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THE
CHURCHMAN

FEBRUARY, 1887.

ART. I.—ON THE TREATMENT OF POLYGAMY IN
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

THE great importance of this subject needs no explanation, and it is likely, before very long, to be thoroughly discussed. It seems desirable, in the meantime, that those who have thought about it, and arrived at definite conclusions in their own minds, should make those conclusions known, with the grounds on which they rest. In doing so, it seems best that each man should write quite straightforwardly, expressing his own opinion for what it is worth, without feigning hesitation for fear of seeming disrespectful to those whose opinions may differ from his own, and who may have a greater claim to be heard than he can pretend to.

For my own part, I cannot pretend either to practical experience in the Mission field or to Patristic learning. Nevertheless, guided by what I read in the Bible, I have long thought that the practical rules for dealing with the difficulty which, on the whole—for there is great variation—seem most in favour are not what they ought to be; and a renewed examination of the question some time back has made that conviction deeper than ever.

I shall use the term "Polygamy" in its more usual, if less correct, signification to denote the condition in which a man has two or more wives at the same time, and accordingly as not including a possible condition in which a woman might have two or more husbands at once. This latter condition is one which is unknown in Scripture, and any approach to which is always spoken of with abhorrence; and though, according to the testimony of Dr. Cust, it exists in two isolated places in India, it appears to be very rare even among the heathen. As there are no two opinions about this, it may be dismissed from consideration. In contradistinction to Polygamy, it will be

convenient to have a word to express the state of things which prevails in Christian countries, and the word "Monogamy" may serve the purpose, though as thus used it does not exclude a fresh marriage after the death of a first consort.

Now, that Monogamy is the normal and intended condition of mankind is admitted on all hands. The well-known physical fact of the near equality in the number of the two sexes in any large population which is not disturbed by the emigration or immigration of a preponderance of one sex shows this; and that it was the intended condition may legitimately be inferred from the Biblical account of the creation of man.

But though this be so, it by no means follows that man, especially uninstructed man, is responsible for failing to make the discovery. We must inquire whether there is a natural law, written in the heart, which a man violates in contracting a Polygamous marriage; or if not, what is the positive enactment which he breaks through in so doing.

As to the first question, we cannot ourselves be fair judges. Brought up as we are from childhood under the idea of marriage in the form which it assumes in all settled Christian communities, it is well nigh impossible for us to say whether the repugnance with which we should view a Polygamous marriage is the result of education only, or has a foundation in natural conscience independently of education. We must appeal to the testimony of those who live under a totally different state of things. Now, in countries where Polygamy is practised, there is no discredit attached to it. It is stated in Livingstone's journal that in speaking to some native Africans, they said to him that everything that he had taught them to be wrong they had known already was wrong, except only the having more wives than one.

But, it may be said, these are debased specimens of humanity; the natural conscience was obscured, and in some respects failed to give light at all. It is of course true that the natural conscience may be blunted, though rather through wilful sin than through ignorance. Let us turn then to a more favoured race, to the chosen people of God and their ancestors. Now it is notorious that many of the most eminent saints under the old dispensation were Polygamists, and there is no rebuke to them for it. Their biographies, it is true, reveal to us some family troubles referable to Polygamy. But that is a different thing. If Polygamy had been opposed to natural conscience, we can hardly suppose that they would have escaped without at least some hint of disapproval.

But the case is even stronger than this. When the Lord sent Nathan unto David to reprove him for his great sin, the prophet, speaking in the name of the Lord, said, "I gave thee

thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom, and gave thee the house of Israel and of Judah ; and if that had been too little, I would moreover have given unto thee such and such things." Surely, in the face of this, we can hardly maintain that Polygamy is sinful *per se* without making God the author of sin. If it be right to dissolve Polygamous marriages by divorce, it must be justified on other grounds than this. Doubtless a Polygamous marriage may be contracted from unworthy motives ; but so may a Monogamous marriage. Many a marriage in our own country is entered into for the sake of money or position in society contrary to affection ; but though such unions often lead to lifelong unhappiness, the unworthiness of the motive for contracting the marriage is not held to justify divorce.

Failing the existence of a law written on the heart which forbids Polygamy, we must have recourse to positive enactments. Now, as regards the law of Moses, it is notorious that Polygamy was recognised and regulated. After the captivity, it appears to have fallen into disuse ; at least we do not hear of it. But we are not to conclude from that that the nation had so improved in morality that Polygamy had come to be regarded with abhorrence. On the contrary, the Polygamy of earlier times was replaced by something far worse, namely, easy divorce and re-marriage. It is this divorce that Malachi so sternly reprobates, saying, "The Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously." And again, "The Lord God of Israel saith that He hateth putting away."

We come now to the time of our Lord. Polygamy, though lawful according to the Jewish code, seems hardly, if at all, to have been practised. Herod, indeed, was a Polygamist ; and it may be noticed that when he was reproved by the Baptist, it was not for his Polygamy, but because he had taken his brother's wife. But a king could do what an ordinary person could not so readily do. If a Jew wished for a second wife, he could have no possible conscientious objection to it, for it was freely allowed by his law. But that would involve keeping up a second establishment, which he did not want. If he preferred some other woman to his wife, might he not make a substitution ? The law of Moses allowed of divorce, not indeed absolutely, but subject to a condition of doubtful meaning. Licentiousness and other unworthy motives would always plead for facility of divorce, and one of the Jewish schools was very lax indeed, allowing almost anything to be a justification for, or at least excuse for, divorce. Still, a Jew who meditated divorce for anything but the one cause which was an undoubted justification must have had misgivings of conscience

as to its lawfulness; nor can we doubt but that he must have had some strivings of his better nature to stifle, which pleaded for the wife of his youth against whom he had conceived the thought of dealing treacherously by sending her away. Perhaps he helped to calm his conscience by the thought that she would find some one else who would marry her. Such was the state of things which our Lord, in the Sermon on the Mount, met with the startling declaration that the re-marriage of which the divorcer thought so lightly involved the terrible sin of adultery, for which the divorcing husband was responsible as having caused it.

We come now to what is probably the most important passage of all: our Lord's answer to the question put to him by the Pharisees, and his subsequent conversation with the disciples in private concerning the same matter. The act which our Lord here describes, when he says, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery," is a compound act; and when we endeavour to resolve it into its constituent parts, and inquire what it was that constituted the adultery, we enter on the field of interpretation. If I mistake not, we are apt to view the whole passage through spectacles highly coloured by familiarity with the state of things which prevails in Christian countries; to a certain extent, even, by the nomenclature employed in our own country in Acts of Parliament and courts of law.¹ To view the passage fairly, we must in

¹ According to English usage of the word "adultery," if a married man had intercourse with a woman, even though unmarried, other than his wife, he would be said to commit adultery. It is important to remember, lest we should misinterpret our Lord's answer to the Pharisees, that a Jew at the time of our Lord would not think of applying the term—of course the corresponding term in the language he used—to such a case; the word with him would essentially involve the idea of some element of Polyandry. According to the Mosaic Law, the punishment of adultery was death; but the punishment of seduction, unless there were special circumstances to aggravate the offence, was an obligation to marry the woman seduced—of which more presently—and that, whether the man was married or not. Of course two offences so differently treated would never be confounded under a common designation; and accordingly it would never enter into the heads of the Pharisees addressed to suppose that the one element in the compound act of the divorcing husband, which is described as committing adultery, consisted in his marrying a second woman. Their own consciences would point out clearly enough the real meaning; and the expression itself would be quite of a piece with the Sermon on the Mount, where the sinfulness of various sins which men think lightly of is insisted on by showing what they lead to in their full-blown development. So here the divorce which leads to adultery is declared to involve the guilt of adultery itself.

The advance in morality made by Christianity tends to obliterate in our minds the broad distinction which is made in the Old Testament between

imagination divest ourselves of this knowledge, place ourselves in the position of those addressed, whether the Pharisees or the disciples, and seek thereby to arrive at the true purport of the reply. This is most important, because if we give a wrong interpretation to the passage, we may on that wrong interpretation base wrong rules of conduct.

Now the Pharisees could have no misgivings as to the lawfulness of taking a second wife without divorcing a first. They were free to do so by Jewish law, and had the example of some of the most eminent saints among their ancestors. But that was not what they wanted. They wanted to be free to make a change, not to keep up a double establishment; but here they felt that they were treading on doubtful ground. Was divorce lawful? That was the question so keenly debated among them. It was regarding divorce, not Polygamy, that the conscience was ill at ease. The lawfulness, or otherwise, of divorce formed accordingly the subject of their question. In his reply, our Lord first refers them to their own law. When they mentioned the permission, qualified though it was, which Moses gave, he declares that that was a concession made on account of the hardness of their hearts; that from the beginning it was not so. He refers to the original institution of marriage as based upon the constitution of our nature, and involving a unity so close that it is said, "They twain shall be one flesh." This unity is therefore the work of God, and not of man, and therefore the severance of the unity is unlawful. The union, He declares, which takes place when a woman marries the divorced man constitutes adultery; and the husband, who by his unlawful act of divorce brought it about, is declared to be guilty of adultery himself. Thus the conscience of the hearers, which was ready to palliate the divorce which facilitated a fresh marriage, was roused by the declaration that he who thus acted was in the sight of God guilty of adultery, that sin so heinous, even in their own eyes, inasmuch as by their law it was punishable with death.

Some, I believe, interpret the words "And they twain shall be one flesh . . . What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," to refer to a divine sanction to, of the nature of a divine blessing upon, entrance into the state of

the connection of a man with two women, and the connection of a woman with two men. It thus tends, if I mistake not, to lead to a misinterpretation of our Lord's reply, against which we must be on our guard, lest, in order to secure what, after all, can only be a base counterfeit of true Christian Monogamy, we should be led by our counsels to perpetrate the forbidden divorce, leading, as it naturally does, to some form of the hateful Polyandry.

marriage; and as it is allowed by both parties in the controversy that it was in accordance with the divine intention that a man should be married to only one woman, it is said that this divine blessing cannot be supposed to be given to a second marriage, contracted while the first wife is still alive, and therefore the prohibition, "let not man put asunder," cannot be held to apply to marriage with more than one woman.

But St. Paul applies the very same words, "They twain shall be one flesh," to the result of fornication, and thereon bases his most solemn exhortation against it (1 Cor. vi. 15, 16). Now fornication can have nothing in common with lawful marriage, save only that which is material, the natural mental effect of which is an intimacy that in lawful marriage becomes a foundation of mutual love. We may infer, therefore, that the "joining together" refers to that lawful intimacy. But, if a man have two wives, whom he has lawfully married according to his light, there is the same means of unity with both, though the man's affection cannot be so strong when it has to be divided between two, and though, while the conjugal affection of each woman is undivided, there is a liability to jealousy between the two. As our Lord represents the unity as based on the constitution of our nature, it seems to me that He indicates that the severance of that unity partakes of the character of an unnatural offence.

About Polygamy no question was asked, and nothing is said. It is true that the singular number is used—"shall be joined unto his wife." This may not unreasonably be held to imply that single marriage was the normal and intended condition. But there is nothing new in it; the quotation is from Genesis, and yet in spite of it Polygamy was lawful to the Jews. There is not the slightest hint that any change was then being made in the law as to Polygamy. With regard to divorce, on the contrary, here, as in the Sermon on the Mount, a change is made in the most marked and pointed manner: "Moses suffered you . . . I say unto you . . ." The qualified permission of divorce granted by Moses is withdrawn, and marriage is restored to its primal and natural condition of indissolubility. For one cause only is divorce permitted: a wife might forfeit her marriage rights through her own unfaithfulness. Polygamy was lawful to those addressed at the time when the words were spoken—that is, lawful according to Jewish law—lawful, therefore, *in foro conscientiae*, even though their Pagan Roman rulers might not accord to more than one woman the civil status of a wife; and yet there is not the slightest hint that any exception was made on this account to the general prohibition of divorce. It seems strange that in the very breath in which our Lord so pointedly

makes a change in the law, with a view to restoring marriage to its natural indissolubility, He could be supposed to be silently throwing open the floodgates of divorce more widely in one respect than they had been opened by the laxest of the Jews; for they never alleged Polygamy as a justification of divorce, nor could they with their law in their hands.

The subsequent conversation with the disciples in private proves that they understood our Lord to have been speaking of divorce, and at the same time reveals incidentally, in a very striking manner, the extreme laxity of the Jewish mind at the time of our Lord on that subject. After having heard the law as laid down by Him on the subject of divorce, they remarked, "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry." So novel to them was the idea which to us is so familiar that a man joins himself for life to the woman he marries, that their first feeling was, If a man by marrying binds himself so tightly, it would be better to keep out of it altogether, and lead a life of celibacy.

Considering the circumstances under which the words were spoken, I fail to see *any justification whatsoever* for exempting Polygamous marriages lawfully entered into from the operation of the words, "Let not man put asunder."

But it will be said, perhaps, Do you mean to maintain that Christians may become Polygamists? By no means; but that is a different thing altogether. I have said already that I regard Monogamy as the normal, the intended condition of man; but this condition is to be attained in God's own time and in God's own manner; not by the rough-and-ready means of man's devising, who, rightly impressed with the desirableness of the end, is impatient of seeing it fulfilled; not by doing evil that good may come. When those words were spoken by our Lord, the kingdom of heaven was "at hand," but not yet established. In the pre-Christian state He did not lay down the law of Monogamy, and we are not to insist on it; but He did lay down the law of indissolubility, and we are not to break through it. It was left to His Church after it should be fully established, after the Apostles should have been "endued with power from on high," to exalt the marriage state to its intended dignity, by adding the condition of singleness to the previously existing and paramount condition of indissolubility. What is thus enacted by the unanimous consent of the universal Church becomes binding on the individual *in foro conscientia*, according as it is said, "Whatever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven."

But the statutes which a chartered society is empowered to frame, and which it is its duty to frame with a view to carrying out the objects of its institution, must not contravene the

provisions of the charter; and similarly the Church's law of Monogamy must not be so interpreted as to override her Lord's peremptory prohibition of divorce. Nor has it been by any general consent. While all Christians are agreed (for we can hardly include Mormons in the Catholic Church) that a Christian man must not contract a double marriage, there is no such agreement as to the treatment of converted Polygamists. The missionaries of different denominations and of different societies follow different rules or no rule, and prelates of our own Church differ from one another in theory and practice.

But it will be said, perhaps, that only arises from the degeneracy of modern times; in early times it was not so. But where is the proof? I cannot pretend to be acquainted myself with the writings of the Fathers; but if proof were to be found, one would suppose it would have been brought forward by the learned men who have written on the subject. There is plenty to show that it was not thought right for a Christian to engage in a double marriage. But that is altogether beside the question; at least, unless it can be shown from the context, or presumed from the fact of the writer's living in a country where Polygamy was common, that he meant to imply that a converted Polygamist must put away his wives save one. Without this, the presumption would be that the writer had not in his head at all such an out-of-the-way problem as that of the treatment of a converted Polygamist.

On one assumption only would quotations which go to show that a Christian must not engage in a double marriage bear on the treatment of a converted Polygamist—the assumption, namely, that the reason why it is unlawful for a Christian so to act is, that Polygamy is unlawful *in itself*; and therefore living in a state of Polygamy involves living in a state of sin. But to assume this is simply to beg the question; besides, I do not see how such a proposition can be maintained unless we are prepared in the first instance to throw overboard the authority of the Old Testament.

There is a tradition that the Apostle Thomas preached the gospel in India. If this were so, then if we had had an account of his mission, we might have expected to find in it something to the point. But the early Christian writers lived—mostly, at any rate—in countries where Polygamy was not practised. Hence we could not reasonably expect to find in their writings much, if anything, that would throw light on the treatment of converted Polygamists in the early Church. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the portion of Church history contained in the New Testament does not bear on the question more than all the writings of the Fathers. For here

we have some sort of approach—not a very close one, it is true—to the desiderated account of the Indian mission of St. Thomas. We have an account of the dealings of the Apostles with the Jews while the temple was yet standing, and the Jewish worship carried on. These Jews had a code of laws of their own, civil and religious blended in one, in which Polygamy was freely allowed. There would be nothing to lead a Jew to think he was doing wrong if he took two wives; and familiar as he would be with Malachi's denunciation of divorce, if he were led to believe that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ, and to seek for Christian baptism, it would never enter his head to suppose, unless he had been expressly taught, that as a condition of being baptized he must put away one of his wives. To suppose that he ought to keep them would be an error, if error it were, into which he would be exceedingly likely to fall. Accordingly, the utter silence of the New Testament as to any such requirement is not wholly without significance.

This one principle seems to pervade the whole of the Bible, Old and New Testaments alike—that the conjugal affections of a woman are not to be divided between two men. In the original institution of marriage, it is said, "They twain shall be one flesh," which our Lord Himself interprets as declaring the indissoluble character of the relationship. The principle was, to a certain extent, departed from by the concession which Moses made on account of the hardness of their hearts. Yet even this concession was hedged in by a remarkable provision. The divorced woman was at liberty to marry again; but if she chose to do so, then under no circumstances whatever, not even if her second husband were to die, could she ever again become the wife of her first husband (Deut. xxiv. 1-4). While adultery under the Mosaic law was punished with death, in case of the seduction of an unmarried woman who was not betrothed, it was enacted that the seducer should be bound to marry her, no exception being made to meet the case in which he might have a wife already, and it was said, "He may not put her away all his days" (Deut. xxii. 28, 29). Malachi sternly reprobates the practice of divorce as it occurred in his days. Our Lord declares divorce to be unlawful, unnatural, deeply sinful, and pronounces the re-marriage of a divorced woman to involve adultery on both sides. St. Paul says, yet not as resting on his own authority, but that of the Lord: "Let not the wife depart from her husband." Circumstances might occur which made a departure necessary; but in that case she was directed to remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband; and in like manner he says, "Let not the husband put away his wife."

I have alluded to the provision by which the concession of divorce made by Moses was hedged in. The object of this appears to have been to wean the wife's affections from her first husband, so as not to interfere with loyalty towards her second. Contrast this provision for morality which is made even by the law of Moses, imperfect as our Lord declared it to be as regards the marriage relation, with the state which ensues on the divorce which some would recommend. Here, we will suppose, is a heathen man, lawfully married, according to the custom of his country, to a couple of heathen wives. The husband is attached to each wife, and each wife to her husband. Presently the husband comes under Christian teaching, is led to accept Christianity, and wishes to be admitted into the Christian Church. He is told that he must put away one of his wives. Such a proceeding is sorely against the wish of both parties, and probably he thinks it strange that a condition which appears to him so unjust should be required; but his teachers must know better than he. He long resists, but at last succumbs to the pressure put upon him when he is taught that he must wrong his wife to save his soul, and divorces one. The divorced wife, thus cast adrift, marries some one else. Still, her affections go forth towards her first husband, who loved her, and from whom she has been so ruthlessly torn. So that by this action of divorce which the Lord has forbidden, followed as it naturally would be followed by a marriage which He has pronounced adulterous, a state of things is brought about far worse than that the thought of the possibility of which caused the prophet Jeremiah to exclaim, "Shall not that land be greatly polluted?" (Jer. iii. 1).

If we consider the state of society, a reason will be seen why the constancy of a woman's affections should be so important. It is round the mother more especially that the rising family cluster. She is the chief bond of union. Granted that the family relations of a Polygamist do not come up to those in the house of a Christian Monogamist, still they are good as far as they go; and He Who said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not," has provided by His command, "Let not man put asunder," that these native households, imperfect though they be, shall not be thrown into utter confusion by a system of divorce.

What then is to be done if a converted Polygamist seeks admission into the Church by baptism? According to the principles here advocated, the course is plain. We have our Lord's command to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them. If a man accepts and is instructed in the Christian religion, repents of his former sins, and desires to lead a new life, nothing is to prevent his entrance into the covenant of

grace. If, as is here maintained, a Polygamist cannot, without committing sin, free himself from the state of Polygamy into which, as a heathen, he lawfully entered, of course he must be baptized as a Polygamist. With regard to marriage, as to all other things, he is to do his duty in that state of life in which he finds himself or may be called to. In regard to marriage in particular, he is (1) to obey the law of Christ by remaining faithful to the marriage bond, surrendering the liberty of divorce which possibly the customs or laws of his tribe may have allowed him; (2) to obey the law of the Church by surrendering the liberty of marrying any more, so long at least as any of his existing wives is left. Thus, as St. Paul says, "Let every man wherein he is called therein abide with God." He is not, indeed, to keep his heathen wives against their will (1 Cor. vii. 15). If they depart, he may let them depart; he is not responsible for the result, as it was none of his doing.

But while the Sacraments which we hold to be "generally necessary to salvation" may not lawfully be withheld from Polygamists and the wives of Polygamists merely on the ground of their Polygamy, there is a scriptural provision by which the temporary and transitional character of such a state of things in a Christian Church is to be marked. The man is excluded by his Polygamy¹ from even the lowest order

¹ Those who suppose that the requirement that a bishop or deacon must be the husband of one wife, excludes from the ministry men who marry a second time, even after the death of a first wife, will of course allow that, *a fortiori*, Polygamists are excluded. Whether the requirement did really refer to digamy, is a question rather for a theologian than for a layman to discuss. Nevertheless, I am tempted to remark that the evidence attempted to be deduced from the writings of Tertullian, that such was the primitive interpretation, seems to me rather to point in the opposite direction. For, according to his own showing, Tertullian is at variance with the practice, or at least a very general practice, of the Church in his days. His words imply that the cases in which a priest or deacon was deposed for digamy were rather rare than otherwise. Now it is, of course, possible that Tertullian may have been right, and the Church in general wrong. But is it not, to say the very least, as likely that the Church was right, and the heretical Father wrong? Timothy and Titus, of course, knew quite well what St. Paul meant, whatever that was. Now, considering the commonness of divorce in those days, and the facilities which Roman law afforded for it, it is very likely that there were in the Christian Church men who had contracted a second marriage after the divorce of a first wife. This is the very thing which our Lord so emphatically condemns. It is quite natural, therefore, that a man on whom so terrible a stain rested, even though perhaps his first wife might now be dead, should be held unfit for the ministry. It is quite natural, too, that St. Paul may have taken it as a thing which went without saying that a second marriage contracted after the death, not divorce, of a first wife, and in which accordingly there was nothing discreditable, did not exclude a man; that it never would

of the Christian ministry, and it would be in full accordance with the spirit of St. Paul's injunction to exclude him from Church offices in general.

If a heathen Polygamist, married, say, to a couple of wives, be converted, he is, as I have contended, forbidden by the express command of Christ Himself to put either of them away. Nor may he live permanently apart from one without putting her away so as to leave her free to go and marry another man; for St. Paul enjoins that such living apart shall be only by mutual consent, and temporary, for the purpose of special devotion; and the wife being by hypothesis a heathen, such considerations would not influence her. But suppose that one of the wives embraces Christianity, then she is amenable to Christian influences. Are the husband and the converted wife to be exhorted to live permanently apart, the heathen wife not being amenable to such exhortation? The absurdity of the conclusion—that the Christian husband must live with one wife because she is a heathen, and must live apart from the other because she is a Christian—would be enough to lead us to reject it, even without appealing to the authority of St. Paul. But it is a very grave consideration that it involves a condition of enforced celibacy which Scripture does not recognise, and exposes thereby the woman to temptation. If it be said the grace of God is sufficient to support her under it, the answer is plain; it is presumption to expect to be supported by the grace of God in a position of temptation which is only incurred by violation of His laws. Besides, such a requirement would be liable to have an evil influence on others, as confusing the barrier between right and wrong, and by making right appear wrong tending to make wrong appear right, or at least easily excusable. To require the man and the Christian wife to live permanently apart would be virtually to teach the converts that there is something wrong *in itself* in a man's living with two wives, no matter how he came to have them; and if another con-

have entered into the head of Timothy or Titus to suppose that he meant that. This common-sense interpretation may have been handed down by tradition in the practice of the Church. Accordingly there were in Tertullian's days many ministers who had married a second time, to whom no objection was made by the orthodox; but here and there one was discovered to have married after divorcing a first wife, and when the discovery was made he was deposed. But Tertullian's Montanism blinded him to the distinction between the two kinds of digamy, and he speaks accordingly of the many who remained "insulting the Apostle;" whereas in reality the fault lay in his own heresy. Of course what is here thrown out is only a conjecture; but it is a conjecture which seems to me to make all things fall so naturally into their places, that it appears to present a probable solution of the difficulty.

verted Polygamist was seen living with two heathen wives whom he had lawfully married before conversion, the other converts would naturally be led to think that a more or less sinful indulgence was permitted to him; and if to him, why should it not be also to them? They might thus be led to think lightly of engaging in Polygamy themselves. But let it be boldly stated that whether Polygamy is lawful or unlawful depends on how it came about, and the case will be changed altogether. Then the retention of his wives by a converted Polygamist will be looked on, not as a sinful indulgence winked at, but as a righteous execution of a contract lawfully entered into in a condition of ignorance—a contract of which Christ Himself has forbidden the repudiation; and the retention will then afford no justification to a man already become a Christian for entering into a state of Polygamy, knowing that it was forbidden by the law of the Church of Christ into which he has been baptized; so that to do so would be wilfully and therefore sinfully to choose a condition which he had been taught was not in accordance with the will of God.

But though mere Polygamy does not justify the converted wife of a Polygamist for refusing to continue to live with her husband, whether he be converted or not, cases might arise which would make such a step necessary. Suppose, for example, that a converted wife could not live with her heathen husband without joining in idolatrous or other unlawful rites; in that case she would have to leave him for conscience' sake. But when she thus leaves him of her own accord, she is not at liberty to marry another man. Her husband is her husband still, and she must "remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband." If for a time she is living in a state of virtual celibacy, it is a state to which she has been called, and in which, therefore, she may lean on the grace of God to support her under temptations to which she may be exposed. It may be that in time her husband's eyes will be opened as her own have been, and he may be led to accept Christianity. In that case, as the cause which alone justified the separation has been removed, it is her duty to go back, and their unity will be deeper than ever, as they are now one "both in the flesh and in the Lord."

G. G. STOKES.

CAMBRIDGE, *December*, 1886.

ART. II.—THE GATHERING AND THE DESTINY OF
THE ISRAEL OF GOD.

THE readers of *THE CHURCHMAN* for November, 1886, might find a very noticeable example in a paper, which was likely to interest them greatly, by Mr. Sydney Gedge, M.P. There was a profitable lesson in the very fact that a lawyer of Mr. Gedge's professional energy, and a legislator with Mr. Gedge's keen relish for politics, had made time for writing a thoughtful essay on "*The Second Coming of Christ, and the Return of the Jews to the Holy Land.*" In days when too many forget the wisdom of the Apostolic axiom that we "do well"¹ to take heed to the word of prophecy, there is seasonable instruction in so practical a reminder that the future predicted in Holy Scripture infinitely exceeds in importance any "blessings of this life."

A layman's entrance on the study of prophecy is specially to be commended, because the subject which he approaches is thickly bristled by controversies; the obscurity incidental to inspired forecasts being met by students of unequal ability, with varied measures of knowledge and divers degrees of devoutness. Though the "holy men of old"² spake "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," they were set to describe coming events which were spread out before them at several stages of futurity, like an extensive range of mountain-peaks in a wide landscape under a traveller's eye. And it should not be surprising that their announcements easily perplex; because they have often mentioned in the same sentence, and perhaps in an order different from that in which they would actually occur, events separated by many centuries.³ Not unfrequently they have recorded the remotest portion of the vision before referring to that part of it which betokened an occurrence at hand; or because an object in the middle distance arrested their attention by its peculiar brilliancy, they have allowed it to anticipate, in their written account of the prospect, both the far-off and the near.

Highly-gifted interpreters of descriptions, thus tangled, have had to confess that they could only see as through opaque

¹ 2 Peter i. 19.

² *Ibid.*, i. 21.

³ Observe, for example, how two events, which more than eighteen hundred years divide, are described in the single sentence of the Baptist (*Matt. iii. 11, 12*): "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost . . . whose fan is in his hand, and He will thoroughly purge His floor."

glass, darkly.¹ The very Apostle who urged his fellow-Christians to heed the prophetic word acknowledged it to be a light "*shining in a dark place.*"² And the indistinctness inevitable in Apostolic times has in our days become still more confusing, by reason of mistakes in the meanwhile of not a few well-intentioned but dull-sighted expositors.

But neither difficulty nor hindrance can justify neglect of predictions which the Holy Spirit has written "for our learning."³ A persuasion, which the history of prophetic interpretation confirms, that human commentators are liable to err, instead of discouraging, should quicken research, whilst deepening humility, bridling dogmatism, and stimulating brotherly fellowship in exploring the mine of truth. "CATCHWORDS"⁴ in various contexts, which careful students may trace here and there along the whole line of Scripture-prophecy, should be patiently compared. The suggestions of every prayerful neighbour who has meditated on the Holy Word should be welcomed and weighed with wide-hearted thankfulness.

I follow Mr. Gedge all the more readily on to an arena already crowded with disputants, not only because I cordially agree with him on one point (presently to be mentioned) which involves a train of important consequences, but because I think I can show, as to other points on which Mr. Gedge supposes himself to differ from many students of prophecy, that the apparent antagonism may not be real.

I shall begin by trying to abate the separation to which Mr. Gedge alludes. I shall then dilate on the point of agreement between myself and him, because he hardly, I think, attributes to it sufficient weight in the range of prophetic subjects; and afterwards, merely touching on a slight difficulty which Mr. Gedge has, in my judgment, unnecessarily enlarged, I will also glance at the glorious earthly future of the saints, which Mr. Gedge (*unscripturally*, according to an interpretation of both Testaments which our Prayer Book upholds) has entirely ignored.

I. On the first point he quotes, very appropriately, in respect to our Lord's second coming, an article from each of the three Creeds. He reminds us that all Churchmen are bound thoroughly to receive those articles, because "they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." He condenses

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

² 2 Peter i. 19.

³ Rom. xv. 4.

⁴ Thus Bishop Christopher Wordsworth ("Lectures on the Apocalypse," p. 189) says of *earthquake* in Rev. vi. 12: "It serves as a *catchword*. . . . Like other words and phrases in this book, it rivets events together where they are contemporaneous."

them very fairly into the statement that "there will be one last day in which Christ's second coming will take place, when all the dead will arise with their bodies, and the final judgment of both quick and dead, both good and evil, will be irrevocably pronounced by the Lord Jesus Christ;" and because he, as an interpreter of Scripture, holds firmly to the singleness of the day of the Lord, he is disposed to reckon that other interpreters are in irreconcilable variance with him, because they understand the Scriptures to foretell that the just will rise a millennium before the unjust, and that a series of thrilling events will occur between the sign of the Son of Man in the heavens and the final possession by the saints of undisturbable happiness in their everlasting home.

The discrepancy between the two opinions need not be as hopelessly wide as Mr. Gedge supposes: because the oneness of "the last day," which Mr. Gedge allows to be "not limited to twenty-four hours," is quite compatible with its extension¹ over at least a thousand years.

When a human sovereign intends to visit a selected portion of his dominions, and purposes on that occasion to receive an address from the local magistrates, to review the troops, as well as to preside at a sumptuous banquet, the simple notice in certain proclamations that there is to be "a grand day," or "a royal festival," would be quite consistent not merely with a statement on other placards of all the intended details, but with the issuing of authorized documents exclusively referring either to the reception of the civic rulers, or to the banquet, or to the review.

And if we understand such expressions as "the day of the Lord," "the appearing of Jesus Christ," or "the last day" to mean *the finishing period of the present dispensation which will introduce the everlasting age*, there is just as little inconsistency between Scriptures which refer briefly to the singleness of that great "day" which will change the darkness of this groaning world into an eternal continuance of perfect light, and other Scriptures which enlarge on a succession of events which will occur in the process of so vast a change, or with yet other Scriptures which only mention one or two of the coming occurrences in the momentous series.

I shrink from speaking with positiveness concerning a future indistinctly revealed. I refer to the possible order of its details with unaffected modesty. I do not pretend, for a single instant, to furnish an *infallible* explanation of matters which shine dimly on the sacred pages. But—after comparing carefully all the Scriptures which relate to the coming "end"

¹ 2 Peter iii. 8.

—I humbly submit, for the consideration of fellow-students, that there is no serious objection to the interpretation that the rapture of the saints;¹ the Redeemer's vengeance on the hearers of the Gospel who refused it whilst He was away;² the bestowal of a promised recompense on true believers according to the work of each;³ and perhaps (after that judgment of the saints) a final rebellion of Christ's foes, with their total overthrow⁴—may occur in succession during a vast period, which, notwithstanding its vastness according to human numeration, will be "with the Lord" as one day.⁵

And here it should be remembered that success in comparing two Scriptures, or in reconciling apparently diverse opinions upon them, may largely depend on scrupulous accuracy in observing every word or phrase. Casual reading may multiply errors, but discriminating care may attain to a discerning of the truth. In the studying, for example, our Lord's prediction of the saints' rapture in St. Luke xvii. 34-36, it should be noted that on that occasion He *may* have limited the "*Day* of the Son of Man" to the period of twenty-four hours in which our globe revolves on its own axis.

Referring to that side of the earth which will be at a certain moment enlightened by the sun, He said, "Two men shall be *in the field*: the one shall be taken, and the other left:" whilst, with reference to the darkened side of the earth at the same moment, He said, "I tell you in that *night* there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other left."

But on the contrary, the "end of the age" which He predicted when explaining the parable of the tares (in Matt. xiii. 40-43) *may* be a period by no means limited to twenty-four hours. And it should be noted also that, on that occasion, the chief among all the prophets omitted a reference to the rapture of the saints, because He was then emphasizing the fact that unreal professors of Christianity will have been

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 17.

² 2 Thess. i. 8.

³ Rev. xxii. 13.

⁴ Rev. xx. 7-10.

⁵ The Christians of the second and third centuries have set us a whole-some example in allowing this matter to be an open question. Dr. Burton (the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford about the time when I matriculated, fifty years ago—a man, I believe, of singularly calm judgment) has recorded concerning them: "It was believed by a large portion of Christians that the resurrection of the righteous would take place before the resurrection of all mankind. . . Such a belief was certainly entertained by several writers of the second century, though Justin [afterwards the Martyr], who himself adopted it, acknowledges that there were many Christians of sound and religious minds who differed from him on this point. It was in fact never made an article of belief, and each person was at liberty to follow his own opinion."—Burton's "History of the Christian Church," pp. 318, 223.

destroyed from off the face of the earth (cast into a furnace of fire) *before* the true children of the kingdom, who shall have been previously caught out of the reach of the fire,¹ shall take happy possession of the earth, as joint heirs with Christ their King. (Matt. xiii. 43).

There should be a similar accuracy of observation in considering two references by St. Paul to the future rising again of men from their graves. When he alludes (Acts xxiv. 15) to his expectation that all will rise, in one of two classes, he makes no mention of effort; because one or other alternative is absolutely unavoidable: "there *shall* be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust." But when he alludes (in Phil. iii.) only to the rising again of the just, he describes himself as making a constant effort to secure a special sort of return from the grave: "if by any means I may attain εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν—to the resurrection *from* the dead" (Revised Version).²

And once more it is to be noted, that in the former passage, when referring to the resurrection of both kinds of human beings, St. Paul places the word "just" *before* the word "unjust," thus perhaps suggesting a difference of time; even as, in a parallel utterance of Christ Himself (in St. John v. 38, 39), the phrase "they that have done good unto the resurrection of life" *precedes* "they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment."³

I will not, however, further prolong the attempt to show that Mr. Gedge's expectation of "the last day" is quite reconcilable with that of those who look for a series of events, during "the day of the Lord"; because I am persuaded that far greater importance belongs to

II. The doctrine in which I cordially agree with Mr. Gedge: that *any members of the Jewish nation who shall ever*

¹ See 1 Thess. iv. 17; Isa. xxvi. 20.

² It is very noticeable that our Lord Himself has described the resurrection to life as having the same peculiarity (St. Luke xx. 35): "They that shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection *from* the dead,"—τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ (out of) νεκρῶν.

³ The advantage of minute observation in the study of prophecies can scarcely be exaggerated. Probably Mr. Gedge would not have written as to 1 Cor. xv. 52, "οἱ νεκροὶ surely means all the dead," if he had noticed that the "we," all through the context down to "Thanks be to God which giveth *us* the victory," means, verse 23, "They that are Christ's." Possibly, also, that very close observer of Scripture, Christopher Wordsworth, would not have induced Mr. Gedge to say "that it seems a strange reason for believing in a first resurrection of men's *bodies* that the Apostle St. John saw in a vision the resurrection of *some* souls," if it had been noted that the word used by St. John is the Apostolic word for describing the revival of the body. Nearly the same word is used in Romans xiv. 9 to describe the return of our Lord's body from the grave. The Revised Version translates accordingly, Christ both died and *lived again*—ἐβίησεν.

be converted to the faith of Christ, shall hereafter be INCLUDED IN the same blessed company with converts from all other nations who in any age before the second coming of Christ shall have believed; or, to use Mr. Gedge's words, "there is no promise to believing Gentiles in which believing Jews will not share, and no promise to faithful Jews in which faithful Gentiles will not share."

This belief was held for many centuries by the leading English Divines; but in recent years, about three-quarters of a century ago, when the condition and hopes of the Jewish nation, (which had been, too long, almost uncared for by professing Christians,) began to arrest a becoming attention, neglect of God's ancient people changed, in some Gentile minds, into a somewhat misguided enthusiasm.

Without, as I venture to think, any warrant of Scripture,¹ and *in forgetfulness that the new earth is promised to all who are genuine children of Abraham* (see St. Paul's argument as to Abraham and his seed being heirs of the earth in Rom. iv. 13-17), an opinion was gradually formed by a few devout students of prophecy that the Jewish nation, when hereafter converted, will occupy in the world to come a distinct position from Christ's perfected Church.

As this comparatively modern tenet is still held by some who are otherwise much-to-be-respected interpreters of the Bible, and as Mr. Gedge, though convinced of its erroneousness, does not hold the further tenet as to the Church's dwelling-place after Christ's second advent, to which the teaching of Holy Scripture seems to lead, it may be worth while to state briefly four arguments in proof that there will be no distinction after Christ's second advent between the Jewish nation and the Gentiles who, in this dispensation, accept the Gospel, but that they will together form the glorified partner of the Redeemer in His eternal inheritance.

(1) Firstly, there is the argument (stated by Mr. Gedge) which is to be drawn from the inspired teaching of St. Paul. In Romans xi.,² when he compares the blessed company of all faithful people to an olive-tree in which the Hebrew patriarchs

¹ The perplexity of prophetic perspective has perhaps led differing interpreters to explain the same Scripture of different stages in the Jewish future predicted by a Jewish seer. Canon Faussett understands that Isaiah lxvi. 20 will hereafter be fulfilled to lineal descendants of Abraham. But Bishop Lowth, unable to decide between three interpretations, wrote: "The words may be understood either of the Jews 'that are escaped' converting the Gentiles and bringing them for an offering to God—the very phrase which St. Paul uses, speaking of the subject, Rom. xv. 16—or else that they shall convert their own brethren . . . or the place may be understood . . . of the *mystical* Israel."

² Compare especially verse 23 with verses 28 and 32.

were branches, and in which Gentiles who now believe during Jewish blindness *are* branches, he foretells, in the plainest language, that IN THAT SELF-SAME OLIVE-TREE the Jews, when they shall no longer abide in unbelief, *will be* branches.¹ And in Ephesians iii. he supports his doctrine by declaring that the full truth on this point has been more clearly revealed to New Testament apostles and prophets than to Old Testament seers. Now, he emphatically says it is *revealed* that the Gentiles shall be "fellow-*heirs*, and of the same body" with Hebrew believers; so that together, as "the Church," they shall make known to principalities in heaven the manifold wisdom of God.²

(2) Secondly, it is to be observed that, in accordance with this Apostolic teaching, the peculiar titles for the Lord's own people which originally belonged to Abraham and his lineal descendants are applied in the New Testament to the one company, of Gentile as well as Jewish believers, who form together "the Israel of God."³

Thus, for instance, the title of inestimable dignity "royal priesthood," which was once exclusively the property of the Abrahamic race (Exod. xix. 56), is not only applied by St. Peter to converted Jews (1 Peter ii. 9), but is readily given by St. John to converted Gentiles in the seven churches of Asia (Rev. i. 4-6). And the equally dignified title "elect," which originally belonged only to Hebrews (Isa. xli. 8), is used by St. Paul respecting Creteans who had been transformed by God's grace (Titus i. 1 with iii. 5-7), precisely as he uses it respecting men of the Jewish race (Rom. xi. 28).⁴

(3) A third line of reasoning in support of the same conclusion may be drawn from our Lord's prophecy that the national repentance of the Jews will occur *before the number of His chosen shall be complete*. Quoting the more ancient prediction of Zechariah as to the penitent wailing of the tribes, he foretells that it will happen on the appearance of the Son of Man's sign (whatever that may be), but previously to His sending forth His angels for the gathering of "His elect."⁵ And

(4) Fourthly, it may be argued that whereas those who

¹ In verse 29 St. Paul says, "And so *all Israel* shall be saved." This noticeable expression Calvin understood as meaning "the whole people of God."

² Ephes. iii. 4-11.

³ Gal. vi. 16.

⁴ Compare also the use of "*firstborn*," Exod. iv. 22, with Heb. xii. 22; and of "*saints of the Most High*," Dan. vii. 27, with 2 Thess. i. 10.

⁵ St. Matthew xxiv. 30: "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven, and THEN shall all the tribes of the land mourn—*κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς* [compare in the Septuagint of Zech. xii. 12 *κόψεται ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλὰς φυλὰς*], and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the

expect that the Jews will hereafter be a queenly nation, enthroned apart from the glorified Church, are pre-supposing the existence of *two* brides for the second Adam (who has Himself pointed out that God gave the first Adam only one wife), the opposite doctrine (that held by the more ancient interpreters) is consistent with the latest portrait of the Lamb's wife, in which details, foreseen by Isaiah as belonging to the Jewish people in future blessedness, are over and over again quoted by the inspired St. John as fulfilled in the coming grandeur of the true Church.¹

The combined force of these four arguments is, I am bold enough to conclude, unanswerable. And Mr. Gedge may be ready to say that I have been gilding refined gold in accumulating proofs upon the sufficient demonstration which he had already derived from St. Paul. But

III. I now proceed to show—what I wish him very closely to observe—that a cordial acceptance of that doctrine is quite consistent with holding the idea which he strongly condemns, *that a large portion of the Jewish nation will, antecedently to its conversion, be restored to the Holy Land.*

He inadvertently exaggerates the reticence of the New Testament as to any future return of the Jews to Palestine. Some measure of silence, and a very remarkable measure, there undoubtedly is. When Bible-students have inwardly digested the abundant predictions on this subject in Jeremiah, and other Old Testament prophets, which have never yet received a sufficient fulfilment, either in the going back from Babylon or in any other event of Jewish history, it can scarcely escape their notice, when they turn to the Gospels and Epistles, that there are *very few* New Testament echoes of what the Old Testament so loudly proclaims.

But that comparative stillness of the New Testament is at once accounted for by the never-to-be-forgotten fact that the "times of the Gentiles" are now being "fulfilled."² Even in the Old Testament prophecies of Daniel there is more than once what may be called *a gap of silence* with respect to the

clouds . . . and He shall send His angels with a great sound of a trumpet; and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds." The learned Joseph Mede, in the seventeenth century, drew attention to the remarkable order of the events predicted in this passage, as appearing to allow an interval between the conversion of the Jews and the completion of the Church. Note also, *very specially*, a corresponding order of events in St. Peter's exhortation to Jews in Acts iii. 19, 20: "*Repent ye . . . that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and that He may send the Christ . . . even Jesus*" (Revised Version).

¹ Compare throughout Isa. lx. and Rev. xxi., but especially verses 3, 11, 19 of the Old Testament chapter with verses 12, 23, 24 of the New.

² Luke xxi. 24.

gloomy period during which Daniel's people would be spiritually blind. Much more, therefore, was it to be expected that the discourses of Christ or His Apostles, which for centuries were to be mainly instructive to Gentiles, would have but slight allusions to God's purpose in respect to His "ancient people," who, during the times of Gentile prosperity, would be under His righteous wrath.

But Mr. Gedge's account of the matter has utterly overstated the contrast, in this respect, between Old and New Testament Scriptures. His legal accuracy had for once deserted him, when he penned the sweeping assertion that "there is not one syllable, from the first verse of St. Matthew's Gospel to the last verse of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, which gives the *slightest hint* of any future return of the Jews to Canaan as their own land."

In the extract which I have already made from our Lord's prophecy on the Mount of Olives there is a very strong hint of their being in possession of Canaan in His quotation of Zechariah's prediction, "Then shall the tribes of *the land* mourn." But there are two still stronger hints in the same context. For Christ, when He left the Temple for the last time during His sojourning on this globe in great humility, plainly intimated that at His second coming He and the Jews would again be found together on the same sacred spot. "Ye," said He, (*i.e.*, ye Jews of Jerusalem) "shall not see Me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." And once more in the course of that prophecy, as He sat on the slope of Olivet with the great buildings of the Temple immediately under His eye, when He foretold, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles *until* the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled," He as plainly implied that, after the fulfilment of the Gentile day of grace, the ancient supremacy of the Jews in their own city will be restored.

Moreover, when it is argued, as I trust that I, in agreement with Mr. Gedge, have successfully argued, that the lineal descendants of Abraham, who in "the last days" shall be converted to Abraham's faith, will form one body with those Gentiles who during Jewish blindness have by faith become

¹ The seventieth hebdomad in Dan. ix. 25-27, which has not yet been fulfilled, is ominously separated from the other sixty-nine hebdomads, because "that determined" is still being poured upon *the desolate*; and in like manner *somewhere* in the latter part of Dan. xi. (interpreters differ as to the precise verse at which it should be introduced) a gap of some centuries is to be understood, so as to admit of the application of the entire portion of the passage to Antioches, whilst verse 40 evidently belongs to "the time of the end."

Abraham's genuine children, it should always be remembered that their sharing Abraham's childlike belief, instead of depriving them of an earthly inheritance, will expressly entitle them to possess it.

IV. One notable promise made to Abraham, and expressly quoted by St. Paul (Rom. iv. 13), was that he should be *κληρονόμος τοῦ κόσμου* (which our translations, the Authorized and the Revised alike, have rendered "heir of the world.") Abraham showed (see Heb. xi. 9) the childlike simplicity of his faith in that promise, by "dwelling in tents" without settled habitation during his first lifetime on the earth, in token of his firm persuasion that he would come into "possession," according to God's word, on his return to the earth in the resurrection morning. He steadfastly looked for "a city which hath foundations"—heavenly, in the sense of being secured by the King of heaven (see 1 Peter i. 4), but in due time to come down out of heaven (see Rev. xxi. 2 compared with Rev. xi. 15, xix. 6-8), to be lastingly established on the earth. And all who have Abraham's faith, whether Gentile believers during their day of visitation or lineal descendants of Abraham, when the veil shall have been taken from their hearts, will, as Abraham's seed,¹ be HEIRS "ACCORDING TO THE PROMISE."²

Mr. Gedge's idea of the saints' future is a very different one. He has no expectation that either they or their Divine Lord will inhabit this earth after Christ's second coming. He supposes—supported in his supposition by some modern hymns—that Christ "will then take all the subjects [of His kingdom of grace] to reign together with Him in the *kingdom of glory in heaven* for ever and ever." And it is only with the profoundest reverence for the mysterious grandeur of the future eternity that I allow myself to discuss the correctness of any impression about it which is entertained by a thoughtful fellow-Christian. For though, doubtless, it is lawful to search into the meaning of those slight hints about the glory-to-follow which the Holy Ghost has seen fit to reveal, there was, nevertheless, profound wisdom in the very brevity of the last article in the Creed of the early Christians: "I believe

¹ Gal. iii. 29 compared with Heb. xi. 39, 40 ; xii. 27, 28.

² I for one, therefore, if a missionary to the Jews, would not have the slightest difficulty in meeting the dilemma somewhat grotesquely suggested by Mr. Gedge. For I should have only one gospel to preach to them, but a larger one than Mr. Gedge's, and as rich as St. Paul's: "Penitently believe on the Lord Jesus, and accept Him as your Messiah. You shall then not only 'be saved from sin and death and hell,' but with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the whole 'Church of the first-born,' your 'days shall be long' in the inheritance which the Lord God of Israel promised to your fathers."

in—the life everlasting.”¹ But I venture to suggest that the scanty information in the Bible on this magnificent topic (interpreted by such remains of ancient liturgies as have been retained in our Prayer Book) does not lead precisely to Mr. Gedge’s expectation. It is, of course, not only possible, but very probable, that Christ, Who is “Lord of all,” will hereafter conduct “the Church of the firstborn” to various parts of the universe over which He is supreme. If “the heaven of heavens” be, according to the thoughtful argument of Canon Garratt in his able treatise, “*World without end*,” the central spot around which all astral systems revolve, it may reasonably be concluded that they “who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth” will have the precious privilege of entering with Him into that true Holy of Holies. But I submit that that is not exactly the future blessedness on which the Bible has fixed the longing eyes of believers in Divine mercy since the fall. That has not been *the* HOPE to which either trustful Gentiles or the twelve tribes instantly serving God in ancient ages have hoped to come. The main topic of Holy Scripture is RECOVERY. It foretells the entire removal, by the second Adam, of the curse which came, on man’s earth as well as on man’s self, through the disobedience of the first Adam. The Bible’s most enthusiastic songs of praise, which are echoed in the *Te Deum* and *Ter Sanctus*, are hymns of hope that, when “the throne of the Lamb” shall have been established on the earth renewed, “of His kingdom there shall be no end.”²

But the subject thus suggested is a vastly extensive one. The proper discussion of various questions of great difficulty,

¹ Bishop Pearson, in his appendix, gives three Creeds earlier than the Nicene. Bingham, referring also to some ancient fragments, mentions the same. Riddle, in his “Manual of Christian Antiquities,” quotes rather more. But all are distinguished, in respect to eschatology, by similar modesty. Irenæus, about A.D. 178, believed that Christ, at His coming, will on “all righteous and holy men” “bestow the gift of immortality, and invest them with eternal glory.” Tertullian, soon after A.D. 200, believed in the coming of Christ “to take the saints into the possession and fruition of eternal life and the heavenly promises.” Even Arius presented to Constantine a creed with this article: “We believe in the life of the world to come, and in the kingdom of heaven, and in one Catholic Church of God extended from one end of the earth to the other.” In the apparently fabulous story, that the twelve Apostles met and concocted the Apostles’ Creed, Ruffinus asserts that Matthias was the Apostle who suggested the article, “*And the life everlasting.*”

² The difficult question whether there still is to be, or already has been, THE MILLENNIUM—on which, as Mr. Gedge has shown, learned and devout commentators have taken different views—need not disturb our consideration of what the earth’s future is to be. For the Millennium—→ if, as there is strong reason to conclude, it will follow Christ’s second coming—will only be a slight fringe to the infinitely more glorious

though of deep interest, which link themselves to it¹ would far exceed the limits to which the present paper ought to be confined. If the Editor of *THE CHURCHMAN* is disposed to give me the opportunity in some future number, I may perhaps try to unfold in some measure the glorious truths which are asserted in those grand articles of the Nicene Creed—"I believe in the resurrection of the dead, and THE LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME."

In briefly concluding the present essay, it is very pleasant to find one more point for cordial agreement with Mr. Gedge in his zeal for world-wide evangelization. Whatever opinions are held upon other topics by grateful disciples of the Divine Redeemer, they *must* heartily unite in obedience to His plain command, "Make disciples of all the nations." Though the preaching of His Gospel in our day, as in St. Paul's day, influences but a small proportion of those who hear, and though the largest outpouring of the Holy Spirit *may* be reserved, according to the tenor of one prophecy, for a later period in the history of mankind,² the present duty of loyal Christians is unquestionably to fulfil the purpose of Christ, Who by their instrumentality is now taking out of the nations "a people for His name;"³ and notwithstanding the drawbacks and difficulties and discouragements⁴ which the preach-

END. To that St. Paul looked forward, in accordance with the ancient expectation of inspired Jews. Compare Rom. viii. 21 with Acts xvii. 31, which does not refer, as Mr. Gedge seems to think, to the future judgment-seat of Christ, but to His ruling righteously, as the second Adam, over MAN'S earth. The Apostle is quoting Psa. ix. 8 or Psa. xcvi. 13. So St. Peter's hope was "the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Peter i. 11), and St. John was specially inspired to close the canon of Scripture with a book containing the glorious prediction, "The kingdoms of this world are become THE KINGDOM of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign *for ever and ever*" (Rev. xi. 15).

¹ Such questions, for instance, as, Who will be the subjects over whom the "royal priesthood" will rule? If they shall be human beings, constantly multiplying on the renewed earth, how shall they have escaped the deluge of fire which shall sweep away Christ's hardened enemies? and if God shall literally show mercy, according to the language of the fourth commandment, "unto the thousandth generation" (see Bishop Harold Browne, in the "Speaker's Commentary," on Exod. xx. 6), what intimations are there in Holy Scripture of homes in due time for the superabundant population of this planet, in other worlds which are now gradually being made habitable for them?

² Isa. xxxii. 15 compared with verse 1.

³ Acts xv. 14.

⁴ We have much to sadden, but nothing which should tempt us to suppress the proclaiming everywhere "repentance and remission of sins" in the name of the Lord Jesus, if we must infer as to India that possibly it contains to-day more unconverted heathen than eighty years ago, when a fresh impulse was given to foreign Missions. Our office is to bear the testimony (understanding *μαρτυρία* in the sense which Mr. Gedge

ing has encountered ever since it began, there is inexhaustible refreshment in the sure promise which the great Commander annexed to "the marching orders" of His advancing army, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the age."

DAVID DALE STEWART.

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ART. III.—DEAN BRADLEY'S "LECTURES ON ECCLESIASTES."

Lectures on Ecclesiastes. Delivered in Westminster Abbey by the Very Reverend GEORGE GRANVILLE BRADLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1885.

IT is needless to say that this is an extremely able book. Let me add, that it is by no means an easy one to review. The object of the lectures was edification rather than criticism. And yet they raise, or at least touch, nearly every question, critical or exegetical, that can be found in "the Preacher." Some such treatment as Dean Bradley's appears absolutely necessary, as a first step to the solution of these questions, and to determine the origin and purpose of Ecclesiastes. Another observation I cannot withhold. Dean Bradley is, above all things, a scholar. Yet in these pages he avows himself to be "no Hebraist," and takes his textual and critical comments from other authorities, by such principles of selection as an English reader must perforce adopt. I cannot but regret that

assigns to it), in order that Christ, by our testifying, may accomplish the number of His "peculiar people;" although General Haig, one of the most energetic and self-denying among the supporters of foreign Missions, has stated, in his address entitled "The Claims of India": "Every ten years a census is taken by the missionaries of the Church in India, and so the exact number of Christians, men, women, and children, is known. Taking the last three decades, the *annual increase* was 10,000 in the first, 10,000 in the second, and in the ten years ending 1881, 20,000. . . . And yet, while it is very encouraging to see the Church increasing at that rate, the outlook is not so encouraging when the actual increase of the total population is considered. For centuries before we took India under our charge, the population was probably nearly stationary; but now that they are under a strong and just and beneficent Government, the increase of the population is very rapid. The actual increase appears to be now at the rate of two or two and a half millions a year; but, supposing we only say one million, allowing for the epidemics that sweep away such large numbers from time to time, we have still these two facts confronting us—of the Christian Church increasing at the rate of 10,000 to 20,000, and the heathen population increasing at the rate of *one million* a year."

the Dean has felt compelled to attack a difficult text with one hand—may I venture to say his right hand?—thus tied behind his back.

The reviewer's task is not facilitated. Where Dean Bradley pleads that he is "no scholar," it should require a fool, or an angel, to intrude.

And yet I cannot yield the whole question of authorship to German criticism, and allow, without demur, even on grounds of language, that Solomon was not the author of the book. The Dean of Westminster has, in fact, convinced me that Solomon was the author, and that on grounds of internal evidence, derived from the subject-matter, as distinct from the Hebrew in which the work of Koheleth has been given to us. The difficulty of the position I had felt very strongly before reading these lectures. I think I see my way to its solution now. I owe this acknowledgment to the Lecturer, that he has presented the question in such a way as seems to me to force the answer, although it is not that answer which he has felt himself bound to give.

Dean Bradley treats the Book of Ecclesiastes, very forcibly, as an expression of the strongest pessimism that is compatible with any real religion at all. He will not allow that the direct gospel in any shape can be found there. And in this treatment of the subject it seems impossible to deny that he is right. Further, he loses no opportunity of pointing out that the circumstances upon which the Preacher founds his observations are not, except in one or two passages (notably ch. ii.), the obvious surroundings of Solomon's throne. Here, also, it is impossible to deny that there is a good deal to be said for the Dean's view. The repeated allusions to oppression and injustice are not a fair description of the general condition of Israel under Solomon's reign. Yet some personal experience of the writer seems to be behind them all.

No true theory of any of the books of Holy Scripture can be founded on the denial or avoidance of plain facts. The pessimism of Ecclesiastes is undeniable. It is not only personal, it is general—"All is vanity." Not only has Koheleth himself been disappointed with a depth of disappointment only equal to the heights of the Solomon atmosphere which he describes, but measured downwards instead of heavenward. Disappointed with Solomon and all his environment, he is even more disappointed with all else. Injustice, oppression, self-seeking, purposeless labour, ground gained only to be lost, little or no general advancement among mankind, all things ebbing and flowing, or travelling an endless round. This is the prospect before the Preacher's eyes.

Then, is there no religion in the book? Yes, there is; but,

as the Dean shows, it is not the gospel. Koheleth does not "hear the footsteps of the Messiah in the unseen future," or, if he does, he makes no sign.

"Fear thou God." "Fear God and keep His commandments." With these solemn words, he who has spoken by turns in the character of the sick and disillusioned searcher after knowledge and after pleasure; of the pessimistic and life-weary sigher after annihilation; of the despairing fatalist; of the sad Agnostic, who sees no knowledge possible of the unknowable world beyond the grave; of the hopeless Materialist, who sees in man nothing beyond his animal organization; of the more cheerful commender of such brief enjoyment as life permits—rises at last to the full stature of the Preacher, if not of full trust and faith, yet of reverence and awe. *Fear thou God.* He holds firm at all events, though all around invites to a hopeless scepticism, to the belief in God, Who, even though we are to pass away and be forgotten, yet has claims on some deeper feeling than earthly objects can inspire. It is not Christian faith; it is not the soul "athirst for God, even the living God," but it is something beyond the reach of those whom in many ways he so resembles, with whom he has in many points such sympathy, those who say, aloud or in their hearts, "there is no God."

The preceding passage is as good a summary of Dean Bradley's view of Ecclesiastes as anything in the entire volume. The following sentences add something on the positive side:

The Book of Ecclesiastes bears the stamp, from first to last, of dejection, if not of despair. Yet its still unrelinquished, pervading sense of the fear of God as the end of life; its firm hold of the inherent distinction between right and wrong; its refusal, in spite of all that seems to cloud the hope, to part with the conviction of a judgment, a righteous judgment, yet to come; its counsels of activity, patience, cheerfulness, prudence, calmness, sympathy with suffering, stand out amidst the wreck and decay of all around. They stand out often in sharp contrast with what seems at times the prevailing tone of the book itself.

I feel very grateful to Dean Bradley for having insisted so strongly on the pessimism of Ecclesiastes; but I cannot accept his theory of the authorship. Indeed, he has no positive theory. The only answer he gives to the question "Who was Koheleth?" is of this kind: whoever he was, it is quite certain that he was not Solomon. Apart from the linguistic difficulty (which courtesy requires that I should keep in the background), the Dean attacks the received doctrine of the Solomon authorship in the most insidious way. His method is this. He fastens upon some "marvellous perverting of judgment and justice" under Oriental despotism, depicts it in the Preacher's words, and draws out the sense as forcibly as he can. Then he groans like some enlightened inhabitant of modern Pontus—a very Apollos, for example (pardon the anachronism)—under Turkish misrule; and then he turns suddenly round in the blackness with which he has enveloped himself, and stabs the orthodox Bible-reader with a text describing Solomon's justice and prosperity out of the first Book of Kings.

An attack of this kind cannot be met by any impromptu defence. The whole position must be carefully examined; and I believe we must look farther and wider for our explanation of Ecclesiastes than to the personal trials and disappointments of Solomon's old age. In examining this question, I have been led into a train of thought which has interested me greatly. I am disposed to attempt an answer—I hope with all becoming modesty, as befits a *quondam* scholar in the presence of the ex-master of the oldest college in Oxford—to the learned and terrible Dean. Reserving the question of language for the place which it occupies in these lectures, let me join issue on the subject-matter. It seems to me that if an expression of pessimism was to find place in Holy Scripture as the theme of a distinct treatise, Solomon is the very person on whom the preparation of the treatise in question must devolve. The experience must be his; and no one could describe it better. The reason for this opinion I will state as best I can. In Solomon the humanity of fallen Adam reached its highest consummation under direct Divine training, and from the standpoint of sacred history—the only history, be it remembered, which is strictly and entirely true. And for all this, despite the greatness of "Solomon in all his glory," the sentence upon fallen Adam, fallen Abraham, fallen Israel, was—to die. That type of humanity could not reform the world. Adam's destiny from the beginning was a kingdom. "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands. Thou didst put all things in subjection under his feet." "Let us make man *in* our image (structure), *after* our likeness (character), and let them have dominion (final destiny)." The extent of this dominion has no limit; only "it is manifest that He is excepted" Who is to put all things under the Adam that He has made. Is it a matter of indifference *what kind of Adam* is to have this dominion? Shall it be the first Adam in his primeval innocence, without the fixity of character to which we know no road but moral training—*temptation*, with all the terrible possibilities that this implies? Or shall it be the same Adam in his fallen nature, with so much of his first estate as he can save out of the wreck of his being, aided by Divine guidance, and so much the better as Abraham, David, Solomon, were in advance of other patriarchs and kings of men? Or shall it be, not the first Adam at all, whether flesh unimproved or man at his highest (son of Adam, or son of Ish, as the old Hebrew puts it), but a "Second Man, the Lord from heaven," glorified in all His members, the "firstborn among many brethren," "according to the spirit of holiness," and "after resurrection from the dead"? Everyone who knows the Apostles' Creed

can answer the question. Could Solomon have framed the answer? Certainly not, in Dean Bradley's opinion. We add, certainly not. But Solomon was himself a part of the answer—perhaps the largest part that any individual child of Adam (before One) supplied. Solomon's failure eliminated the chief factor from the problem, and enforced the necessity of its solution by the way of the Cross.

In this view the throne of Solomon was no ordinary position. It cannot be estimated by the extent of his dominions, or his place in common history among the kings of this present world. The planet Earth is not particularly conspicuous among the stars of heaven. But on earth He Who made the heavens was made man and died. And Solomon, as the son of David, was His especial prototype among the kings of men. Solomon and his throne represent the *maximum* attainable by "the kingdom of the Lord over Israel," "His son, His firstborn" nation, taken out of other nations to be trained by Himself. From Abraham to David was one long process of education. And of all David's sons, He chose Solomon to inherit the kingdom promised to Abraham, in the fullest measure that could be granted until the Son of MAN should come. THE SON OF DAVID was to be the Christ. But what kind of Christ? If the cross of JESUS was to supersede the throne of Solomon, might it not fairly be expected that God should tell us why? And in Ecclesiastes He has partly told us why. The experiment of a Solomon was needed in order to justify the Cross of Christ. If Solomon had not found, on solid and sufficient experience, that "all is vanity;" or if, when seated on the highest pinnacle of earthly greatness attainable by the Anointed of the God of Israel, he had pronounced his position anything but a gigantic failure, what reason was there why the Creator should reject, instead of completing, that type of humanity of which Solomon was the Crown? If perfection was by the throne of Solomon, what further need was there that another king should arise after the order of Nazareth, and wear the crown of thorns? If the first Adam was not really a failure, what was it but waste of manhood to destroy and cast him aside? Is he "a vessel wherein is no pleasure"? If not, if "the vessel that He made out of the clay" has not been "marred in the hand of the Potter," why make it again another vessel, instead of finishing the first? "If any man be in Christ, it is new creation (*καινή κτίσις*)." But fresh creation is not justifiable—not for the glory of the Creator—if anything less will avail to repair the first.

And was not Solomon's experience, historically, an experience of failure at the best? Closely examined, I think everyone must admit that it was. The mere fact that his

dominions were, upon the whole, in peace and safety during his reign; that "judges and officers" were "in all the gates," and judgment and justice was executed in Israel, so far as it can be dispensed anywhere by mortal, fallible men—all this may be admitted. We have seen a good deal of it in other countries at other periods of the history of our fallen race. But Solomon's wisdom must have been contemptible by contrast with many a lesser light, if he could not see beneath the surface that there were many abuses which even he could not rectify, and that the basis of the whole fabric was unstable to the last degree. His own many marriages, and his single son Rehoboam, and the uncertainty of Rehoboam's future, were items in the case. The second Psalm of Solomon (cxxvii.), "Except the Lord build the house,"¹ touches more than one aspect of it. It expresses the uncertain duration of Solomon's kingdom for want of a successor. And, striking the very next note in the Psalter, after the thanksgiving of the captives returned from Babylon, it reminds us that their ecclesiastical polity was itself transitory, and not less dependent upon the divine dispensations than the kingdom which had already been removed.

But we need not explain the whole Book of Ecclesiastes by the history of Israel or of Solomon's reign. This view the Preacher himself has, by anticipation, repudiated. "I was king over Israel in Jerusalem," he says. Not, surely, "I was," in the sense of "I once was, and I am not;" but, as the Septuagint version, even without the Hebrew, reminds us, ἐγένεμην, I became, or "I was made, king. And I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning *all things that are done under heaven* . . . I have seen *all the works that are done under the sun*; and behold, *all is vanity and vexation of spirit*" (i. 12-14).

The Solomon horizon cannot therefore be limited to the land of Israel. Again and again we are reminded that "all the oppressions that are done under the sun" have been laid under contribution to the "vanity" of this book. If "all kings of the earth sought to Solomon to hear his wisdom," and brought him, not only presents, but questions, like the Queen of Sheba, and like her, were satisfied (and the wisdom that will satisfy queenly curiosity must be vast indeed), must he not have known something of all the governments of the world? Another expression of which Dean Bradley has made frequent use in these lectures, taken from the Book of Ecclesiastes, seems to me to bear a double sense. The Preacher refers more than

¹ The Hebrew usage of this expression should be remembered. It is children who build the house. See Gen. xvi. 2; Ruth iv. 11. But Adam's house can only be builded for eternity by "the Son of Man."

once to "all that have been before me in Jerusalem." This expression the Dean takes to signify "all my predecessors." And then he inquires, naturally enough, who were Solomon's predecessors? Melchizedek, Adonizedek, and the Lords of Justice between them, and David; and for a few days, Absalom? Will these suffice? Hardly, for the Preacher's comparison. Then must we not seek some later king, as Uzziah, or Hezekiah? The objection is specious; but Bible sentences are strange weapons to handle. It is never safe to assume that the meaning which lies on the surface is all that the words contain. "Before me in Jerusalem" *may* mean "my predecessors" there. But it may also mean "in my presence" there (*coram me*). Which does it mean? In ch. i 16, "In Jerusalem" is "over Jerusalem" literally, and here we seem to be shut up to the chronological meaning, *before*, as opposed to *after*. But in ch. ii. 9 "in Jerusalem" is "in," and not "over." And we may fairly ask whether the king refers to everyone who has been "before" him, *i.e.*, in his presence, in that place. In 1 Kings xi. 36, "before me in Jerusalem" is used in that sense (the Hebrew being identical as well as the English). So in Ezekiel xxxvi. 17, "their way was before me" means "was in my sight." Here we have the *verb* as well as the preposition. The expression, then, will bear either meaning. If we count examples, we find that "before me" is used of *time*, in four passages of the Old Testament, for certain; of *place*, sixty times; and in five cases it is ambiguous. It is possible therefore that Koheleth intends a comparison not only between Solomon and all his predecessors, but between Solomon and all his royal visitors—"all that have come before my face in Jerusalem." And thus, like "under the sun," it widens the horizon considerably. Solomon had both opportunity and inclination for world-wide observation and research. He seems to have been gifted with the disposition that would lead him to reflect upon his researches. He was not ignorant of his destiny and that of his people. He knew himself to be the direct representative of the Messiah, the object of the divine choice. And with this knowledge, this leisure, these opportunities, if Solomon had bestowed no inquiry or investigation upon "the work that God was making from beginning to end," he must have been more or less than *man*. And is not his confessed inability to understand it another testimony to the truth, that "none of the princes of this world knew the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory"? If there had been no Solomon; if he had not attempted the solution of the great problem, and confessed his failure, would it not have destroyed much of the meaning of those words of St. Paul? The more

I reflect upon Solomon's place in sacred history, the more I feel convinced that the Book of Ecclesiastes is his own genuine production, in all its pessimism, and that it was "written for our admonition, upon whom the *ends of the world* are come." The matter of it fits Solomon in all his glory, as it fits no one else in the world.

In Dean Bradley's view the experience of Koheleth is partly personal, partly personified. It is the actual experience of some later Israelite put into the mouth of Solomon the king. Without attacking this opinion on the ground that it makes the book a forgery—a view which Dean Bradley repudiates—and granting that to this extent fiction is not falsehood, we may fairly ask, Is not the reality of the experience impaired thereby? Solomon's kingly experience was personal and unique. The experience of Koheleth was personal also. But if these are two separate experiences welded into one, is the trial perfectly fair? Is not the truthfulness of the thing depicted somewhat impaired thereby? To my mind it is. Without in the least asserting that the later Koheleth intended to deceive me,—yet if I take him to be Solomon and he is some one else,—to that extent I am deceived. The fact may be consistent with current conceptions of the veracity of Scripture, but honestly I must say that it is not consistent with mine. Whether the present form of Ecclesiastes is also due to Solomon is another question. In every discussion of the authorship of books of the Old Testament, it is most desirable that three questions be kept distinct. Who wrote it? Who edited it? When was it brought out? I do not think it necessary to suppose that Koheleth was published, or added to the Canon of Scripture, in Solomon's reign. On any supposition it must be his latest extant work. The terrible *bouleversement* which followed his death; the division of the kingdom; the disestablishment and disendowment of the priests and Levites that were in all Israel, when His people "returned thither, and waters of a full cup were wrung out to them;" the capture of the city of David by an Egyptian army after four years—all this is not likely to have left much literary leisure in Jerusalem. Even the Book of Proverbs, as we have it, was certainly not completed before the time of Hezekiah; and why the prophecy of King Lemuel should be quoted against Koheleth's estimate of women, in relation to the question of authorship, I do not quite understand. I see no reason why we should suppose Ecclesiastes to have been added to the Old Testament Canon before the Babylonish captivity. Its place among the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Scriptures indicates that it was probably incorporated at a later date. Then comes the question, Did Solo-

mon write it as we have it now? If we say Yes, Dean Bradley threatens us with a dilemma that almost makes one shudder. "If," says a Christian Hebraist of unimpeached orthodoxy—no less than Delitzsch—"if the Book of Ecclesiastes was written in the age of Solomon, *there is no history of the Hebrew language.*" Shall I be counted a blasphemer if I accept the terrible alternative, and ask with tremulous audacity, *Who but a German critic would ever have supposed that there was?* How can there be, when the literature of the period is so exceedingly scanty? I cannot but express my regret that Dean Bradley, whose scholarship was a household word amongst us at Oxford before I took my degree, does not claim the same mastery of Hebrew as of the classics. Hebrew criticism has been left far too much in the hands of men who, whatever their industry, are *not scholars*. Listen to one *who is* (speaking in the name of *one who was*) a Hebrew scholar:

Why, the critics of the past century were but lambs as compared with that tiger Ewald, who rends and tears whatever he lays hold of, and calls this mangling process criticism. And yet one sees why this species of criticism, which he seems to have been one of the first to invent, is becoming popular. Years of study are required before one can acquire a profound knowledge of Hebrew. . . . A work, on the other hand, which, like some late productions, contains anything paradoxical and startling with regard to the books of the Bible, and *confidently affirms* that every one of these must be dismembered and assigned to different authors, attracts immediate attention, and is eagerly sought for by the public, ever greedy of excitement and novelty. The author . . . is at once exalted to the rank of a Biblical critic of the first order, and it is besides straightway inferred that he must be a profound Hebrew scholar, for how else could he possibly determine when there was a difference of style sufficient to justify his inferring a different author?—a point upon which few could pronounce, even in their own native language.

Far be it from me to impeach Delitzsch's orthodoxy. All honour to him who maintains "the faith once delivered" amidst an opposing host. But the German method is the German method; and without being a Hebrew scholar myself in any sense in which the word can be used in presence of Dean Bradley, I can see quite enough of German ways to show me that no scholar would ever reason about style as they do. What is a difference of style worth, which vanishes entirely in a translation of the merit of our English Old Testament? Even Germans allow that Solomon could write Solomon's Song. Is the style that of the Proverbs? Is there any other book in all the Old Testament written in the style of Ecclesiastes? Not one. But it "is saturated with later Hebrew." What are the facts? It partly resembles the

¹ From "The Book of Job," by the late Hermann Hedwig Bernard. Edited by Frank Chance.

Mishna, or text of the Talmud—a codification of the Jewish law, with a view to the practical administration of the same. What is the first date of the Mishna? No man knows. We know what first necessitated a codification of the law of Moses. It was the decree of Artaxerxes Longimanus to Ezra that he should enforce that law in Judæa as the law of the land. For all we know to the contrary, the basis of the Mishna may be Ezra's work.

But is the language of Ecclesiastes the language of the Mishna in those points in which the two can be compared? Far from it. A list of the words and phrases of Ecclesiastes which resemble the Mishna may be found in the well-known work of Dr. Wright. But these are only resemblances. We see words and expressions in Ecclesiastes *on their way* to the usage of the Mishna. How far on their way, we have no means of knowing. There is a point whose distance from another unknown point is unknown. Therefore the distance of the first point from Solomon is considerable! That is the argument. If it were desired to re-write the Book of Ecclesiastes in the style of Solomon, no one could do it. If we had the same thoughts in writing by any Hebrew writer, whose date is known, we might reason. But we have not. And there is absolutely not one word or phrase in Ecclesiastes which any man on earth can demonstrate that Solomon did not know. Then is there "no history of the Hebrew language?" None whatever, if the word "history" implies what is intended by the Germans, and is at the same time demonstrably true.

A single instance may serve to illustrate the sort of resemblance that is noted between Ecclesiastes and the Mishna. The word *'inyan* occurs in Koheleth eight times. In the Talmud it is common enough in the sense of *πράγμα*, or the ordinary English word "*thing*." It does not occur in the Old Testament except in Ecclesiastes. What does it mean there? In homely English, it means "bother." The Authorized Version renders it "travail," and "business." The Revisers by "travail" always, in text or margin. That is the word they prefer. There is no trace in Ecclesiastes of its later sense. The meaning keeps close to the derivation throughout. This is a fair sample of what is meant by the argument from style. There is nothing in the style which may not be explained by the unique character of the subject-matter of the book. It certainly points to a unique experience. Was not Solomon's experience truly unique?

It may possibly be doubted whether Solomon would have left these pages behind him in a perfectly accessible form. I do not suppose the book, as we have it, is a translation.

Dean Bradley is against that opinion, and the question is one of which he is a thoroughly competent judge. But Solomon was probably acquainted with many ways of writing. Parts of Ecclesiastes remind one strongly of the freedom of a private diary. Other portions are not quite in the same style. The structure of the book, as a whole, is not obvious. I am not aware that it has yet been explained. Can it be a selection from anything larger? In any case, I doubt greatly whether it was given to Israel as Holy Scripture before the days of the "ready scribe." But I do not find fault with other men's conjectures in order to steal their trade myself. I merely indicate what I think may fairly be conceded to those persons who do not believe that Solomon in his lifetime published this book. I do not see that such a thing is in any way impossible. Still, the book contains expressions sufficiently hostile to existing government to make its publication matter of care and discretion. The Proverbs are a very different work.

The secret history of Dean Bradley's lectures, if we did but know it, might be far more interesting than a critical discussion of the date of "the Preacher." Among the audience in Westminster Abbey, there were surely some persons no less perplexed than Solomon by the darker side of human life; and, not less than Solomon, needing the sight of its solution by the Cross. To such persons these lectures may well have ministered "edification, exhortation, consolation." May there be many who shall thus find their way past the thorns of Solomon to the Crown of that greater Son of David, Whose Cross the darkness of His human ancestor has made clear!

C. H. WALLER.



ART. IV.—THE WELSH BORDER.

THE borderland between England and Wales is not so well known to the intelligent tourist as it should be. Here, collected together within a comparatively small compass, may be found beautiful and magnificent scenery, and also lone ruins of great historical interest. Many a fine view in Shropshire or Herefordshire crowned by some distant mountain-peak in the heart of Wales, will well repay the artist's labour. And if the fates be favourable, the beauty of the scene may be heightened by the grand effect produced by the dark storm-cloud against the pale sky and the blue mountain.

Moreover, all along the border, there still remain the crumbling ruins of the once mighty castles of the Lords

Marchers, the doughty noblemen appointed by the mediæval kings of England to ward off the frequent incursions of the numerous petty princes in the principality of Wales. Of these noble memorials of the past, Chepstow and Raglan are well known. Ludlow, and particularly Wigmore, are somewhat out of the way. Yet the latter is a very striking ruin, boldly situated on a spur of the hills, no great distance from the famous battlefield of Mortimer's Cross. In the Middle Ages it must have been a stronghold of considerable importance in the border warfare.

Over and above these larger castles, there are numberless smaller ruins scattered about the district. As typical examples we might take the desolate walls of Radnor, situated at the mouth of a dark pine-clad glen in the mountains, and Stokesay near the Craven Arms, in a pretty defile between well-timbered hills beside a small swift-flowing stream. The latter must have been a castellated dwelling-house rather than a fortress, and has been of recent years restored by the owner in perfect good taste, with true regard to the legitimate claims of the past.

The Marches of Wales may be best defined as all the land situated between King Offa's Dyke and what was universally acknowledged English territory. As a matter of fact, they are thus defined in an old local history. And in early days strange customs held sway in this narrow strip, which reached from Chester to the Bristol Channel. If any man of an alien race were found on the wrong side of the rough Saxon Dyke, there was but one stern fate awaiting him. A few days after his lifeless corpse would be seen hanging from the neighbouring gallows always kept ready for the purpose. Even now the sturdy peasantry will point out the spot assigned by tradition to these instruments of death!

To assuage this bitter hatred between the two nationalities, and introduce something like good order, the jurisdiction and privileges of the Lords Marchers were upheld by the English kings. Their court was frequently held at Ludlow, and at first often presided over by bishops. Edward IV. sent his son hither, as the chronicler Hall states, "for justice to be done in the Marches, to the end that by the authority of his presence the wild Welshmen and evil-disposed persons should refrain from their accustomed murders and outrages."

Nevertheless, the peculiar customs which became legalized under the jurisdiction of the court of the Lords Marchers were for the most part harsh and unfair, as an example will readily show. "Another sign and token of a Lordship Marcher," says an old manuscript in the Lansdowne Collection, "was an unreasonable custom to have all the goods of any

of their tenants that died intestate ; which custom, although it seemeth against all law and reason, and fit to be numbered among the unlawful customs, which by Act of Parliament were abolished, yet was the same used, and it appeareth among the records of the Tower." In all likelihood there was no regret felt by the common people when King Henry VIII., in his lordly way, utterly abolished the feudal jurisdictions throughout the Marches of Wales, to the extent in which they were more severe and exacting than those which prevailed in England. The court itself was finally dissolved on the accession of William III. Charles, Earl of Macclesfield, was the last Lord President.

If any traveller, however, loves the weird memorials of earlier and more mystic times, he will meet with many an earthwork of British or Roman creation on some lonely hill-top well suited by natural position for purposes of defence. Of these we may mention Coxhall Knoll and *Caer Caradoc*, connected, according to tradition, with the famous victory of the Roman general *Osterius* over the brave British chieftain *Caractacus*. The bloody fray is described at length by *Tacitus* in his well-known "*Annals*," and happened about half a century after the commencement of the Christian era.

He who loves antiquities may go earlier still. Almost in the centre of the rich and beautiful vale of *Radnor*, a scattered district which has just ceased to be a Parliamentary borough, there may be discovered in an out-of-the-way-field, sheltered by a hedge and some small trees, four ancient Druidic stones. Two others, once in this circle, still remain in the neighbourhood, applied to different uses. It is but one example of the archaeological curiosities which may be easily brought to light in remote and unfrequented country districts. To what uses these mysterious circles were applied we can only now conjecture. Certain it is that these ancient Celtic remains, whether in the uplands of Wales, or on the granite hills of *Cornwall*, or the rocky coast of *Brittany*, are connected together by some hidden link which neither the ingenuity or learning of the antiquarian has yet been able to discover. Meantime wide scope is left for the full play of the imagination. Explanations of every kind have been and will be offered. The richness of Celtic fancy will find golden opportunity to display its loftiest flights in describing the dim distance which lies beyond the realm of proven facts. There is beauty, and there is poetry, in these old legends, but they are worthless for the purposes of real history. They are the products of an imaginative people, and are perhaps hardly appreciated according to their merit by the more solemn and sober temperament of the Saxon race.

An effort, however, has of late been made to throw light upon these the most ancient remains on the western sea-board of Europe by careful and systematic examination. "Pictures and photographs of these half-ruined buildings," exclaims a living author devoted to the study of antiquities, "are of very little use unless accompanied by ground-plans; and even ground-plans are shorn of much of their value for scientific study without sections and levels. These have generally been absent; and hence conjectures and opinions which should have been swept away years ago continue to be advocated and asserted to be very probable, if not absolutely demonstrable and true. The time has arrived for a wider and more satisfactory inquiry respecting structures whose history the stones themselves, according to their disposition, may help to develop; for as no written chronicles, however ancient, throw any light upon them, the best and safest course to pursue is to investigate that history by a careful study of the monuments." What the final outcome of such study may be, the future alone can determine. Perhaps to many minds the fuller story of mediæval times will for the present prove the most attractive, because the frowning castles and the beauteous churches are so often connected with great and noble names, whose very personality it is easy to picture to the mind, and bring, as it were, within the range of actual sight. Any way, the borderland of Wales is brimful of real and living interests to all those who have eyes to see and ears to hear the soft music of the distant past.

R. S. MYLNE.

ART. V.—NEW TESTAMENT SAINTS NOT COMMEMORATED.—EPAPHRODITUS.

IT has been held by some that Epaphras of Colossæ and Epaphroditus of Philippi were in reality one and the same person. It is true that their names are identical, Epaphras being only a shortened form of Epaphroditus. But beyond this there is nothing whatever to support the conjecture. Indeed, probability lies altogether in the opposite direction. In each case, the bearer of the name is so intimately connected with the Church, so evidently belongs to the locality, with which the name is associated, that it seems impossible to believe that the same man could have had such close relations with two very different places; that he could, so to speak, have been indigenous to both. Whatever chronological order we adopt for the Epistles of the imprisonment, it requires stronger evidence than similarity or identity of name to establish the conclusion that one so entirely bound up, as we

have seen Epaphias to have been, with the Church at Colossæ paid another visit, within a comparatively short interval, to St. Paul at Rome, as the no less closely allied member and messenger of another and distant Church.

Regarding Epaphroditus, then, as distinct from Epaphras, all our knowledge of him is drawn from a short but deeply interesting passage in the Epistle to the Philippians, supplemented by a passing mention of him in the same Epistle.¹ From these we learn that the Christians at Philippi, between whom and St. Paul as their father in Christ² the most affectionate relations had always existed, had determined to make a collection among themselves, and send it for his relief and comfort in his imprisonment at Rome. In accordance with the custom of those primitive times the honourable and responsible office of conveying the gift—for the alms of the Church were a sacrifice to God³—must be bestowed upon one or more of its most distinguished members. Upon Epaphroditus, a minister⁴ of the Church at Philippi, and bound to it by the closest ties of mutual affection and regard, the choice fell. How willingly he accepted, how zealously he discharged the office, how true a representative he was of the Philippians, in the loving and assiduous service which he rendered on their behalf, we gather from the fact that his self-sacrificing exertions well-nigh cost him his own life. Whether from fatigue and exposure on the journey, or as a consequence of his unremitting attendance on the Apostle, under the trying circumstances of his imprisonment, and perhaps at an unhealthy season of the year at Rome, he was laid prostrate by grievous sickness.⁵ So grievous was it that he was “nigh unto death.”⁶ But the mercy of God spared St. Paul the added sorrow of his loss, and restored him to health and usefulness. Now, however, a new anxiety bore heavily on Epaphroditus. It had come to his knowledge that intelligence of his sickness had reached Philippi. With what sorrow and anxiety the news would be received there he well knew. To remove that sorrow and anxiety by visiting them in person and giving them visible proof of his recovery, was now the great

¹ Phil. ii. 25-30 ; iv. 18.

² Acts xvi. 11-40.

³ Phil. iv. 18. Comp. Acts xi. 29, 30 ; and 2 Cor. viii. 16-23, where (verse 23), as here (ii. 25), the messenger is called *ἀπόστολος*.

⁴ *συνεργός* (Phil. ii. 25).

⁵ There is no reason to suppose that directly ministerial work at Rome had anything to do with this sickness. The “work of Christ,” which occasioned it, is defined by St. Paul to have been the effort “to supply that which was lacking”—*i.e.*, personal ministrations to himself on the part of the Philippians (ii. 30). How truly that was “work of Christ” we know (Matt. xxv. 36).

⁶ *παραπλήσιον θανάτῳ* (ii. 27).

desire of his heart. And St. Paul, with characteristic unselfishness, recognised in the wants and wishes of others the necessity¹ of surrendering the friend whose continued ministry he might well have desired for himself.² He sent him back to them "more diligently,"³ with more readiness and promptitude, than he would have done if this illness had not befallen him, and found an alleviation of the sorrow of his own imprisonment, in sympathizing with them in the joy which his return to them in health would, he knew, occasion them. He counsels them not only to give him a glad Christian welcome, but to accord to him special honour, because he had earned for himself a place among the heroes of the Cross, by hazarding life itself for the cause of Christ.

The history thus briefly sketched discloses to us the fact that as we owe the Epistle to the Colossians, with its treasures of Christian doctrine, to the anxiety of Epaphras for the welfare of his converts, so are we indebted to the mission of Epaphroditus for another canonical Epistle, which is a graceful mirror of the beautiful and touching relations between a Christian pastor and his flock. The fact is in itself suggestive. It bears witness to what may be called the human side of inspiration. Not only when serious dangers threatened the Churches of Galatia, or grave evils called for correction in the Church at Corinth, but when lighter interchanges of affection and regard passed between St. Paul and the Church at Philippi, the Divine *afflatus* was vouchsafed, and another jewel added to the treasure-house of the universal Church. And it reminds us also of the truth, which it is one main object of these papers to illustrate, that "those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary;"⁴ that in no age have the great benefactors of the Church really served her single-handed, but by a manifold and complicated agency, in which the most prominent is not always the most important factor.

But beyond this, some points of special interest are raised by the history of Epaphroditus.

I. We learn from it that St. Paul did sometimes accept the offerings of his brethren. Elsewhere he refers to such offerings only at once to assert his right to them, and his fixed determination to forego that right.⁵ Here we gather that to this loved and favoured Church he did not scruple to be in that sense a debtor. And it is not the bare fact that is here conveyed to us.⁶ How rich is the setting in which it reaches us! How great would have been the Church's loss if the

¹ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην (ii. 25).

² σπουδαιότερος, verse 28.

³ 2 Cor. xi. 7-13. Comp. 1 Thess. ii. 9.

² Comp. Philem. 13.

⁴ 1 Cor. xii. 22.

⁶ As it is in 2 Cor. xi. 8.

mission of Epaphroditus had never occurred to call forth the noble passage in which it is alluded to!¹ Those offerings—not money only, but, as we may well believe, more personal gifts prepared by loving hands to minister to his comfort²—awaken grateful memories of like kind offices in the past. Ten years before, when he left them after his first memorable visit to Philippi, their care for him had borne fruit in material supplies, sent after him as he pursued his missionary career. The tree that had borne such fair fruit was not dead, but winter had intervened; with the return of spring³ it burst forth into new life. The opportunity, which alone was needed, had arisen, and they “revived their thought of him.” Gladly now, as gladly before,⁴ he welcomed their love and accepted their offerings. Yet, though grateful for them, he is not dependent on them. He has been initiated into the Christian mystery of self-sufficingness,⁵ which is indeed the mystery of sufficiency in Another.⁶ Sincerely as he values it, it is not “the gift” for himself that he values, but “the fruit” to their account which that tree of natural affection, grafted as it has been with the tree of Christ’s everlasting love, has in its revival produced. The fragrant incense of their gift would rise to heaven, to swell the great cloud which from age to age had ascended thither, called forth and accepted by the animating virtue and pervading worthiness of the one great Offering, offered once for all to God for “an odour of a sweet smell.”⁷

¹ Philip. iv. 10-20.

² τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν, “the things that came from you,” verse 18. Warm clothing, as I am glad to find Bengel also suggests (“Miserant numos, aut vestes et quæ inservire possent”), and as we may well suppose, when we remember his touching request for his cloak before the coming winter in his later imprisonment at Rome (2 Tim. iv. 13-21).

³ Bengel thinks that the season of the year at which the gift was sent suggested the metaphor: “Videtur legatio a Philippensibus tempore verno constituta, a quo metaphora sumitur. In hiemem quadrat illud, carebatis opportunitate.”

⁴ “The object of this allusion (verse 15) seems to be not so much to stimulate them by recalling their former zeal in contributing to his needs as to show his willingness to receive such contributions at their hands. ‘Do not mistake my meaning,’ he seems to say. ‘Do not imagine that I receive your gifts coldly, that I consider them intrusive. You yourselves will recollect that, though it was my rule not to receive such contributions, I made an exception in your case.’”—Bishop Lightfoot.

⁵ αὐτάρκης εἶναι—μεμόνημαι.

⁶ πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με, verse 13.

⁷ The expression here used, ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας (verse 18) has an interesting history. It first occurs (Heb. פַּחֲלֵי־בִשְׂמָנִים, פַּחֲלֵי־לֶחֶם : LXX. ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας) of Noah’s sacrifice, when he came forth out of the ark (Gen. viii. 21). It is afterwards frequently applied to the Levitical sacrifices (e.g. Lev. ii. 12; xxvi. 31; Ezek. xx. 41); and then St. Paul, in the New Testament, claims it both for the sacrifices of Christians here and for the one sacrifice of Christ (Ephes. v. 2), through which both they and the typical sacrifices of the old covenant were acceptable to God.

And, in acknowledgment of it, He to Whom in the person of His minister it had been offered would pour down upon the offerers a supply for "every need, according to His riches in glory in Christ Jesus."

II. Nor is the light thrown by this history upon the exercise of miraculous powers by the Apostles without its value. In the case of Epaphroditus, as afterwards in that of Trophimus,¹ no recourse was had, nor is there any intimation that it was ever contemplated, to the gift of healing which St. Paul undoubtedly possessed. To prayer and to such medical aid as was in their reach they doubtless betook themselves. The miraculous gift was not, we may conclude, at the absolute disposal of those who possessed it. We know that its exercise depended on the faith of the person to be healed.² It would seem to have depended also, as did the exercise of the gift of prophecy,³ on the immediate action of the Divine Spirit on the possessor of the gift. Christ Himself on earth, though One with God in purpose and in power, subordinated in the working of miracles His human will and affections to the plan ordained for Him, and worked such works only as His Father had given Him to do.⁴ To His disciples the purpose was revealed and the power delegated only, it would seem, as the occasion arose. They could not heal when and whom they would. And thus their sympathy is preserved to us unimpaired, if, indeed, the proximity of miraculous aid, possible and yet withheld, does not strengthen it by intensifying the trial of their faith. The sick chamber of Epaphroditus differed in no material respect from that of a Christian now. The growing sickness, the deepening anxiety, the ebbing life, the agonizing suspense, the favourable turn, the reviving hope, the happy recovery, the joyful thanksgiving—all these things were then as, by the help and comfort of such examples, they have been since, and shall be in Christian homes and chambers to the end of time. The "powers of the world to come," whether as they then visited the earth in miraculous form, or as they dwell permanently in the Church in the spiritual life and hope of Christians, do not annihilate, though they do renew and ennoble the nature of man. Joy and sorrow, health and sickness, life and death, are still the same, while yet they are changed wholly to the followers of Jesus. He who "desires

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 20.

² Acts xiv. 9. The same searching look, "fastening his eyes upon him" (*ἀρενίσας*), is ascribed to St. Peter when he healed the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; and it may have had the same object—viz., in the exercise of the gift of discerning of spirits, to ascertain whether he had faith to be healed.

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 30.

⁴ John v. 36; xiv. 10, 11, 31.

to depart and be with Christ," because "it is very far better,"¹ may yet, without inconsistency, in the naturalness of grace, acknowledge gratefully the mercy of God to them both in sparing to him the friend who "was sick nigh unto death."

III. And once again, we learn from the history of Epaphroditus that the service of Christ, so far from discouraging and repressing, affords the highest scope, accords the highest honour, to all that is noblest in the nature of man—to self-denying service and self-sacrificing devotion. "Hazarding his life," "having gambled with his life,"² so St. Paul writes of him. And what is his comment upon it? Zeal without discretion? Want of Christian prudence? Well-intentioned, but ill-advised? A warning to himself and you? Oh no! "Hold such in honour." Recognise in him the type of those to whom the Church accords the highest consideration. She, too, has her heroes. She, too, knows of risk, and hazard, and venturesomeness, which she admires and rewards. Where should true heroism flourish if not beneath the shadow of the Cross? Who should be ready to hazard life itself, and to count honourable the risk, if not he who has to say "He loved me, and gave Himself for me"?

T. T. PEROWNE.

NOTE.—Since the above article was written the attention of the writer has been directed to a recent work, entitled "Lectures chiefly Expository on St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians," by John Hutchinson, D.D., Bonnington, Edinburgh (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38, George Street). He is glad to find in those parts of it which refer to Epaphroditus, much to confirm the view which he has taken. Thus, for example, Dr. Hutchinson writes of St. Paul's joy at the recovery of Epaphroditus: "The Apostle is no iron-bound Stoic. His is a heart of flesh. Ruskin has well said, 'I find this more and more every day: an infinitude of tenderness is the chief gift and inheritance of all the truly great men.' Judged by such a test, Paul is foremost among the greatest." And again: "Epaphroditus, almost unknown as he is, thus stands forth in the volume of the book as a noble instance of ardent, bold, self-forgetful, unwearied service—service rendered to an Apostle, and rewarded, as all such service is, by the Apostle's Lord." The book is thoughtful and scholarly, and will repay perusal.

Redenhall Rectory, Jan. 17.

¹ Philip. i. 23.

² The reading *παραβουλευσάμενος*, "hazarding," or "being venturesome with" ("formed from the adjective *παραβολος*, venturesome, like *περπερεύεσθαι*, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, from *πέρπερος*."—Ellicott), is now generally adopted. It is better supported than the reading of the A.V. *παραβουλεύσάμενος*, "having consulted amiss," and is more in accordance with St. Paul's vigorous style.

Correspondence.

SHILOH.

To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN.

SIR,—The two papers contributed by Dr. Perowne are noticeable. The philological comments are mainly on the lines of Dr. Driver (in “an exegetical study” in the *Philological Magazine*), whose Hebrew scholarship and fair handling are undeniable. It were difficult in a mere letter to answer, or fully criticize, two papers; but in the interests of truth, of older views, and of ordinary readers, who, without special knowledge on the point, may be impressed by two learned names, I beg to offer a few modest considerations on Gen. xlix. 10.

Many were startled by a statement of Dr. Driver some while ago that “until Shiloh come” was unknown as a reading before the sixteenth century, and that there was a *tradition* as early as the Septuagint (third century B.C.) for a different interpretation. After some correspondence the *reading* was allowed to be as early as the sixth century, and the *tradition* was “not insisted” on.

If the question were only *philological*, great Hebraists should rule the point; but it is not so. It is, and perhaps mainly, a question of *external* evidence, of fact, of the earliest Hebrew text, of versions, of existing manuscripts, and of comments, Jewish and Christian, from early times. As proof of the uncertainty of the philological ground, Dr. Perowne, in your last, says of one of Dr. Driver’s two proffered readings (“he that is his”) that he “should doubt whether such a rendering were *grammatically* possible,” and, as interpretation, he says “it is extremely obscure.”

Let the facts be weighed. The earliest known *Hebrew* text is the *Massoretic*—at first traditional, then put into writing between the fourth and the sixth century (A.D.)—and here the proper name

Shiloh, שִׁלֹּה, appears as the inherited reading. The earliest version or translation is the *Septuagint*, from which all known versions, except the Syriac, are derived. No version has the reading *Shiloh*. Hence the *Hebrew* text of the Septuagint is of supreme concern; but *it is not known*—nay, even its own *Greek* text is questioned. As early as the second century Justin Martyr (“Cum Tryph.,” 120) names *two* readings of this first witness. All versions were made *before* the Massoretic Hebrew text was committed to writing, and yet this, the original language, written by Jews, ignored all the versions, and gave the reading *Shiloh*. *No one accounts for this striking fact.* The first Jewish comment or quotation of the Massoretic reading *Shiloh* was in the sixth century. The Christian writers before the fourth century used *only* the Septuagint, not knowing Hebrew. The oldest Hebrew manuscripts, most of them, have the reading *Shiloh*, as Dr. Driver allows in the “*Variorum Bible*,” and the Revised Version *has left this word in its text.* Moreover, the witness of the earliest versions is weakened by the very significant fact that, whilst omitting the *Shiloh*-reading, as guided by the Septuagint and not by a Hebrew text, *they are not agreed in any other*, nor is any one clear and satisfying.

The Talmudic extract, quoted from Dr. Driver in the October CHURCHMAN, is now said to be of no value as to the “true sense” of Gen. xlix. 10. I submit that the question is not as to the true sense of this passage, about which Jew and Christian were ever agreed, but as to the true *reading* of the text. Strange and “far-fetched” as may be the manner of quotation in the extract—according to our thought and habit—yet the proof is valid that the words “Shiloh,” “Yinnon,” and others were in the accepted *Hebrew* text in and before the sixth century (A.D.). “Until

Shiloh come” was then read by the Jews; and it is very striking that in this extract only one “Name” is vouched for *without any pretence of interpretation*—“Shiloh:” it is literal quotation of the Hebrew, with no meaning or sense alleged, far-fetched or near, as all the other speakers allege.

The following is from the *Midrash* (“searcher” or “explainer” of Scripture, as the *Massora* was the “hedge” of the text), and it is worth adding for its beauty and devout spirit, as also for its testimony to the “true sense”:

Where is Israel called the vine? There: *For the vine of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah His pleasant planting.* What is that planting? In the planting of it you will set it in a choice place. So is the planting of the royalty in the tribe of Judah, until the King Messiah shall spring up, as it is said, *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah or a law-giver from between his feet until SHILOH come, and to Him shall be the gathering of the people.* Rabbi Huna says Messiah is spoken of under seven names—Yinnon, The Lord our Righteousness, Branch, Comforter, David, Shiloh, Elias (super prov., fol. 71, col. 3).

A brief summary may show that Dr. Perowne’s assertion that the *Shiloh*-reading has not “tradition” in its favour is questionable: (1) All earliest testimony, Jew and Christian, is for a *personal* interpretation of the text of Genesis as against a vague “ideal future of Israel,” or the brief prosperity of Solomon’s reign, *without a Messiah*. (2) The traditional teaching is that *Messiah* is the subject of the text. (3) The Massoretic reading, *Shiloh*, is *professedly* tradition, and of *unknown antiquity*. (4) The greatest number of Hebrew manuscripts have *Shiloh*. (5) The Talmud and Midrash have preserved extracts, *from some earliest text*, with the *Shiloh*-reading, in exact quotation, at a date far anterior to any existing manuscripts; and against all this there is not one other unambiguous reading, or one in which all the versions agree.

Dr. Perowne contends against “Shiloh” as a *Name*, because it has no apparent reference to any office or character of Messiah. He says (following Dr. Driver) that the word “*must* be a *prophetic title*.” But the root-meaning of the word is disputable—a fact, perhaps, indicated in the Samaritan variant, שִׁלֹּה , and in the seemingly *paraphrastic readings of all the versions*, including the Septuagint. The root of many Hebrew words is unknown; the meaning of not a few Hebrew *names* is doubtful. Perhaps Rab Shila’s scholars in the extract were not unwise when they left the word as found in the Hebrew text to speak for itself, as the revisers also have done.

But, alas! for “the received *interpretation*,” the grand prophecy *failed*; Judah’s greatness and prevalence over his brethren ceased, royalty and “political independence” departed long before Christ came—so says Dr. Perowne; and he says “the fathers” therefore explained the prophecy as meaning “that *Judah would be under a foreign yoke when Messiah came*” (“Justin. Apol.,” i. 32; “Clement. Hom.,” iii. 49). I have not by me the means of testing the second reference, but Justin surely is misread, for he states plainly (*in loc. cit.*) that *after Christ* the land of the Jews was “straightway taken by the sword and given over” to the conquerors ($\mu\epsilon\theta' \acute{\omicron}\nu \epsilon\iota\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta\omicron\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\upsilon}\mu\iota\nu \eta \gamma\eta \text{ 'Iou}\delta\alpha\iota\omega\nu \text{ παρε}\delta\omicron\theta\eta$).

Dr. Perowne’s next overthrow is the rendering of the ancient versions, “Until the things that are reserved for him come,” and the like meanings. “We must,” he says, “. . . abandon both these interpretations”—the Massoretic and that of the versions—and to sustain this destructive position he alleges that *history* contradicts both. This is bold, though honest assertion. Is it, then, true that events substantially falsified all previous interpretations both of Jews and Christians? Was there really no promise of *any* authority to Judah to *continue till Messiah’s advent*?

The best authorities, ancient and modern, have always held that, either under kings or governors (as the text reads), some governing power did remain with Judah till Christ came. Josephus witnesses that for 532 years—from David to the Captivity—*kings* reigned, and that after the return the Asmonean princes again set up the royal power; who kept the name of king till Herod's time. "Governors" had preceded these, under foreign suzerainties, and, finally, the priest-rulers, or "kings;" but *all these administered Jewish law in Jewish courts* (satisfying the "law-giver" or governor of the prophecy); and after the Captivity *Judah* (with the annexed tribes under him) was supreme over the whole land, Samaria and Judæa, and JERUSALEM, of Judah, remained the seat of government, wherein was preserved the power of capital punishment until our Lord's day. Vicissitudes there were—judgment, and captivity, and foreign over-rule, with loss of perfect national independence, but never the permanent loss of Jewish law, or of Judah's distinction over his brethren. Substantially, then, the promise of the prophecy is *not* at issue with historic facts. How much higher would have been the inheritance of the promise, had Judah continued faithful to God, is a matter of faith. It is allowed that the promise was qualified, but it was not destroyed, by unfaithfulness.

Dr. Perowne's summing up is startling :

When was the prophecy fulfilled? Clearly in the reign of Solomon, primarily. . . . In David's time Judah became the sovereign tribe; under Solomon it attained to rest. And the Messianic idea is here bound up with the tribe as elsewhere with the nation. . . . The Messianic vision of rest and peace and submission of the nations finds its foreshadowing in the destinies of the tribe out of which "our Lord sprang."

This is "private interpretation," surely. The very centre of gravity of the prophetic Word is boldly shifted. Its subject is not the personal coming of the Messiah, the Jewish hope, undying, of "HIM that should come," or Judah's state as a contemporary sign of that—as universal scholarship and belief have hitherto acknowledged—but the vision, as if seen through an inverted telescope, is the "*destinies* of the tribe" in Solomon's days . . . a "*foreshadowing*" of the Messianic vision, and that is *all*—a foreshadowing, not an actual fulfilment, and this obscurely, not "clearly"!

What is the Messianic *idea* in this passage? and how is it in any special way "*bound up* with the tribe" in Solomon's days? It had been so bound up for 600 years before. Surely in that Eastern voluptuary's reign there was no *foreshadowing* of the coming of THE HOLY ONE OF GOD. He was rather, in his hideous corruption and fall, a hindrance of the promised spiritual blessings of Messiah—a type of the Jews' mistaken ideal of Messiah perhaps, but never of the "kingdom not of this world."

Judah's proper kingly sceptre was given in David, and it was not to "depart" utterly till a certain event. Was, then, the prophecy *drawn in* and limited to the very next reign? No event happened to warrant the thought of any fulfilment then, of a word so ancient, and with such a forecast over the ages to come. Not even a false Messiah came then; but the mighty guard of the prophetic word kept the sceptre for far-off centuries after Solomon.

Well may Dr. Perowne say, with half unconscious candour, that his view "lacks ancient support"—it *does*, except that of the Samaritans—Judah's enemies—and modern support will, I think, fairly be withheld for want of the essential elements of "clearness," proportion, and probability.

W. F. HOBSON.

Temple Ewell, Dover, 11th Dec., 1886.

[This letter did not reach us in time for the January CHURCHMAN.—
ED.]

Reviews.

A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment, with an Introductory Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., by ROUNDELL, Earl of SELBORNE. Macmillan and Co., 1887.

LORD SELBORNE is admirably fitted, both by the legal accuracy of his mind and the lucidity of his style, to answer the vast number of misstatements which have of late years been made respecting the Established Church and all her works, and to convince reasonable men (the women do not need convincing) that to deprive the Church of its present legal position and of its endowments would not only be a political mistake of the greatest magnitude, but would also be a grave offence against public morality, the results of which would prejudicially affect Christianity not only in England, but also through the length and breadth of Christendom.

"The Case for Disestablishment" and other productions of the Liberation Society, and the chapter of "The Radical Programme" dealing with that subject, are in the treatise under review dealt with by a master's hand. Their theoretical arguments and elaborate fictions are brought to a practical issue and met by the plain logic of facts. One by one Lord Selborne carefully examines and effectually disposes of the vague generalities and misleading statements which are advanced in place of arguments, and brings to bear upon them the light of history and truth. Lord Selborne's book might be fairly and aptly termed "Facts *versus* Fiction." With perfect calmness and the utmost suavity he subjects the Liberation Society's perversion of history and unsound reasoning to searching analysis, and drags them with irresistible force, free from violence or passion, to scorching exposure. As he himself truly remarks, "Facts are of more value than assertions and invective, from whatever quarter it comes. I have stated the facts."

The Introduction consists of a letter to Mr. Gladstone, on the subject of one of the many mysterious paragraphs in that politician's address to the electors of Midlothian, better known as the Authorized Programme. Mr. Gladstone wrote that "such a change as Disestablishment cannot arise in England except with a large observance of the principles of equity and liberality, as well as with the general consent of the nation," and expressed his opinion that "a current almost throughout the civilized world slowly sets in this direction." It is delicious to see the manner in which Lord Selborne meets his former colleague point by point, with avowed respect indeed for himself, but with scarcely veiled contempt for his conduct.

It may perhaps be thought that after the barefaced manner in which, by the simple process of shutting his eyes to all expressions of a contrary opinion, Mr. Gladstone has persuaded himself that the whole civilized world is on his side with regard to the Irish Bills, elaborate reasoning and detailed examination to prove the fallacy of his claim to discern its current tendencies are superfluous.

The first part of Lord Selborne's volume is devoted to the question of Disestablishment, the second to that of Disendowment.

He begins by demolishing the contention of the Liberationists that the Church of England is a State Church, the creation of Parliament, and therefore Parliament has an absolute right (as distinct from the power) to put an end to the relation between Church and State. Lord Selborne clearly proves that the Church of England is not, and never was, a

Parliament-made Church. He shows (1) that it owed its origin to the spontaneous missionary efforts of the one Church of Christ, of which it was part; (2) that there has been no breach in its continuity, no new church being formed or established at the time of the Reformation; and (3) that Establishment was a natural process, the Church and State growing up together in union.

Lord Selborne takes special pains to show that the unreformed Church was not, as contended by the Liberation Society, merely "a local branch of the Church of Rome," but the National Church of the country. He goes fully into the historical evidences, and adduces a number of irresistible authorities to prove that the Church was known as the "*Ecclesia Anglicana*" and the "*Seinte Eglise d'Engleterre*" in ancient writings. He readily admits, however, that the Popes were always striving to extend their authority, and in the troubled times of King Stephen's and King John's reigns they managed to interfere considerably with the freedom of the English clergy.

At what time precisely, and in what manner, the incorporation of the laws of the Church into those of the realm took place, it is now impossible to say. Lord Selborne remarks:

The Establishment of the Church of England grew up gradually and silently out of the relations between moral and physical power natural in an early stage of society; not as the result of any definite act, compact, or conflict, but so that no one can now trace the exact steps of the process by which the voluntary recognition of moral and spiritual obligation passed into custom, and custom into law.

Lord Selborne somewhat labours the point of the identity of the Church of England before and after the Reformation. He reminds us that the Reformation was not an affair of a day, and that during all the years it was being consummated the Church of England never lost its identity. He thoroughly disposes of the theory that the present Church of England is a Parliament-made Church.

He next discusses the general principles concerned, pointing out that the advantages gained by Establishment are mutually shared both by Church and State, the latter benefiting more than the former by their union. He then disposes of the so-called "religious argument;" and we can hardly wonder that he finds it difficult to check his impatience when he sees the Liberationists, like the Pharisees of old, parading themselves decked in religious garments, the phylacteries of which are culled from the Pentateuch.

It is only, however, when we take up the question of Disendowment that we can see what are the real aims of the Liberationists. Their object is plunder, pure and simple; but plunder disguised by smooth phrases and high-sounding platitudes; these Lord Selborne thrusts aside, exposes the infamous scheme, and appeals to honest men of all parties and creeds to lay aside their sectarian differences and unite in protecting a great Church from a monstrous injustice. He enumerates the different kinds of Church property—churches, parsonage-houses and glebes, episcopal and capitular estates, and lastly, tithes—and in detail shows that none of them were given by the State, but that, on the contrary, it is to the pious generosity of individuals that the Church owes its present wealth. The argument which "The case for Disestablishment" brings forward—that as the Church is a "National" Church, the property is that of the nation—depends merely upon a quibble in the use of the word "national." Lord Selborne says:

We speak of the aggregate of all the property in the country as *national* wealth. But nobody, I suppose, would contend that the State is the owner of all the property of the Bank of England or of all the property of individual citizens whose fortunes go to make up the national wealth.

The Royal Commission, which was appointed in 1834, is referred to by Lord Selborne merely to correct the misstatements which have been circulated by the Liberation Society with regard to its proceedings. With the concurrence of the heads of the Church, the Commission recommended and Parliament carried out a better distribution of the revenues arising from the episcopal estates; and upon these data the Liberationists maintain that a precedent has been created for taking all Church property, *against* the wish of Churchmen, and using it for secular purposes. The facts have but to be stated for the absurdity of the contention to become apparent.

The third great division of Lord Selborne's work is entitled "The Adversaries and their Case."

Lord Selborne expresses his deep regret that the majority of Nonconformists have assumed the attitude they have on this question, points out that they have equal laws and privileges, and appeals to their sense of honesty to see their mistake. He shows that the Irish Church cannot be fairly quoted as a precedent, since the circumstances of the two cases were entirely different. He warns the State, which he admits has the power, from using it to further unjust ends; and shows the disastrous effects which must inevitably follow disendowment in England. He refutes the charge of failure which has been brought against the Church, and proves by statistics that its work can be favourably contrasted with all or any of the other religious bodies in England. Finally, after protesting against any attempt to separate Wales from England on this question, he ends with an exhortation to Churchmen, which they may well lay to heart. He says:

We are told with loud voices that the Church of England is doomed, that the accomplishment of these designs is coming inevitably upon us. I do not believe in any such doom; I acknowledge no such necessity. . . If we fail it will not be through the power of our adversaries, but through our own faults. . . Since the contest is forced upon us, let us put our armour on and gird ourselves up with a good courage in defence of what we hold most dear.

In an Appendix is given an extract from a sermon lately preached on a public occasion in the principal Methodist church at Toronto, by an eminent clergyman of that church—the Rev. E. A. Stafford. "Standing," says the preacher, "within walls where no one would expect any fulsome laudation of England's Established Church, I think it must be said that that Establishment has contributed many of the noblest elements to the national character." These elements he explains to be the feeling of reverence; the regard for authority; the tender respect for the parental relations; the regard for what is great and inspiring in nature and art which distinguish the English nation.

We strongly recommend every Churchman, lay and cleric, to read, and all who have the means to purchase, a copy of Lord Selborne's most interesting and valuable treatise. C. B. G.

Gleanings from a Tour in Palestine and the East. By CHARLES D BELL, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

Canon Bell's narrative of his visit to Egypt, Palestine, and Athens was originally written in the shape of letters to friends at home, and the author has, we think, been well advised in giving it a more permanent form and introducing it to a wider circle of readers. There is much in it to instruct and interest a wider circle. It contains, indeed, little that is new, and its "identifications" of Bible sites would perhaps not in every case be endorsed by Palestine explorers. But the narrative is so simple and graceful, and the sacred historical associations of various places visited so well brought out, that no one can read the book without

pleasure or rise from its perusal without feeling that his knowledge of Bible events is become clearer, and that he has caught something of the deep spiritual tone by which the work is pervaded. The verses appended to the chapters display much poetical and devotional feeling, and add a charm to the volume. The author's longing from boyhood to visit the Holy Land, the effect upon his mind of the visit when at last accomplished, and his delight in being permitted to gaze on Jerusalem itself, will strike a chord in the heart of many a devout Christian who has gone through the same experiences :

I count it, O Jerusalem, a joy,
A life's great privilege to gaze on thee ;
This hope I fondly cherished from a boy,
And thou art now a very part of me.

o o o o o o o
A city richer far than words can tell
In memories that set the soul on fire ;
No other spot on earth has such a spell
To thrill the heart and satisfy desire.

The verses suggested by the visit to Bethlehem breathe the true spirit of Christian devotion :

O happy dawn of this great day !
O first blest Christmas morn !
Which unto men the message brought
The Saviour Christ was born.
Glad tidings of great joy indeed—
None richer could be given,
And none more welcome God Himself
Could send to us from heaven.

Naturally the author's attention was much directed to the work of Protestant Missions in Palestine, and of them he speaks appreciatively, intimating that "they are doing good work, and must make their influence felt in time." No country is more interesting from a missionary point of view than Palestine at the present time, when so much is being done in the way of medical missions, schools, and other institutions for both Jews and Gentiles. That it is a hard and trying field of labour is the verdict of all who have any experience of it. A missionary who had laboured in Equatorial Africa told Canon Bell that "after three years' work in Palestine he was compelled to confess that the country seemed to him less hopeful in a missionary point of view than any part of Central Africa."

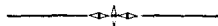
Nor is this surprising, if its past history and present political and social state be taken account of. Mohammedans and their Government alike corrupt, bigoted, and often fanatical ; Christianity corrupt, and represented by some half-dozen churches, rivalling, and too often contending with one another ; Jewish communities practising a religion far different from that which Moses and the Prophets taught, and hardened by centuries of ill-treatment into hatred and contempt of the religion of Christ ; and all of these placed in such circumstances that free inquiry is rendered impossible for those who are not brave enough or independent enough to risk loss of the means of livelihood, social and official persecution, and it is to be feared, in some instances, even death itself. Under such conditions it would be idle to expect the rapid and visible results which may reasonably be looked for where Christian work is carried on among barbarous tribes having no literature, no elaborate system of religion handed down through centuries by men of learning whom they have been taught to revere ; nothing, or almost nothing, to unlearn. Yet much has been accomplished amongst the Jews by the efforts of the

London Society, and amongst Christians and even Moslems by the Church Missionary Society and other agencies; and those who know Palestine well are aware that a far greater change than appears on the surface has taken place during the past generation in the religious thought of all classes of the population. There is a shaking amongst the dry bones.

The question of the perpetuation of the Jerusalem Bishopric is one of great interest just now, since the see has been long vacant; and it is felt on all hands that a decision must soon be arrived at.

That the joint Anglo-Prussian Bishopric will be maintained no one now believes, and few, at least amongst the Germans, desire; but it would be a sad blow to the progress of Scriptural Christianity in the Holy Land if the bishopric were discontinued, or an English bishop appointed whose views would render it difficult for him to work cordially with the agents of Evangelical Societies stationed there. "He must be a man," writes Canon Bell, "of like evangelical views with those who preceded him, and one who can work in harmony with the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, to whom belong the church on Mount Zion, and the Mission schools and college. Otherwise there will be discord and jealousy, and the cause of religion will suffer." Many of the circumstances connected with this bishopric form a curious episode in Church history. Men of undoubted piety, learning, and Christian devotion have discovered objections to it which will certainly seem strange to future generations. The erroneous view from which opposition to its establishment sprung was chiefly connected with the position of the Greek Patriarch, who is even now spoken of by a certain few as if he alone were the rightful bishop of the country, and all others intruders. Yet this is by no means the case, for it is well known that the Armenians, Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians, not to speak of the Latins, hold an ecclesiastical position in the Holy City and the Holy Land quite independent of the Greek Church and its spiritual rulers. Those good Christians and sound Churchmen who established the Anglican Bishopric recognised the true position of ecclesiastical affairs in Palestine when they addressed their "letter commendatory" with which they furnished Bishop Alexander to their "Brothers in Christ, the Prelates and Bishops of the Ancient and Apostolic Churches in Syria and the countries adjacent," and not to the Greek Patriarch alone; whilst they instructed the new bishop to maintain relations of Christian charity with "other churches represented at Jerusalem, and in particular with the orthodox Greek Church," thus recognising the importance of the position held by that Church, just as it was, and still is, recognised by other Eastern Churches, without confessing any superiority or right of jurisdiction outside its own fold. Bishoprics in Jerusalem are national rather than territorial. The question is in some respects a critical one for the future of Christianity in that quarter. That the Anglican Bishopric affords an opportunity of exercising an important and beneficial influence on the Churches of the East and on the Missions being carried on there amongst Jews, Moslems, and Christians, no one acquainted with the state of the case can doubt, and we can but echo the hope expressed by Canon Bell that a man of the right stamp and holding right views may be chosen for that difficult and honourable office.

THOMAS CHAPLIN.



Short Notices.

Sir Percival. A Story of the Past and of the Present. By J. H. SHORTHOUSE, Author of "John Inglesant," etc. Macmillan and Co.

This Story is in some respects at all events equal to "John Inglesant;" and we are not at all surprised to see one edition quickly follow another. The mystical tone gives an indefinable charm to the quiet and deeply earnest descriptions. The scene at Kingswood when Virginia prattles about "scio-theism," and something was wrong with the chablis, is delicious. The portrait of Simeon is attractive, and Mr. De Lys is well-drawn. But why should the agnostic Virginia, rather than the devout Constance, offer herself as Nurse? In the several reviews which we have read (a notice by the present writer having by an accident been delayed), we have seen no explanation, sufficient or satisfactory, of this matter. An African war and the murder of a Missionary Bishop, it may be explained, come in as incidents of the story. After the death of Virginia, Sir Percival volunteers for Africa, and is sent into the interior to rescue the Bishop. Here is a bit of the narrative :

As I spoke a long line of dark figures drew out from among the huts and came creeping towards us with swift and gliding pace. Ned turned and bolted into the bush. I don't know very well what happened after this, for I was dazed and blinded with the heat, and I thought that I was ill with fever, and I really didn't know what I did. I felt wearied out and ready to fall asleep. I suppose the blacks came about me and seized me, but I don't know that I told them anything or asked for the Bishop. All that I remember is that, after an interminable march, as it seemed, over the burning plain, there was a lot of noise and a crowd of black figures, and a street of huts and strange temples, and I was pushed about a great deal; and then all at once I was in a cool, shaded hut, very lofty, out of the sun, and there were no blacks; but in front of me, by a table where he had been writing, there was a tall English gentleman that looked to me like a god. He was haggard-looking, and his dress was dishevelled and torn; but I never could have dreamt that I could be so delighted to see any man as I was when I saw him. He rose suddenly when he saw me, and a wonderful smile lighted his face.

The rest of the story is told in words which Sir Percival is supposed to have written while waiting to be taken to execution :

I must have slept a long time, for when I awoke it was morning, and the Bishop was gone. Standing by my bed was a native, who seemed to regard me with somewhat friendly eyes. When I had remembered where I was, I said to him, "Where is the Bishop?"—"The Bishop is dead," he said. "When they came to fetch him he stood a moment by your side as you slept. 'He is dreaming of England,' he said, 'why should I wake him?' and so he went out."

The native Christian appears again :

"The Bishop is dead (he says); your turn is to-morrow. When you hear the gongs in the morning you will know that the idol sacrifice is begun."

Sir Percival thus describes his dying vision :

I see the chase and the dark tower, and the flashing waters of the channel gleaming in light, and before me on her horse, beneath the oak-tree, an English girl. Who is this, seated in her saddle beneath the rustling branches of the oak? She turns her head towards me—Virginia? No, it is Constance—Constance with the pleading eyes. And the moment that she turns her look on me it all vanishes—the English oaks and ashes, and the groves of cactus and of palm—and the walls of the hut burst asunder to let in the dazzling light—and down the bright, clear spaces of the light files a long procession of noble forms—Constance! Constance! Who is this? And the armies that are in heaven follow Him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen white and clean.

Manners makyth Man. By the author of "How to be Happy though Married." Pp. 284. T. Fisher Unwin.

This suggestive book is clever and very readable. Here and there appears an anecdote, an illustration, a wise and witty saying, a bright bit of verse. The serious is happily blended with the amusing; about the Christian earnestness of its purpose there can be no mistake. "Family Government," "Keeping up Appearances," and "Tippling," are some of the thirty short chapters. In reference to tippling, the author parodies two lines from "Macbeth" thus:

Another, and another, and another
Creeps in each little glass from day to day.

And thus he alters Goldsmith:

When lovely woman stoops to folly,
And finds too late that "nips" betray,
What charm can soothe her melancholy?
What art can wash her guilt away?

Here is a bit about the lack of reverence among young people of our time: "May I be cut into ten thousand triangles," said an American young lady, "if I do not know more about everything than my mother ever did!" English boys and girls may not express themselves as plainly about their own enlightenment and the ignorance of their parents, but they believe quite as strongly that they exist."

A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHURER, D.D. Second Division, Vol. III. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Of the remarkable richness of this learned work, and of its "advanced" standpoint, mention has already been made in these pages. In vol. iii. appears Palestinian-Jewish and Græco-Jewish literature; thirdly, Philo. Under the heading "Pseudepigraphic Prophecies," Professor Schürer treats of the Book of Daniel as the "oldest and most original" writing of that kind. The fourth monarchy, he says, is not the Roman Empire but the Greek, as is admitted by "all expositors who are not hampered by dogmatic predilections." Thus he lays it down:

The unknown author of this apocalypse originated with creative energy those modes of representation of which the subsequent authors of similar works knew how to avail themselves. The book is the *direct product of the Maccabean struggles* [the italics are in the work].

Rays of Messiah's Glory. Christ in the Old Testament. By DAVID BARON. Pp. 260. Hodder and Stoughton.

There is much in this book that is good and likely to do good. What the author says of himself in the preface will be read with pleasure by all who are specially interested in the Jews. In two or three places the critical remarks are perhaps scarcely up to date. Quotations from Dr. McCaul are of value.

Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle of the Corinthians. By F. GODET. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Professor Godet's Commentaries have many attractions; and his present work is not unworthy of his high reputation.

Short Sermons. By HENRY HARRIS, B.D., Rector of Winterbourne, and late Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford. 2nd edition. Pp. 300. Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, Paternoster Row. 1886.

We are by no means surprised that these Sermons should have reached a second edition. They are very short, but not dry or commonplace, and they read well. Evidently the work of a scholar and thinker, they will be especially appreciated by moderate High Churchmen.

Grannie. By ANNETTE LYSTER, author of "Alone in Crowds," "Two Old Maids," etc. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Many Tales by Annette Lyster have been commended in these pages. In the Tale before us she has taken somewhat fresh ground, introducing her readers to scenes of factory life. "Grannie" is a capital gift-book for women and girls of the working-classes.

Constitutional Loyalty. By D. P. CHASE, D.D., Fellow of Oriel College, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. Rivingtons.

In this volume appear some sermons preached in '58, '53, '64, and '70; a lecture, "The Church of England and Holy Scripture." There is an old-fashioned method and tone here, but good stuff.

The *Quarterly Review* for January contains a review of the "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury," and of Colonel Yule's "Anglo-Indian Glossary;" and articles on the "University of London," "Epidemics," and the "Canadian Pacific Railway." "Church Patronage" is at all events vigorous and outspoken. In "Naucratis and the Greeks in Ancient Egypt," mention is made of recent discoveries. The *Quarterly* says:

During the four years which have elapsed since the bombardment of Alexandria by the English fleet, learned excavators, equipped by the Egypt Exploration Fund, have been at work in the Delta; and from their labours important discoveries have resulted in both Biblical and Classical geography. M. Naville has determined the position of Pithom Succoth, the first station of the Jewish Exodus, as well as of the capital of the Land of Goshen. Mr. Petrie has identified the palace of Pharaoh at Tahpanhes, a spot very notable in the story of the later Jewish Captivity; and has further discovered and excavated, with the help of Mr. Ernest Gardner, the site of Naucratis, the meeting-point in the seventh century, B. C., of Egyptian and Greek, and the fulcrum by which the enterprising Hellenic race brought the power of their arms and of their wits to bear on the most ancient and venerable empire in the world.

From the S.P.C.K. we have received several very useful little volumes. We heartily recommend, for instance, *Illustrated Notes on English Church History*, by the Rev. C. ARTHUR LANE (Lecturer of the Church Defence Institution); the "notes" are terse and telling, and there are many illustrations. It is a wonderfully cheap little book. Mr. Lane does justice to the British Church.

A Garland of Orange Blossoms is a tasteful and attractive little volume (Elliot Stock); it is a "record of Marriage Anniversaries of Relations and Friends." The verses and sentences have been selected with skill.

Lessons on the Names and Titles of Our Lord, by the Rev. Dr. FLAVEL COOK, is an excellent little book. (Nisbet.) Not only the "Titles," but the "Prophecies," have been set forth and expounded.

To a "Liberal" correspondent, we commend the consideration of the following words; he will find them in the October *Quarterly Review*. Wellhausen and his followers are "endeavouring to explain the Old Testament as a natural human development by turning it topsy-turvy, and would make out that the Law of Moses is the product and not the starting-point of Jewish life and history, so that, as it has been concisely put, in place of the expression, 'The Law and the Prophets,' we ought to speak of 'The Prophets and the Law.' This theory has been received with similar admiration in Germany to that which greeted the enterprise of Baur, and it has been echoed over here, in some quarters where more caution and sense of responsibility might have been expected."

THE MONTH.

THE Ministry is at length reconstituted. Mr. W. H. Smith, as First Lord of the Treasury, takes the place of Leader of the House of Commons, made vacant by the resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill. Lord Salisbury takes the seals of the Foreign Office. Mr. Goschen represents the Liberal-Unionists in the Cabinet, and he will make, no doubt, a very popular and efficient Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Tributes to the high character of Lord Iddesleigh, from representative Liberals as well as Conservatives, have been read in every circle with the deepest interest. The Bishop of Exeter, preaching at Upton Pyne, said :

It needs no words of mine to show how truthfully our text—"He served his own generation by the will of God, and fell on sleep"—describes the statesman whose sudden call into his Master's presence fills our hearts to-day, and not ours only, but the hearts of our countrymen in every land wherever the telegraph has carried the tidings of his death. For more than forty years he has lived and laboured for our Fatherland. By the gracious will of God he was what he was. And we thank God for him.

The condition of Ireland shows as yet no change for the better.

At the Islington Clerical Meeting, on the 10th, papers were read by the Revs. E. A. Knox, Gordon Calthrop, W. J. Smith, Canon Hoare, and others. In the morning Bishop Perry¹ presided; in the afternoon the new Vicar (Rev. W. H. Barlow). The subject was—the province of (1) Reason, (2) Faith, (3) the Emotions, (4) Imagination, in the Worship of God. An admirable report appeared in the *Record*.

To a "Chancellor" in the *Times* on the "novel position" adopted by Canons in Lincoln Cathedral in the administration of Holy Communion, Archdeacon Kaye replies, for himself, that (as during twenty-three years) he has kept the legal position.

In an interesting address to the clergy and laity of his diocese the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol says :

Much as I might wish to hide the matter from my own eyes, I cannot fail to observe that discipline in the Church of England is, to a serious extent, practically in abeyance. Things are done, and doctrinal statements are made, which cannot by any ingenuity be reconciled with the articles and formularies of our Reformed Church, but which, nevertheless, even tend to increase; it being urged that the attempt to restrain them would disturb the peace of the Church, and hurry on the very disestablishment which now all parties in the Church, though for very different reasons, are united in deprecating.

¹ In the course of his opening address the honoured Bishop said: "I may be permitted to say a few words upon a subject on which there seems to me to exist much misconception. The body of clergy and laity in our Church who are usually called Evangelicals (an honourable designation, not, I believe, originally assumed by themselves, but applied to them in derision by their adversaries) are, because of their incapacity to combine together for party purposes, often compared, scornfully by their enemies and sorrowfully by their friends, to a bag of marbles, which have no cohesion with one another. But this incapacity, which is regarded as a weakness in them and an injury to the cause which they have at heart, is, in fact, a necessary consequence of the responsibility under which they feel themselves to God for the exercise, on every occasion, of their own conscience and judgment. The sense of this responsibility prevents them from putting themselves under the guidance of one or more leaders, and obliges each one always to think and act for himself."