphasizes that the present task in Biblical exegesis calls for a "new exposition of the Bible which will do for the twentieth century what the Reformation did for the sixteenth."

He goes on to stress that this means helping people to find their way about in the Bible so that they can grasp the central things. Glover detects this lack of practical communication as a major deficiency in neo-Orthodox theology.

"It is a major reversal that whereas the evangelical movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was notoriously weak in its intellectual component, the neo-evangelicalism of the twentieth century has as yet been little more than an intellectual movement." 1

Farrar filled this need in his day. He popularized principles of interpretation which helped ordinary people to understand the Bible.

The primary emphasis of the "History of Interpretation" was that the interpreter's first task was to discern the literal meaning of the Scriptures. Farrar believed that most of the errors of exegesis resulted from a failure to do this. The principle was sound and forms the basis of all true interpretation. But Farrar was so obsessed with this principle that he tended to exaggerate his

conclusions. Blackman, while critical of the excesses of allegory, does not condemn the method wholesale, but attempts to explain its validity.

"We must recall also that the intention of allegorists is to salvage a reasonable interpretation which takes account of other aspects of truth as well as the teaching of Scripture in its wholeness; and guards against crudities of exegesis which turn potential converts into "cultured despisers" (e.g. Celsus in the second century, Voltaire in the eighteenth, and the scientific humanists in the twentieth)." 2

Farrar should have been more sympathetic towards this attempt, but his strong conviction resulted from his study of the errors and follies of a pseudo-exegesis which undermined the authority of the Bible and the Christian faith. Helen Gardner points out that the problem is still with us. She warns against the new symbolical and typological approaches to the Bible which tend to neglect the historical aspect. She analyzes Austin Farrer's interpretation of St. Mark, and asserts that this kind of attempt to "submit ourselves to the movement of the writer's imagination" often leaves us in the company of the interpreter without the author. She agrees that much of the "literary criticism of the Gospels in the nineteenth century may be justly charged with

1. Exaggerating this exaggeration, Gabriel Hebert declares that the title of this book had better have been 'A History of Misinterpretation', "for Jewish and Christian exegetes from the beginning onwards receive with few partial exceptions one undiscriminating condemnation from an extremely limited mid-Victorian point of view." But Hebert, while pointing out the positive contributions of the Church Fathers (Farrar did too) concurs with the major criticism which Farrar stressed; "that we are bound to recognize that their failure to grasp the literal and historical meaning of the texts which they allegorized obscured for them, so far, an important element of the truth of the Old Testament." The Authority of the Old Testament, p. 278.

2. Blackman, B.C., Biblical Interpretation, p. 101
sentimentality", but suggests that its authors "might well retort upon some of their successors the countercharge of inhumanity." The neo-Orthodox Christ needs to be balanced with the Jesus who "fed with publicans and sinners and set a little child in the midst." Farrar would have been grateful for Miss Gardner's warning against the "new symbolistic allegorism" and her protest for an interpretation which was based on the historical and literal senses.

Farrar's interpretation of the Bible was more theological than his principles. In 1879, his "Life and Work of St. Paul", revealed a sound Biblical theology which was elucidated from the literal meaning of the text. Also, his "The Bible: Its Meaning and Supremacy" in 1897, showed that he had begun to construct a more positive Biblical theology. Even though the "History of Interpretation" lacked a Biblical theology, it was a beacon light which flashed warning signals to interpreters of the rocks and reefs which would wreck their exegesis.

Benjamin Jowett had declared that "the true use of an interpreter is to get rid of interpretation and leave us alone in company with the author." Farrar's work tended to do this. His exegetical study allowed the interpreters to state their own principles; his Biblical interpretation, as we shall see, seemed to draw the reader into fellowship with the writer.
VI

THE CONTENT OF THE BIBLE

"It is time we gave up looking for questions and began to look for answers."

-- G.K. Chesterton, "Orthodoxy"

"If you must tell me your opinions, tell me what you believe in, I have plenty of doubts of my own."

-- Goethe

"Do not hear or read the Scriptures for any other end but to become better in your daily walk, and to be instructed in every good work, and increase in the love and service of God."

-- Jeremy Taylor, "Holy Living"
Daniel Jenkins has declared that "the critical study of the Bible has completed one side of the work of the Reformation in placing the Bible in the hands of the people once more. It has rescued it from the idealists, the antiquarians, the clericalist diehards and the precisians...." This was specially true of Farrar's scholarship which used the critical methods as aids to discern the Biblical message and to communicate it to ordinary people. While many scholars got lost in a maze of details, Farrar always regarded the critical questions as preliminaries whose object was the explication and communication of the Biblical meaning.


Farrar concurred with the major conclusions of his contemporary

Old Testament criticism: the prophets were earlier than the codification of the Law; the book of "Zechariah" was composed of three documents; the "Books of the Kings" were a result of joint authorship; the wisdom literature was late; the book of "Daniel" belonged to the age of the Maccabees; the authorship and chronology of Jewish traditions were defective; and the discoveries of archaeologists had placed the Jewish nation in the midst of other Semitic peoples.

The most important Old Testament study by an English scholar of the later nineteenth century (1891) was S.R. Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament." It was a comprehensive study which dealt with the problems of historical, literary, and textual criticism, and briefly stated the theological meaning. Earlier in 1881, W. Robertson Smith had published "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church" which was his apologia for the critical studies as well as their findings. William Sanday's "Inspiration", the Hampton Lectures of 1893, explained the genesis of the Bible and the meaning of inspiration. These men did original work and their published volumes, though of paramount importance for the theological community, had little appeal for the ordinary public. Communication was the need and this was the important feature of Farrar's work.

W. Robertson Nicoll invited Farrar to do the commentary on the "Books of the Kings" for the Expositor's Bible. These volumes illustrate Farrar's purpose. Approximately eighty pages of one thousand are given to critical studies while the remainder concentrates
on the exposition of the message and its meaning.

Farrar confessed his dependence on Driver and agreed with the general findings of critical scholarship. The "Books of the Kings" were a single compilation; the sources were older histories and detailed accounts of great prophets like Elijah and Elisha; the sources were easily traced in the text; the text was interpolated and the chronology defective; the compiler gave his writing a moral aspect which was derived from the Deuteronomic code; and he was a contemporary of Jeremiah who shared his religious views and emotional temperament.

Farrar declared that the "Books of the Kings" were history with a purpose. The writer maintained that "God was the controlling power and sin the disturbing force in the entire history of men and nations." History was the stage of God's action; the Assyrians and the Babylonians were the instruments of God's judgment upon the wickedness and rebellion of the chosen people. But even though the compiler wrote in dark days when the worst anticipations of northern prophets like Amos and Hosea had come true, he never lost hope. Because God, who was rich in mercy, reigned,

"we could attain that ultimate triumph of faith which consisted in holding fast our profession, not only amid all the waves and storms of calamity, but even when we were brought face to face with that which had the aspect of absolute failure." 2

This message was dramatically portrayed against the background of Jewish history. Farrar had captured the spirit of this period and

1. Farrar, F.W., "The First Book of Kings", p. 47
2. ibid., p. 37
the personalities of the outstanding individuals; his exposition, in places, read like an exciting novel.

The other Old Testament studies, while offering less opportunity for dramatic narrative, contained similar qualities. "Proverbs" was the seed of Philo's idea of the Logos and St. John's identification of the Logos with Jesus Christ. The book emphasized the importance of "ordinary righteousness and common morality." "Ecclesiastes" had value because it showed that all was vanity without God. The "Song of Songs" was to be taken in its literal sense as a "very lovely song of innocent love." Pure love "was one of the most precious gifts of God to man, and there would be something wanting in the Bible if there was not found there an expression of the deepest and strongest of all human feelings." The book of "Daniel" "set forth the helpless humiliation of all the false gods before the might of the God of Israel."

S.F. Driver remarked that Farrar's "Minor Prophets" was a useful book. It was a concise, adequate, and popular sketch of the nature and mission of the Minor Prophets.

Farrar's Old Testament work added nothing new to scholarship, but he did much to disseminate the critical opinions. His interpretation, which combined the best scholarship with deep spiritual insight, was expressed through an interesting style which made some of the teaching of the Old Testament come alive for ordinary folk.

1. Farrar, F.W., "Solomon, His Life and Times", p. 207
2. ibid., p. 180
3. Farrar, F.W., "The Book of Daniel", p. 64
Farrar's work in the New Testament was comprehensive; it included the background of the period, accounts of the leading personalities, the higher and lower critical studies, and the message and its meaning.

The problems raised by Strauss' Leben Jesu had made the "most remarkable moment and the greatest event in history less intelligible than they ever had been before." The scientific critics had resolved to strip the supernatural aura from the person of Jesus and discover him as he really was. These works were mainly rationalistic and sceptical. Schweitzer declared that the greatest of them was written with hatred: that of Reimarus, the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, and that of David Frederich Strauss. He clarified this assertion by stating that it was not so much hatred of the person of Jesus as the "robes of splendour with which he had been apparelled." The theological climate in England, as usual, was more temperate. For example, Seeley's Ecce Homo was not hostile to orthodox Christianity but was an attempt to approach the study of Jesus from the human side.

On the other hand, the men of traditional faith

"suddenly found themselves confronted with the most awful of possible losses -- the going out in the interests of the Absolute Idea, of the one Divine Person in history. . . With His going all that invested them (the doctrines, institutions, ethics, forms of homage) with power and meaning would also go."

The differences between the two approaches and their results was

1. Fairbairn, A.M., "Christ in Modern Theology", p. 256
2. Schweitzer, Albert, "The Quest of the Historical Jesus", p. 4
apparent. Which was truer? It was clear that the truth could only be realized through historical research and literary criticism. "Back to the sources" was the cry. The task confronting the scholars was pregnant with difficulties. Schweitzer declared that "every ordinary method of historical investigation proves inadequate to the complexity of the conditions."

"The standards of ordinary historical science are here inadequate, its methods not immediately applicable. The historical study of the life of Jesus has had to create its own methods for itself. In the constant succession of unsuccessful attempts, five or six problems have emerged side by side which constitutes the fundamental problem. There is, however, no direct method of solving the problem in its complexity; all that can be done is to experiment continuously, starting from definite assumptions; and in this experimentation the guiding principle must ultimately rest upon historical intuition." 1

What were these problems? The sources do not provide the necessary materials for a life of Jesus, but only for a picture of his public ministry. There is the contrast between the character of the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel, and the difficulty of relating them to each other. There is the lack of any chronology or order of events.

What were the sources behind the Gospels? Who wrote the Gospels? Why, where, when were they written? To whom were they addressed? How can we account for their discrepancies and contradictions?

What kind of world did Jesus live in? What were the political, geographical, and religious conditions? In particular, how widespread

1. Schweitzer, Albert, "The Quest of the Historical Jesus", p. 6
was the expectation of a Messiah?  What kind of Messiah was expected?

Perhaps the most complex problems centred in the person of Jesus. How much of the Gospel material can be attributed to him?  How much of it is an interpretation of what he said and did?  Are the accounts of the miracles reliable and true?  At what stage in his ministry did Jesus know himself to be the Messiah?  What kind of Messiah did he believe himself to be?  Are the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and other supernatural events to be understood as history or myth?

A.M. Hunter describes Farrar's "Life of Christ" as pre-critical. This is an unjust criticism. The worst judgment that can be made is that it is not critical enough. Miss Gardner, in a fairer evaluation, suggests that Farrar's "Life of Christ" is one of the best popular monuments of the liberal theological endeavour to construct, with the methods of historical criticism and analysis, a biography out of the materials of the Gospels. Miss Gardner remarks that Farrar's study "contains a great deal of historical (and) topographical information."

The key to an understanding of Farrar's work is found in his preface in which he outlined the purpose and limitation of his task. He aimed to produce sound scholarship for the benefit of ordinary people. He based his work on the presuppositions of a believer, and had not written "with any direct and special reference to the attacks of sceptical criticism." But Farrar felt that it would be of value to any honest doubter who would read in a "candid and uncon temptuous spirit."

2. Gardner, Helen, "The Limits of Literary Criticism", p. 22
He informed his readers that he was familiar with the problems posed by the "Lives" by Strauss, Renan, and others, and that he had not evaded any "distinct and formidable difficulty", but had constantly tried to show "by the mere silent course of the narrative itself, that many of these objections are by no means insuperable, and that many more are unfairly captious or altogether fantastic."

Farrar stressed that he was not dealing with the minutiae of criticism because, in other volumes, he and other scholars, "wiser and abler" than himself, had already established these lowest foundations of the faith.

Farrar was aware of the fragmentary character of the Gospels and, also, of the difficulties of constructing a biography out of their materials. He believed that no final harmony of the Gospels was possible, and declared, that in many cases, he had based his work upon probabilities rather than certainties. He attributed all the genuine utterances of the Gospels to Christ and maintained the historicity of supernatural events like the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection.

While Farrar was conscious of the problems it never seemed to occur to him that these difficulties made it impossible to write a "Life of Christ". Being a historian, he realized that all historical study presented difficulties of fragmentary materials and that it was the historian's task to fill in the gaps as best he could. Historical intuition, which Schweitzer had valued as an important requirement in

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Life of Christ", p. viii
2. ibid., p. viii. (For example, the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel).
3. ibid., p. xii
constructing a "Life of Christ", was a necessary trait which Farrar possessed to a high degree. While he may be censured for thinking that the task was easier than it was, he should be commended for attempting what other scholars, with more leisure and broader critical scholarship, hesitated to undertake.

Farrar's "Life of Christ", while revealing the results of his criticism of the Gospels, did not include his historical and literary analysis. However, he expressed his opinions in "The Messages of the Books", and since these views determined the content of his "Life", we shall briefly notice them.

He founded his "Life of Christ" on "an independent study of the four Gospels side by side." But this was not the pre-critical "scissors-and-paste" harmony of the Gospels which A.M. Hunter said that it was. Farrar believed that there were genuine independent sources behind each of the Gospels which were dependent upon a common authoritative oral tradition. This tradition, which probably included the genealogy of Christ, his miracles, discourses, and shorter sayings, had been retained in the memories of those who frequently heard it, and was gradually written down by some of the disciples for wider distribution.

Farrar supported this theory because it corresponded with the manner in which other sacred writings had originated; it agreed with the oldest tradition of the Church; it followed the facts mentioned by St. Luke in his preface to his Gospel; and while it did not solve

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Life of Christ", p. xiii
all the problems, it was the most reasonable suggestion that had been put forth thus far.

The four Gospels superseded all others and won universal acceptance by their intrinsic value and authority. Farrar, in agreement with the Tubingen School, thought that "St. Matthew" was the earliest record, and unlike the Tubingen and most other critics, that it had been written by Matthew in Judea. As early as 1840 scholars had argued for the priority of "St. Mark", and by the end of the century it was generally accepted as the earliest account. Farrar maintained that this Gospel had been written by John Mark at Rome and concurred with the tradition which connected it with the eye-witness of Peter. Farrar presented strong internal and external evidence against the genuineness of Chapter xvi. 9-20. He accepted the Lukan authorship of the third Gospel and thought that it had been written somewhere in Greece before A.D. 70.

Farrar noted the various features of the Synoptic Gospels.

"St. Matthew" was written for the Jews and attempted to harmonize the Law and the Gospel. It was characterized by a stern exclusiveness, a fine unity and construction, and a fuller record of the teaching of Jesus.

1. Most modern scholarship agrees that "St. Matthew" was written at Antioch about A.D. 85. The author is unknown.
3. "More than the rest of the Evangelists he seems to move in evil days amid a race of backsliders; among dogs and swine who are unworthy of the words of truth."
of Jesus. Jesus was the Royal Messiah.

"St. Mark" was written for the Romans and presented Jesus as the ideal man. Impetuous activity and vivid detail were its special features.

"St. Luke" was the longest and most beautiful Gospel which portrayed Jesus as the Saviour of the world. Luke was the first hymnologist, recording the Benedictus, the Magnificat, and the Nunc Dimittis. He taught the sacredness of children, womanhood, and the home. The poor, despised, and humble were given special attention, illustrating the universality of the Gospel. Farrar would have liked C.H. Dodd's comment that "Luke shows us dinner parties while Matthew shows us mountain tops."

3. "The Messages of the Books", pp. 59-60. H.B. Swete declared that where the three Synoptists "are on common ground St. Mark is usually distinguished by signs of minuter knowledge which comes from personal observation or from personal contact with an eye-witness." "The Gospel according to St. Mark", p. lxix.
4. Because he believed that "St. Matthew" was the earliest record Farrar could not appreciate the importance of "St. Mark". Vincent Taylor stresses that "Mark must always remain our primary authority for our knowledge of the ministry of Jesus." The Life and Ministry of Jesus, p. 16. C.H. Dodd has shown the importance of "St. Mark" in the reconstruction of the kerygma. See The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, p. 104ff.
6. Dodd, C.H., "About the Gospels", p. 33. In another place Dodd states that "this is a metaphorical way of saying that Luke, through his exceptional powers of sympathetic imagination and of literary expression made his work the most effective human and secular approach to the Jesus of history." "The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development", p. 124.
Farrar's views on "St. John", which were similar to most British scholarship, were conservative. He assigned the Gospel to the Apostle John at Ephesus about A.D. 90. "St. John" differed from the Synoptics in its preconceived purpose which was to "testify that Jesus was the Son of God; to connect that revelation with the past and demonstrate that Jesus was the Messiah; and to proclaim that those who believed might have life in His name."

The Fourth Gospel was the spiritual gospel of eternity and love. The Incarnation was its central theme: The Word became flesh. The Evangelist supported this teaching by the witness of the Father, the Son, his works, the Scriptures, the forerunner, the disciples, and the Spirit. He expressed himself in symbols: bread, wine, light, the door, the gate, the vine, the shepherd. At the time when this Gospel was penned there was a deeper apprehension of the new covenant through the absorption of Gentile Christians into the Church; the development of Christian thought; the perversion of anti-Christian heresy; and the destruction of Jerusalem. Farrar declared that the aim of the author was to reveal that Christ was life eternal, a present experience for those who believed that Jesus was the Son of God.

Farrar's use of the four Gospels "side by side" and his belief that the Gospel according to St. John was a valuable aid for the

1. The authorship question is unsettled. For two opposing views, see William Temple's "Readings in St. John's Gospel" where a pro-Johannine view is held (p. x); and E.F. Scott's "Literature of the New Testament" (p. 239ff.) where apostolic authorship is declared impossible. Farrar's strongest argument (Early Days of Christianity, p. 618ff.) contends that John the Apostle and John the Elder were the same individual.
3. ibid., p. 104
historical study of the life of Jesus were looked upon as uncritical views. But Farrar was critical in his methods of using the four Gospels. For example, he preferred "St. John" in his accounts of the Judean ministry; "St. Luke" for his order of events in the Galilean ministry; "St. Matthew" for the order of the temptations and the Sermon on the Mount; and St. Mark for numerous details. In these and other cases Farrar gave his reasons for the chosen sources.

Subsequent scholarship has shown Farrar's method to be less open to the charge of "uncritical". B.H. Streeter's four document theory, which connected Mark with Rome, Q with Antioch, M with Jerusalem, and L with Caesarea, emphasized the independence of the various sources. Much of the contemporary scholarship maintains that the deeper insights of the Gospel according to St. John are based on real history, and that "St. John" is no longer to be ruled out whenever it conflicts with the Synoptics. A majority of scholars would probably prefer the Johannine witness on such questions as the early Judean ministry and the date of the Crucifixion. Bultmann has begun to talk of something very like a Johannine "Q". It would seem that Farrar's major deficiencies in his Gospel criticism were his date for "St. Matthew" and his preference of Luke's order of events to those of Mark.

Farrar filled his narrative with details of the geographical, historical, and religious background. His visit to the Holy Land

3. See Miss Gardner's comment which is quoted on page 156.
had given him a first hand impression of the natural environment, and his studies had familiarized him with the historical and religious conditions. He skilfully coordinated this information with the unfolding drama of the life of Christ. Descriptions of the towns and countryside (pp. 23-4); the synagogue and its worship (p. 103); the temple and its ritual (pp. 90, 361); the political position of the Herodians (pp. 11, 18); the general state of society (p. 49); and miscellaneous topics, such as the style of oriental hospitality (pp. 139, 170), enhanced the reader's understanding of the world in which Jesus lived.

The important question of the messianic expectancy was almost neglected: Farrar only noted Jesus' attempt to teach the disciples and the people that his kingdom was not of this world. This deficiency was corrected in the "Life of Lives" where two chapters were used to discuss this subject (XIV, XXIV).

Farrar began his narration with the Nativity. His reason for doing so was that "the Annunciation belongs to that vast divine history which preceded the Incarnation, the truth of which is assumed on every page", and also, "because little or nothing can be added to the narrative of St. Luke." This failure to discuss the Virgin Birth was a grave weakness. Farrar gave fuller notice to the subject in his "Life of Lives", but even here he failed to face the problem. He adopted his familiar habit of accumulating the testimonies

of important people, but as we have shown before, this approach failed to provide the reasoned discussion which was required.

Farrar closely analyzed the problem of chronology, included discussions of the difficulties, and gave reasons for his order of events. His outline, which was an acknowledged duplicate of the German scholar Lange's, followed a traditional pattern: an early Judean ministry, the Galilean ministry, a visit to Jerusalem for the Feast of Purim, the return to Galilee, a period of travel in which there is a visit to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles, another visit to Jerusalem for the Feast of Dedication, and a final journey to Jerusalem for the Feast of the Passover. Farrar's arrangement has been most questioned with reference to his usage of "St. John" which was his source for the many visits to Jerusalem, and, as we have already noticed, his preference of St. Luke's sequence to that of St. Mark.

Farrar granted the freedom to disbelieve miracles, but claimed also the right to maintain their authenticity.

"If, believing in God, we believe in a Divine Providence over the lives of men, and believing in that Divine Providence, believe in the miraculous, and believing in the miraculous, accept as truth the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, then, however deeply we may realize the beauty and wonder and power of natural laws, we realize yet more deeply the power of Him who holds those laws, and all which they have evolved, in the hollow of His hand; then, to us, the miraculous, when thus attested, will be in no way more stupendous than the natural, nor shall we find it an impossible conception that He who sent His Son on earth to die for us should have put all authority into His hand." 3

1. See pages 102, 109, 151, 169-70, and 276-7.
In this statement Farrar was relating his Old Testament teaching concerning miracles to the Gospels. He was maintaining that the miracles must be considered from the standpoint of the great miracle of the Incarnation of Christ; that the universe was not a closed system of fixed law, but was under the control of the sovereign God who had created it; and that each of the miracles should be critically examined.

The attestation of miracles was important to Farrar. He examined the miracle, the soundness of its evidence, and the purpose and result. For example, he expressed his perplexity concerning the miracle of the coin in the fish's mouth.

"The peculiarities both of the miracle itself and the manner in which it is narrated leave in my mind a doubt as to whether, in this instance, some essential particular may not have been either omitted or left unexplained." 2

On the whole, Farrar accepted the miracles of Christ. Since he believed in the great miracle that God had become man, he was able to accept most of the lesser aspects of that Divine Revelation.

The "Jesus of History" movement directed attention to the person of Jesus and emphasized that

"Christianity was to be explained, not through abstract principles, tendencies, differences, conciliations, but through its most creative personality." 3

The effect of this movement upon Farrar was revealed in his attempt

to describe Jesus' appearance.

"He is a man of middle size, and of about thirty years of age, on whose face the purity and charm of youth are mingled with the thoughtfulness and dignity of manhood. His hair, which legend has compared to the colour of wine, is parted in the middle of the forehead, and flows down over the neck. His features are paler and of a more Hellenic type than the weather-bronzed and olive-tinted faces of the hardy fishermen who are His Apostles...." 1

This example is characteristic of the over-exaggeration towards which all movements are prone to go. Farrar's Christ was, on the whole, orthodox and balanced with all the attractive charm of the liberal Jesus. Farrar depicted him as the carpenter, a member of the home, a man with normal emotions, and a good companion who enjoyed life. His portrait was larger than the liberal picture: Jesus was the Incarnate Son of God who, from his earliest days, knew himself to be the Messiah who would suffer and die.

Albert Schweitzer accented the apocalyptic side of Christ, and with the possible exception of Reimarus and Johannes Weiss, nineteenth century studies tended to neglect this emphasis. Even William Sanday, who was probably the best British critic in the field, confessed that he had not adequately realized the importance of the eschatological element in Jesus' teaching. While Farrar's "Life" also failed to notice this aspect, the narration of the last journey to Jerusalem revealed the mysterious majesty of Jesus.

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Life of Christ", p. 146
2. Sanday stated that Schweitzer's view contained a great amount of truth and some exaggeration. The Life of Christ in Recent Research, p. 94.
3. ibid., p. 121. His "Outlines" (1905) reveal this.
"As He turned His back on the little town, and began the journey which was to end at Jerusalem, a prophetic solemnity and elevation of soul struggling with the natural anguish of the flesh, which shrank from the great sacrifice, pervaded His whole being, and gave a new and strange grandeur to every gesture and every look. It was the Transfiguration of Self-sacrifice; and like that previous Transfiguration of Glory, it filled those who beheld it with an amazement and terror which they could not explain. There are few pictures in the Gospels more striking than this of Jesus going forth to His death, and walking alone along the path into the deep valley, while behind Him, in awful reverence, and mingled anticipations of dread and hope -- their eyes fixed on Him, as with bowed head He preceded them in all the majesty of sorrow -- the disciples walked behind and dared not disturb His meditations."  

Farrar's "life" had portrayed the traditional Christ, who, though lacking the special emphases that were accented from time to time, was always somewhat inclusive of them all.

William Sanday, writing in 1907, gave the clue to the value of Farrar's "Life". He pointed out that most of the work which had been done in England upon the life of Christ had a preliminary character which was cautious and self-restrained, and though it had great value, it also had ill-effects. He asserted that the theologians "ought to carry the nation with them in each step of their own progress; they ought to warn the nation what is coming; and they ought to inform the nation as soon as it is come. It is perhaps true that we theologians have been rather backward in doing this, and that, as a consequence, some things have come to the nation in a more startling form and with a greater degree of seeming novelty than they really possessed."

Farrar's "Life" had served to inform the nation of the results of

the critical scholarship, and also, that these had not destroyed the faith but had made possible a clearer conception of the truth that was in Christ Jesus. Had Farrar selected the best form to accomplish this? His dramatic story was ideally suited for communication. The volume went through twelve editions in the first year and fourteen more in the second. It was Farrar's most popular work. Its literary beauty, scenic description, and sound teaching made the world and words of Jesus come alive. It did more: Farrar had succeeded in bringing near the living Lord. James Denney said of his old professor, A.B. Bruce, that "he let me see Jesus". Farrar did precisely the same for his contemporaries. Jesus, Son of Man and Son of God, emerged from the pages in all His majesty, humility, and grace. "To those who would listen, He would still speak."

Farrar's "Life and Work of St. Paul", published in 1879, aimed to give "a definite, accurate, and intelligible impression of St. Paul's teaching" and to place this teaching within the experiences of St. Paul's life. He desired to put the reader "in the position of those to whom the Epistles were first read in the infant communities of Macedonia and Proconsular Asia." He hoped that this approach would make the epistles seem real.

A similar work had been attempted by Conybeare and Howson in 1852. Farrar acknowledged his debt to their work, particularly with regard to their geographical details which had been acquired through their

travel in the footsteps of St. Paul. The similarities of both works are obvious; Farrar's study has wider scope, finer critical analysis, and larger emphasis upon St. Paul's message and its meaning.

Farrar's treatment of the critical questions, as usual, filled a preliminary place. He had avoided "wearying the reader with those interminable discussions of unimportant minutiae", but "in regard to readings, renderings, and explanations, has given a definite conclusion, and indicated as briefly and comprehensively as possible the grounds on which it is formed."

The volumes were dedicated to J.B. Lightfoot, whose previous studies of St. Paul had influenced Farrar's critical conclusions. Farrar believed that St. Paul was the author of the twelve letters which have been traditionally ascribed to him. F.C. Baur had maintained that only Romans, Galatians, and the two Corinthians were genuine, but the mainstream of British scholarship followed Lightfoot's conservatism in believing that all twelve had been written by St. Paul. The discussion continues to the present and serious doubts are still directed towards the genuineness of the Pastorals and Ephesians.

Farrar dated the epistles much as Lightfoot had done. First and Second Thessalonians had been written in A.D. 52; First Corinthians in A.D. 57 and Second Corinthians in A.D. 58; Galatians and Romans in A.D. 58; Philippians in A.D. 61 or 62; Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon in A.D. 63; First Timothy in A.D. 65 or 66; Titus in A.D. 66.

and Second Timothy in A.D. 67.

Farrar also agreed with Lightfoot in maintaining the unity of Second Corinthians; that the Galatians were the people of the northern province of geographical Galatia; that the greater portion of the sixteenth chapter of Romans had been addressed to the Ephesian Church; that Ephesians had been a circular letter to the Asian churches; that the prison epistles had been written at Rome; and that Philippians was the earliest of the prison letters.

Farrar's dependence upon Lightfoot was not indiscriminate. In each case he examined the problems, evaluated the arguments, and drew his own conclusions. Though Lightfoot thought that St. Paul probably visited Spain after his first Roman imprisonment, Farrar maintained that this was impossible. Farrar reasoned: the indications of St. Paul's travels in the two later Pastoral epistles seem to leave no room for such a journey; no shadow of a detail concerning it is given; not a single church seemed to be founded; and the Roman Church's indifference towards the Apostle would not have aided his journey.

Farrar supported the genuineness of the Pastoral epistles in opposition to the majority of the best critical scholars. He took account of their arguments and attempted to show that the evidence did not support their conclusions. While acknowledging that these epistles did not fit into the life of St. Paul as recorded in Acts, Farrar emphasized that this record was incomplete and that early

3. Schleiermacher, Eichhorn, De Wette, Baur, Ewald, Davidson, and others.
tradition declared that the Apostle had been liberated after his first Roman imprisonment. In answer to the criticism that the Pastoral epistles were inferior to the originality and spiritual power of St. Paul's other writings, Farrar stressed that no great writer was always at his best; that the purpose of these letters was different; and that they were written in St. Paul's old age.

Farrar stated that the differences of style and unfamiliar expressions did not rule out Pauline authorship because every other epistle had peculiar terms. These peculiar terms were required by the nature of the problems with which the Apostle was dealing.

The critics alleged that the theology of the Pastoral epistles differed from the rest of St. Paul's writings. Farrar contended that these differences were "the varying expression of truths which complement but do not contradict each other." Farrar discussed this question in greater detail with reference to the more objective significance of faith, the application of "Saviour" to God, the emphasis upon practical good works, and emphasized that these are peculiarities of language, not differences of theology.

The major argument against these epistles was that they were "tendency-writings", meant to magnify ecclesiastical organization and attack gnosticism, and therefore must be late in origin. Farrar disagreed. He contended that St. Paul was concerned about ecclesiastical structure and that the Pastorals were informal guides

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1. Farrar pointed out that there are 111 peculiar terms in the Epistle to the Romans, 186 in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, 57 and 54 in Galatians and Philippians, and 6 in Philemon. "The Life and Work of St. Paul", Volume II, p. 613.
2. Ibid., pp. 614-5.
which did not teach any special church government. With reference to Gnosticism, Farrar maintained that the germs of this heresy had existed in the Apostolic age and had been dealt with by St. Paul in his Epistles to the Philippians, Corinthians, and Colossians. Farrar concluded by confessing that it was impossible to be absolutely certain of the genuineness of the Pastoral epistles and that the problems, which were still unsolved, prevented final conclusions. The majority of modern scholars maintain that these letters contain genuine fragments of St. Paul which had been compiled and edited by a later teacher. Farrar's scholarship was sound in finding Pauline expressions in the Pastorals and in showing that none of the arguments against their genuineness were conclusive; he was unsound in trying to prove that the entire compositions were genuine.

Farrar declared that it was important to realize that St. Paul had not framed a theological system but had expressed his teaching in the form of letters which had been addressed to particular needs. This epistolary form was "peculiarly suited to the impetuosity of feeling which characterized the Apostle to the Gentiles; it permitted a freedom of expression and tenderness of personal friendship."

Farrar noted the traditional fourfold division of St. Paul's epistles. The Epistles to the Thessalonians dealt with the Second Advent; the Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans were letters of controversy with Judaism; Philippians, Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians were the prison letters which expounded the glory of Christ and his Church; the Epistles to Timothy and Titus gave guidance to young pastors in church administration.
In his study of these epistles Farrar sketched the background, the message, and its effects. His interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians will illustrate his method. He tells us that the occasion of the Galatian letter was the backsliding of the Galatians from the freedom of the Gospel into "the shallowest ceremonialism of his Jewish opponents." A group of Judaic teachers followed St. Paul everywhere, telling his converts that they had to become Jews before they could become Christians. They undermined St. Paul's authority, using the weight of Jewish tradition to discredit his apostleship.

Vexed at the fickleness of the Galatians and stung with righteous indignation at those who had taken advantage of it, St. Paul determined to settle the issue once for all. The Gospel did not mean that the Gentiles were to be converted into Jews; the freedom of God's redemption in Christ was being negated.

The epistle comprised six chapters: Chapters one and two established St. Paul's apostolic independence. Chapters three and four were doctrinal, declaring that these new ceremonials were a retrogression from the spirit to the flesh, from faith to works, and from the Gospel to the Law. The Law really placed them under the curse "which it had pronounced on its own imperfect fulfilment; the promise to the faith of Abraham had preceded the Law; the Law, so far from being supreme and final, had a mere pedagogic function for those in an inferior condition; it was meant to educate men into a sense of their own sinfulness and helplessness, and thus lead them to Christ." The last two chapters taught the Galatians that, although they were free from the Law, their lives should express the fruits of the inner law
of love implanted by God's Spirit.

Farrar declared that St. Paul did his work so well "that thenceforth in the Christian Church the question as to the need of circumcision for Gentiles was at an end." He concluded with comments upon the historical value and continued importance of the epistle.

There is a conspicuous absence of any discussion of who the Galatians were. Earlier, Jowett and Lightfoot had declared that they were the people of the ancient kingdom of the Gauls in the north. In his "Messages of the Books", Farrar overcame this deficiency with a brief paragraph in which he agreed with Lightfoot. This traditional view was generally accepted until Sir William Ramsay, fresh from archaeologizing in Asia Minor, propounded his "South Galatia" view. He argued that the Galatians to whom the epistle was addressed were the converts of the churches which St. Paul had established in Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch Pisidia. Most critical scholarship has accepted Ramsay's view as correct.

In his excellent book, "Interpreting the New Testament, 1900-1950", A.M. Hunter suggests that the twentieth century has reclaimed the essence of Paul's message and personality from the liberal distortion. After our examination of Pauline scholarship in the nineteenth century we can only claim that the nineteenth century never lost either the

message or the man. Conybeare's and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul"; the introduction to Jowett's "Epistles of St. Paul"; Lightfoot's dissertations in his "Epistles of St. Paul" and "Biblical Essays", were a few of many works which gave a true picture of the Apostle and his message. Farrar also contributed, stressing the unsoundness of the opinion which blamed St. Paul for distorting the Gospel of Jesus, and teaching that the Apostle had the truest insight into the meaning of God's revelation in Christ. Farrar accented "justification by faith" and "union with Christ" as major themes of Pauline theology, but he emphasized that Paul's message included these aspects in a larger scheme. Paul preached a Gospel of salvation which was a past event, a present experience, and a future hope.

Farrar studied Paul's theology in the crucible of Paul's life. The personality of the Apostle is always present. The commentary on the Second Epistle to Timothy will illustrate this emphasis. Portraying the closing scene of St. Paul's life, Farrar showed the Apostle's sense of triumph in the midst of outward defeat.

"He was a lonely prisoner awaiting a malefactor's end. Does he complain of his hardships? Does he regret his life? Does he damp the courage of his younger friend by telling him that almost every earthly hope is doomed to failure, and that to struggle against human wickedness is a fruitless fight? Not so. His last letter is far more a paean than a miserere. For himself the battle is over, the race run... When he has entered the Master's presence, then and there --not here and now -- shall he receive the crown of righteousness. And so his letter to Timothy is all joy and encouragement, even in the

1. A.M. Hunter dilutes this claim by pointing out that there were lives of Paul which gave a true picture. He mentions Farrar's work among these. Interpreting the New Testament, 1900-1950, p. 68
2. Farrar, F.W., "Truths to Live By", p. 556
midst of natural sadness. It is the young man's heart, not the old man's, that has failed. It is Timothy, not Paul, who is in danger of yielding to languor and timidity, and forgetting that the Spirit which God gave was not one of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. 'Be thou strong and faithful, my son Timothy, even unto death.' So does he hand to the dear but timid racer the torch of truth which in his own grasp, through the long race of his life, no cowardice had hidden, no carelessness had dimmed, no storm had quenched. Glorious Apostle! would that every leader's voice could burst, as he falls, into such a trumpet sound..."  

The message and the man were one. Farrar concluded his study by crediting St. Paul with a greater influence than any other in the long history of the Christian Church.

"The Early Days of Christianity" completed Farrar's attempt to "furnish English readers with a companion, partly historic and partly expository, to the whole of the New Testament." It followed the main lines of the "Life and Work of St. Paul" giving the background condition of the world, an analysis of the critical scholarship, and the essential messages of the other New Testament writings.

The need of the age was to reconstruct a new statement of Christian faith which would combine the traditional knowledge with the new historical, philosophical, and scientific criticism. As we have noted, Farrar's theological training, knowledge of the critical studies, enthusiastic faith, and practical interest specially fitted him to contribute towards this reconstruction in Biblical theology. How well did he perform his task?

2. Farrar, F.W., "The Early Days of Christianity", p. v
Farrar's scholarship must, in part, be judged in the light of his intention. His important work was based on definite presuppositions; he began from the standpoint of belief and his scholarship had greatest value for believers. The critical studies had fostered uncertainty in matters of faith which had caused widespread distress among ordinary Christians. What could they believe about the Bible? Farrar resolved their difficulties by helping them to separate the accidents from the essence of their faith.

Since God's existence cannot be proved by reason, Farrar's presuppositions were valid, but he often failed to reason upon the foundation of his presuppositions. C.S. Duthie writes of a "proof" which, though it is based on faith, reasons beyond it. Quoting from H.H. Farmer, he suggests that an attempt can be made along three different lines to show that it is highly probable that our Christian faith is true. (1) This belief shines in its own light, corresponding to some need in the depth of the human being. (2) It works over the whole area of life and, in an astonishing variety of lives, across the centuries. (3) Although it does not disperse all the darkness that we meet in our mysterious world, it offers us sufficient light to live by, and provides a better explanation of the nature of the world and our presence in it than any rival faith or philosophy. Farrar's usual method was to accumulate pragmatic evidence and demonstrate that Christianity worked in personal life. This approach had little value for the sceptic who required a reasoned statement of faith, and neglected to provide believers with intelligent reasons for their faith.

1. Duthie, C.S., "God in His World", p. 43
faith. Farrar's mind approached things historically and practically rather than philosophically. This weakness was most noticeable in his failure to integrate the messages of the individual books into a people's systematic theology of the New Testament. "The Life of Christ", "The Life and Work of St. Paul", and the "Early Days of Christianity" were completed by 1882, and Farrar spent the last twenty-one years of his life adding bulk to the old content.

Farrar's scholarship was consistently conservative. Among other views that we have already noticed, he thought that James, the Bishop of Jerusalem and the brother of Jesus, was the author of the Epistle of James, and that Peter had written the First Epistle of Peter. He ascribed the Johannine epistles and the Book of Revelation to the Apostle John, arguing that John the Apostle and John the Elder were the same person. Subsequent scholarship has shown that Farrar's critical conclusions were more accurate than they appeared to be at the turn of the century. But his conservatism did lead him astray. With reference to the Book of Revelation, contemporary scholarship is almost unanimous that the book was written during the Domitian persecution, rather than the reign of Nero as Farrar thought (he had rejected the Domitian view), and that the author could not have been the Apostle John.

Farrar's conservatism can be explained by his evangelical background, the influence of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Cambridge scholarship, and his reaction against the extremes of German criticism. As we have already pointed out, his alignment of the
critical studies with conservative orthodoxy in popular form contributed to their acceptance in England.

Farrar's experience in public school education had given him an excellent knowledge of the Graeco-Roman world, and his studies contained many facts which provided a fine historical and cultural background. The first four chapters of the "Early Days of Christianity" described the condition of the world and the life and character of Nero. Lengthy expositions on the physical, moral, and political state of society were woven into the narrative. Separate volumes, "Gathering Clouds", "Darkness and Dawn", and "Seekers after God" gave larger scope to this background.

While some scholars were turning to Hellenism in an attempt to understand early Christian development, Farrar, though aware of the importance of the Hellenic influence, believed that the basic sources of the Christian beginnings were to be found in Hebrew religion. The main text of his writing expounded topics such as the "School of the Rabbi", while his appendices amplified many other subjects like "The Altar of Incense and the Holiest Place."

Farrar desired that his books should be read in conjunction with the Bible. His writings emphasized and included the text of Scripture. In many instances he attempted to clarify the meaning of the text by giving his own translation. Sometimes he "furnished a very close and literal translation; sometimes a free paraphrase;

1. For example, see the "Early Days of Christianity", p. 425
sometimes a rapid abstract; (and) sometimes a running commentary."

He adopted the method which gave the clearest interpretation.

Farrar believed that the critical methods made possible a truer understanding of the Bible. His studies included their best results, demonstrated their validity, and popularized their findings. But he always stressed that they had preliminary value.

"Into a vast part of our teaching — by far the largest and most important part of it, no question of the Higher Criticism enters at all. The object of the best and most sacred Bible teaching is to form the character, not to store the intellect. It is moral; it is spiritual; it has to do with things eternal; it far transcends all minor questions of the date or historicity of the books in which it is enshrined." 2

In a negative, overcritical age, Farrar placed the accent upon the positive message and meaning of the Bible. He saw that the deepest truths of the Scriptures were revealed to men in their experiences, and that, when theology was divorced from life, it became dull and theoretical. Ernest Hocking, the Harvard philosopher, has maintained that Christianity becomes most universal at the point where it becomes most personal. Farrar's writing illustrated this catholicity: The God who had revealed Himself to the Biblical persons in their experiences continued to make Himself known in similar manner. Farrar helped his contemporaries to understand that every man's life had meaning because God was making Himself known in the ordinary events of common life. His aim was practical; he helped men to realize that God, a loving and caring Father, was seeking them,

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Early Days of Christianity", p. vii
2. Farrar, F.W., "The Bible and the Child", p. 23
and that their true lives were to be lived in His fellowship. Farrar was popular, not because he was shallow, but because he communicated the Christian faith to people at the point of their need.

The communication was infused with a highly developed sense of historical imagination. Miss Gardner stresses the importance of this quality in literary interpretation.

"Things truly made preserve themselves through time in the first freshness of their nature." It is the first responsibility of an interpreter that he should neither disregard nor damage that first freshness with which things made by long-dead men speak directly to the mind and heart." 1

This power of intuitive perception enabled Farrar to come near the Biblical characters, share and understand their experiences, and transmit them to his own contemporaries. This trait was an identity of feeling and spiritual communion which allowed the Biblical writers to speak to him and through him.

F.W. Dillistone, writing with reference to the present day, declared that

"it is a time rather for ensuring that as "information" of all kinds comes through the world's channels of communication the most important "information" ever given to man shall not be left out." 2

This is true in every age. The primary means of communication in the Victorian era was printed material, for the wireless and the television were still dreams. It was an ideal day for a literary stylist like Farrar. His interesting and exciting style was a major reason for his success. Many ordinary folk read his works because

1. Gardner, Helen, "The Limits of Literary Criticism", p. 39
2. Dillistone, F.W., "Christianity and Communication", p. 131
they had all the attractive appeal of good novels. In so doing they received sound Biblical instruction in palatable form. An excerpt from the account of the revolt of Jehu (Second Kings viii-ix) will demonstrate the colour of his writing. Jehu has murdered Jehoram and Ahaziah, the kings of Israel and Judah, and has returned to the palace at Jezreel to deal with Jezebel.

"Not even the sudden and dreadful death of her son, and the nearness of her own fate, daunted the steely heart of the Tyrian sorceress. If she was to die, she would meet death like a queen. As though for some court banquet, she painted her lashes and eye-brows with antimony, to make her eyes look large and lustrous, and put on her jewelled head-dress. Then she mounted the palace tower, and looking down through the lattice above the city gate, watched the thundering advance of Jehu's chariot....

One or two eunuchs immediately thrust out of the windows their bloated and beardless faces. "Fling her down!" Jehu shouted. Down they flung the treacherous Queen and her blood spirted upon the wall and on the horses. Jehu, who had only stopped for an instant in his headlong rush, drove his horses over the corpse, and entered the gate of her capital with his wheels crimson with her blood."

This example is somewhat extreme. But it illustrates that Farrar's style made the Biblical records popular and interesting. A question might be raised as to whether this kind of writing communicated much faith. While religion always has its show-men who merely entertain, Farrar was a sound theologian who expressed the deepest truths of the Christian faith through a colourful, sometimes too colourful, literary style. Hundreds of grateful folk wrote letters expressing their appreciation of his help. The following letter from a medical student was typical.
"Your writings have been a source of pleasure and strength to me. They have strengthened my life, elevated my thoughts and ideals, and have been a source of education in my theological research. Your language is beautiful and I read it with delight; it vividly conveys to my mind that which you express." 1

Along with the general public, leading churchmen expressed their appreciation of Farrar's communication of the Christian faith to the public. Bishop Lightfoot told him that he had a larger circle of readers than any other English theologian. Bishop Wilberforce wrote,

"Your name is blessed by thousands. You have been the means of helping millions and you have thrown a stone into the forehead of atheism which has made the dark thing stagger. You have made Christianity possible to multitudes of the thinking men of the day who are sick to death of the sophisms of the schoolmen and the dogmatism of the churchmen who have no argument but the paralyzing appeal to authority. What the world needs is that God and His dealings with men should be put before it in an intelligent and intelligible form. The Holy Ghost has been using you to do this. You are bringing the club men and the intelligent middle-classes to God." 2

This was Farrar's outstanding achievement. While he made no important contribution to specialized scholarship, he disseminated what the scholars were doing. His work was directed towards Christian people who were bewildered by the controversies of the age, and within this limitation, he did more than any other to make the message and meaning of the Bible a reality for his contemporaries.

2. Canterbury Letters, from Bishop Wilberforce (who was Dean of Southampton at the time) to Farrar, 17 November 1881, from Southampton.
"Light without heat is moonshine."

--- G.K. Chesterton, "Orthodoxy"

"The end of our ministry towards the children of God is that they may be saved through Christ forever. . . There is no greater privilege than to be used by God as his living instruments in such a ministry, chosen from all eternity to be Messengers, Watchmen, and Stewards of the Lord."

--- Charles Smyth, "Church and Parish"

"Give me a great truth that I may live on it."

--- Herder
Given equal opportunity, the spoken word has more power than the written word, for it is a living word which is propelled by personality. One burning heart can set others aflame. The ministry of preaching has the greatest power to accomplish this end for it is more than a spoken word. The preacher is God's messenger who speaks forth God's message.

We have already noted that Farrar was among the outstanding preachers of Victorian England. Why was he popular? What was his message? How did he communicate it? What was its effect?

Farrar believed that sermons had been the appointed agency through which God had again and again entered history to change men and nations. It was in sermons

"that Moses had given the Ten Commandments to Israel; that the prophets of Israel denounced the crimes of their own and other nations; that Christ had revealed to a surfeited and guilty world the beatitudes of the humble, the peacemaker, and the pure in heart. It was in sermons to little knots of slaves and artisans that the Apostle had founded the great churches of Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Philippi. It was by sermons that an Urban, and a Peter the Hermit, fired the grand, if erring, passion of crusading enthusiasm. In sermons the mighty voice of Luther's indignation shook the world. By sermons the old Covenanters were fired with the stubborn heroism which faced and routed the cavalry of Claverhouse. By sermons to colliers and miners, Wesley and Whitefield, in a century of deepening atheism, kindled into fresh flame the embers of a dying faith."

Aware of this historic influence, Farrar preached with the expectancy that God would redeem.

The environment of the sermon was worship. The congregation gathered, "not chiefly to hear sermons," but, in the words of the Prayer Book,

"to render thanks for the great benefits received at God's hands, to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul." 1

Preaching could only be effective as the spirit of worship was true. The peculiar dynamic of the sermon was that hearts were open to receive God's word. A London news-writer, who had attended the Abbey, recorded his impression of the careful architecture of the order of worship and the effectiveness of the preacher.

"Canon Farrar, as he ascends the pulpit, has palpably come to preach. The collect with which he prefaces the sermon means something; the hymn has been picked out with a view to prepare the minds of the people for what is to follow; the address which he is about to read is to constitute a personal appeal to every individual present. There is nothing perfunctory here; no labouring over an uncongenial task. The preacher has a message which he is as anxious to give as the people are to hear it, and it will be proffered with heart and soul." 2

Farrar's concern for the beauty of worship was a major reason for his power as a preacher. This attitude lifted the preacher-congregation relationship into the presence of God.

The primary function of the Christian pulpit was the "instruction, the elevation, and the salvation of human souls." 3

A sermon which did not send its hearers away with the desire to love God more and serve Him better was a wasted opportunity. This object could only be realized as the preacher's life was consecrated and his proclamation was faithful.

"God speaks to us in the depths of our hearts. We can deliver no message if we have received none. To discriminate, to understand, and to utter these truths which God has clearly manifested; above all, to feel and to know the love of God in Christ, and to make others partake of this personal conviction is the end of all preaching." 1

This is a high calling which requires serious stewardship. Failure is inherent in the task. Who could be satisfied with his effort? Farrar felt that the office of the preacher was "so sacred and awful in its responsibility that every good man should feel utterly humiliated by his shortcomings, and by the glaring contrast between the lofty ideal which he should have and the poverty-stricken failure of the reality." 2 This sense of inadequacy challenged Farrar to work harder on his sermons and kept him humble at the peak of his popularity. He knew that a man's preaching could never rise higher than the level of his spiritual life, and that the roots of a faithful ministry were to be found in a true relationship with God.

Farrar's main homiletical source was the Bible. His comprehensive study enabled him to grasp its message and to give a true interpretation of its meaning. But it was not a narrow Biblicism. Nature, art, biography, history, and literature were the "great heaven-ordained teachers of mankind which explained, enforced, and illustrated the messages of God which were read in the Scriptures." 3

1. Farrar, F.W., "On Sermon Preparation," p. 58
2. ibid., p. 49
3. ibid., p. 58
Instead of preaching from a single text, Farrar recommended the practice of occasionally giving courses of sermons on separate books, and also single sermons on a whole book. He thought that this method would enable the hearers to gain a broad understanding of the Scriptures.

Farrar's dogmatic theology was expressed in his sermons. In common with the age, he laid stress on practical religion. But he transcended the age in his strong theological foundation which supported his ethical instruction. He knew that there could be no true ethic without true doctrine, and that the reverse was true. Showing the necessity for both, he wrote,

"A teaching exclusively doctrinal might appeal only to the understanding, and might result in nothing but an intolerant Pharisaism; a teaching exclusively practical might only resemble a child's flower struck in the sand, which has no root. Doctrine and morality can never be dislinked from each other, for it is their perpetual connexion which constitutes the unity of Scripture."  

His communication of Christian doctrine to those who were only interested in Christian conduct was an outstanding service.

Farrar maintained that all true theology began with the thought of God. While it was impossible to comprehend the transcendence of God, He had revealed Himself and we could understand the revelation. The essential character of God was holiness. This was Farrar's peculiar teaching which ran like a thread through his theology. This belief, which had been the genius of the Hebrew religion, was being neglected through a revival of Greek theology which accented God's immanence, and through the popular revolt against moral behaviour.

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Farrar's doctrine of the nature of God was largely drawn from the first Epistle of John. God is a Spirit; He is not limited by time or space; He is everywhere; He infuses all things. God is Light: the sole source of all life, truth, and beauty. God is Love. This latter concept

"was the divinest, tenderest, most perfect of all revelations. All true Christianity and all Christendom are the proof of this truth. It is easy to love what is pleasant, engaging, beautiful, attractive. Such love may be innocent, may even be sanctified; yet its inevitable root is self-centred. But to love lepers; sinners; rebels; the lost and fallen; to love even Priests and Pharisees, who had turned religion itself into a vice; to love His murderers; to love all that was alien from Himself — this was the love of God in Christ. "God is Love" — beside that revelation speech fails. We can hardly realize it except upon our knees." 1

Farrar did not evade the paradox of God's self-revelation:

He attempted to reveal the unity of His love and wrath,

"Let us remember that the lessons of God's wrath against sin are in reality the lessons of His love for a sinful race. God shows His love by destroying that in us which would keep us from Him. He would save us, even by fire, from that spiritual death which, unawakened, ends in eternal death." 2

He inquired: How can the mighty sovereign God be the Heavenly Father? The vastness of the universe and the multitudes of people should make us humble and aware of the power of God's majesty. We should be grateful that God revealed Himself as our Heavenly Father in the Incarnation. It did not matter how many worlds there were, if in this world, and for this world, God was made man. 3

1. Farrar, F.W., "Truths to Live By," p. 41
2. _________, "Silence and the Voices of God," p. 167
3. _________, "Theism and Christianity," p. 22
Farrar's proclamation of Jesus as the Christ was similar to his presentation in "The Life of Christ." The Incarnation was the "consummation of God's love for man and the basis for all noble conceptions of human life." His life and ministry revealed the character of God and guided us in our own living and working.

The Evangelicals had made much of the Atonement as the central dogma of Christianity. Many crude theories had been put forward to explain the process by which Christ had atoned for man's sin. Farrar declared that these "doctrinal crudities were one of the chief causes for disbelief, and for that aloofness from the work and worship of the Christian Church which was one of the ominous features of the age." ¹ He cleared away these misconceptions. The idea that the ransom of Christ's life had been paid to the devil was ridiculous. St. Anselm's juridical theory was a scholastic exaggeration which "dreamed of a legal compact between justice and mercy, in which Christ as the God-man had paid the debt which man must pay, and which none but God could have paid." ² The vicarious substitution theory, in which the Father's wrath was supposed to have been tempered by the Son's sacrifice, destroyed the unity of the Trinity. The emphasis upon the "material blood of Christ" was a perversion: The blood of Christ did not symbolize His death, but His life. Those who separated the Cross from the wholeness of Jesus' life distorted His redemptive work. Farrar, having swept away all "these vaunted philosophies" affirmed that

"All that we can know, or need to know, is that we are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, and that by Him

we may approach, without fear, to a loving, forgiving God."  

Farrar joined with others in seeing the wider significance of the Atonement: Redemption had a greater end than the salvation of the individual: It reconsecrated the whole universe to God. He concluded that "the Atonement, in its effects, was a full, perfect, and sufficient redemption for the sins of the whole world."  

The question of the Future Life had been discussed in theological circles for several decades. The discoveries of natural science had demonstrated that Heaven could no longer be regarded as a place, and that the descriptive symbols of the Bible could no longer be taken literally. In November-December of 1877, Farrar preached a series of five sermons on "Eternal Hope" which exploded like a bombshell on the English public.

The first sermon described the nature of Heaven. Belief in a future life was a matter of hope, not certainty. The Scriptural imagery was not to be taken literally. Heaven was not a place, but a condition of being. Farrar asked,

"Is it not a temper rather than a habitation? Was it not something to be rather than somewhere to go?"

Heaven was "to be one with God."

The last four sermons stirred up the controversy. Farrar attacked the views that Hell was a place of physical torment; that these torments were endless; that the majority of mankind were destined to this fate; and that this final doom was passed at the moment of death on those who were in a state of

1. Farrar, F.W., "Truths to Live By," p. 272
2. ibid., p. 272
3. Elliott-Binns, L.E., "English Thought, 1860-1900," p. 258. "F.D. Maurice had affirmed in 1853 that eternal punishment did not mean something which went on forever, with no hope of repentance on the part of the sinner."
unrepentant sin. Farrar did not deny Hell. He believed that

"there is a terrible retribution upon impenitent sin both here and hereafter; that without holiness no man can ever see the Lord; that sin cannot be forgiven till it is forsaken and repented of; that the doom, which falls on sin is both merciful and just." 1

He explained that he was making no authoritative statements, but was expressing a hope that "God's mercy might extend beyond the grave." 2 Farrar founded this hope "on what seemed to be the general tenor of the entire Scriptures, as a revelation of the love of God in Christ." 3 He believed that it was sanctioned by the Burial service and other ordinances of the Prayer Book. It was not a new doctrine, but was more primitive and catholic than the prevalent view.

"It had been held by some of the greatest teachers of the Church in the earliest days. It was never directly or indirectly condemned by an Oecumenical Council. In some form it was included in the faith of the greatest part of Christendom, being involved in the belief of some intermediate state between death and judgment, both in the Greek and Romish Churches." 4

He suggested that those imperfect souls who died in a state unfit for Heaven might yet, before the day of judgment, have God's good work perfected in them in an intermediate state.

The response was varied and equal to the intensity of the sermons. Some people rejoiced that Canon Farrar had done away with hell. Bishop Westcott commended Farrar and informed him that "it was just what he himself had been teaching for the last ten years." 5 Severely orthodox theologians prepared their

2. Ibid., p. xii
3. Ibid., p. xv
4. Ibid., p. xvi
counter-statements. Dr. William Philpotts thought that it was a shame "that so much eloquence should be wasted on so weak a cause." 1 Dr. Pusey prepared a systematic reply.

The controversy centred on whether the doom passed on sinners at the moment of death was final. There was endless discussion about the meaning of words: "Gehenna", "Sheol", "Hades", "Aeonian", and "Judgment". In a critical essay on Farrar's "Eternal Hope," Henry Bramley propounded the opposite view with reasoned skill. He credited Farrar with warm sentiments of humanity, but stated that there was little foundation for his arguments. He thought that those who tended to accept universalist concepts overlooked the fact that it was "quite possible for a man, by the use of his free-will in this life, to ruin himself forever; and that there was absolutely no ground for hoping that those who, in the perfectly just and true judgment of God, had chosen evil here, could reverse their choice hereafter." 2

The result of the discussion was a more balanced belief. Hell was no longer regarded as a place of physical torment; the condemnation of the majority of the human family was disavowed; a widespread interest was aroused in regard to the intermediate state; and the anguish of many folk was turned into hope. It was to Farrar's credit that "Eternal Hope, together with its sequel, Mercy and Judgment, ventilated the question of Everlasting Punishment at a popular level, and thereby constituted a landmark in the progress of Liberal Theology in the Victorian Age." 3

The content of Farrar's preaching included the other main doctrines of the Christian faith. The Holy Spirit was "that living, abiding, present Teacher, who, now and always, will speak to us immediately, directly, and face to face." 4

1. Philpotts, W.J., "Reply to Canon Farrar's Eternal Hope," p. 25
2. Bramley, Henry Ramsden, "Eternal Punishment: A Criticism on Dr. Farrar's "Eternal Hope,"" p. 16
When the Church settled "down complacently into sham orthodoxy," the Holy Spirit created new life which led the Church forward into fresh truth and power. 1

The Church was the Body of Christ: "Where Christ is, there is the Church." 2 It was impossible to be an individual Christian: the Christian religion was social. Farrar strongly urged the priesthood of the believers. Nothing had been more "fatal to the growth and vigour of the Church of Christ than that condition of things in which, whether through the usurpation of the clergy, or the indifference of the laity, the practical work of the Church came to be regarded as predominantly clerical." 3

He maintained that it was the first duty of every Christian "to take some direct, immediate, personal part in the work of Christ for the world." 4

The Church was the steward of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which were the appointed outward means of nourishing the spiritual life. Baptism enabled the believer to share in the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection; the Lord's Supper was a means of partaking in His life. The Sacraments were means of that mystical union with Christ which was the essence of Christian experience.

Doctrine was the foundation of Farrar's preaching. His sermons comprehended the wholeness of the Christian faith; they had the content of theological lectures. His genius was his ability to communicate the profoundest theological truths to ordinary people.

What is the good of theology if it cannot be applied to life? Farrar preached mostly on the practical aspects of Christian

3. ibid., "Christ's Little Ones," p. 8  
4. ibid., p. 6
living. The nature of sin, the way of repentance, the process of conversion, the conquest of temptation, the marks of the new man, and other similar messages helped people to apply the Christian doctrines to their lives.

Farrar was at his best when he was dealing with the nature of man. He avoided both extremes: the pessimism which declared that there was no good in man, and the optimism which claimed that man was basically good. There was a terrible dualism in man's nature:

"Formed out of the dust of the ground, yet made in the image of God; children of the most High, yet crushed before the moth; drinking in iniquity like water, yet filled with the inspiration of the Almighty; a worm and a thing of nought; yet with a destiny higher than the sons of light; — the angel has him by the hand and the serpent by the heart; he may rise to the heights of heaven, he may sink to the abyss of hell."  

Though men had this duality of nature in common, the Bible divided them into two groups: those who trusted in themselves and those who trusted in God.

"The one class walk in their own light; trust in their own strength; fight their own battles. The others, not neglecting to use the wisdom and strength which God has given them, still trust in His wisdom and strength to carry out the weaknesses of theirs. The one class go through life as orphans; the other have a Father ..."  

The self-centred attitude towards life was sin. It was to put oneself in God's place, to disbelieve God. Attitude guided action, action became habit, and habit became character. We became what we did.

The consequences of sin were its judgment: punishment and death. You reaped what you had sown. Farrar used the Biblical

1. Farrar, F.W., "The Fall of Man," p. 90
2. "Truths to Live By," p. 342
biographies to illustrate these facts. In a sermon dealing with
David, he pointed out the frightening consequences which
followed sin.

"The sword never departed from his house. His sons,
beautiful and bad, had not seen him restrain his passions,
and they did not restrain theirs. He had wounded others
in their tenderest affections, and he was wounded in his
own. He had humiliated a woman and his own daughter was
humiliated. He had taken the wife of another in secret,
and his wives were taken from him openly in the sun. As
he sinned, in like manner he suffered. There was a
frightening likeness between the iniquity and its consequences.
He had slain Uriah by treachery, and by treachery his own
son was murdered." 1

Though sin reaped punishment, its ultimate consequence was
death. This state of death was an insensitivity to evil, and
finally, to become evil oneself.

"When the glory of an unsullied heart is gone, — when
in lieu of it has come that sense of self-disgust which
is the bitterest of woes; when goodness is dead, hope
is dead and the fire of God's love is dead on the altar
of his heart, a man is dead." 2

Farrar's acute analysis of the nature of man, the stages of
sin, and its consequences, revealed to his hearers that he knew
the human heart. Since he was able to describe the disease, they
thought he might be able to prescribe the cure. His portrait of
the misery of sin gave clearer perspective to the joy of
salvation.

His theology of conversion began with repentance. Man
needed to shift "the centre of gravity from self to God." 3
The individual needed to turn from his wrong direction and to put
himself in a position where God could reconcile him.

1. Farrar, F.W., "Expository Sermons and Outlines on the Old
   Testament," p. 109
2. _________, "The Fall of Man," p. 36
3. _________, "Truths to Live By," p. 75
When a man repented, God granted forgiveness and the new birth. Forgiveness was the cleansing of the past and the healing of our sins. The new birth was the annihilation of self-centredness within us and the establishment of a new relationship with God.¹

The new birth did not mean that one sinned no longer. It was at this point that the full fury of the battle began to rage. The Christian life was conflict.

"The Christian was to fight. His weapons were the armour of God. His hope in the present was victory, through God's grace, over the world, the flesh, and the devil; and in future, victory over death and the darkness of the grave." ²

The Christian did not fight alone; He was to be in Christ, to abide in Him, to be united with Him. Only as he was in Christ could he be triumphant in the battle. Farrar stressed that the essence of the Christian life was to be in Christ.³

The breath of the inner life was prayer. A Christian who did not pray was a dead Christian, and could not be a Christian at all. Prayer should open and close the day; was suitable in every posture and place; could be uttered as quickly as a flash of lightning; and should be spoken for every need. Prayer was communion with God and should increasingly grow into a oneness between God and the soul.⁴

The light of the inner life was the Bible. The Christian should study it "constantly, wisely, and reverently." ⁵ The Scriptures contained "in germ nine-tenths of all that is best and noblest in the literature of two milleniums of Christianity." ⁶

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1. Farrar, F.W., "In the Days of Thy Youth," p. 83
3. ———, "Truths to Live By," p. 329
5. ———, "Everyday Christian Life," p. 156
6. ibid., p. 154
This inner communion with God revealed its genuineness in the outward life. What were the marks of the new man? He was faithful in common-place tasks. He was courteous. He lived a natural life which was free of stress and strain. He faced sickness, disappointment, and tragedy with cheerful trust, believing that God was working in all things for good. The Christian radiated joy, peace, enthusiasm, and humility. He followed the way of Christ in self-denying service.

Farrar taught that the inmost meaning of the Christian faith was holiness. God's chief aim was to make men holy. Love was the spirit and expression of this holiness: love and holiness were one.

A religion which neglected the social, economic, and political issues would deserve the stigma of being an opiate of the people. Farrar declared that the Church had a twofold task: the redemption of the individual and the society, which was really a single work.

The Victorian era was an age of growing materialism, and the philosophy of uncontrolled acquisitiveness and competition were accepted as general norms. Farrar thought that the social scene was perilous. The country was being depleted and the cities were becoming densely overcrowded. Population was increasing at the rate of one thousand each day, with the most rapid increase among the destitute and unfit. The curse of drunkenness continued to debilitate the national resources. Mass unemployment was increasing and the struggle between capital and labour was explosive. While the wealth of the country had increased, the poverty-stricken element of the population had also increased. Out of thirty-six million people, thirty million belonged to the lower-middle and poorer classes. The country had eighty thousand

1. Farrar, F.W., "True Religion," p. 51
2. "Bells and Pomegranates," p. 95
3. Farrar, F.W., "Truths to Live By," p. 152
paupers, and a half-million more existed on charity. 1

The Church had lost contact with the masses of the working classes, so that "not one-tenth of them frequented the services, and only three per cent. participated in the Holy Communion." 2 Farrar maintained that the poor were suspicious of the Church because of its identification with vested interests.

Farrar not only brought these problems before the congregation; he attacked the evils and outlined ways of meeting the needs. The Church must minister to men's bodies as well as their souls. Uncontrolled laissez-faire and competitive policies perverted freedom into license. Both the rich and the poor needed to change their ways. The rich were greedy, selfish, and indifferent to human suffering. The poor were thriftless; married too early; had too many children; spent too much on drink; and were lazy.

It was the duty of the individual citizen to exercise his energy and influence to improve society. Parliament was responsible for the protection of the poor and weak, and should write legislation which would alleviate the ills of the nation. The Church must develop its ministry to the poor, win their confidence, and claim their allegiance. 3

Farrar denounced the evils of war; gloried in the good and criticized the evil of the Empire; and pleaded for a non-prejudiced treatment of the Jews. As we have previously noted, he was zealous in his work for the Salvation Army and the Temperance Movement.

Culture, without religious consciousness, "was nothing but civilised barbarity, and disguised animalism." 4 Farrar asserted that it was "a vulgar error to cleave the secular from the sacred,

2. ibid., p. 16
and to prevent religion from suffusing and interpenetrating
the whole realm of daily life." 1 The result of this
separation was a half-life for men and society. Farrar's
preaching encompassed the breadth of culture and unveiled God's
revelation in the arts and sciences.

It was impossible to overestimate the influence which sacred
art exercised in the lives of people. Many a career, like that
of Count Zinzendorf, had been determined by the impression of
a painting. True art came from the Spirit of God; it was
an expression of the soul. 2

"Art, in her highest reach, revealed the unattainable;
she is the interpretation of beauty in life under the
light of the incarnation." 3

Farrar often used paintings as the basis for sermons. He
revealed the unity of art and religion, and enhanced the beauty
of the Christian faith through this medium.

Music was "the purest, most Christlike, divine expression
of the life of man." 4 It was the opposite of all that was
loose, ill-regulated, and disorderly: its rhythm, melody, and
harmony displayed the pattern of God's order. The hymns of the
Church bore the stamp of unsectarian Catholicity which marked all
true religion. In a beautiful passage Farrar gave thanks for
the great composers.

"We think of Bach, and the grand music which was the
outcome of his poverty-stricken youth; of Handel, in
his age and blindness, still full of cheerful dignity;
of Beethoven, bearing his deafness with pathetic
resignation; of Haydn, seeking for inspiration in
prayer, and writing "In nomine Domini" at the head of
every composition; of Mozart, composing on his deathbed
that thrilling requiem; of Mendelssohn, "a moral lighthouse

2. ibid., p. 161
3. ibid., p. 179
in the midst of a dark and stormy sea." To these men music was the handmaid of religion. It was the outpouring of the faith which struggled with disappointment; of the resignation which illumined anguish; of the hope which triumphed over death. Their very hearts were the instruments on which they played...."

The message claimed that the best music had religious roots.

Wordsworth and Tennyson had helped us to see the beauty of the world; Milton had helped us to see the Eternal; Dante had burnt into us the sense of sin and the reality of hell; and Shakespeare and Browning had caused history to come alive. Literature revealed the lessons of God. Farrar had the profoundest respect for the poets and thought that they "were the deepest spiritual observers and greatest moral teachers."

Westminster Abbey, like all true architecture, was a "theology in stone." Its predominant number of three -- triple height, length, and breadth, -- symbolized the doctrine of the Trinity.

After attending the Passion Play at Oberammergau, Farrar stated that the separation of drama from the Church had been a tragedy. He hoped that closer co-operation might be realized between the Church and the theatre.

There could be no contradiction between religion and science because science was "the Voice of God to men in nature. Scripture was man's Bible written with paper and ink; Science was his Bible written on the starry leaves of heaven and the rocky tablets of the world." 5

Farrar was the embodiment of Terence's verse: "I am a human being; nothing human is without its interest for me." His

1. Farrar, F.W., "Music in Religion and Life", p. 18
3. "On Sermon Preparation", p. 58
4. "Westminster Abbey", p. 3
sermons diffused the light of the Gospel over most areas of life. It usually took Farrar three and a half uninterrupted hours to write a sermon. He thought that additional time spent on a manuscript seldom improved it.

"Written under the influence of some dominant thought or deep emotion it may leap like a spark from an anvil, and further pains might envelop it in the white ashes of euphemism and conventionality." 1

He wisely advised others not to follow this habit of swiftness.

How far is it essential that a sermon be original? Farrar believed that there were very few creative men. The necessary thing was that "we should make every thought we utter our own, by rethinking it; and by passing it through the crucible of our own minds." 2

Books of anecdotes and "canned illustrations" were shameful. The use of illustration "should come naturally and spontaneously from our own memory and the stores of our own reading." 3

Quotations should be used sparingly. He thought that self-distrust was often the reason for widespread quoting. He suggested that "though our expression may be a poor thing, if it be genuinely our own, the home-spun garb may be more effective than the rich robes which others have worn, even though they be stiff with embroideries and gold." 4

The structure of Farrar's sermons was adapted to the subject. He introduced his subject; expounded the points in numerical order; and usually concluded with a personal appeal.

It is surprising to learn that Farrar read his sermons. But it was not that "ostrich in the manuscript" style of reading. He would grasp the content of a page in a moment and then, with his attention fully directed towards the congregation, proclaim

1. Farrar, F.W., "On Sermon Preparation," p. 52
2. ibid., p. 55
3. ibid., p. 56
4. ibid., p. 57
that message with his whole being.

The preacher's highest and most constant aim should be "to preach Christ — not in intricate dogmatic definitions, not by the wearisome iteration of "Lord, Lord," or any other formulae — but to preach simple Christ to simple men, and to set forth Him first, Him last, Him midst, and without end." ¹

We can now understand the effectiveness of Farrar's preaching. His message expressed a whole Gospel. The Bible was clearly interpreted; the great doctrines of the faith were simply explained and applied to practical life; the science of Christian living was outlined; the social, economic, and political areas were reconsecrated to God; culture was seen as a varied revelation of God's truth; and the whole of the present life was infused with the reality of the eternal.

While the message was true, clear, and winsome, it was communicated through spiritual power. Farrar's enthusiasm had the contagious quality of electricity: men felt the presence of the Holy Spirit. The surrender of his whole life to God; an unremitting toil which highly developed his powers; the dedication of these powers to the communication of the Gospel; and an expectant faith which believed that God would bless his ministry combined to offer an instrument through which God could impart His love to the world.

The centre of the message and the man was Jesus Christ. Hensley Henson, successor to Farrar at Westminster and afterwards Bishop of Durham, wrote that there was a particular sermon which he had never been able to forget. Canon Farrar had preached before the undergraduates at St. Mary's, Oxford, while he had been

¹. Farrar, F.W., "On Sermon preparation," p. 59
a student.

"I was sitting in the crowded gallery of the thronged church. The preacher was Canon Farrar whose fame as doctrinally suspect was widespread, and whose reputation as an eloquent preacher was at its height. His text was Hebrews xii. 1,2: "Therefore let us also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and run the race which is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and perfecter of our faith." The preacher, in language of passionate fervour, presented Christianity as a personal allegiance to a Crucified Master. That was the view which gained my acceptance, and which has ever since retained its hold on me." 1

There were many people who gave similar testimony.

"In our day of thanksgiving one psalm let us offer  
For the saints who before us have found their reward;  
When the shadow of death fell upon them, we sorrow'd,  
But now we rejoice that they rest in the Lord.  

In the morning of life, and at noon, and at even  
He call'd them away from our worship below;  
But not till His love, at the font and the altar,  
Had girt them with grace for the way they should go.  

These stones that have echo'd their praises are holy,  
And dear is the ground where their feet once have trod;  
Yet here they confess'd they were strangers and pilgrims  
And still they were seeking the city of God.  

Sing praise, then, for all who here sought and here found Him,  
Whose journey is ended, whose perils are past;  
They believed in the Light; and its glory is round them,  
Where the clouds of earth's sorrow are lifted at last."  

-- W.H. Draper  

"I smiled to think God's greatness flowed  
around our incompleteness.....  
Round our restlessness, His rest."  

-- Elizabeth Barrett Browning  
"The Rhyme of the Duchess May"
The London Times, in its notice of Farrar's death, maintained that he "was one of the great outstanding figures in the religious landscape of the time." Farrar had deeply affected both the country and the church. His educational philosophy and work had reshaped the public school curriculum; he had pioneered in the introduction of scientific subjects and in friendly relations between masters and students; and his influence had permeated the embryonic leadership of the nation.

His literary work had made the Bible a reality in English homes. He had interpreted the faith of the New Testament in the light of the critical studies; explained how the Bible had been formed; clarified the meaning of inspiration and authority; guided the way towards a true Biblical interpretation; and communicated the content in a popular style which ordinary people could understand.

His proclamation of God's mighty acts claimed the allegiance of his hearers for Christ. He preached in the power of the Holy Spirit and his enthusiasm radiated God's life to men. He explained the doctrines of the creeds and applied them to practical life. For nineteen years he was rector of the Church of the House of Commons; Chaplain and friend to the Queen and members of the House; and exerted the full force of his ministry upon the nation when it was at the peak of its international power. He had a larger number of readers and hearers than any other English preacher.

1. The London Times, 23 March 1903.
Many of Farrar's qualities have lasting meaning. While he embodied many of the characteristics of the age, he transcended his period. His message included the major accents of the contemporary scholarship and corrected many of its deficiencies.

The Victorian era was dominated by a belief in evolution which conceived all truth in terms of gradual development. The rediscovery of Greek theology had led to an emphasis upon the immanence of God. While declaring the meaning of the Incarnation, Farrar always stressed God's transcendence and otherness. Describing theological positions at the dawn of the twentieth century, he wrote,

"We have learnt more modesty and humility, more awful reverence for Him whose ways are past finding out." 3

God was Sovereign and Father both within history and beyond it. Throughout the period when ethical humanism was at its height Farrar asserted the wholeness of God's nature. His theology, unlike some of the contemporary thought, avoided the tragedy of believing that man was the measure of all things and would ultimately create a perfect society.

He had been delivered from this delusion through his study of the Bible. His sense of its primary importance is amply revealed in his life-long dedication to its interpretation. He knew that the

1. These deficiencies were a one-sided emphasis on the immanence of God, the goodness of man, the authority of reason, a belief in automatic progress, the need to adapt faith to culture, and an open-minded tolerance which minimized doctrine.
2. A.C. McGiffert thought that the immanence of God was the most characteristic religious doctrine of the nineteenth century. (Quoted in H.E. Fosdick's "The Living of These Days", p. 253).
Bible had been the corrective and inspiration of the Church throughout its history. When the springs of spiritual life had dried up, it was, in most cases, through the Scriptures that the Holy Spirit brought renewal. Farrar lived in the Biblical world; he looked at things from its standpoint. This perspective enabled him to transcend the deficiencies of those scholars whose work was too negative, pedantic, and controversial; and those people who, in reaction against dogma, thought that "golden rule" ethics comprised a sufficient theology. He made the vast resources of the Scriptures available to his generation.

His concentration upon holiness as the essence of the Christian life was an uncommon accent. The late Victorians were becoming loose in their morals; there seemed to be a growing reaction against prudish restraint. While many churchmen were emphasizing philanthropic service to the neglect of Christian character, Farrar stressed that the holiness of God was revealed in the holiness of Christians. It was the responsibility of every Christian to strive towards holiness. His own life was innocent and unmarked by shadow. His conviction, displayed with clarity in "Eric", had weakness and strength; it was occasionally so pious that it appeared unreal; it reminded that sin was the basic sickness of man which, beginning in little things, ultimately destroyed, and could only be healed by God's redemption in Jesus Christ. Farrar combined an earnest righteousness with sensitive compassion; too seldom have these qualities been wedded
in a single life.

His loving compassion supported his contention that love and holiness were a single virtue. This quality was particularly manifest in his compassion for the maligned. When churchmen were ostracizing Bishop Colenso, Farrar invited him to Harrow and asked him to give the blessing after the service. At the consecration of Frederick Temple as Bishop of London, Farrar was terribly disturbed when the service was delayed for thirty minutes because of protests. He espoused the Temperance and Salvation Army programs because of his compassion for the poor. The sermons on "Eternal Hope" were preached, in part, to relieve the anguish of those who thought that their loved ones were suffering horrible physical torments. A beautiful sermon, "Blessed are the Merciful", displayed his sensitivity to the suffering of animals and his reverence for the whole of life.

Faithful work was a mark of the new man. Jesus Christ had been a working carpenter and we were to work also. Farrar's life was filled with ceaseless, energetic toil. An appreciation of the value of time stimulated him to redeem each minute. He stated that work bestowed benefits: it stabilized through difficult days and kept a man's interest outside himself.

Farrar's broad scholarship and influential ministry were the fruits of hard work. Through years of disciplined industry he formed habits of character which enabled him to compile an incredible record of achievement. His life is a judgment upon the
With reference to the criticism of his scholarship, we have already noticed Charles Smyth's comment that Farrar

"though something of a polymath, was not a scholar in the real sense. His industry was inexhaustible; his reading was encyclopaedic; his memory, if inaccurate, was prodigious. But he was essentially a popularizer." 1

On the whole, this is an excellent analysis of Farrar's merits. The exception is the criticism that Farrar "was not a scholar in the real sense." This raises a serious question: What is scholarship? Is it not the acquisition, assimilation, incarnation, and communication of truth? Because a man's work is extensive rather than intensive; because he is popular rather than obscure -- to say that such a man is not a "scholar in the real sense" is to dangerously limit the meaning of scholarship. This kind of judgment is characteristic of the sophistication which is impressed by the very learned whom few can understand. The philosophers might be impressed with such display; but surely the Christian has a different view of truth. His pattern is the Incarnation: "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld his glory...." It was the deepest truth plainly revealed in life which was capable of being understood and possessed.

Farrar's scholarship was true to the principle of the Incarnation. It took abstractions and made them live; it took theology and expressed it within the experiences of the men who had declared it. His purpose was communication. He avoided that scholarship which escaped from the world into an ivory tower; which forgot that the academic community

1. Smyth, Charles, "Church and Parish", p. 169
existed only because of the labour of those outside it, and that
the responsibility of scholarship was to bring its fruits to the
larger world. When this ceased to happen both suffered loss: the
academic community lost itself in irrelevant abstractions and the
world failed to receive the knowledge that it requires to live wisely.

There is another aspect. One philosophy of education conceives
of truth as something to quest after. It is the picture of a man
with a net chasing butterflies. When he catches one, he examines it,
allows it to escape, and continues the quest. Truth is never realized:
it is the unending quest. You must not commit yourself to anything
because you do not yet know all the truth. This view contains truth
but it is a perverted truth. The fact that we can never know all the
truth should keep us humble and open to new truth. But the Christian
commits himself to that which he knows, little as it may be. He
takes that which he knows; gives himself to it; lives with it and
in it; and through this involvement learns more truth.

The first view is a prostitution of truth: it is truth for
truth's sake. It never becomes incarnate. It never serves. It is
a self-centred escape from the responsibility which truth always has
to minister to human need; to act upon what it knows even to the
point of self-sacrifice. The Christian marries truth; lives it
out; is crucified for it.

Farrar's scholarship was characterized by communication and
incarnation. He studied with the desire to impart his knowledge to
ordinary folk. It was not his failure that he was a disseminator:
it was his goal. His particular gift and importance was his ability to communicate theology to ordinary people. There is always a gap between the desk and the pulpit: the scholar is detached from the real world; the pastor is too busy to keep abreast of scholarship. There is also a gap between the pulpit and the pew: the minister's life is set apart; he views life differently. His task is to understand his faith and his world in order that he can fuse them. Farrar bridged both gaps. He brought the fruits of contemporary scholarship into the pulpit and communicated a sound faith to the man in the pew. It is important to realize that the task of communication is as difficult and essential as that of research. What good is scholarship that is unrelated to life?

Farrar was also committed to truth. Charles Smyth wrote that Farrar's desire to be a bishop was the flaw in the bright metal of his character. Ambition can be a horrible cancer which destroys a man, his faith, and his work. The evidence indicates that Farrar did strongly desire to be a bishop and that this failure was one of the keen disappointments of his life. But Farrar placed his responsibility to proclaim the truth before his personal ambition. When a truth had been entrusted to him, he would herald it forth with all the burning conviction of his impassioned soul, regardless of the consequences. The consequences were severe. The Queen told the Dean of Windsor that she liked Farrar personally, but thought that he was too vehement and violent in his expressions. It was
this opinion, shared by others, which probably blocked his preferment.

His scholarship had deficiencies. He tended to skim over the surface of things and was occasionally careless about details. His emotional fervour carried him to extremes which a cooler reason would have restrained. His style of writing was filled with purple passages, often verbose, overloaded with adjectives, and weighed down with indiscriminate quotations. In the course of two sermons that he preached at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, he quoted twenty-three Scriptural phrases or texts, excluding paraphrases, and used more than eighty quotations. He was a historian rather than a philosopher and this quality showed in his skill in surveying masses of materials, in coordinating the results, and in his inability to construct synthetic conclusions. His work had primary value for believing Christians and, while it was extraordinarily effective, one wishes that he had made a greater attempt to reach the sceptical. His life was intensive and forceful rather than contemplative and leisureed, and many of these deficiencies resulted from the pressures of too-heavy responsibilities. It is the destiny of some men to live unmeasured lives, and if he had been more restrained and careful, he might have dampened the zeal and diluted the colour which accomplished so much. To claim that he was not a scholar in the real sense is to misunderstand the nature and purpose of scholarship. Farrar's work is a continuing reminder that truth must be incarnated in the world.

and the scholar's life; and that the scholar should serve the larger world through the communication of the results of his research.

More than a scholar or a writer, Farrar was a preacher. He was a herald of God. His scholarship was dedicated to making known the things of God. In every age there are those who depreciate the pulpit. While he believed his own age was such a time, Farrar was thrilled with the historic influence of preaching which had been a chief instrument through which God had transformed men and nations. Behind him stood Wesley and Whitefield and Jeremy Taylor and Savanorola and Ambrose and Chrysostom and Paul. He preached every sermon in the presence of the risen Christ and believed that preaching was still the high calling through which God's Word reverberated into the world.

One of the marks of late Victorian England was a growing indifference to religion. Not only among the people, but also within the Church there was an increasing lethargy. Fairbairn commented that

"It was neither said nor meant that our age is distinguished by a deeper reverence or purer love for the Redeemer, or even a stronger faith in Him. In these respects we might claim pre-eminence for other ages than our own."

One evidence for this opinion was seen in the decrease of the number of ordinands. But it was more of an inner spirit which Benjamin Jowett expressed when he was trying to persuade Cosmo Gordon Lang to undertake theological teaching at Balliol College: "We may have the truth but we have no fire." If the heralds of God have lost

1. Fairbairn, A.M., "Christ in Modern Theology", p. 19
their fire, what hope is there for the people? If the fires of faith have burned low there must be something lacking in the understanding of truth. If the Christian religion does not prove exciting what else can inspire? The age was over-critical and much of the theological work was unrelated to life.

There was a different spirit at St. Margaret's and the Abbey. The fires of faith were burning high throughout Farrar's life and ministry. He never lost his enthusiasm for the service of God. Enthusiasm can be the false, artificial kind which seeks effect, and this is fatal to preaching or any other expression. But there can be no true faith without enthusiasm -- a deep devotion to God which wells forth from the depths of a man's heart with all the passion of love. Faith is not so much taught as it is caught. Farrar's life revealed the thrilling ministry of preaching and the contagion of a genuine enthusiasm.

Jesus Christ leads men from their provincial narrowness and allows them to see truth in its wholeness. Wholeness was a mark of Farrar's life. He taught personal faith within the context of the Church community. He unified the Catholic tradition with the teaching of the Protestant Reformation. He placed preaching within the framework of worship and felt that preaching was worship. He realized that the sacraments were the means of grace whereby the Biblical message could be more fully realized in the life of the believer. Personal devotion must issue forth into action; the Church's task was not only to change men but society. He explained
the relationship between faith and reason, showing that they were both revelations of God. He was concerned for church structure and organization as well as church spirit. The genius of the Anglican Church's corporate wholeness was realized in his life.

The source of this wholeness was Jesus Christ. Farrar's life was centred in Jesus Christ. Scholarship had to be infused with his spirit or it lost its meaning. The Bible had to be interpreted in the light of his revelation and could only be understood through his inspiration. Preaching, to be effective, must be done in his power and presence. Farrar kept re-writing the life of Christ until he died; Christ was his life. He set him forth as Lord of all — Christ sovereign over art, music, literature, science, politics, economics, the Church, and the whole of life.

Farrar had found the truest expression of his belief in Christ in a thirteenth century sculptured figure on the west front of Amiens Cathedral. Describing this figure, he wrote,

"Christ is represented as standing at the central point of all history and of all revelation: The Christ or Prophesied Messiah of all the past; the King and the Redeemer of all future time. At His left is the goodly fellowship of the Prophets; at His right the glorious company of the Apostles.
He is not dead but living, not agonizing and crucified, but supreme and majestic; not sickly with asceticism, or feeble with sentimentality, but in the fulness of His manly beauty and kingly strength. His right hand is uplifted to bless and not to curse; to help and not to smite; to save and not destroy. He came that men might have life and might have it more abundantly."

Farrar lived that abundant life to full measure, and was an effective instrument through which God imparted it to others.

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II. The Canterbury Collection.

Note: This is only a partial synopsis of the contents of The Canterbury Collection.

A. The Canterbury Scrapbooks

1. Book One contains accounts of:
   a. A Wesley Centenary Celebration where Farrar spoke.
   b. The new west vestibule at St. Margaret's, 12 April 1891.
   d. A special service held for the Congress of Hygiene. Farrar preached.
   e. A presentation given to Farrar by his former Marlburian students.
   f. A sermon which Farrar preached to the British Institute of Public Health.
   g. Three lectures which Farrar delivered at Rome on Christian Art, Religious Literature, and Christian Society.

2. Book Two contains accounts of:
   a. Farrar's ambitious intentions to be a bishop.
   b. Farrar's promotion of seaside camps for London youth.
   c. The High Church Party's dislike of Farrar.
   e. An operation which Farrar had in London 17, January, 1896.
   g. Farrar's views on international relationships. War is better than appeasement. Colonialism and war can be good. The real enemy is corruption within.
   h. Farrar's address on the Commemoration of Norwich Cathedral. He spoke on "England's achievements."
   i. A typhoid epidemic at Maidstone and a sermon by Farrar which raised £52 to aid the sick and needy.
   j. A sermon by Farrar on "The Church and the Stage," in which he made a plea for good drama.
   k. Farrar's sermon on the occasion of Gladstone's funeral.
   l. Farrar's sermon in support of Missions.
   m. Farrar's sermon on the need to have greater co-operation and unity with Nonconformists.
   n. An account of Farrar's accident in which he fell and hit his head on the stairs.

3. Book Three contains accounts of:
   a. Farrar's farewell sermons in St. Margaret's.
   b. The gifts Farrar received from St. Margaret's at the time of his departure to Canterbury. They were a silver bowl, £700 which he used to restore the portraits of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and other smaller gifts.

d. Farrar's criticism of sacerdotalism.

e. Farrar's gifts as a preacher.

4. Book four contains:

a. An account of a Welsh celebration. Farrar was the preacher.

b. Many prints of famous paintings.

5. Book Five contains accounts of:

a. Farrar's preaching. These are critical and appreciative.

b. An appreciation of Farrar by Dr. Cotton in the Church Portrait Journal.

c. An appreciation of Farrar by Dr. Vaughan when he left Harrow.

d. Farrar's attack on sacerdotalism.

e. Farrar's gifts as a preacher.

f. Farrar's defence of the Establishment.

g. Farrar's memorial sermon on the death of General Grant which was preached in Westminster Abbey.

h. Farrar's speech before convocation on "Reaching the Masses of the Working Population." He advocated Lay Brotherhods which would adopt a vow of temporary celibacy. The need called for absolute personal self-sacrifice animated by intense enthusiasm.

i. Farrar's sermon on "Modern Claims upon the Pulpit." He spoke about the need for clear teaching on Science and Biblical Criticism.

B. The Canterbury Testimonials

1. Received by the Council of Marlborough College from:

a. A.G. Watson, Late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

b. E.E. Bradley, ex-Master of Marlborough College.

c. Dr. Cotton, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

d. C.J. Vaughan, Master of the Temple, Late Head Master of Harrow School.

e. H. Montagu Butler, Head Master of Harrow School.


g. W.H. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

h. E.H. Bradby, Head Master of Haileybury College.

i. T.W. Jex-Blake, Head Master of Cheltenham College.

j. Hubert Holden, Head Master of Ipswich School.

k. J. Fowler, Head Master of Lincoln School.

l. F. Storr, Assistant Master at Marlborough College.

m. Professor Lightfoot, Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

n. F.D. Maurice, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Cambridge.

c. Max Muller, Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford.

q. Matthew Arnold, Late Professor of Poetry, Oxford.
r. E.H. Plumptre, Rector of Pluckley, Ashford, Kent.
s. Many Harrovian students.
t. Joint-testimonial from Charles Lyell, W.R. Grove, J.W. Gladstone, E.H. Jones, T.A. Hirst, and John Lubbock, in which they expressed their appreciation for the impulse that Farrar gave towards the inclusion of science within the curriculum.
u. F. Hayward Joyce, Vicar of Harrow.
v. Others.

2. Received by the Council of Haileybury College from:
a. Major General Chase Farr, Major General Crawford and other Harrovian parents.
b. R.W. Jelf, Principal of King's College, London.
c. R. Dixon, Late Principal of King William College, Isle of Man.
d. Henry Hayman, Headmaster of Rugby School.
e. Dr. Philpott, Master of St. Catherine's College and Late Vice-Chancellor, Cambridge.
f. Dr. Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
g. Dr. Cotton, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.
h. F.D. Maurice, London University.
i. Others.

C. The Canterbury Letters
1. From Farrar's students.
a. Many in response to Farrar's Chapel sermons.

The following is typical: "I wish to thank you for the sermon which you preached yesterday and, if it does not interfere with your arrangements, ask you to tell us next Sunday what constitutes repentance. Some time ago I was a bad character in the School but for the last year I have done my best to correct my ways and to use my influence for the good. If all that I did in the times gone by had been discovered, in all probability I should have been advised to leave, but now I believe that I am one of the best characters in my house and do more to help my House Master than almost everyone. What I want to know is whether it is part of repentance to come and confess such sins now, or whether having reformed I have done sufficient. Of course you know which course I should prefer but I do not know if it is right or not, I trust you to make no mention of this letter and to take no unfair advantage of it. It is entirely owing to you that I have reformed. I can bear witness to all that you said in your sermon ..." No date, from a Marlborough student.
b. Letter from a student complaining that he has been placed in the wrong form.
c. A student complains that a Master is teaching him heresy.

2. Letters from members of the Government
   a. Letters from Queen Victoria in which she thanks Farrar for his books and sermons. Also, several telegrams requesting Farrar to come and preach at Windsor. Also, a note of sympathy on the death of Farrar's father. (It was not Farrar's father, and both were relieved to learn of the error.)
   b. Letters from Cabinet members extending invitations and thanks to Farrar for books, sermons, and personal services.
   c. Six letters from Speaker Gully dealing with arrangements for a special House Service in St. Margaret's. Also, these deal with matters of legislation.
   d. Letters from Speaker Brand in which he expresses appreciation for Farrar's sermons on the "Duties of M.P.'s" and also a refusal of an invitation.
   e. Letters from Viscount Hampden expressing appreciation for Farrar's services in the interment of his father. He also congratulated Farrar on his appointment to be Chaplain to the Speaker of the House.
   f. Twelve letters from Sir Robert Peel (son) which express concern for Farrar's health; gratitude for books; and a suggestion that the presence of the House at a Sunday State Service would not be wise.
   g. Letters from G.W.B. Russell in which he tells Farrar that he is working to get him a bishopric; that he is grateful for his teaching at Harrow when he made them "ashamed of ignorance and anxious for knowledge;" thanks him for the admonition to reverence his mother; and informs him that he has quoted from Farrar's books in his speeches.
   h. Letters from Ambassadors
      1. From E.J. Phelps accepting an invitation to the unveiling of a window in St. Margaret's.
      2. From Robert Lincoln requesting the privilege to arrange for the marriage of a friend in St. Margaret's.
      3. From J.H. Choate accepting an invitation to the Twentieth Century Services in Canterbury Cathedral.
      4. From Count Halzfeldt refusing on behalf of the German Government a request of Farrar's for funds for the restoration of Canterbury Cathedral.
      5. From T.F. Bayard expressing gratitude for Farrar's arrangements which enabled his party to see the royal procession.
3. Letters from Peers
   a. Lady Sudley writes to thank Farrar for his books and sermons, and for preparing their daughter for Confirmation.
   b. Lady Harris thanks Farrar for providing tickets to a special service.
   c. Lady Bloomfield informs Farrar of Lord Lytton's appointment to be Governor-General of India. She tells of Lytton's affection for Farrar.
   d. Lord Halifax speaks of the divisions between the Churches, wants to heal them, and thinks that the Pope would meet them half-way.
   e. Other similar letters.

4. Letters from Churchmen
   a. From Bishop Lightfoot on receipt of a sermon from Farrar dealing with Ignatius. He questions the authenticity of Farrar's account, but suggests that he is pleased that they share large common ground.
   b. Letters from American Bishops dealing with preaching engagements and expressing gratitude for Farrar's work.
   c. Letters from Colonial Bishops in regard to preaching arrangements and introducing visitors to Farrar.
   d. Letters from Anglican Bishops in England extending invitations to preach, and in particular reference to ecclesiastical events at Canterbury.
   e. Many letters from Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott which reveal an intimate friendship.
   f. Many letters from Dean Vaughan which evidence a deep friendship.
   g. Many appreciative letters from R.C. Wilberforce congratulating Farrar on his outstanding work and encouraging to continue doing it.
   h. Letters from F.D. Maurice which reveal the intimacy of their friendship.
   i. Letters from A.S. Farrar telling Farrar of the extensive distribution of his "Life of Christ" in Scandinavia.
   j. Letters from Bishop Lightfoot which both praise and criticize his books and sermons. Lightfoot tells Farrar that he "has a larger circle of readers and hearers than any English preacher or theologian."
   k. Letter from Joseph Parker of the City Temple in regard to a Canterbury visit. Also, an invitation to come and address the Men's forum.
1. Letter from Principal Caird of Glasgow in regard to preaching arrangement.

m. Letter from Principal Rainy of New College, Edinburgh, in regard to preaching arrangements.

n. Letter from Archbishop Davidson to Mrs. Farrar which expresses his sympathy on the death of Farrar.

o. Many others.

5. Miscellaneous Letters from varied people.

a. A soldier in Ireland requests several of Farrar's books.

b. A medical student thanks Farrar for leading him to Christ.

c. A theological student troubled by the problem of inspiration requests help.

d. A request for guidance from a young man who is leaning towards Rome because of the divisions in the Church of England.

e. Young man in Australia thanks Farrar for "St. Winifrid's" which had changed his life.

f. Gratitude from a young man who had been converted by Farrar's lecture on Dante.

g. A young medical student had been led to offer himself to the Church Missionary Society through Farrar's preaching.

h. Appreciation from a depressed young man who had been restored to normalcy through Farrar's sermon.

i. Letter from a poor, uneducated man who simply tells Farrar that he has been converted through one of his sermons.

j. Several young men and students thanking Farrar for his sermons, books, and kindness.

k. The Philadelphia Society of Princeton College requests several of Farrar's published works which will help them overcome problems hindering their faith.

l. Former students requesting Farrar's services at their marriages.

m. Hallam and Mrs. Tennyson express their appreciation for his books, especially "Darkness and Dawn." Also there are requests for books and the planning of visits.

n. The Editor of Pall Mall Gazette inquires whether Farrar had received an offer of the Bishopric of Durham.

o. The House of Commons requested that Farrar publish a sermon which many members had heard in St. Margaret's.

p. Browning's sister tells Farrar that Browning is grateful for Farrar's popularization of his works.
q. Philip Burne-Jones thanks Farrar for his appreciation of his art.

r. Gladstone thanks Farrar for a sermon which had been sent to him.

s. William Booth expresses his gratitude for Farrar's support of the Salvation Army.

t. Many others.

   a. Many expressing appreciation for the "Life of Christ."
   b. Many expressing appreciation for "Eternal Hope."
   c. Many expressing appreciation for "Eric" and "St. Winifrid's."
   d. Many expressing appreciation for Farrar's sermons.

7. Farrar's personal letters.
   a. Farrar to Juan B. Canbrera inquiring about Roman Catholicism in Spain.
   b. Farrar to Professor Beesly from Harrow - a collection.
   c. Farrar to Archdeacon Vesey - a collection.
   d. Farrar to Dr. Hodgson, written from Harrow, 11 February, 1867, in reference to the study of language in public schools.
   e. Farrar to Canon Bell expressing his depression about his life and work. 9 April, no date, Dean's Yard, Westminster.
   f. Farrar to the Chancellor and Senate of London University offering himself for the post of Examiner in English Literature, 1854.
   g. Farrar to the Master of Trinity defending himself against the charge of conceit. 4 December 1856.
   h. Others.

D. The Canterbury Papers
   a. The Original Manuscripts of Farrar's Lectures in Rome on "History" and "Christian Art."
   b. The Stockport Gospel Temperance Union presentiment to Farrar of a brief address done in artistic booklet form.
   c. Resolution of the Council of Marlborough College on the resignation of Farrar. It expresses regret and gives Farrar five hundred guineas in recognition of his services. It was signed by John S. Thomas, Bursar. 29 July, 1876.
   d. Resolution of the Sunday School Union expressing appreciation for Farrar's service and regret at his death. It was sent to Mrs. Farrar.
   e. Criticism of the proofs of the Bampton Lectures by E.H. Plumptre and A.S. Farrar.
   f. Book of poems. Some are Farrar's and some are by outstanding Victorian poets. They are written out in long hand and indicate that this might have been some of the background of Farrar's knowledge of poetry.
   g. Others.
E. Prizes - These were examined at Plas Hen, Dolgelley, Wales, among Farrar's personal remains.


F. Memorials to Farrar

a. Marlborough: Large size portrait which still hangs in the Dining Room. A bronze plaque in the Chapel.

b. Harrow: Plaque in the Library to Farrar from Harrovian pupils inscribed: "There is no art to tell the mind's construction in the face." - Shakespeare

c. St. Margaret's: Large bronze plaque in the west vestibule; two plaques which express appreciation for his labours and remind that Farrar was the leading influence in the restoration of St. Margaret's; a commendation from the House of Commons; and a street named "Dean Farrar" in Westminster.

d. Canterbury: Bust of Farrar in the Cathedral which reads:
"To the Glory of God and in memory of Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., Dean of this Cathedral, 1895-1903. This tribute of love and devotion is placed by his grateful son, Eric.

"The wish that of the living whole No life may fail beyond the grave, Derives it not from what we have The likest God within the soul?"
- Tennyson.

Also a light post at the entrance to the Cathedral has been erected in memory of Dean Farrar.
II. Secondary Sources.


Mill, John Stuart, "Inaugural Address at St. Andrew's" February 1st, 1867, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, London, 1867.


Stewart, James, "The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ", Committee on Publications, Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1933.