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THE
CHURCHMAN

AUGUST, 1893.

ART. I.—ON RECENT THEORIES OF DEUTERONOMY.

PART II.

AMONG the several points of objection in Deuteronomy which have been answered again and again, the phrase in the first verse, "on this side Jordan," is one which might surely, one would have thought, have claimed the merit of conclusiveness. Not only is the phrase notoriously used for the country on either side of the river in this very book, as well as in others, but in the fifth verse of chap. i. it is still further defined as being "in the land of Moab," as here "in the wilderness," as if to determine the sense, while in Num. xxxii. 19 the same phrase is used in opposite senses in one and the same verse, in each case being defined by the addition of "forward" or "eastward," according to the necessary meaning. Just as with us the West End may mean Hyde Park and Kensington, whether the speaker is at Gloucester or Canterbury, and the North-West Provinces are so called both in the Punjaub and Calcutta, though lying to the south-east of the former, and Ultramontane means the same thing both in London and Rome, and Cis-alpine and Trans-alpine Gaul are respectively so called without reference to the position of the speaker, and *Peræa* itself bears the same meaning without any reference to the speaker. And yet because this unfortunately ambiguous expression is used in the opening of Deuteronomy, it must be regarded, forsooth, as clearly betraying the residence of a writer in Canaan, whereas one would have thought that any author so located, who was skilled as this author was to personate Moses in Moab, would have been able to make his disguise, if necessary, correspond with the fact in this respect, and not betray it at the outset; and yet, I suppose, we are

destined for ages to come to have this phrase thrown in our faces as a proof of the non-Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. The unbiased critic can judge for himself of the validity of such proof. I suppose no one will deny that the speaker in Deuteronomy professes to be Moses, and intends to pass for Moses, and in that case it may be presumed he would not consciously betray his disguise; but he has done so here, unless it can be shown, as it certainly can from his own language elsewhere, that the expression used was an ambiguous one, referring not so much to the position of the speaker as to a recognised fixed object, which in this case was that of the river Jordan. Throughout the history the river Jordan is regarded as not only the natural but also the ideal boundary of the promised land. Moses is heartbroken because he cannot pass over Jordan, but must die "in this land"—that is to say, the land "beyond Jordan," and yet in saying so he cannot be allowed mentally to transport himself to the land of promise, but must actually be supposed to live there.

If one fact would seem to be clear from Deuteronomy, it must be the fact that the position of the central place of worship on which the writer lays so much stress was unknown to him. Indeed, not only is it unknown to him, but the people whom he addresses appear to be equally ignorant of it. Now, on the supposition that for many generations the mother city of the nation had been Jerusalem, it is certainly strange that in the precept of the one sanctuary the place of it was still left undecided, and no hint is given as to where it was to be. If Josiah's reformation was mainly concerned with Jerusalem, it is at all events strange that no mention whatever is made of the place itself, whereas, with regard to the blessings and cursings, Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim were distinctly defined, though in the time of Josiah the recitation of these blessings and cursings had probably long been discontinued, as those mountains were in the idolatrous tribe of Ephraim and the territory of the northern kingdom, and no purpose can be assigned in his time for the choice of them any more than for the precept itself. In like manner, with the directions for the offerings of first-fruits in the twenty-sixth chapter, it is exceedingly improbable that they date from the time of Josiah, or that, if promulgated then for the first time, they would have been observed.

Another stock objection to Deuteronomy is that it ignores the distinction between priests and Levites, a distinction which, it is said, dates only from the time of Ezra. But it is to be observed that in precisely the same way this distinction is apparently ignored in Malachi, when on the hypothesis the distinction did exist. This alone is a sufficient answer to the

objection, for if the usage in the two cases is virtually identical, it is a plain assumption to say that it does not mean in Deuteronomy what it is allowed it does mean in Malachi.¹ In addition to which the common phrase in Deuteronomy of "the priests the Levites" may just as well be used to recognise distinction as to indicate identity, so that this objection is a mere assertion which begs the question in dispute. Moreover, it has been justly observed that Deut. xviii. 3 especially mentions the priest by himself as it does the Levite in verse 6, where they seem to be distinguished, and the supposition that they are not is too narrow to serve as the basis of a theory which has nothing but conjecture to support it.

The command for the total destruction of the Canaanites has rightly been regarded as a conclusive proof of Mosaic origin, for if written in the time of Manasseh or Josiah, why was it not then acted upon? and if merely the ideal representation of what Moses would or might have commanded, why was the recollection of a law revived, which not only was not intended to be acted upon when revived, but which the history showed had been so very greatly neglected in a multitude of instances to which the books of Judges and Samuel bear witness? This, it has justly been observed, is an insuperable objection to, and refutation of, the theory.

Dr. Driver remarks:² "There is nothing in Deuteronomy implying an interested or dishonest motive on the part of the (post-Mosaic) author, and this being so, its moral and spiritual features remain unimpaired, its inspired authority is in no respect less than that of any other part of the Old Testament Scriptures which happens to be anonymous." Now, there is surely some fatal confusion here. Let it be granted that the motive of the unknown author was not interested or dishonest. His motive, however, is too far removed from the reach of our examination and scrutiny; we can only judge by his work. And this on the supposition ascribes to Moses words and deeds for which there was no reliable authority; words and deeds, moreover, upon the truth and validity of which turned the authority claimed for them. Driver would seem to ascribe to Deuteronomy no more authority than belongs to a religious romance written to inculcate certain principles. The moral teaching of the book contains its Divinity, its only Divine element, and its only claim to Divinity. But is it possible that this can be so? Does anyone suppose that if Deuteronomy is nothing more than an ideal romance, its precepts would have or could ever have had any binding force? Supposing that it

¹ See Mal. i. 6; ii. 1, 4, 7, 8; iii. 3, 4.

² Introduction, p. 85.

was put forth in the time of Josiah, it must either have been accepted on the authority of Moses or on the authority of those who pretended to have discovered it. But can anyone suppose that the effect of its publication was occasioned by anything but by the belief that it was the veritable work of Moses? Can anyone suppose that if it had been then recognised as a recent work it would have produced any effect at all? Is it not evident that the effect attributed to this book at the time of its publication was due entirely to the belief that it was what it was presumed to be? Is there the remotest probability that if it had then been believed to be what the modern critics tell us it is, it would have produced the effect it did produce? Is it possible that the reformation under Josiah could have been originated by a work of fiction? And if it was, can that reformation be regarded otherwise than as a mistake, a mistake less, indeed, but of the same kind as the growth of the Christian Church would have been had the resurrection of Christ been a delusion? And if the end sanctified the means in the former case, is it possible that the disciples would have been warranted in deceiving the people on account of the beneficial results which followed the deception? Would they not much rather have been found false witnesses of God, because they testified of God that He raised up Christ whom He raised not up? Would the moral and spiritual greatness of Christianity remain unimpaired had it been based upon the initial lie of Christ's deceptive resurrection? We are brought, then, to this result, that if we acquit the unknown author of Deuteronomy of any "interested motive" as regards himself, he stands most manifestly condemned of "dishonesty" as regards God, for his work was nothing less than a pious fraud palmed off upon the people with the intent of bringing about a reformation in ritual and conduct which he was anxious to see accomplished, because he thought it would be for the glory of God and for the welfare of His people. But if this is not contrary to the eternal principles of morality, as well as to what may be supposed to have been the conventional code of the time, I do not know what is or would have been. If it is lawful to tell lies for God, then it was lawful to write a Mosaic romance inculcating the supposed commands of God, with the express object of bringing about a reformation that was in itself desirable but not otherwise to be accomplished.

But even in this case there must have been two parties to the contract, which is too often forgotten. Not only must the king Josiah, the high priest Hilkiah, and the prophetess Huldah have been one and all deceived in this matter, or have acquiesced in the deception, but the people and nation also

must have become suddenly so enamoured of the fame and glory of their mythical law-giver of eight centuries before that they must at once have accepted that which came with the professed authority of his name, though it led them to an entire reversal of the national rites and practices of many generations. Verily, when all things are duly estimated, the notion of the discovery of the Law in the time of Josiah as the real origin of Deuteronomy is as inadequate and improbable an explanation of its origin as can well be imagined, for not only is it in direct contradiction to all the evidence, but it is in itself beset with natural and moral difficulties which are insurmountable. And most undoubtedly, unless we are prepared to admit that the value of a romance is equivalent to that of a true history, we cannot allow that the "moral and spiritual greatness" of Deuteronomy "remains unimpaired" when we have consented to regard it, not as the genuine work of Moses, but as the fictitious narrative of certain priests, which they were not only willing but able to palm off upon the nation and the highest authorities of the time as embodying Divine precepts not known before, but which one and all were forthwith eager to obey as the veritable and authentic commands of God. There is assuredly a confusion here which the sooner we escape from and avoid the better.

And then once more with regard to the other statement, that "its inspired authority is in no respect less than that of any other part of the O.T. Scriptures which happens to be anonymous." Here, again, there is a confusion of thought which though common enough it is desirable to avoid. The Book of Job is anonymous, many of the psalms are anonymous, all the historical books known as "the former prophets" are anonymous; but what of this? They come to us, not on the authority of their writers, but on that of the community by whose tradition we have received them. Their value is not dependent upon their authorship, but their tradition is dependent upon, and vouches for, their value. If they were not what they are their pedigree would not be what it is, and it is their pedigree which guarantees their value. Their inspired authority is another matter altogether. How do we know that the Book of Job is inspired, and what parts of it are inspired? Are the speeches of Job and his friends equally inspired, or how are we to choose between them, or is it not the dialogue but only the narrative that is inspired? In any case the "inspiration," supposing it to exist, is entirely independent of our knowledge of the author. But that is a very different thing from pronouncing a work spurious that was supposed to be genuine, and then saying that its value is undiminished though it be not genuine. It may have great

merit of various kinds though it be not genuine, but in nine cases out of ten its genuineness would enhance its value just as its being spurious would depreciate it. The question here is whether the work has any value that is dependent upon its genuineness, and which it would cease to have if it were not genuine. And this is the issue which Driver is so careful to confuse and conceal. He tells us that the "inspired authority" of Deuteronomy is independent of its genuineness, and that because many books of the Old Testament are anonymous. But Deuteronomy happens to be a book which, if it is not genuine, is a romance, and if it is a romance it is not historical, and if it is unhistorical it is so far worthless. It may have a certain value as a romance, but as history it can have none. If a work is anonymous nothing depends upon its being genuine, for genuineness does not attach to it as a characteristic. But if a book professes to be genuine, and lays claim to authority because genuine, and as being so, then if it turns out to be spurious it loses the authority it would have had if genuine. It may be eloquent in language, elevated in style and sublime in sentiment, but it loses the authority, whether "inspired," or otherwise, that depended upon its being genuine. For I presume that even Driver himself would not assign any authority which was binding upon the people to those precepts of Deuteronomy, which happened to be new; the only conceivable authority they could have had was that derived from their apparent and presumed Mosaic authority, and any additional authority given by the high officials who so accepted them. In saying, therefore, that the "inspired authority" of Deuteronomy is not in any "respect less than that of any other book of the Old Testament which happens to be anonymous," there is either a confusion in the writer's mind, or he has sought to confuse the mind of the reader, being himself conscious of the confusion. For the "inspired authority" of a spurious book is surely a misconception, and most assuredly the "inspired authority" of an anonymous book is a wholly different matter, as it cannot in any way depend upon who the writer was, or at all events upon our knowledge of who he was. To place, therefore, an anonymous production which assumes no name on the same ground with a production which falsely pretends to a name, on the authority of which it prescribes enactments of national and of far-reaching importance is a great and serious error, inasmuch as it confounds things essentially different. And it certainly will not be denied that the authority with which Deuteronomy was, as a matter of fact, accepted was based ultimately on the belief that it was Divine because it was believed to be Mosaic, and that had this belief not been blindly accepted by priest and king and

prophetess, it would most undoubtedly have been withheld if the fallacy had been detected.

Furthermore, with regard to anonymous productions, it must not be forgotten that it is a favourite practice with the critics to depreciate the value of the prophetic writings, as, for example, Daniel and Isaiah, on the ground that they are not genuine. It would seem, therefore, that the critics are perfectly aware of the importance of genuineness when they desire to avoid the consequences and conclusions it would entail. Whereas with regard to Deuteronomy, it must forsooth be placed on the ground of an anonymous production, though it is asserted that being so placed it does not lose anything of the "inspired authority" it would have possessed had it been genuine, which is an inconsistency. But, again, in what does the "inspired authority" of an anonymous book consist? Each of the three first Gospels may be said to be anonymous. Their authority does not depend upon the identification of their several writers, for which there is only a very high degree of probability. The authority of St. Mark's Gospel does not depend upon the writer being St. Mark, but upon the accumulated testimony borne to it as an authentic record. Its "inspired authority" is another matter altogether, which depends primarily, indeed, upon its trustworthiness as a record, but much more upon the estimate in which it has ever been held, and ultimately upon the faith of the individual who receives it. But not only would its "inspired" authority, but its authority altogether, vanish and come to nought if it could be shown not merely that St. Mark did not write it, but that it was untrustworthy as a record. So when Dr. Driver speaks of the inspired authority of an anonymous book he is playing fast and loose with his materials, for the inspired authority of the anonymous books of the Old Testament depends not at all upon the identification of their writers, but solely upon that accumulated tradition which has surrounded them with special reverence and which in the case of Deuteronomy has uniformly and consistently ascribed it to Moses, so that he acknowledges the value of the tradition which has surrounded these books with a halo of inspiration, but he entirely sets aside, in the case of Deuteronomy, that very tradition upon which alone he depends for the inspired authority of the anonymous books. It is, however, more probable that he uses the word "inspired" in a vague and uncertain sense to express so much of admiration and acknowledgment as he himself is prepared to allow to the books, while it serves to lead the reader to suppose that it concedes to them also that special Divine authority and recognition which attaches to the word as popularly used. If this is so, whether he knows it or not, as he more probably

does know it, he uses the word in a double sense to mean one thing to himself while intending the reader to understand by it something very different, which under the circumstances it cannot mean. But this is not honest.

It is therefore of the highest importance to show what Dr. Driver is so eager to disguise from himself and others, that it is impossible to acquiesce in these so-called conclusions with regard to the sacred books without materially injuring the credit with which the writers of the New Testament and our Lord Himself have invested them. We must, in fact, take our choice between the saying of our Lord that Moses wrote of Him and the decision of the critics that we have next to nothing that he did write, and that what he wrote had no reference of the kind, whether intentional or otherwise; and I, for my part, can discover no intermediate position which is satisfactory. In relation to the present state of thought, it is not a little remarkable that our Lord subjoins to the above statement the question, "If ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe My words?" showing that belief in Himself is not independent of belief in Moses. As He said elsewhere, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

The way in which the word "inspired" is used by Driver seems to imply that he accepts the notion which lies at the root of so much of the unbelief of the day, namely, that man's ideas of religion are evolved from within himself, and that they are in no way the result of special external Divine teaching, but that it is in this process of evolution and its results that we are to seek for the truly Divine element and to recognise its working. In this case Deuteronomy, even if it were the forgery of Josiah's time it is alleged to be, may still be accepted on account of its advanced and elevated teaching as embodying "inspired authority," that in this and this only, however mixed with deceit and fraud, lies its claim to inspiration, and not in its being the genuine and historical record of a revelation imparted to and conveyed by Moses. Here is the crux, and I myself have no hesitation in deciding how to deal with it. I am quite clear in my own mind as to the true character of this theory, but it will probably be some little time before people generally become alive to the true merits of the alternative, and opinions will oscillate to one side or the other, and attempts will be made to compromise the position and avoid the issue. But I am persuaded that sooner or later we must determine whether we are the authors of our own faith, or whether we are the inheritors of an actually Divine trust which has been committed to us, which it is necessary for us in the first place implicitly to accept ourselves, and then to

hand on unimpaired to others. If the books of the Old Testament are the product of self-deception and fraud, then we may well suppose that they were the pious impositions of well-meaning priests in the age of Josiah, that they were concocted by the priests of the Babylonian captivity and endorsed by Ezra, or what not, and that the natural result of this conglomerate may be instinct with less or more of "inspired authority"; but of one thing we may be absolutely certain, that this is not the account they give of their own origin or growth, nor do they contain any undesigned evidence in support of it, nor is there any vestige of tradition to render it probable; but, on the contrary, the theory rests only on conjecture, and is supported by conjecture, and results in conjecture, and that conjecture which has the one only advantage that it dispenses entirely with the supernatural, whether or not it supplies any adequately natural or rational substitute for it. If, however, the theory which would account for the origin of Deuteronomy and the books of the law by the supposition of fraud, however well-meaning and well-intentioned, is one that is improbable in itself, and still more improbable under the supposed circumstances, we are constrained to reconsider the traditional theory, which undoubtedly finds ample support in the books themselves, that the circumstances attending their origin were of another kind altogether.

If the narrative in Deuteronomy is in any degree authentic, then the circumstances under which Moses received the law, and the incidents of his history generally, were of such a kind as to find no parallel in the ordinary events of history—they were wholly exceptional and unique; and it is not by trying to reduce them to the dimensions of the ordinary and the natural that they are to be understood, because that will deprive them of the particular significance to which they lay claim. Difficult as it is to believe that God spake from Sinai, and wrote the commandments upon two tables of stone, yet there is more evidence for this being their origin than there is for any conjectural one, which would require no explanation; and even if any such origin could be discovered, we should still require to explain the circumstances of their traditional origin, and it is here that the difficulty lies. If Deuteronomy is a true narrative of fact, it furnishes us with the concurrent testimony of the whole nation to the incidents recorded, as well as with the personal experience of Moses. In this respect it resembles the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the testimony there borne to the exercise of miraculous gifts in the early Church. That the writer alludes to those gifts in addressing the Corinthians is virtually the production of independent testimony—if, that is to say, the Epistle is

genuine. In like manner, if Deuteronomy is genuine, it gives us not only the personal narrative of Moses, but also the implied and concurrent testimony of the people who were eye-witnesses of the marvels recorded. "Your eyes have seen what the Lord did because of Baal Peor." "The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us—even us who are all of us here alive this day. The Lord talked with you face to face in the Mount out of the midst of the fire." It is clear that if this is a genuine discourse spoken under the circumstances implied, the confirmation it affords is of the highest possible kind, for it gives us the consenting evidence of eye-witnesses. And it is preposterous and absurd to say that it is immaterial whether it is genuine or not; for if it is not genuine, not only have we no concurrent testimony of eye-witnesses, but we have no personal narrative of the chief actor in the history, and consequently no trustworthy history at all. And then we shall be driven to discover or invent some other origin for the *Decalogue* than that which we have received; and then, as a matter of fact, it will not matter two straws whether J or E or P, whether X, Y, or Z, was the author of Exodus or Numbers—whether some very ingenious but unscrupulous priest in the time of Manasseh or Josiah was the incubator of Deuteronomy; for in any case the work was a romance and the history a fiction. But then the revelation which it was supposed we had received straight from heaven, and which was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator was no revelation at all, except so far as it revealed itself to the mind and was concocted in the brain of the unknown inventor; and then the so-called revelation is verily of the earth earthy, instead of being, as we believed the work of the Lord from heaven.

STANLEY LEATHES.

ART. II.—NOTES ON EARLY CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS.

IF appeal be made to the statements of "ancient authors" as to the rites and usages of the early Christian Churches, it is natural to suppose that those who make that appeal have made themselves acquainted with the statements of their authorities. Yet it is very difficult for a layman and an Orientalist, regarding such questions from a purely antiquarian standpoint, to understand how such reading can lead to the conclusion that rites and dogmas peculiar to the Church of Rome are thereby shown to belong to the primitive ages of

Christianity. If by "ancient authors" we may understand the great Fathers of the Church who wrote during the first four centuries of the Christian era—such as Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen—it is not difficult to become acquainted with their writings,¹ or to compare their statements with the results of Oriental archæology and the inscriptions of Syria and of Italy, which still bear witness to the actual facts of early Church history.

In so speaking of the Fathers, it is not intended to refer to their theology, but only to their incidental allusions to Christian practices and rites, which naturally come under the notice of any Orientalist who studies this period. As regards doctrine, there was very great difference of opinion among the Fathers, and not one of them has escaped the charge of heresy in some particular in which each differs from the teaching of the Latin Church. Irenæus, the most orthodox of all (being a Bishop of Gaul), believed that Christ lived to the age of fifty years.² Clement of Alexandria, who considered the ministry to have lasted only one year³ (which Irenæus refutes), held views which almost denied the human body of Christ.⁴ He was an Athenian philosopher, who had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries⁵ before he became a Christian, and a believer in the perpetual virginity of Mary.⁶ Justin Martyr, who held the belief in a millennial reign of Christ on earth,⁷ also taught that the Jordan caught fire at the Baptism.⁸ He also believed in magic.⁹

¹ Consult, for instance, Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library."

² Book II., xxii. 5, 6. This would have been regarded as heresy in the Middle Ages on account of Luke iii. 23. Irenæus based his view on a rather forced understanding of John viii. 57.

³ Stromata I., xxi.

⁴ Stromata vi. 9. In which he states that Christ did not really require food for His sustenance.

⁵ Cohortatio ii.

⁶ Stromata vii., iv.

⁷ 2 Apol. lxxx. He says many good Christians think otherwise. *The Millennium*.—Justin Martyr (2 Apol. lxxx.), while believing in a millennial reign of Christ, shows great tolerance in the remark that "many who belong to the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians, think otherwise." He held that after the resurrection Jerusalem would be rebuilt and adorned and enlarged, and be the royal city for one thousand years. He was himself a native of Shechem. Papias (as quoted by Eusebius, H. E., iii. 39) at a yet earlier age spoke of the wondrous wheat and wine of the millennial age in words very like those found in the Talmud (T. B. Ketuboth, iii. b). Irenæus also speaks of the renewal of the earth and rebuilding of Jerusalem (V. xxxv.).

⁸ 2 Apol. lxxx.

⁹ 1 Apol. xviii. Tertullian is explicit also, Apol. xxii., and speaks of exorcism by Christians in his own time, Apol. xxxvii.

Tertullian, whose doctrine of the Trinity may be called Arian,¹ on the other hand denied the Roman dogma of the perpetual virginity,² and finally became a Montanist heretic.³ Origen was heretical in at least four of his beliefs, including the final salvation of devils and the corporeal nature of the soul.⁴ There is little doubt that if any of these Fathers had written twelve centuries later than the time in which they lived, they would have all been burned at the stake by the popes unless they had recanted. Jerome is, perhaps, one of the most venerated of Christian writers in the eyes of Romanists; yet he was, perhaps, the first to apply the name of the "Scarlet Lady" to the Church of Rome.⁵ It is not, however, with such doctrinal questions that the present paper is concerned.

If we take, for instance, the names of the three orders of the clerical hierarchy—bishops, presbyters, and deacons—it is remarkable to note how little attention appears to be paid to the archæology of the subject.⁶ The term *episcopos*, or "over-

¹ Adv. Prax. viii., ix. He quotes John xiv. 28.

² "De Carne Christi," xxiii.

³ Such, at least, is the statement of his translator (Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. vii., p. xiii., where the date is given as 199 A.D. and that of Tertullian's death as 220 A.D.). He was converted to Christianity in 185 A.D., and married about 186 A.D.

⁴ See Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. x., p. vii. Tertullian agreed with Origen as to the corporeal nature of the soul ("De Anima," v.), and says that he agrees with the Stoics on this subject. He says also that this mystery was revealed to a Montanist sister (ch. ix.), who actually saw a human soul.

⁵ "Paula et Eustochium," ch. v.

⁶ For the following paragraph see the learned note by Waddington, "Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie," Paris, 1870, pp. 474, 500 :

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.—The term *episcopos*, as meaning a civil functionary, occurs in various early texts in Palestine, and the verb occurs (Waddington, No. 1,911) in connection with Gallionanus as consular legate of Arabia, about the end of the third century A.D. at Bostra. See Waddington's Inscriptions, Nos. 1,989, 1,990, 2,361 2,298. The latter text begins with the pagan invocation *Agathe Tyche*, and gives a list of five *episcopoi*. They have Arab names taken from native divinities, including Saeros (*Sa'ir*) and Rabbelos (*Kubb Ba'al*), which could hardly have been owned by baptized Christian bishops. Another of these texts (2,412f), also with the invocation *Agathe Tyche*, makes use of the participle *episcopountōn* in 253 A.D. at the city of Canatha in Bashan. Clement of Rome (Epistle to Church of Corinth about 95 A.D., ch. xlii.) derives the origin of the names bishops and deacons from the Greek translation of Isaiah lx. 17, answering to the Hebrew words rendered "officers" and "exactors" in the English version.

The first of these words is from a root meaning "to take care of," or "overseer." The second word is better rendered "rulers." Neither are words used of priests or synagogue ministers. Clement of Rome believed that the Apostles chose *episcopoi* and *diaconoi* from among their first converts, after having "proved them by the Spirit," and that later officers of the Church were chosen by these; but he does not say that

seer," whence the word "bishop" is derived, is not of Christian origin. Before the Peloponnesian war the Athenians so called the officials whom they sent to tributary cities. Even in the time of Constantine the jurist Charisius (Dissert. i. 4, 18) applies

the bishops were first ordained as deacons. St. Chrysostom believed that in the early ages of the Church bishops differed only from presbyters in having the exclusive power of ordination (Homily on 1 Tim. xiii. 1; on Philip. i. 1); but he does not mention the "laying on of hands" by the presbyters in the case of Timothy himself (1 Tim. iv. 14).

The Syrian inscriptions which mention Christian bishops are all apparently later than the time of the establishment of the faith, and are marked with the Greek cross. In No. 2,235 of Waddington's Collection, from Nela in Batanæa, we find the tombstone of Diocles, an unknown bishop of 492 A.D.; and not far off, at Bosana, that of Bishop Menas (No. 2,250) in 575 A.D. At Abila, north of Damascus, is the tombstone of the "most holy Bishop John" in 563 A.D. (No. 1,878); and at Chalcis, near Aleppo, another bishop of 805 A.D. is commemorated (No. 1,832). The early bishoprics appear to have been small, but the division of the Eastern Church into seven dioceses was older than any of these texts. Julian, Archbishop of Bostra in Bashan, is commemorated in 512 A.D. (No. 1,915), and a "most holy archbishop" of the same metropolis in the reign of Justinian (No. 1,915a), besides others undated.

As regards presbyters, the text found at Pella is unfortunately undated. A text from Tharba in Batanæa may be early, as it has no cross on it (No. 2,203, Waddington), but the earliest dated example is that at Deir 'Aly (No. 2,558, Waddington), when the Marcionite Paul calls himself presbyter in 318 A.D., or before the Council of Nicæa. At Amra in Batanæa is the monument of the presbyters Kaianos, Donēsos, and Elia (No. 2,091), also undated, but clearly not very early. In this the "steward" (*oikonomos*) Sergius is mentioned, and such stewards are noticed in other texts. Thus at Eitha, in the same region, in the year 354 A.D., a text which speaks of the "most holy presbyter and archimandrite Eulogios," and of the presbyter Dōeros, and *diaconos* Elia, mentions Sabinianos as "deacon and steward" (No. 2,124). Waddington remarks that an archimandrite might be either deacon or priest, being, in fact, the abbot of the monastery. The "stewards" were responsible for expenses to the bishops (Waddington, *op. cit.*, p. 500). In 550 A.D., at Amra, other presbyters are noticed (No. 2,089), and the *labarum* occurs on this text. There are several other undated texts which mention presbyters.

A text in which deacons are mentioned, in 368 A.D., occurs at Shakka, in Batanæa (No. 2,158), but, as would naturally be expected, the Christian texts before the Council of Nicæa cannot be distinguished, though there are many hundreds of Greek texts in Syria and Palestine dating both before the Christian era and in the first and second centuries A.D. The Christians concealed their creed until it was tolerated, and were afraid to use distinctive emblems. Perhaps the oldest Christian text which is plainly distinguishable, as yet known, belongs to the year 331 A.D., and comes from Khatûra, in Northern Syria (No. 2,704, Waddington). In this the name of Christ is still spelt (as in the Deir 'Aly text) with the letter *eta* for *iota*. The short mottoes, "Christ help," "One God alone," and the fact that "Thalasis erected it," are followed by a line in a different handwriting with the words, 'Ὅσα λέγ(ε)ις φῖλε κε (for καὶ) σοὶ τὰ διπλά. After this comes the date 380

the term to civil functionaries—the “*episkopoi*, who are in charge of the bread and other saleable things, which are the daily food of the people of cities.” In the island of Rhodes an *episcopus* is mentioned, in a non-Christian inscription, as an official of one of the brotherhoods or clubs, of which there were so many in the Roman dominions in the first century A.D. In Bashan, where a great many Greek inscriptions of the second and third centuries have been discovered, these civil officials are mentioned, and some of them have pagan Arab names. The term was adopted for an “overseer” of the Christian Churches; but the charge of early bishops was that, not of a province, but rather of a parish, and even as late as the time of Chrysostom in Antioch, when every country town and village had its *episcopus*.¹ The bishop was then an elder chosen from among the baptized, and in the fourth century forbidden to leave his parish,² as were also the presbyters and deacons.

Among the earliest of Christian Churches was the little community of Pella, in the Jordan Valley. According to Eusebius, it was to Pella that the Christians fled just before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The site of the town has been explored, and a Greek inscription there found gives one of, perhaps, the earliest notices of a Christian *presbuteros*,

of the era of Antioch (331 A.D.) and the invocation, “Come, O Christ.” Curiously enough, the same formula given above occurs at the same place on a pagan text in honour of Zeus (No. 2,702). There are texts supposed, but not certainly known, to be Christian, in Syria of much earlier date; and in later times, from the fourth to the seventh centuries, quotations of the Psalms, from the Septuagint version, were carved over the doors of churches and houses.

Although only “bishops and deacons” are mentioned alike by Clement of Rome and in the “Teaching of the Apostles,” at the close of the first Christian century, the antiquity of the word “presbyter” will not be disputed. It seems natural to suppose that the distinction of bishops and presbyters was slight. St. Chrysostom says that a bishop, writing to a presbyter, subscribed himself, “Your Fellow Presbyter,” and to a deacon, “Your Fellow Deacon” (in Phil., Homil. i. 1). The duties of presbyters and deacons are laid down in the Epistle of Polycarp to the Ephesians (ch. v., vi.). See Clark’s “Ante-Nicene Library,” vol. i., pp. 72, 73.

¹ *Early Bishoprics*.—There was considerable dispute in the fourth century as to the organization of the churches in the East (see Reland, “*Palestina Illustrata*,” i., p. 206; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i., p. 380); but at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. Palestine was represented by sixty-eight bishops, and these bishoprics continued to exist in later times. The towns were on an average not more than ten miles apart, and the bishoprics not more than large parishes. Nevertheless, the power and wealth of the bishops, after 326 A.D., is attested by the writings of Chrysostom, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzen, etc. Stanley (“*Christian Institutions*,” pp. 188, 191) says the same.

² Stanley, “*Christian Institutions*,” p. 192.

or "elder." These presbyters are mentioned in many other early texts of the Christian age in the same region, whereas the word "archbishop" only occurs in those which date from the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Thus at Eitha, in Southern Bashan, a church was built in 354 A.D. by "Eulogios the holy," who calls himself "presbyter and archimandrite."

The term *diakonos*, or deacon—that is to say, "servant"—as used by Justin Martyr, appears to refer to humble ministrants to the congregation. It occurs also very early in the Greek texts of Palestine; for Kabbeos the "deacon," who has left an inscription at Harran, near Damascus, writes *Chrēstos* instead of *Christos*—a spelling which was not unusual in the second century, and which concealed the Christian name under the form of a word which meant only a "good man."¹

No student of such antiquities, or of the early Fathers, would doubt that the early organization of the Church, under its "overseers," "elders," and "servants," was very different to that of the fifth and sixth centuries, when the wealth and power of the bishops increased with the increased area of their charges.

The history of Churches is similar; and there are no extant remains of any Church known to be older than the time of Constantine's toleration of the Christian faith. The Christians of the Apostolic age were content to pray in the open air beside a river² (Acts xvi. 13); and even as late as 180 A.D. we find Tertullian ("To the Gentiles," xiii.; and "On Fasts," xvi.) describing the *proseuchæ*, or praying-places, beside streams or on the seashore. For in his time, and even in that of Chrysostom, it was a custom with Oriental Christians to per-

¹ *Chrēstos*.—The spelling *Χρηστός* is mentioned more than once in the Fathers. Theophilus (sixth Bishop of Antioch 168-188 A.D.; Eusebius, H. E., iv. 20) refers to it in writing to Autolicus (I. xii.). Justin Martyr (1 Apol. iv.) says: "As far as one may judge from the name we are accused of, we are most excellent people," thus playing on the word. Tertullian says much the same (L, "To the Gentiles," iii.). It is therefore interesting to find this spelling on still extant early Christian inscriptions in Palestine, including those above noticed (Waddington, Nos. 2,558-2,704), and that at Harrân, where the text, though Christian, is not marked with the cross and may be early. It runs, as follows:

Χάριτας πλε(ε)ίστας ὁμολογῶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ κάββεος διάκονος τῷ βοηθήσαντι, εἰ μοι) ἐτέλιωσε τὴν προσφορά(ν) τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ οἴκου τούτου).

At the same place is another text (No. 2,465) by Aumos, "a holy man," in which the word presbyter occurs, and which is marked by the Labarum and ends with *alpha* and *omega*. A third short text from Harrân (2,467) refers to a Bishop Theodorus.

² "And on the Sabbath day we went forth without the gate by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer" (Revised Version, following the earlier MSS.).

form ablutions before prayer,¹ much as the Moslem now does when praying on the banks of a stream.

The earliest chapels built by Constantine's mother, Helena, were at Bethlehem and on Olivet.² The story of her discovery of the cross is not mentioned by Eusebius, or by any writer till a generation after the time of her pilgrimage; and the cross is first noticed by Cyril of Jerusalem twenty years after the date of her visit.³ The present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church—which, far from being "without the gate" (Heb. xiii. 12), is within the walls of ancient Jerusalem—was settled by Constantine and the Bishop Macarius.⁴ After pulling down a

¹ See Chrysostom's "Picture of the Religion of his Age," p. 24 (S.P.C.K., 1876). Tertullian speaks of washing at every prayer ("On Prayer," xiii.).

² Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," Book III., ch. xli.-xliii. See "Churches of Constantine," Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891.

³ "Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem" (Parker's "Library of Fathers," Oxford, 1838): "The whole world is filled with portions of the wood of the cross" (iv. 10); "Distributed from hence piecemeal to all the world" (xiii. 4). The cross is not noticed by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.). The earliest account is in the "Travels of St. Silvia" (385 A.D., Pal. Pil. Text Society, 1891, pp. 63, 64). St. Paula (382-385 A.D.) also mentions the cross (vi.). See translation in above series, p. 5.

⁴ *The Holy Sepulchre*.—This question has some importance in connection with the more general question of the growth of Christian institutions. The full translation of the contemporary accounts (from Eusebius's "Life of Constantine," Book III., ch. xxv. to xliii.) has been published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891. The western end of the second wall was excavated in 1886, almost exactly in the line laid down by Dr. Robinson in 1838. The account given by Josephus states that it began at the Gennath gate of the first wall, "and encircling only the tract on the north, it extended quite to Antonia" ("Wars," v., iv. 2). All attempts to draw the wall so as to exclude the hilltop on which the traditional site of Calvary is found have failed to satisfy the meaning of the Greek word *κυκλούμενον*, "encircling," and involve carrying the line through a wide valley more than 100 feet deep, instead of along the higher ground. But too much importance is attached to the question of the "second wall." It is universally allowed that the "third wall" nowhere passed less than a quarter of a mile *outside* the position of the traditional site of Calvary. It was commenced by Agrippa ("Antiq." XIX., vii. 2; "Wars," V., iv. 2), or even earlier, if we are to understand from the former passage that he "repaired it." Agrippa died in 44 A.D., and the city cannot have grown extensively in the few years intervening between the crucifixion and the death of Agrippa, for it was not a time of great prosperity; and there is reason to suppose that Jerusalem extended north of the Temple even in 63 B.C., the time of Pompey's siege ("Ant." XIV., iv. 2).

Eusebius, while stating that the site of the sepulchre was occupied by a temple, and was discovered, "contrary to all expectation" ("Life of Constantine," ch. xxviii.), gives no intimation of the reasons which led to the identification, nor does any other writer until the next century, when Rufinus (about 410), Theodoret (about 440) and Sozomen (about 450 A.D.) relate the famous story of the "Invention of the Cross"

temple of Venus on the spot (as Eusebius states), the emperor caused the mound on which it stood to be levelled, and, as Eusebius says, "beyond all hope" they discovered an ancient tomb, which they concluded, without any known reason, to have been that of Christ. It was more probably the tomb of the early kings of Israel, which was still known (Acts ii. 29) in the time of the Apostles, and which, according to the early Rabbis (Tosiphtha, "*Baba Bathra*," i.) was inside the city. Only a few years ago the remains of the "second wall," which fortified Jerusalem on this side at the time of the Crucifixion, were excavated, and found to be in such a position as to have certainly included the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre within the city.

The true site of Mount Calvary is probably the hillock north of Jerusalem, which, according to the Jewish tradition (Mishrah Sanhedrin, vi. 4), was the old place of execution; but the actual position of the tomb of Christ is still unknown, though it is fairly certain that it lay north of Jerusalem. It should be a satisfaction to Christians to think that the traditional site, which has so often been desecrated by the massacres of the Middle Ages, and by the incredible abuses of later superstitious customs, and of pretended miraculous descent of "holy fire," is not in reality the site of the "tomb in the garden."

Before the toleration of Christianity it does not appear that any buildings bearing the name of "church" existed. Services were conducted at gatherings in private houses, and were conducted secretly, in consequence of the fear of persecution. In the second century there were a great number of small

(Robinson, Bib. Res., i., p. 374). In writing to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, Constantine says (Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," Book III., ch. xxx.): "For that the token (*γνώρισμα*) of that most holy passion, long ago buried underground, should have remained unknown for so many cycles of years," etc. He thus refers to the "monument of our Saviour's resurrection become visible" (ch. xxviii.), and it would appear that the site was quite unknown, and, as above urged, it was impossibly located when the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 12) are taken into account. The "Garden Tomb," which some now regard as the real Holy Sepulchre, cannot be accepted by any who are familiar with the history of rock-cut tombs in Palestine. It is pretty certainly a Byzantine tomb of a later age, and has not the form of the sepulchres hewn about the Christian era. The crosses found on its walls are Latin patriarch's crosses, which cannot have been painted before the twelfth century; and the Greek inscription of a deacon found near dates certainly later than the time of Constantine's *Marturion* of the *Anastasis*, which is mentioned in the said text. The expression "buried near his Lord," which this deacon uses, must refer to the traditional site, which was universally accepted by all Christians after it had been decreed by Constantine to have been discovered. Doubts on the subject did not arise till 1738 A.D.

heretical sects, and perhaps the earliest building now known to exist which was set apart for Christian worship is that at Deir 'Aly, on Mount Hermon; and this belonged to an heretical sect. The inscription still existing at this place¹ bears the date 318 A.D. (not, of course, in that form, since the Christian era was first determined—and fixed four years wrong—by the Italian monk Dionysius Exiguus in 532 A.D.): the text is a dedication of the year 630 of the era of the Seleucidæ. The building is said to be a “synagogue of the Marcionites,” according to this Greek inscription—“for the worship of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Chrēstos” (for Christos), “erected by Paul the presbyter.” The Marcionites are well known to have been numerous in Palestine down to the middle of the fourth century, and were followers of Marcion, a heretic who believed in two gods of equal power, and against whom Tertullian wrote a book about 187 A.D.

The early churches and chapels were modelled on the plan of a Roman *basilica*, or hall of justice, and were not built in the shape of the cross.² They ended on the east in an apse, which was enclosed with curtains.³ The holy table stood in the apse, and the bishop sat behind it, facing the congregation,

¹ Waddington, No. 2,558, “Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie.”

² *Basilicas*.—The Roman basilica, or hall of justice, had an apse in which the judge sat, and before him was the “pavement” brought from Rome. Such a basilica still exists at Gerasa, beyond Jordan, with its apse to the east, close to the main street of the city. The word is used in a text from Auwas (No. 2,044, Waddington), dating 330 A.D., and in connection with Constantine’s churches at Jerusalem and Hebron (“Life of Constantine,” III., ch. xxxvi., liii.). Another word used early for churches on particular sites was *Marturion*. It occurs as late as 568 A.D. on the bilingual Arab and Greek text of the Marturion of St. John, built by an Arab Christian at Harrân (No. 2,464, Waddington). The term “synagogue,” as above shown, was, however, applied much earlier to Christian places of worship. The word *ecclesia* occurs in inscriptions of the fifth century, such as that at *Salla* in Batanæa, dating 574 A.D. (Waddington, No. 2,261), or that at *Kuteibel* in the Haurân, 575 A.D. (No. 2,412i, Waddington). The expression “Catholic Church,” applied to the Greek, not to the Roman, Church, is found in a text at *Kereim* in Trachonitis (No. 2,519, Waddington). Out of the very numerous churches and chapels of the Byzantine age which have been explored in Palestine and Syria, not one is cruciform. They all adhere to the old basilica form, with the apse invariably on the east. The Crusaders preserved the same plan in Palestine, and only one twelfth-century church in that country is cruciform: namely, that of *Nebi Samwël*, north of Jerusalem. Stanley, “Christian Institutions,” p. 179, makes the same statement; and the opinion is borne out by the extant ruins of churches and basilicas in Palestine.

³ Mentioned, for instance, at Bethlehem (Eusebius, “Life of Constantine,” III., ch. xliii.). See also Chrysostom (Homil. xlv. 4; lxxiv. 3).

with his face to the west.¹ The curtains were only drawn back when all unbaptized persons had left the church, and the bread and wine were then both distributed to the faithful by the deacons²—such was the Church and such the rite as observed in Palestine in the time of Constantine.

It is extraordinary to note that the pretensions of the Church of Rome, as summed up in the proud motto—*Quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus*—are accepted by some as representing the real history of the Christian Church, in utter forgetfulness of the fact that the large majority of Christians down to the fourth century were to be found in Asia, and these never acknowledged the authority of the Bishop of Rome in any age down to the present.³ In the year 190 A.D. at least a tenth of the population of Carthage was Christian, according to Tertullian⁴; but in 250 A.D. the Roman Church, according to Eusebius,⁵ numbered only 46 priests, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, and 52 exorcists and readers, supporting 1,500 widows and poor persons. When Constantine recognised the faith, perhaps half of his subjects in Antioch were Christians,⁶ while in Italy the believers were probably only a small minority. The title of Pope, which in the East applied to any parish priest, was not given to a

¹ In the service of the Russian cathedral at Jerusalem the traveller may still see the bishop standing behind the table facing west. The Pope in like manner stands facing the people at Mass behind the altar.

² Chrysostom threatened not to administer the Eucharist to the baptized if they were addicted to swearing (Hom. xx. 5) or to the theatre ("Homily against Games and Theatres").

³ *The Eastern and Western Churches*.—Perhaps the earliest note of differences between these Churches is to be found in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (95 A.D.), in which the deposing of certain bishops and deacons is reproved with the words, "Your schism has led many astray." The differences were still more marked when the question of Easter Day arose. The earlier belief recognised that the Last Supper was a celebration of the Passover; but in the Church of Rome the custom of celebrating the resurrection in such a manner that the day of the crucifixion should fall on that of the Passover appears to have been as ancient as 120 A.D. (Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius, H. E., v., xxiv. 14). But for the intervention of Irenæus, a severance between the Churches would have occurred as early as the second century, and it was only prevented by leaving the Asiatic Christians to observe their own customs.

⁴ Ad Scap. 5.

⁵ H. E., VI., xliiii., 11, 12. It should be added that Origin speaks of Syrian Christians as "very few" as late as 240 A.D. ("Against Celsus," viii. 69), but as "not a few" in another passage ("Against Celsus," i. 26).

⁶ Chrysostom ("Homily on the Martyr St. Ignatius") speaks of the population of Antioch as 200,000 males, and he speaks of the Christians as 100,000 in all (On Matt., Hom. lxxxv. § 4). If he means males in the second case, half the population was Christian; but if he includes females then about a quarter.

Roman bishop before the time of Marcellus in 275 A.D., and was not finally adopted till the fourth century.¹ The tradition that St. Peter was martyred in Rome does not appear to have existed till Tertullian's time, though Clement of Rome speaks of that Apostle as having visited the great city.²

It appears to be clearly deducible from a study of the Fathers, and of classic writers, as well as from the inscriptions and antiquities of Italy, that many of the peculiar rites and dogmas which distinguished the Roman Church in early times, and which were often not adopted by the Greek or any other Oriental Church, had their origin, or at least their parallel, in the paganism which survived in Italy down to the latter part of the fourth century; and writers like Justin Martyr (in Palestine) and Tertullian (in Africa) have pointed out some of these similarities. At the time when the first Christian communities were struggling in Italy against the fierce prejudices of the established religion of the State, as represented by the Pontifex Maximus, the Flamens, and other officials, the worship of many foreign gods was popular among all classes. The worshippers of the Egyptian Isis, and those who adored the Persian god Mithra, were especially numerous in Rome in the first and second Christian centuries, as we gather from the writings of Roman poets and historians of the age. The frescoes of Pompeii show us the processions of Isis, who was represented to be a virgin goddess nursing the infant Horus. Beardless and tonsured priests of this cultus are represented, wearing the alb or white robe. The rites included sprinkling with holy water, fasts, confessions, and hymns to the goddess at eve, when the feet of the image were kissed. Among women especially this mystic worship was usual.³

¹ Stanley, "Christian Institutions," p. 212. Dean Hook says ("Church Dictionary") that it was "usurped" by Gregory VII. When Chrysostom wrote to Innocent in 404 A.D. he appears to have addressed him only as "Bishop of Rome."

² *Peter at Rome*.—The authorities usually cited are the Canon of Muratori (180 A.D.), l. 36, 37; Clement of Rome (95 A.D.), "To the Corinthians," i. v.; Tertullian (180 A.D.), "Præsc," 36, "Adv. Marcion," iv. 5, "Scorpiace," 15; and Eusebius (fourth century A.D.), H. E., ii. 25. Irenæus enumerates the successors of Paul at Rome (III., iii. 3), twelve in all, down to his own time. The argument in favour of Peter's having gone to Rome can hardly be called a strong one. The Muratorian Canon says that his martyrdom was not recorded by Luke because he spoke only of his own knowledge. Clement of Alexandria (Stromata, vii. 11) believed that Peter's wife was martyred with him. The famous story of the crucifixion of Peter comes, however, from a much later work—"Acts of Peter and Paul."

³ Renan has given a brilliant sketch of this cultus, "Marc Aurèle," p. 570. A black statue, apparently of Isis, was an object of superstition in the Abbey of St. Germain down to 1514 A.D. (*Journal Royal*

The rites of Mithra were still more sensational. Mithra was the Persian god of light, adored all over Asia Minor in the time of Pompey¹; and the cultus was brought to Rome by Pompey's soldiers before the Christian era.² It was specially prevalent in Europe about 375 A.D., and Mithraic chapels occur not only in Rome (where the old church of St. Clement was built over one of these underground cave chapels),³ but also in Germany, and even in England. The rites included terrible ordeals, and actual baptisms of blood, secret signs, flagellations, fasts of fifty days, unctions, love feasts, baptism, and a kind of Eucharistic celebration. The priests were tonsured and wore the mitre. The parallel to Christian rites is thus noticed by Justin Martyr (1st Apol. lxvi.), speaking of the Eucharist:

" . . . which wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same things to be done. For that bread and a cup of water are placed, with certain incantations, in the mystic rites of initiation you either know or can learn."

The rite in question was that of the preparation of the sacred *homa* drink, which was from the earliest time part of the Mithraic ceremonial. The idea of transubstantiation was attached to this ceremony, and *homa*—adored as a god—was at once the juice of the plant used, and the spirit which was supposed to inspire those who drank it. Any student of the Persian sacred books will know this statement to be correct. It was pointed out by Haug in 1862 A.D.; and hymns to the *Homa* have been translated into English.⁴

Asiatic Society, ii. 564). The Eastern Churches, after a long struggle, put down the worship of images, and even the Empress Irene, in 787 A.D., only succeeded in restoring the use of pictures, and forbade representations of the Deity.

¹ His name occurs in the Greek texts of Nimrūd Dagh shortly before Pompey's time (Humann, "Reisen in Klein Asien," 1890); that is to say, west of the Euphrates.

² Plutarch, "Pompey," 24. See King's "Gnostics" (p. 49, first edition). The rites, as usual in Rome, are described by Renan, "Marc Aurèle," p. 576.

³ "Les Évangiles," p. 337.

⁴ See "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxiii.

The Homa Worship.—This Persian rite, which is of the same origin with the Soma worship of the Vedas, dates back to prehistoric times. In the later days of which we now speak the Soma, or Homa, was a plant (*Asclepias acida*), which was pounded in a mortar and the juice strained into a cup of water, such as Justin Martyr describes (see Haug's "Essays on the Parsees," pp. 166, 239). The ancient Yast, or hymn in its honour, is probably older than the Christian era. Homa, as a good spirit, is mentioned in other Yasts equally ancient ("Gos Yast," iv. 17): "To her did Homa offer up a sacrifice;" and as an offering ("Bahram Yast," xviii. 57): "I offer up Homa, who is the protector of my body, as a man who shall drink of him shall win and prevail." By drinking the Homa in the last days

Nothing could be a greater contrast to this mysticism than the accounts given by "ancient authors" of the early Christian commemorations of the Last Supper in Western Asia and in Africa. In Pliny's letter to Trajan about 112 A.D. (the genuineness of which Renan admits¹) we read a non-Christian account of the practices of the Christians of Pontus on the Black Sea shores :

"That they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing an hymn to Christ as to God, and to oblige themselves by an oath" [or sacrament] "not to do anything that was bad . . . after which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent meal : which they left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments what the truth was, which I did of two maidservants called *deaconesses*,² but yet I found nothing more."

CHARLES CONDER, Major R.E.

(To be continued.)



ART. III.—RECENT CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH AND ITS RESULTS.

IN the February number of the *Church Sunday School Magazine* there is a review of Mr. Spencer's able work, "Did Moses Write the Pentateuch after all?" The review states that though there is much in that volume well worthy of attention, and that it is calculated to make men pause before accepting all the conclusions of the negative criticism, it does not "face the principal argument" of the critics, "that the historical books give a picture of life in Israel which is inconsistent with the existence of a law so full and detailed as that of Leviticus." The writer of the review very justly regards Professor Robertson Smith's book as by far the ablest statement of this view of the Jewish history. He appears to have been "reassured," and to wish others to be reassured, against the "assumed hostility" of this representation of the actual

the faithful were to become immortal. Professor Darmesteter ("Sacred Books of the East," iv., p. lxix.) says : "Homa, the Indian Soma, is an intoxicating plant, the juice of which is drunk by the faithful for their own benefit and for the benefit of their gods." It is evidently to this mystic rite that Justin Martyr refers. The sacred bread, *Darun*, forms part of the offerings of the same rite (Haug, p. 241).

¹ "Les Évangiles," p. 476.

² "Ancillæ quæ ministræ dicbantur." Tertullian refers to this letter, "Apologeticus," 2.

state of the case "to the Christian faith." As I believe that it would be a serious blow to the influence of the Bible over Christian England if this kind of teaching were to gain a footing in our Sunday-schools, I propose briefly to examine it in these pages. The question I wish to discuss is, How far have we reason to believe that full and detailed regulations for life and worship existed in Israel from its first settlement in the Promised Land? The chief reason why I should deprecate the diffusion of such teaching I have already given in the pages of the *CHURCHMAN* and elsewhere. It is that it places the Old Testament before us as an inaccurate and untrustworthy record of God's dealings with mankind, and that if the Old Testament come to be regarded as inaccurate and untrustworthy on the precise point on which all its value depends, the moral influence of its teaching is gone.

I would ask, then, Has sufficient reason been given for this contention on the part of the critics? My first argument to the contrary will be drawn from the secular history of England. We all know that from the Penitential of Theodore downwards a "full and detailed" ecclesiastical system has been in existence in England down to the present day. How many traces have we of the existence of such a system in the secular history of this country? The Reformation period excepted, how many references, for instance, do you find to the Canon Law, to the observance of Sunday, to the reception of the Sacrament of Holy Communion, to the fasts or festivals of the Church, or to the existence of the Bible, in a book like Mr. Green's "History of the English People," or even in such minute narratives as those of Professor Freeman or Lord Macaulay? In order to obtain a proper idea of the life of the people of England, religious as well as secular, we must place our ecclesiastical histories side by side with our secular histories. The Jews have done this in their books of Kings and Chronicles. Yet the books of Chronicles are now rejected with the utmost scorn by the negative critics, ostensibly because they contain details not mentioned in Kings, really, however, as De Wette frankly admits, because the books of Chronicles emphatically contradict their most cherished theories. And this brings us to a second consideration of very great importance. The history of Israel, even on its secular side, *does* contain continual references to the Mosaic Law, as contained in Leviticus and the other books, as being in force, but the negative critics do not scruple to expunge the passages in the historical books which support this assertion. That Professor Robertson Smith's statement of their opinions is able, and in tone reverent, I have no desire to deny. But as an instance of his method of dealing with the facts, I may mention that he has no hesitation in

declaring the story of the altar of witness in Joshua xxii. to be a post-exilic addition. We have a right, I think, to take exception to such a way of dealing with the narrative as arbitrary and unfair in itself. But it is open to special objection in the case of this particular passage. For if the earlier Jews really "knew nothing," to use a favourite phrase of the critics, of the worship at the One Sanctuary prescribed in the Law as it now stands, the narrative in question is not a mere fable, but a deliberate invention of later date, introduced on purpose to support the priestly party in their efforts to set up an exclusive worship at Jerusalem.

But, it is contended, we have evidence that the Law of Moses as it now stands was not obeyed, and that therefore its provisions were unknown. The non-observance of a law, however, is not quite the same thing as its non-existence. Poaching, for instance, is a practice by no means uncommon among ourselves. It would be a very unsafe line of argument, however, to infer from this fact the non-existence of the Game Laws. We shall probably be told that the convictions recorded in our annals as having been obtained under their operation is a sufficient evidence of their existence. We reply, Not at all, on the principles of the negative criticism, for accounts given of such convictions may be the additions of a later writer whose desire it was to see the Game Laws enforced in his own time. Until, therefore, the negative criticism has been accepted as an adequate method of dealing with the history of our own country, we may be justified in a little wholesome scepticism as to its infallibility in the case of Jewish history, and may regard the denunciations of the worship at the high places with which the Jewish histories teem, from beginning to end, as a conclusive demonstration that the prohibition was at least contemporaneous with the conquest of Canaan.

I desire to give a brief *résumé* of the contents of the Book of Leviticus, and illustrate them by the history. I am at least warranted in contending that until stronger proof is forthcoming than has yet been given that the history has been deliberately re-written from the point of view of the later enactments, the Sunday-school teacher is justified in asserting that the Book of Leviticus was known and acted upon from the earliest period of Israel's existence as a nation. On two points, however, outside the limits of that book, a few words may not be out of place. Of the One Sanctuary we have frequent mention in the Sacred Volume. It meets us in Judges, in the story of the outrage at Gibeah, in the history of Samuel and Eli, in the history of the capture of the Ark, of its return to Israelitish territory, of its solemn enthronization in Jerusalem by David, of his preparations for a magnificent temple for

its reception, and of the hallowing of that temple as the acknowledged centre of Israelitish worship in the days of Solomon. The Psalms also are full of such references. And on all ordinary canons of criticism they must be allowed as evidence that the religious customs to which they refer were recognised among the Jews. But we are now told that the Psalms are not the expression of the religious life of Israel as a nation, but an outburst of enthusiasm or fanaticism, it is not clear which, in the days of the Maccabees. What produced that outburst of patriotic and religious enthusiasm, if Israel in its palmiest days had no definite religion and no expressions of religious feelings, we are not told. But we must leave the rehabilitation of the Psalms to the many scholars who are fully qualified to achieve it.

The case of the Sabbath must also be taken into account. With the exception of the Books of Chronicles, the observance of the Sabbath is never mentioned in the historical books save in 1 Kings iv. 23 and xvi. 18. What evidence have we, on critical principles, that these passages are not post-exilic additions? And yet nearly all the most advanced critics allow that the Ten Commandments must be ascribed to Moses. What is more surprising still is that no mention of Sabbaths occurs in the Psalter. And a further point must not be lost sight of. The more thoroughly the destructive criticism is accepted in regard to the Psalter, the more significant, on their principles, does this fact become. On those principles the institution of the Sabbath must be referred to a period later than that of the Maccabees.

The Book of Leviticus begins with regulations for the burnt-offering, the meat-offering, or *minchah*, the peace-offering, the sin and trespass offerings. We can hardly expect a minute description of the prescribed ritual in the historical books, any more than we expect a recital of the rubrics in the Prayer-Book when attendance at our Church services is mentioned in English history. But we shall find frequent reference made to all these various offerings in the historical books.

To say nothing of the occurrence of the phrase "burnt-offering" in Genesis, we find Jephthah and Manoah quite acquainted with the expression, though it certainly must be admitted that they ventured to offer such an offering themselves. We find Samuel offering a burnt-offering (1 Sam. vii. 9), and Saul admitting (1 Sam. xiii. 12) that as a layman he had no right to perform such a ceremony.¹ The meat-offering is mentioned in the Books of Joshua, Judges and Kings. Solomon,

¹ It is a question whether such offerings as these were not expressly permitted on extraordinary occasions at places other than the One

in the latter book, is described as offering the meat-offering at the consecration of the temple, together with burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. But we hear of all these offerings at a far earlier date than this. The children of Israel deny that they have the slightest intention of offering burnt-offerings or meat-offerings on the altar of witness on the other side of Jordan (Josh. xxii. 29). They speak, moreover, of these offerings as offered at the One Sanctuary. We find them mentioned again in Judg. xx. 26, xxi. 4.¹ As we have seen, an attempt is made to represent these histories as of later date than the Exile. But we have at least a right to ask for *proof* of this assertion. Even so able a writer and thinker as Professor Robertson Smith has no right to impose a dogma of this kind upon the Universal Church as his own authority, or even on the authority of ten or twelve other scholars and thinkers as eminent as himself. I have seen the assertion made repeatedly by critics of repute. But I have never seen anything in the slightest degree approaching a proof of it. It depends on the theory that the Levitical law in its present shape was published subsequent to the Exile. But then that theory in its turn depends to a considerable extent upon the assumption that this passage is a later interpolation into the narrative. This would seem to be a conspicuous instance of a process described by Wellhausen as "attempting to hoist one's self into the air by one's own waistband." But to return. We find mention of peace-offerings (as well as burnt-offerings) in 1 Sam. x. 8 and in 2 Sam. vi. 17. In the latter case David is said to offer them. But he probably only caused them to be offered in the legitimate way. Such at least is the account in Chronicles, where we have in 1 Chron. xvi. 1 the words "they" offered, whereas in verse 2 David is himself said to offer the sacrifices on the principle *qui facit per alium, facit per se*. Amos (v. 22) mentions all three of these offerings, and Amos is one of the prophets whose early date is not disputed. The sin and trespass-offering is not expressly mentioned (save in Ps. xl. 6) until the return from the Captivity. But the word for sin-offering is identical with that for sin. I have no space for the discussion of the question whether the word translated "sin" should sometimes be trans-

Sanctuary. It is only in the course of the ordinary and prescribed worship that it can be shown to have been forbidden. We may observe how this narrative confirms the account in Chronicles of the reason why Uzziah was stricken with leprosy.

¹ As a proof of the difficulties which beset the critical theories, we may observe that Judg. xix-xxi. is regarded as a later insertion after the law was fully developed. But in that case why are we told that the Israelites built an altar on which to offer their peace-offerings?

lated "sin-offering." But in 2 Kings xii. 16 we find a distinct reference to both. So Isaiah (liii. 10) speaks of the life of the Redeemer as a trespass-offering. There is nothing in the character and contents of Leviticus to support the supposition that the sin and trespass offerings were later additions to the Law, and the narrative in 1 Sam. vi., as well as the constitution of man's nature, suggests the idea that some provision for the atonement of sin was likely to be the first and most elementary provision of all in a religious ritual. Moreover, in the mediæval Church there was a ceremony entitled doing penance which was frequently enforced upon offenders. It would be interesting to trace the number of allusions to this practice in the ordinary historical manuals of this or any other European country. The next provisions relate to the consecration of the priests. We are not likely to meet with these in the after-history. Then we come (chapter xi.) to distinctions of food. There is no mention of these regulations in the history, save in Gen. viii. But we find mention made of the distinctions as existing in his day by Hosea, one of the prophets whose early date is not disputed (chapter ix. 3, 4). Isa. lxxv. 4, lxxvi. 3, 17 will be rejected, because the latter part of Isaiah is regarded with some degree of probability as having been written during the Exile. But it must be remembered that even this rests upon nothing stronger than probable inference. The proof we are offered of it is certainly not equivalent to a mathematical demonstration. We find similar regulations in regard to food, it is true, in Deuteronomy. But the "second Isaiah" quotes the regulations in *Leviticus* (cf. Lev. xi. 29; Isa. lxxvi. 17). As the question is not one which admits of rigid demonstration either way, we may ask ourselves which is the simpler and more natural hypothesis: that these regulations were imposed upon the children of Israel before their entrance into the Promised Land, and that their fuller and stricter form is to be found in the ritual-book of the priests, or that they were invented by the Deuteronomist in the time of Manasseh, completed some time between that epoch and the Exile, and published for the first time after the return from the Captivity.¹ The next chapter (chapter xii.) contains regulations for the purification of women after childbirth. We are about as likely to meet with these in the history of the Jews as we are to meet with a mention of the Churching Service in the history of England. But we do find allusions to similar regulations prescribed in Lev. xv., in 1 Sam. xx. 26, and in 2 Sam. xi. 4.

We next come to the directions concerning leprosy. We

¹ These regulations were known to Ezekiel (iv. 14, xxii. 26, xlv. 31), and some such to Manoah and his wife (Judg. xiii. 4, 7, 14).

find these regulations in force among the Israelites in 2 Kings vii. 3, but not in Syria at the same period (2 Kings v. 1). There is an allusion to them in 2 Sam. iii. 29. Gehazi departs from the presence of Elisha when smitten with leprosy (2 Kings v. 27). And Azariah, or Uzziab, when stricken with that disease, was compelled to dwell apart (2 Kings xv. 5), and did not exercise his regal functions from that day forward. The ritual of the Day of Atonement is not mentioned in the history, either before or after the Exile. But, then, no more do we read in our ordinary English history of the observance of Good Friday, although we know that for many centuries it has been most religiously observed, with special and very significant ceremonies. We find the Day of Atonement referred to elsewhere in Scripture only in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But the writer of that Epistle evidently "knows nothing" of the later origin of this observance. He regards it as an integral portion of the Mosaic Law. And the result of his profound study and analysis of the principles of that law entitles his opinion to at least as much respect as those of the modern school of critics, who have devoted themselves rather to a study of the form than of the spirit of a very remarkable set of enactments. The first portion of chapter xviii., so far from being obviously post-exilic, seems to belong exclusively to the period of the forty years' wanderings, and to have become impossible after the conquest of Canaan. The prohibition of eating the flesh with the blood was known to Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 33). With the command to eat torn flesh we have already dealt.

Chapters xviii. and xx. might possibly be two different versions of the same group of laws. But as they do not differ on any important points, each of them might have been a genuine and original expression of the principles of Mosaic legislation. These principles in relation to marriage are definite and intelligible. They are twofold. They enact first that no one shall contract a marriage with a person near of kin to them; and next that affinity involves nearness of kin as much as consanguinity. This great principle—setting revelation altogether apart—postulates a man far-sighted enough to have discerned its value, and strong enough to have enforced it. It is in advance of us even in the last decade of the nineteenth century of the Christian era. But its value in upholding the sanctity of the marriage tie will be perceived by moralists, and its usefulness from a political and social point of view will not be denied by physiologists. There is, it may be added, no possibility that a principle so strenuously resisted even in our own day could or was likely to have been inculcated upon the Jewish nation by anyone but its founder.

The domestic history of Israel comes very little before us in the sacred page, but the outrage offered by Amnon to Tamar can hardly be explained except by the impossibility of marriage between them. Tamar's pleading that the king "would not withhold" her from Amnon may have been a mere subterfuge in order to escape from her brother's hands; or it may have been the expression of a belief that the king would not scruple, under the circumstances, to sanction an unlawful tie; or, again, Tamar may have been ignorant of the exact provisions of the law. But the fact that no attempt was made to repair the wrong—that it could only be avenged by the murder of him who committed it—is a pretty clear proof that a marriage law of the kind described existed in Israel in David's day. The prohibition of polygamy in Lev. xviii. 18 was undoubtedly transgressed by the kings, and even by men in the position of Elkanah. But it appears to have been the rule in Israel, though by no means strictly enforced, just as it has been the rule of the Church since Christianity arose, and yet was grossly infringed by a devout son of the Church such as Charlemagne.

The moral rules in chapter xix. appear to have been recognised throughout the Old Testament. Uprightness and fairness in business transactions with other men, care of the poor and needy, the fatherless and widow and the stranger in the land, were the acknowledged principles of Israelite life. Boaz evidently bases his conduct upon them. The first Isaiah (i. 17) and Micah (vi. 8) have evidently such statutes before them. Hosea (ii. 18-20; iv. 1-6; vi. 6; viii. 1, 12; xiv. 9) clearly regards such provisions as those contained in this chapter as part of the original law given to the Israelites and not kept by them. So does Amos (ii. 4, 7; v. 12, 15, 22; viii. 5; *cf.* Lev. xix. 35). It is impossible to trace out these laws fully in the after-history in the course of a brief paper such as this, but we may point out that chapter xix. 31 was a regulation clearly in existence in the time of Saul, and enforced by him (1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9, 10).

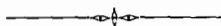
In chapter xx. we find the prohibition against giving of seed to Molech so frequently denounced in the historical books, *e.g.*, 2 Kings xvii. 17 and xxiii. 10. The provision that the "adulterer and adulteress shall surely be put to death," a provision which we also find in Deut. xxii. 22, is the only explanation of David's otherwise incomprehensible treatment of his faithful servant Uriah. There seems no reason whatever for David's anxiety and dread, nor for the treacherous massacre even of a servant who had a right to regard himself as foully injured, save the certainty that the indignant husband would demand at the king's hand the enforcement of the last penalty of the

law against the partner of his guilt. The next two chapters contain regulations for the priesthood, which we are not likely to meet with in the subsequent history. The regulations for the three principal feasts are allowed to have been of early date even by those who maintain that Leviticus is a post-exilic book. The earlier regulations in chapter xxiv. relate to the priests; but the law of blasphemy (verse 16) was in existence in Israel in the days of Ahab, and was acted upon by him (1 Kings xxi. 10). The provisions for the redemption of property in Lev. xxv. 25 are scrupulously observed by Boaz (Ruth iii. 13; iv. 4-11). And though there is no ground whatever for supposing a narrative so simple and patriarchal in its character to be post-exilic, yet we may observe (iv. 7) that it makes reference to a ceremony in the process of the redemption, which was obsolete when the book was written. The only remaining fact with which we are confronted is that we have no evidence of the observance of the year of Jubilee, save a brief allusion to it as the "year of liberty" in Ezek. xlvi. 17. The absence of all reference to it in the subsequent books of Scripture, however, would prove too much, for it would tend to prove that no such provision was ever given, whereas we have it before us. And we may ask, At what period after Moses could so salutary a provision, presupposed, be it remembered, in the system of land distribution recorded in Joshua, have been introduced, and by whom? Can any moment be pointed out in the history of disorganization and oppression which followed on the conquest of Canaan, at which such an institution could have been successfully established? The glorious reigns of David and Solomon, it is true, shine out brightly by contrast with the surrounding darkness. But David, the founder of Israel's greatness, had enough to do in achieving that greatness. And Solomon the peaceful was hardly likely to jeopardize his prosperity by inaugurating a revolution. Moreover, so far-reaching and sweeping a reform would have been a great event in the history, and would most certainly have called for some comment. Thus the absolute silence of the history, so far from being an evidence against the antiquity of the provision, seems on the contrary most strongly to support it.

We have now briefly glanced at the provisions in Leviticus, and we have found no ground whatever for the notion that they were evidently of a date long subsequent to the entrance of Israel into the Promised Land. So far from finding no notice whatever of them in the subsequent history, we find the greater part of them distinctly mentioned. With the criticism which does not scruple to remove from the narrative all allusions which conflict with the hypothesis no fair-minded man can have any sympathy, unless substantial reasons can be given,

altogether apart from the hypothesis, for a proceeding so violent and so arbitrary. We do not go so far as to assert that no additions whatever were made to the Levitical Code subsequent to its original promulgation. It may or may not have been so. There are difficulties on some points which may make the hypothesis of later additions, in one or two particular instances, a probable solution of the difficulty. But that is the very utmost that can be said. Nothing, however, which can be fairly called evidence has been adduced to show that the main provisions of the Levitical Law were not promulgated in the time of Moses. To tamper with historical documents in the interests of a theory, and then to appeal to the documents so tampered with in support of that theory, is not argument; it is mere assertion. It is contrary to every sound principle of historical investigation. We therefore conclude that any Sunday-school teacher has quite sufficient ground for teaching his pupils that the Levitical Code was the work of Moses, at least, until more weighty considerations are brought forward than have as yet been advanced to prove that it was not.

J. J. LIAS.



ART. IV.—CAIRD'S ESSAYS.¹

Merito religioni philosophia donatur tanquam fidissima ancilla : cum altera voluntatem Dei, altera potestatem, manifestet.

BACON, "Novum Organum."

WIDELY as the exponents of modern thought differ in their answer to the deeper questions that beset this generation, we cannot doubt that all thoughtful men, whether scientists or theologians or philosophers, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to that *par nobile fratrum*,—Dr. John Caird, author of "An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," and Professor E. Caird, author of those two goodly volumes entitled "The Critical Philosophy of Immanuel Kant." The stimulus to thought which the example and teaching of these two lights of Glasgow have aroused, may be compared to the effect which the life and writings of the late T. H. Green had upon the best thinkers of Oxford, before he was, alas! cut off in his prime and in the fulness of his powers. Of the few earnest Hegelians which England can boast of to-day, Professor Caird is the recognised champion and leader. It is, therefore, with feelings of unusual interest that we approach the task of commenting

¹ "Essays on Literature and Philosophy," by Professor Edward Caird. Maclehose and Sons, 1892. (In two volumes.)

upon the two beautifully-printed volumes of essays now before us.

The function of the reviewer, when he is dealing with work of first-rate quality, is not to endeavour to air his small stock of knowledge by the detection of deficiencies and imaginary defects—a task futile enough in the present case; but rather his business is to enter sympathetically into the spirit of his author, and to perform the humble, but not therefore useless, task of explaining his position to readers. Rash criticism is constantly due to defective understanding. Whether successfully or not, I have at least tried to enter into the spirit of Caird's work, and to set forth some of the most striking of his views in a clear perspective.

The first volume opens with a penetrating study of the philosophy and ethics of Dante. After Dean Church's unrivalled essay on the literary aspects of Dante's poetry, it was perhaps a wise choice which Caird adopted in almost wholly confining himself to the intellectual and philosophic side of the poet's work. And he is right in regarding the poem as, although not didactic in the ordinary sense of the term, at least didactic in the higher sense.

The "Divina Commedia," though literally an account of the state of souls after death, is in a spiritual regard the interpretation of human life in its entirety. In it Dante gathered up the various scattered fragments of his teaching elsewhere, and welded them into one harmonious whole, whereon he cast the full light of his poetic genius. It was his heaven-called destiny to become, in Carlyle's words, "the spokesman of ten silent centuries." To exhibit the idealized truth of things, to present phenomenal existences from the standpoint of eternity,¹ to "justify the ways of God to men," as well as to set in its proper perspective the politico-theological ideal so fondly cherished by the Middle Ages—here was Dante's great aim. Dante was just midway between the ancient and the modern worlds, and in him were reflected the lights and shadows both of the already-fading past and the just-dawning future; the last of mediæval, he was also the first of modern writers. It is no idle criticism to say that Dante practically gave the deathblow to mediæval habits of thinking; nay, even to that noble ideal—for noble it was, let the historian deny it never so sturdily—which cherished the thought of one spiritual and one temporal head of united Christendom. True, this pathetic fallacy was with Dante a passionate ideal, as we know from his "De Monarchia"; but, as Caird notes, "the new wine of Dante's poetry *does* burst the old bottles of mediæval philosophy; or, in other words, he so states the mediæval ideal that

¹ *Sub specie æternitatis*, as Spinoza would say.

he makes us see it to be in hopeless antagonism with reality and with itself, *and at the same time to contain the germ of a new form of social life.*"¹

In the article on Goethe, the poet's attitude, both ethically and intellectually, is very clearly delineated. We are introduced first to the great German poet as he stands, irresolute, midway between the somewhat lifeless mechanality of the last century, with its narrow deisms and negative creeds, and the impetuous life and positive philosophies of this present century. Like Dante, Goethe stands on the threshold of a great movement in human history. There is no small degree of similarity between the close of the fourteenth century and the close of the eighteenth century. Both eras witnessed a marvellous stirring of intellectual life; both were followed by a subsequent period of zymosis or seething, as Dr. Stirling has styled it; both were the precursors of an unparalleled activity in the domains of human action; both saw the downfall of systems in which spiritual life was no longer to be discovered. A victim in early youth to the influences of an unbridled romanticism, into which he was drawn by his study of Rousseau, that prince of sentimentalists, with his attractive but impracticable doctrine of a "return to Nature," Goethe found deliverance from the self-contradiction into which he felt himself involved by a single, supreme effort. In writing his famous book of confessions, "The Sorrows of Werther," with its sceptical philosophy and "hypochondriacal crotchets,"² he actually accomplished the liberation of his truer self. "He cured himself," says Caird, "by painting his disease. He exorcised the spectre that barred his way to a higher life by forcing it to stand to be painted. 'Werther' was his demonstration to himself of the emptiness and unworthiness of a state of mind whose only legitimate end was suicide."

It is curious, among other things, to observe Goethe's lifelong hostility to philosophy, varying, it is true, in intensity, but consistent notwithstanding. Yet it is not less noticeable that, by his own confession, he professes to draw from the "Ethics" of Spinoza a fund of health and moral refreshment. One could scarcely imagine a writer whose every method would more directly clash with Goethe's than Spinoza himself.

¹ The italics are mine. There is nothing with which I am acquainted that more happily describes the spirit of this age of romance than the few pages in which Caird sums up his impressions of its failures, its ideals, its heroism, and its energy. Browning, from a dramatic standpoint, does much the same for the age of the Renaissance, in that pungent poem of his "The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's."

² Cf. Scherer's "German Literature from 1740-1832," pp. 107-110, and Carlyle's admirable article in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1828, and the passage quoted there from Goethe's own autobiography.

Perhaps, however, it was this very antagonism that drew the poet so closely to the quiet, unobtrusive philosopher of Leyden.

His all-reconciling peace contrasted with my all-agitating endeavour ; his intellectual method was the exact counterpart of my poetic way of feeling and expressing myself ; and even the inflexible regularity of his logical procedure, which might be considered ill-adapted to moral subjects, made me his most passionate scholar and devoted adherent.

Goethe's return to Germany after his classical tour shows the hostility to philosophy at its highest. Full of the perfection of form, the harmony, the sublime repose of the masterpieces of Hellenic art and poetry, he continued till his death the foe of all discord in art, of chaos and struggle in life. To dwell securely in that spot of

endless peace
Existing at the heart of endless agitation

was to him almost a religion. Possibly it was this element in his nature that, in early years at least, bred in him so unflinching an opposition to Christianity. "He shrank 'from the earnestness, the pain, the patience, and the labour of the negative' through which the Christian spirit reaches a higher affirmative."

At the outset of his valuable essay on Goethe, Caird has some very suggestive reflections on the general relations subsisting between poetry and philosophy which we must not wholly pass over. Philosophy and poetry are two diverse and apparently irreconcilable ways of looking at the "sum of things." Poetry regards the living facts of the world *as a whole*, with a view to grasp it in its immediate unity and life ; while it is the business of philosophy to recognise that same unity by abstraction and division. Diverse, then, the methods must be ; but "*ultimately* poetry is one with philosophy," as Caird justly affirms, because, though in truth they may be said to start in opposite directions, yet they coincide in their final goal. Or, as I would put it in other words, the aim of poetry is to see the ideal in the real, of philosophy to see the real made manifest and explained in and through the real. And, above all, the poet must be a teacher in a very vital sense ; not, indeed, a cheap moralizer, but one who uses "the things of sense so as to indicate what is beyond, thus raising us through earth to heaven."¹ The poet, if he is to shake the world, must not regard the things of sense, of time, merely as such, but as resting upon a background of eternity.

This thought of the true vocation of the poet naturally leads us to Wordsworth, in whose life and work we may surely dis-

¹ Dr. Jowett, in his introduction to the "Gorgias," in that noble version of Plato which it is the honour of Oxford to have given to the English-speaking race (I quote from the *third*—last—edition ; vol. ii., p. 313).

cern much of the healthiest spiritual activity and purifying influences of this age reflected. Child of the Revolution as he was, he so far differed from most of the offspring born of that strange period of storm and stress in this—that he rather typifies its reconstructive activities, as against its purely negative and destructive antagonisms. His great theme, as the poet himself tells us, is the wedding of the intellect of man “to this goodly universe in love and holy passion.” So intense was his spiritual vision at times that he not seldom, says Caird, “dissipates the veil of sense, and brings us into unity with Nature.” That

Presence far more deeply interposed,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,

is to him no mere symbolic concept, but alive with a spiritual meaning. For Wordsworth, in his most inspired moments, this earthly tabernacle seems dissolved, and to pass away in the light of a Divine life. Hence, for him “there is no absolute division between man and the external world.” Hence, too, his insistence on the supreme worth of the essential passions and elementary feelings of the universal human heart; perhaps, also, that touch of “spiritual frugality” and that flavour of astringency which pervade his most characteristic work. And not without a goodly show of reason may we refer to this quiet conviction, that invincible optimism of his—and this, too, even when he is contemplating evil or sorrow. Finite man is essentially at one with an infinite Presence that indeed “disturbs,” but only with the “joy of elevated thought.” This note is struck unfalteringly in the two noblest of his poems—“Tintern Abbey” and the “Ode on the Intimations of Immortality.”

The essay on the genius of Carlyle, though somewhat slight, is a sympathetic piece of work enough, calculated to place the “sage” in a just point of view. Our debt to Carlyle, whatever people may say to the contrary, is very great indeed; he had a voice, and lifted it up unceasingly, at least against whatever he conceived to be falsehood and cant. True, there was oftentimes a harsh jangle in his words, and an element of stormy discord; but this never sprang from a consciousness of disloyalty to the highest convictions. And though our direct indebtedness to Carlyle is great, as, for example, in his revelation to us (for at that time it was none other) of the treasures of German literature, the indirect debt is even greater. His enthusiasm, his ideals, his splendid scorn of untruth, his passionate insistence on the binding necessity of regarding life and the things of life, not through the narrow medium of our individual prejudices and parochial biases, but *sub specie*

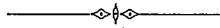
æternitatis—this is a legacy men will not soon forget. To see the finite from the standpoint of the infinite (that is, in its true light), therein reversing the impertinent dicta of certain latter-day prophets; to do the nearest duty; to follow hard after truth, and swerve not—all these are lessons which seem obvious enough, but which we need to keep in mind more than ever, *just because* they do seem so obvious. Caird's essay was written before the appearance of Professor Nichol's excellent monograph¹ on Carlyle; but the closing words of that monograph seem fitly to give the gist of Caird's own remarks:

The message of the modern preacher transcended all mere applications of the text *delenda est*. He (Carlyle) denounced, but at the same time nobly exhorted, his age. A storm-tossed spirit, "tempest-buffed," he was "citadel-crowned" in his unflinching purpose and the might of an invincible will.

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(To be continued.)



ART. V.—THE "SOCIETY OF BARUCH."

"And Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the Lord."—Ps. xxxvi. 4.

AT this present crisis in the history of the Church of England the proposals unfolded in the following paper are of importance. It has been a matter of regret that our religious leaders have only just awoken to the fact that the *Press* is to some extent against them. Nay, our most eminent littérateurs are Agnostic, although deeply sympathetic with religious life. But still there is left a remnant, and I hope an ever-increasing remnant, of Christian pressmen. The Church needs these men to-day more than it is ever likely to do again. Hence it follows that any scheme for the organization of Church scribes should receive attention. The proposals may be roughly divided into the following sections:

I. It is proposed to form into a society, to be called the Society of Baruch, those of the laity who will combine for all or any of the following purposes:

- (a) To use every effort to secure better reports of the Church's work in the great dailies.
- (b) To consider it a mission to correct by letter to the editor, or otherwise, any mistakes as to the history,

¹ In the "English Men of Letters" series; it was published during the summer of 1892. On the whole, it is the best essay on Carlyle yet written, or, for the matter of that, now likely to be written.

- resources and aims of the Church of England that may appear in any printed publication.
- (c) To make a duty of supplying the local press with reports of meetings and news-notes referring to Church work.
 - (d) To cultivate the friendship of all pressmen within their reach.
 - (e) If journalists themselves, to strive to have justice done to their Church in the papers they serve.
 - (f) To interest themselves in local Church history, and to keep complete files of all parish magazines, and endeavour to contribute to and improve these magazines both in circulation and power.
 - (g) If there be any ancient or specially beautiful church within easy reach of the layman's abode, he is to interest himself in it, to learn its history and to bring its monuments and beauties before popular notice, and where possible to write about the edifice and to offer himself as guide to visitors and tourists.
 - (h) To use every effort to fit himself as voluntary speaker or lecturer upon the literary side of the Church's life; to read papers upon her eminent sons who have shone as authors.
 - (i) To endeavour to raise the standard of tract literature.
 - (j) To relieve hard-worked parish clergy from all literary work.
 - (k) To stimulate the study of English literature, shorthand and rhetoric among Sunday-school teachers and temperance workers, in order to add to the sources of information upon which these workers feed.

Such are the main outlines of a comprehensive union of literary Churchmen. Its genesis comes under Section II.

II. To bring about the above union a central society must be formed in London with all the avowed Church papers as its supporters. Its members would require recognition from all our dignitaries, and would be free to all meetings, missions and schools to which public attention is needed to be called on presentation of their membership card. Except in needy cases they would give their services gratis, only every member should be allowed perfect freedom to receive payment or adopt any methods he may choose.

The idea ought to "catch on." No attempt is made to regulate rules and subscriptions and other details. These important matters can be worked out at a later stage. The object of this paper is to open the question for discussion. The three great interrogations needing a reply are: First, Whether the Church will improve her power in the press; and secondly, Whether she has enthusiastic scribes ready to

write, lecture and teach for her and for her God; and lastly, Whether these scribes will organize themselves for efficiency and mutual improvement and support.

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Teachers' Association.

ART. VI.—CURRENT FALLACIES IN THE CHURCH.

A PAPER READ TO THE CLERGY AT MAIDSTONE, JULY 18, 1893.

THERE are certain fallacies by which we are in the present day beset, and about which it would be well for all true adherents of Reformation principles to be perfectly clear in their own minds.

The first is that there were doctrines not taught by Christ, and unknown by the Apostles before the Day of Pentecost, which were to be disclosed by the Holy Spirit. The maintainers of this fallacy are much given to quoting the words of St. John xvi. 13: "When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth." They do not go on, however, to quote the rest of the utterance in the words which immediately succeed, and which would at once set them right. They are these: "For He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak; and He will show you things to come. He shall glorify Me; for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you." The idea that the Holy Spirit would produce anything not taught by Christ is most perverse. It is entirely precluded by these words. If any additional light on our Lord's meaning is needed, it may be found in the parallel passage in chapter xiv., ver. 26: "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My Name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." As Luther said: "He imposeth a limit and measure to the preaching of the Holy Ghost Himself; He is to preach nothing new, nothing other than Christ and His Word—to the end that we might have a sure sign, a certain test, whereby to judge false spirits." Thus the Spirit is conditioned by the Son, as the Son is by the Father. More than once we are told that the disciples needed interpretation of our Lord's words: "They understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask Him." "They understood not the saying which He spake unto them." "They understood not that He spake unto them of the Father." "This parable spake Jesus unto them; but they understood not what things they were which He spake unto them." "They understood none of these things; and

this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken." "These things understood not His disciples at the first, but when Jesus was glorified then remembered they that these things were written of Him, and that they had done these things unto Him." The office of the Spirit was to be that of an interpreter. He was to bring the innumerable words of our Lord back to the minds of His disciples; He was to interpret them, show their ground in the Old Testament, and their application to their existing circumstances. But in the most important period of the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, from Pentecost to Revelation, there is not one single trace of any shred of teaching different from the teaching of our Lord. It is the law of Christ that the Christians are to obey. It is the word of Christ which is to dwell in them richly. It is the Word of the truth of the Gospel that they have heard. The Word is something already known—they are to preach it in season and out of season. A bishop is to hold fast the faithful word as he hath been taught. Our Church is abundantly apostolical in this point, when we are taught that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The Apostles taught nothing that Christ did not teach; the Church can teach nothing but what was taught by the Apostles and by Christ.

The second fallacy is that during the forty days after the resurrection our Lord communicated to the Apostles a number of new doctrines which do not appear in the Gospels, Acts, or Epistles. This fallacy is grounded on the simple words at the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles: "The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all the things that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day in which He was taken up, after that He through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the Apostles whom He had chosen: to whom also He showed Himself alive after His passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." Never was tremendous inference laid on less solid foundation. The point here is that all that Jesus did and taught till His ascension St. Luke has already recorded. He maintains that in all necessary particulars his account of the life of Jesus is full and complete. Of the precious words which He spoke of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, St. Luke has already given the most important and characteristic specimen in his account of the walk to Emmaus: "Then He said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have

spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." And again in the same chapter, in his account of the interview with the Apostles, St. Luke gives another specimen of what he means: "He said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning Me. Then opened He their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them: Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem, and ye are witnesses of these things." No shadow of a hint is given of new doctrine, or sacerdotal teaching, or the foundation of institutions. If there had been, the passage at the beginning of the Acts would have been the very place in which St. Luke should sketch them. No hint of such a thing is given in St. Matthew, St. Mark, or St. John. No authority of our Lord is invoked for any of the adaptations of Christian institutions to circumstances, where, had the fallacy been true, such citation would have been inevitable. Nothing is attributed to our Lord in all the Acts and Epistles that is not taught in the Gospels, except some well-known phrase of His, "It is more blessed to give than to receive"—words which, after all, only summarize a large portion of His recorded teaching. Nothing can be more obvious than the meaning of St. Luke. Our Lord's visits to His Apostles after His resurrection are few and far between; the chief of them are recorded by St. Paul. Had He given any new directions, these could not have failed to appear in the text of the New Testament. If once you suppose that Christ, during His brief appearances, gave instructions not recorded in His life, and not alluded to in the Epistles, you may just as easily believe that He prophesied of the invocation of saints, the worship of the Virgin, the doctrine of purgatory, indulgences, the Mass, the celibacy of the clergy, the five sacraments, auricular confession, the Virgin's Immaculate Conception, the worship of images, and the Infallibility of the Pope.

The third fallacy, which at the present day meets us, is that there were a number of matters so important and so sacred in the eyes of the Apostles, that they were afraid to mention them for fear of the Jews and pagans, or even to give any hint of them in their Epistles. It is in this way that audacious and uncritical writers explain the fact that the mentions made in the New Testament of the Lord's Supper are not so numerous.

or important as they would wish, the comparatively minor stress that is laid upon it, and the total silence about any liturgical service, or any transfer of the Aaronic vestments to the Christian presbyters. But if that was really the case, or anything more than the most gratuitous fancy, it would follow that the Lord's Supper would not be mentioned at all; whereas St. Paul gives an explicit account of its institution. It is sometimes, in the same prejudiced manner, argued that when St. Paul rebuked the Corinthians for abuses, he could not have been alluding to the Lord's Supper, but to the Love Feast. Then, why should he bind up his rebuke of the excesses inextricably and fundamentally with his account of the institution? And again, the breaking of bread is constantly and frequently mentioned. This argument, that Scripture was silent about matters either too familiar for explanation or too sacred to be mentioned, will not bear an instant's examination. Scripture is not silent about them at all, but frequently mentions them, and gives them their due place and proportion. If there had been any real sacrificial teaching in connection with the Holy Communion, the Epistle to the Hebrews would have been the place of all others for such doctrine. If such doctrine had been in vogue, and yet the Epistle to the Hebrews remained silent, it would have been most incomplete and misleading.

The fourth fallacy I wish to mention is connected with the word "Romish." There is an ambiguity about it which is a most disastrous and unfortunate circumstance in our present controversies. The most extreme of the innovating party declare that they are not Romanizing, because there are just two points in the present condition of Rome after which they have no hankering. They do not accept the Infallibility of the Pope and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, which are recent additions to the Romish Creed. And they lay great stress on the fact that before the Reformation the Church of England sometimes tried to declare its comparative autonomy and independence of the Romish See. But the real point is that, from the time of St. Augustine downwards to the Reformation, the Mediæval Church of England did follow the developments of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and was as thoroughly Romish in her teachings and practice as any other portion of Christendom. The appeal of the Reformation, by which we of the Church of England are all bound, was most distinctly not to the time of St. Augustine, but to the authority of Holy Scripture itself, considerable importance being attributed to the witness and evidence of the first three centuries. This ambiguity, which gives occasion to assert that the doctrines of the Mediæval Church were not Romish, gives rise to this very grave fallacy, which has momentous

consequences at the present day amongst the younger clergy. The Use of Sarum, to which they appeal, was not identical with the Use of Rome, but it taught the same doctrines. It is the doctrine which is of importance, not the mere phrases, or varieties of ceremony by which it is expressed. The laity at large have no conception of the gravity of this fallacy. They are constantly told that things, practices, and doctrines are not Romish, because there was some variation in the national customs of the unreformed English Church. When the extreme innovators are accused of moving Romewards, they declare they are not moving to Rome, but to Sarum. They mean that they do not propose to accept the Infallibility of the Pope or the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; and they also mean that they are not going to adopt Romish colours, or distinctively Romish ceremonies, as apart from the ceremonies of Sarum. This is in reality only a quibble, although no doubt it represents some important distinction to their own minds; for the doctrines of the Church of England during the ascendancy of the Use of Sarum, towards which these men are desirous to move, were most distinctly Romish. Sarum merely means Rome minus the Infallibility of the Pope and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. But the protest of England against Rome was three centuries before the Infallibility of the Pope and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin were thought of or invented. It is Rome in the guise of Sarum that we have thoroughly and once for all repudiated, and that we have once more to repel.

The fifth fallacy commonly in vogue is in the use of the word "Catholic." Its true use is to distinguish the Church or Churches which hold to the simple teaching of the New Testament from those which are heretical, and which, as holding some peculiar view of their own, are not universal. As regards institutions or doctrines, its proper meaning is that which has been held always, everywhere, and by everybody. The great truths of Christianity taught by the New Testament, and the simple institutions of Bishop, Priest, Deacon, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the weekly meeting for Prayer, are therefore Catholic. Little else is worthy of the name. To usurp it for the mere usages, customs and doctrines of a Church calling itself Catholic, whether they themselves have been held always, everywhere, and by everybody, or not, is an abuse of terms. It is a good, useful, and important historical word, and should be vindicated from the slavery to which it has been subjected.

Against a sixth fallacy I would ask you to protest with all your hearts and souls. It is in the application of the word "Churchman" or "good Churchman." "What sort of a

Churchman is he?" is a question that is asked every day. Those who ask it generally mean that they wish the subject of their inquiry to be one who puts the mediæval doctrines of and about the Church above the plain and simple teaching and authority of Scripture; one who places so disproportionate a value on the outward body and its developments that he has become out of harmony with the balance of Scriptural doctrine; one who thinks more of the mediæval Church of England than of the principles of the Reformation; one who thanks God that, in spite of much that was to be deplored at the Reformation settlement, certain unexpected treasures have been handed down the existence of which has in modern times been rediscovered. Now, in the early Church a true Churchman was one who, while holding, of course, to the great principles of Catholic truth, obeyed the customs of his own Church, and was guided by his own bishop. If a man wished without authority to copy the customs of other Churches, and disregard the example and advice of his bishop, so far he was not in harmony with Catholic principles. Much was left to be settled by the taste and feelings of individual Churches. That is a principle on which our Church has claimed full liberty. Her own principles are expressed with abundant clearness. It is those who are loyal to those principles, who, according to the rules of the primitive and Catholic Church, are the true and genuine Churchmen. It is those who, under some strange mediæval hallucination, adopt the principles, teachings, and customs of other Churches, which are not really Catholic, but Roman, and which our own Church has by its own inherent authority distinctly repudiated, who incur the censure of faulty and imperfect Churchmanship.

Another mistake I may be permitted to mention. It is that of taking up some name or phrase characteristic of the other movement, and using it in a new sense as if it were perfectly harmless. It is supposed that, by the fact that you use it yourself, you have taken all the sting out of it. You perhaps hear it said: "I am a sacerdotalist. You are sacerdotalists. We are all sacerdotalists. The sacerdotalism we all believe in is the sole priesthood of our Lord Jesus Christ." Well, of course that is very true in the sense in which it is used; but if we all go about calling ourselves sacerdotalists, in some peculiar esoteric metaphorical sense, we shall only succeed in being considered to agree with those of whom the name is really and truly characteristic. The name sacerdotalist belongs to those who insist on the delegated sacrificial vicarious priesthood. The name Catholic, in its proper sense, belongs to us. The name Protestant belongs to us. But the name sacerdotalist is obviously misleading, and we have no reason to meddle with it.

One more fallacy before I conclude. The use of the adjective High-church is full of ambiguity. In its application it is a very relative term. In Queen Anne's days it meant something very different from what it means now. But we must not allow its concentration upon the most extreme or ritualistic section of the Church to persuade us that against those who are not ritualistic we have no point of argument or disagreement. I think we should say that all those who put the authority of the Church above the authority of Scripture, who teach that the Lord's Supper is an expiatory sacrifice, who hold apostolical succession as a doctrine, and not merely as a historical fact or probability, and who teach a real local presence of Christ in the elements, whether they are given or not to ritualism, are, in a conscientious and straightforward way, High-churchmen. But there are many among these who wish to persuade us that only the men who wear vestments are High-churchmen, and that they themselves are plain members of the Church of England. Now, we do not wish to multiply differences, but at the same time we cannot consent, by any shifting of recognised historical terms, to have our minds confused and the teaching of our Church obscured. Otherwise, every succeeding generation would be going further down the scale, until the old framework of the Reformed Church of England would be left like the ark on the top of Ararat.

My brothers, you have a glorious position to vindicate, and an unrivalled opportunity of making its establishment sure and certain. The country is waiting to hear what you can say for your attitude and your belief. You have on your side the Bible and the Prayer-Book. Of this the innovators are conscious, for they have now made definite proposals for the Prayer-Book's alteration. You have on your side the great mass of the laity, who dislike ritualism, the confessional, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the sacrificial priesthood. You have the Archbishop condemning disparagers of the Reformation, and declaring it to be the greatest event since the publication of Christianity. You have the Bishops pronouncing that fasting communion is not obligatory, and that evening communion is under circumstances permissible, whereas the contrary propositions have been for years earnestly taught by the mediævalists. Oh, make use of this great opportunity. Establish your Pastorate at Oxford. Build your own theological college in the provinces. Maintain Reformation principles in every assembly of the clergy. Prove to the Nonconformists that the Church is still what for three hundred years she has been intended to be, the bulwark of an intelligent and truly Catholic protest against Rome. Support Reformation literature. Distribute wise and well-grounded Reformation pamphlets throughout

the country. The ceaseless vigilance of Rome never slumbers; she uses the mediævalists for her own vast, far-sighted, patient, and comprehensive purposes. Have the courage of your opinions. Recommend them by the earnestness, devotion, and self-sacrifice of your lives. Win the working classes by the true brotherliness of your sympathy. And may God Himself continually shield us from pride, presumption, and error, and give us a right judgment in all things!

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

AN ASPIRATION ON JULY 6TH, 1893.

SEND Thy blessing from above,
Lord, on Bridegroom and on Bride;
Be their morning bright with love,
Crowned with peace their eventide!
Be their glory less to trace
Kings and princes in their line,
Than to prove in gifts of grace
That their hearts and hopes are Thine!
Born to glad a reign whose light
Shines with undiminished ray,
In its evening hour still bright
As in its glad opening day.
Crown of all their life be Thou,
Let Thy blest acceptance seal
Every prayer and every vow
Raised for their eternal weal!
Give them grace unharmed to bear
All that highest lot below
Brings with it of fear and care,
Smile of joy or tear of woe!
In the brightest hour of life
May they never leave Thy side,
That in time of darkest strife
They may find Thee near to guide!
Then, when every storm is past,
And Thy peace shall reign alone,
Crowned in glory they shall cast
Their earthly crowns before the Throne.

R. C. JENKINS.

Lyminge Rectory, Kent.

Reviews.

Apologetics ; or, Christianity Defensively Stated. By Professor BRUCE. Pp. 522. Price 10s. 6d. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

THEIS is a very able and systematic arrangement of reasons for the faith which would be given by a thoughtful and learned student and scholar in answer to the various attacks and criticisms in current thought. Its method is historical, and is eminently candid in its treatment. In the first chapter Professor Bruce sketches the reasons for belief given in the New Testament, and the reply of Origen to the attack of Celsus ; passing on to freethought in the eighteenth century, and freethought in the present time. With regard to his plan of writing, he says : "The aim naturally determines the method. The aim is to secure for Christianity a fair hearing with conscious or implicit believers whose faith is stifled or weakened by anti-Christian prejudices of varied nature and origin." The book, in short, is intended to be, not so much a complete philosophical treatise, as to deal with current difficulties and misconceptions. An enumeration of the chapters will partly indicate this plan : "The Christian Facts," "The Christian Theory of the Universe," "The Pantheistic Theory," "The Materialistic Theory," "The Deistic Theory," "Modern Speculative Theism," "Agnosticism."

The second book deals with the historical preparation for Christianity. In the first chapter, on "The Sources," the Professor adopts a very sensible attitude towards the higher criticism ; he respectfully waits until there is some ground for establishing conclusions, and in the meantime is content to begin with the consideration of the prophets, and to see how much of the previous existence of the ideas and traditions accepted as Jewish their writings imply. He goes on with "The Religion of the Prophets"; "The Prophetic Idea of Israel's Vocation and History"; "Mosaism," or the existence, character, and influence of the great law-giver ; "Prophetism," or the influence of the prophets ; "Prophetic Optimism," or the three conceptions of the Ideal Royal Man, the kingdom of the good, and the suffering servant of God, all meeting in Jesus. In the seventh chapter, on "Judaism," Dr. Bruce discusses the Levitical code, and the work of Ezra in re-establishing its provisions. Under the head "The Night of Legalism" he treats of the Jewish system after the light of prophecy had ceased. The ninth chapter sums up the "Old Testament Literature," and gives an account of the Hebrew canon ; and in the tenth chapter he points out the defects of "The Old Testament Religion and its Literature." The third book presents an account of the Christian origins. The first chapter deals with the personality of Jesus, the second with His setting forth as Messiah. The writer then describes Jesus as Founder of the Kingdom of God ; discussing with great frankness in the next chapter the resurrection, of which he says "that our Lord's physical resurrection remains as a fact to be accounted for, but a mystery." In the fifth chapter he presents the problem of the Divinity of our Lord. This is followed by a very important chapter on the position of St. Paul as the great Christian teacher. In the seventh chapter the divergent views of different German critics are examined with great ability.

In his account of the synoptical gospels, Dr. Bruce, with marked acumen, gives reasons for thinking that the Evangelists were incapable of producing ideal portraits. In estimating the authenticity of the fourth gospel in the ninth chapter, the Professor sums up as follows : "It has indeed been pronounced beyond belief that a companion of Jesus

could come to think of Him as the incarnate Logos, or that any power, either of faith or philosophy, could so extinguish the recollection of the real life, and set in its place this wonderful image of a Divine Being. If we have rightly regarded the Gospel as intended for the use of disciples assumed to be familiar with the primitive evangelic tradition, the writer must have conceived it possible for his readers to combine the two images. He could hardly have thought this possible for them, unless he felt it to be possible for himself. Why, then, should it be possible for a scholar of John's to adopt the human image from his lips, or from current tradition, or from the synoptical gospels, and impossible for John himself, who had got that image from personal intercourse with Jesus?" The book concludes with a powerful appeal to the recognition of Christ as the true Light of the World.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Sermons. By the late Rev. JAMES LONSDALE, formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Classical Professor King's College, London, and Rector of South Luffenham and Huntspill. Longmans, Green and Co., London.

The elegant scholarship and varied learning of James Lonsdale are applied in these Sermons, not as a show, but to use in the most simple, direct, forcible, and admirable way. That is made plain which other writers would somewhat obscure—appeals to sober reason and genuine affection, instead of puzzling the judgment, and rendering the conclusion doubtful. The style is varied, never obscure nor stilted. In the great learning here and there apparent, the quaint simplicity so frequent, the lively imagination so interesting, the heart is made better, and the mind rests on the latent power which pervades every sermon. Earnestness, evident sincerity, accompany admirable teaching, and remind those who knew him how admirable he was as a companion.

There are thirty-three Sermons. These are a few of the titles: The Advent of Death, The Agony in the Garden, The Christian's Contest, Satan Transformed, Immortality, Wisdom Justified, Time and Eternity, The Paradise of God, The End of the Year. There is much learning in Sermons xxii., xxiii., xxiv. A lively imagination and delicious quaintness abound in Sermons xxvii. and xxix. Not that these are the only excellent, for in all the excellence grows on you in the reading, and the quaintness is found to be wisdom lit up with humour. Every sermon is that which a good man, a scholar, a teacher, should write; but the ease, the unpretentiousness, the absence of self, and the Lord in all, mark a genius not less modest than rare. In its order, every sermon, even without the author's finishing touches, may be studied as a model of unadorned beauty.

As to the Lord's Second Advent, these are his words: "Then will Christ conclude the preaching of the Gospel, and end the duration of the world. By one act and one appearance will He unite the greatest terror with the greatest glory; He will transform the world, and nature and time, and the bodies of His saints, and the souls of His disciples; He will awaken the dead, and change the living as in a moment; He will judge the living and the dead, and carry the children of God to the inheritance of eternal life" (p. 9).

In the Sermon on Bethlehem (p. 20), we find: "Of all the many wonderful things which belong to our holy religion, whether we think of the miracles that accompanied it, its spread through the world, its effect on the world, still more its effect on those who are really good and kind, yet, among all these wonderful things, none more wonderful than its little beginning with a stable, a manger."

On Trinity Sunday (p. 92) he writes: "We poor weak, sinful men are

taught by the Holy Spirit in prayer, through Christ our Lord, to draw near freely and confidently to our good Father which is in heaven."

It is hard to say whether the naturalness is child of consummate skill, and the hidden power, ever and ever bursting out from the simplicity, is a gift of the Holy Ghost, or whether both are not the retiring beauties of a genuinely noble character, of one who knows, as he says, "God careth for no man's eloquence."

As to Immortality (p. 169), we read: "This doctrine can never perish. If it perished, the Church would perish with it. A gloom would settle upon the world, as though the sun were darkened in the heavens. Unless we may believe in the last articles of the Creed, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life Everlasting, we cannot believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, nor the Holy Ghost, nor the Holy Catholic Church. Our places of worship would be deserted, our cathedrals become ruins, or be turned into mere galleries of arts and exhibitions. Our hymns would lose all their beauty, pathos, sublimity. The death-bed of the dying would be hopeless indeed."

Having spoken of four periods in the course of the last sermon in the book (p. 263), he closes with these words: "The first gives us all confidence in God; the second suggests repentance; the third calls for our prayers, our vigilance, our active efforts against evil; the last gives us the final motive, the great hope, and runs up into the eternal charity of our heavenly Father."

In the whole book is not one pretentious sentence. Every sermon will, in the reading, interest those who have lost interest in religion: for there is much sacred amusement, a cheerfulness that elevates. The devout man will learn how great a beauty and power reside in simple faith and in taking God at His word. The book is good for the teacher, and a book good, very good, for him who desires to be taught.

JOSEPH WILLIAM REYNOLDS.

Short Notices.

Early Christian Missions of Ireland, Scotland, and England. By Mrs. CHARLES. Pp. 425. S.P.C.K.

THE authoress of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family," who is a general and deservedly popular favourite, has gathered together, in her pleasant way, sketches of the mission of St. Patrick from Wales to Ireland, St. Columba from Ireland to Scotland, the missions from Iona to England of St. Aidan, St. Hilda, St. Colman, St. Chad, and St. Cuthbert. Then there comes the exceedingly interesting mission of St. Columban to Europe, and that of Winifred of Devonshire, better known as St. Boniface, who became the Apostle of Germany, and lastly, there is a biography, translated chiefly from the Latin, of St. Margaret the Saxon, wife of Malcolm Canmore, who did much to civilize and Christianize her husband's wild subjects. This book will be a valuable introduction for many young students to the fascinating regions of Early Church History in our native land.

The Church and her Teaching. By the REV. C. H. ROBINSON. Pp. 69. Price 2s. Longman and Co.

This little book consists of six Lenten Addresses given in Truro Cathedral on the subject of the Church. It contains many useful

suggestions. The following sentence, with modifications, conveys a very fitting lesson: "Instead of endeavouring to discover the small residuc of truth which all alike agree to hold, may we not rather go back to the time before any of these three hundred denominations came into existence, and agree to hold the truth which Christians held in common for so many centuries before all our unhappy divisions occurred?" If Mr. Robinson would write the "first three" instead of "so many," he would describe the position of the Church of England; but he cannot but be aware that in the fourth century a large number of very serious errors began to show themselves, which have since been developed by the great unreformed body of the ancient Catholic Church, now represented by the Bishop of Rome with his 192,000,000 of adherents. Mr. Robinson hardly allows sufficient weight to the difficulties which inevitably occurred through the tremendous upheaval of the Reformation.

William Marcus Falloon. By HUGH FALLOON. Pp. 201. Liverpool: Thompson and Co.; London: Nisbet and Co. 1892.

The memorable ministry of Mr. Falloon, of Liverpool, is eminently deserving of record. This has been done with loving care and delicacy by Mr. Falloon's son; and the result is a book which should be in the hands of every young clergyman. The secret of the Evangelical influence of old days is shown by the ceaseless activity and the inspired fervour of the subject of these memoirs. Canon Falloon's own recollections of his early days at Liverpool should be noted. He says that Church work assumed the aspect which it has to a large extent held ever since—the Congregational. Large congregations gathered round the popular Evangelical clergy. In each of these circles there was much activity; good schools, good district-visiting, good work of every kind. Their public meetings then, especially for the great societies, were really grand and impressive. Mr. Falloon learned from his master, Canon McNeile, the expository style of preaching. This became his strong point, and the means by which he riveted the attention of his hearers, and brought the Bible to bear with such singular power on their hearts and lives. The services in his church are thus described: After the bell stopped, entrance was impossible. During the prayers, there was a roar of response whenever the time came for the people to take their part of the service; and so hearty and universal was the singing, that it seemed as if the volume of sound would lift the very roof. But while the service was thus hearty and striking, not one whit behind any of the popular services of the present day, it was quite evident that the sermon was the magnet which had drawn these people together from every part of Liverpool and its suburbs.—The specimens of papers and sermons at the end of the volume are of high value as the results of the experience of a man of the greatest spiritual power. Attention may be called to those on the Power of Prayer, on Christian Manliness, and on Sermon-making. The whole biography is a most refreshing and encouraging study.

Seven Lamps of Fire. By the REV. PHILIP NORTON. Pp. 101. Price 1s. Nisbet and Co.

The office and work of the Holy Spirit are too much neglected in the present day. Every Christian will be the better for reading this excellent little manual. The character of the Holy Spirit cannot of course be confined to the four or five points mentioned in the passage of Isaiah; there are many other important aspects of His operations; but at any rate, they call attention to certain important modes of His divine energy.

The *Revue Internationale* has reached its third number. It owes its existence to the Old Catholic Congress held last September at Lucerne, and its editor is Professor Michaud, of Berne University. The articles are in English, French, and German, and are written by Anglicans, Old Catholics, and Orthodox Greeks and Russians. The Bishop of Salisbury has contributed two interesting articles in English to former numbers on Buddhism. Among the other contributors have been the Archbishop of Patras, who sent a sketch of the proceedings of the Council of Basel in the fifteenth century, Bishops Reinkens and Herzog, and General Kiréef, of St. Petersburg. Mr. Lias has sent some short notices of English books. In the present number there is an article by Professor Wiber on the Being of God. Professor Kyriakos deals with the recent attempt of the Pope to bring about reunion with the Orthodox Churches of the East, and lays down the following propositions: (1) That the object of the Pope has always been to obtain the submission, not the adhesion, of the Orientals; (2) that the Pope has no ground for his claim to universal authority; and (3) that submission to the Pope would destroy the characteristics of Oriental Christianity, and would seriously injure Orthodox nations politically, nationally, and socially. Professor Sokoloff and General Kiréef discuss the validity of Old Catholic orders, and the *rapprochement* between Old Catholics and the Eastern Churches from an Orthodox point of view. Professor Michaud criticises the recent manifesto of M. Naville on Reunion. Professor Van Thiel sends a most interesting paper on the new departure at Paris. After many abortive negotiations, Père Hyacinthe has finally retired from the direction of the Old Catholic movement in France, and the Dutch Old Catholic Church has undertaken it. The relations between Père Hyacinthe and the Dutch Bishops are of a cordial character, but certain changes have been resolved upon. Youths are to be prepared in Paris for a theological course at the Theological College at Amersport, in Holland. At Paris, the worship is still to be kept up in French, and the Communion is to be administered in both kinds. But the work is to be carried on according to strictly "Catholic" principles, and the priests for the present are not to be allowed to marry. The correspondence between Père Hyacinthe and the Bishop of Utrecht is given at full length.

One very valuable feature of this review is the very considerable information given in it of the literary activity of the Continent. The reviews are in English, French, and German. In the former language, Mr. Lias has selected Mr. Gore's Bampton Lectures, and Professor Milligan's Lectures on the Resurrection, as volumes illustrative of certain tendencies in English and Scotch religious thought, which he thinks may be interesting to Continental theologians. The existence of such a review as this is a remarkable sign of the times. It is almost impossible to over-estimate the importance of the fact that a satisfactory channel has been opened for the free interchange of thought between the English, the Old Catholic, and the Oriental Churches, and it is impossible to say what results may flow from this new departure in a not very distant future.

MAGAZINES.

Blackwood's begins with an interesting paper sketching the religious feelings of remarkable men of letters between 1750 and 1850. There is a sympathetic sketch of the celebrated Madame Mohl, who kept one of the latest salons in Paris. There is also an account of a powerful novel by a Spanish Jesuit Father; some interesting information on a by-way of political knowledge—the relations between Australia and India; and an important appeal to British justice on the proposals of the Home Rule Bill on the Irish magistracy and constabulary.

The Leisure Hour gives the story of the 18th Royal Irish. There are few people who are not interested in regimental history. Miss Bishop concludes her travels amongst the Tibetans. "Board and Lodging at Sea" helps us to realize the extraordinary developments of ship accommodation in the last half-century; and there are sketches of Sir John Gilbert and the admirable and beloved general, Sir Hope Grant. A most interesting map is given of the world as known forty years after the discovery of Columbus.

In *The Sunday at Home* an account of some women hymn-writers mentions Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Charles, Mrs. Alexander, Jane and Ann Taylor, and Miss Havergal; and there are interesting papers on "The Temples of Benares," "Life in the Downs," "Experiences of a French Anarchist," and "Palestine in Transition."

Good Words (July). Miss Edna Lyall continues her charming story of the time of the cavaliers. In "Empty Shells" Prebendary Harry Jones discourses on ancient settings, either with new occupants or deserted. Dr. Taylor's illustrated article on "Suffolk Moated Halls" introduces us to an interesting phase of old English life. There is a pleasant sketch of James Thomson, the poet of the woods; and the Bishop of Ripon introduces us in his series to "Christ's Influence on Pilate."

Good Words for August contains a noteworthy article on "Tailoring by Steam," as carried on at Leeds, under apparently very favourable conditions. "Rambles in the Precincts" has some charming illustrations by Mr. Railton in his admirable style. The Bishop of Ripon speaks of "Christ's Influence on Nathaniel."

The Sunday Magazine (July). "Under the Northern Lights" is an illustrated account of the Lapps. Mr. Lynton Bell gives an appreciative account of the late eminent Bishop Phillips Brooks. "Dr. Newman Hall at Home" is an illustrated biography of great interest of an eminent religious leader. Mrs. Boyd Carpenter contributes a charming allegory from nature under the title "Be Still and Know." Dr. Newman Hall contributes a sketch of Dr. Guthrie, and Mr. Waugh continues his admirable "Sermons for Children."

The Sunday Magazine (August). Mr. Preston's article on "Constantinople" gives some sketches of a characteristic Eastern type. Mr. Buckland contributes a sympathetic biographical sketch of Bishop Horden. The illustrated biography this month is that of Dr. Stalker, of the Free Church, Glasgow. Precentor Venables conducts us round his well-beloved Lincoln Minster. Mr. Fulcher gives a pleasant natural history article on "Gregarious Birds."

Amidst much pleasant light reading in *The Cornhill* there is an interesting and original article on "Texts and Mottoes on Houses," and two weird sketches—"The Breaking of the Drought" and "Macdonald's Return."

The Review of the Churches begins with an admirable portrait of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It has also excellent likenesses of the new Bishop of Norwich and the Bishop-Designate of Natal. The system of Church patronage discussed is that of the Wesleyan Methodists. Mr. Lias contributes a very important article on "The Old-Catholic Congress at Lucerne of 1892," with portraits of Bishop Rienkens, Count Campello, and Dr. Döllinger. The first paper on the Reunion Conference of 1893 is of singular interest, and has a charming picture of Christ Church, Lucerne, built by the Old Catholics and the Americans. The number also contains excellent portraits of the two new negro Bishops, and of Mr. J. G. Clarke, editor of *The Christian World*.

The Religious Review of Reviews contains a valuable and thoughtful

article on "The National Church" by the late Archbishop Thomson. Canon Fleming's lesson in elocution deals with that very important subject "The Pause." The "Philanthropic Institutions" are the National Refuges for Homeless Children, the Christian Blind Relief Society, Charing Cross Hospital, the Field Lane Refuges, the Bolingbroke House Pay Hospital, and the London Hospital. The July number has a biographical sketch of the late Professor Pritchard. Mr. Reid's article on "The Scottish Establishment" shows a clear and intelligent knowledge of the subject. The editor's paper is on "The Modulation of the Voice." The "Home Missions of the Church" are the Church Lads' Brigade and the Missions to Seamen. The "Philanthropic Institutions" are the Society for the Relief of Persecuted Jews, the London City Mission, the Female Orphan Asylum, the City of London Truss Society, and others. The "Reviews and Extracts" are as usual extremely well done.

The Fireside contains several papers which have reference to the Royal Marriage. Mr. Senior gives advice for holidays, contributing an illustrated paper on the charming Isle of Arran. He has another on some of the chief mountains of the Bernese Oberland. Bishop Pakenham Walsh discourses on "The Church's Mission Call."

In *The Quiver* should be noted an extremely interesting article on the discoveries at Silchester. Mr. Burnet's paper on "The Marriage of Modern Jews" is also interesting. Mr. Blathwayt sends an interview with Dr. Reynolds, the able and beloved principal of Cheshunt College.

In *Cassell's Family Magazine*, one of the remarkable papers has wedding-portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Kent, the Queen and Prince Consort, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Duke and Duchess of York. Mr. Blathwayt sends an interview with Mr. Fowler, the President of the Local Government Board. The illustrated article on Parliament deals with "The Lobbies."

The Newbery House Magazine provides portraits of Dr. Hooke, Mr. Richards, Professor Moseley, Mr. Skinner, Dr. Pusey, and Canon Liddon as leaders of the Oxford Movement. An account of the Non-jurors is given by Mrs. Buckeley-Owen. Lady Laura Reading continues her pleasant and useful writing on "Work for Women and Children."

The Foreign Church Chronicle ought to be widely known, as it records movements progressing in all parts of the Continent of a similar character to the Reformation in England three hundred years ago. "Gleanings from a French Diocesan Gazette" gives a salutary glimpse of the Church of Rome apart from the restraining influence of English Christianity. The accounts of the new Spanish Prayer-Book are continued, and there is an important article on the Lord's Day before and after the time of Constantine.

The Critical Review contains favourable notices of the recent works of Mr. Badham and Mr. Jolly, of Montefiore's Hibbert Lectures, and Max Müller's Gifford Lectures at Glasgow.

The Thinker contains interesting papers on the Economic Conditions of the Hebrew Monarchy, on Professor Bruce as a leader of thought in Scotland, and on Professor Fairbairn's important work. Both *The Thinker* and *The Critical Review* are invaluable to those who wish to keep abreast with modern theological criticism and thought.

In *The Sunday-school Magazine* Mr. Turner continues his Indian notes with an account of Delhi, Mr. Kitchen his suggestions for a Teachers' Museum, and Mr. Pollard his visit to Egypt. The useful model lessons deal with the Creation, the Fall of Man, and other early episodes of the Hebrew records.

The Anglican Church Magazine is chiefly occupied with the report of the Conference of English Chaplains held at Geneva last May.

In *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* there is a further valuable instalment of "Letters and Journals from Uganda." The letters are from the Uganda martyrs. A critical examination of Professor Max Müller's "Anthropological Religion," Canon McCormick's "Anniversary Sermon," and Mr. Oates' "Address to the Manchester Clergy."

The Boy's Own Paper has some capital articles on "Dogs," "Electrical Bells," "Brass-rubbing," "Shakespeare's Country," "Rhinoceros Hunting," and "Boy Life in Australia."

In *The Girl's Own Paper* Miss Tytler tells us about Caroline of Anspach, and there is a pretty sonnet to Princess May by Lady William Lennox.

The summer numbers of these two popular magazines both contain much of bright and interesting reading.

The frontispiece in *Little Folks* this month is extremely pretty.

The Church Monthly has illustrated papers on the Royal Wedding, the new Bishop of Norwich and St. Lawrence, Thanet.

We have also received *Home Words*, *The Day of Days*, *Hand and Heart* (which has again some interesting wedding illustrations), *The News*, *The Church Worker*, *The Evangelical Churchman* (Toronto), *The Christian Times*, *Friendly Greetings*, *The Cottager and Artisan*, *Light in the Home*, *Bible Society's Monthly Reporter*, *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, *New and Old*, *Awake*, *Open Doors*, *The Dawn of Day*, *The Parish Magazine*, *The Child's Pictorial*, *The Child's Companion*, *The Children's World*, *Our Little Dots*, *The Boy's and Girl's Companion*.

The new 1d. biographies of the R.T.S. are "Susannah Wesley" and "John Macgregor," and the new 1d. stories are "Pocahontas" and "Little Ruby's Curl."

The Protestant Alliance sends a pamphlet on "Papal Rule in Canada and Knights in Malta."

THE MONTH.

NOTICE should be taken of Lord Salisbury's words in Parliament recently on the action of the Education Department. Addressing himself directly to the Earl of Kimberley, he said that "the noble Earl knew very well if he treated Mussulmans as he was now treating Church-people there would be bloodshed in India before long." The powers of the Department, he boldly went on, had fallen into the hands of a Vice-President with strong antipathy to voluntary schools, which he was causing to be felt in every part of the country. The clergy, particularly in the rural districts, can amply corroborate Lord Salisbury's charge. But until Churchmen make their power felt there is little hope of redress.

Another valuable utterance has been given by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was at his Diocesan Conference at Canterbury:

There is very little attempt to depart in any quarter from the true and sound use of the Church. There is an enormous difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome in the matter of services. A large part of the work of the Reformation was directed to making the services of the Church simpler, and within the comprehension and interest of every single member of the congregation; there can be nothing more

wrong in theory, and more foolish in act, and more untrue in principle, and more certain to bring a recompense of alienation, than to take customs which are not existent among ourselves to imitate them from any other Church and introduce them into the ritual of our Church. There is nothing more rebellious against the honour and rights of the Church, and at the same time more unpractical and more sure to produce an indignation which will alienate our best and soundest laymen.

At the thirty-fourth anniversary of the English Church Union Viscount Halifax said that during the year they had added 3,082 new members to their roll, and they had now 34,761 names on the books, of whom 4,200 were in holy orders. "Those numbers might be largely increased with a little trouble, and in view of future eventualities I trust we shall be able to announce such an increase next year. Four members of our body have been raised to the Episcopate during the current year, which lifts the number of the Episcopal members of the Union to twenty-nine. One member of our council, the Rev. Richard Temple West, a name well known and dear to us all, has been removed by death."

At the recent anniversary meeting of the Poor Clergy Relief Corporation, of which Dr. Turtle Pigott has been for many years the indefatigable, sympathetic, and most successful secretary, the chairman, Archdeacon Farrar, referred to the condition of many of the clergy as being serious in the extreme. He had gathered some statistics on the subject, and it appeared that 400 of the clergy were receiving less than £50 a year each; 3,500 less than £100 a year; 7,000 less than £130; and 7,000 incumbents and curates less than £300. That meant that out of the 26,000 clergymen no fewer than 17,900 were receiving less than £300 a year each. It was a hopeless task for a clergyman to attempt to maintain a household and educate sons on £300 a year. Those of them who tried it found "the iron would enter into their souls." The Archdeacon of London seconded the resolution, and the report was adopted.

The Bishop of London's recent appointment to the important East End parish of Bromley St. Leonard, vacated by the death of the late Prebendary How, has given great satisfaction to many.

The Rev. John Parry accomplished a successful work in Canonbury. His eloquent and forcible preaching, backed up by earnest and careful work, gathered round him a large and attached congregation. He leaves St. Stephen's the richer also by a fine vicarage, an endowment of £100 a year, and large and commodious church-rooms. Altogether in his five years and a half of service he has raised over £10,000, besides increasing in a remarkable manner Church work in all its branches. The parish of Bromley-by-Bow may well be congratulated on his appointment. Mr. Parry, it is believed, will display the same high qualities and achieve as great success in the larger and more important post to which the Bishop has appointed him as in his late parish in North London.

Many will be the regrets, both in and out of the parish, when it is known that the Rev. W. Hay Chapman has been compelled by ill-

health to resign the rectory of All Souls', Langham Place, where he has laboured with much acceptance since 1887. Mr. Chapman has sent a letter to his parishioners in which he tells the reason of his resignation in almost pathetic terms. His health, for some time past, has been uncertain, and for the last two years he has been considerably tried by not being able to take his full share of work. At the beginning of this year he quite hoped that he should be able to continue at his post without difficulty, but a sudden and very unlooked-for breakdown in January laid him entirely aside. After conferring with his most trusted medical friends he determined to consult the physician whom they considered best qualified to advise him, and to abide by his decision. The opinion he received was to the effect that his health was liable to get worse under much wear and tear; but that if he were content to fill a post of a less arduous character, he might still look forward to doing plenty of useful work.

The new Rector of All Souls', Langham Place, the Rev. Johnston Hamilton Acheson, Rector of St. Peter's, Chester, and Honorary Canon of Chester Cathedral, is well-known and highly esteemed in the north-west of England, where he has been labouring since 1860. He was for two years curate of Liverpool and chaplain of the reformatory ship *Akbar*. In 1862 he was appointed Vicar of Upton, Cheshire. He has held his present living since 1873. His appointment to an honorary canonry in 1890 was a graceful recognition of his work in the diocese, and was warmly appreciated by his people. Canon Acheson will be a useful accession to the ranks of evangelical clergy in London. He is well known at Salisbury Square, and will add strength to the committee. He will, it is believed, quickly win his way to the hearts of his people.—*Record*.



Obituary.

JOSIAH BATEMAN died in May, at the age of ninety-two. He was the son-in-law and biographer of Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta. He took his degree at Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1828, and was subsequently Curate of Burslem, and of St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, East Indian Chaplain, Vicar of Marlborough, Vicar of Huddersfield, Rector of North Cray, Vicar of Margate, and, finally, from 1873 till his death, Rector of Southchurch, Essex. From 1863 he was an honorary Canon of Canterbury. He was a powerful and popular preacher and writer, a diligent visitor and organizer, an exemplary father, cheerful and genial in society, with a keen sense of humour. His latest work was "Clerical Reminiscences."

Noticing the death of the Rev. Charles Pritchard, D.D., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, the *Times* says: In spite of serious illness of long duration, he paid his

visits to the Observatory almost to the last, and it is not long since his astronomical work obtained the highest possible recognition. Dr. Pritchard was a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree as fourth Wrangler in 1830. For many years he was headmaster of the Clapham Grammar School, and various men of distinction—the Dean of Westminster and others—owed to him their early training. In 1870 he was elected to the Savilian chair of astronomy at Oxford, and from that date he superintended with unflagging zeal the new Observatory in the Parks, which, through his enthusiasm, and thanks to the munificence of Dr. De la Rue, has had an ample share of the endowments of scientific research by the University of late years. Dr. Pritchard was made a Fellow of New College in 1883, and honorary Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, in 1886. He was president of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1866, and in the same year he was awarded the gold medal of that society for recent valuable discoveries in stellar photometry. He was Hulsean lecturer in 1867, and was select preacher both at Oxford and Cambridge; and five times he preached by request before the British Association at their annual meeting. Many treatises from Dr. Pritchard's hands have appeared in the "Transactions" of the Royal Astronomical Society. He was the author of one of the most interesting articles in the "Bible Dictionary," namely, "The Star of the Magi"; and several articles in the last edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" were written by him. In 1886 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society for his "Uranometria Nova Oxoniensis," the result of observations with a wedge-photometer at the University Observatory. His latest work consisted of researches into the parallax of stars by means of photography, which were published last year. Many of his writings have been collected into a volume entitled "Occasional Thoughts of an Astronomer on Nature and Revelation" (1890). He did not forget in the midst of his University life the time which he had spent at Clapham, for in 1886 the old boys of that school invited their old schoolmaster to dinner, and the result was a little volume, called "Annals of our School Life," addressed to his former pupils. Professor Pritchard was in his eighty-fourth year at the time of his death, and was in full possession of all his faculties to the last.

The loss of the Rev. J. R. Starey will be much felt in Lambeth. One who knew the late Vicar of St. Thomas well writes: "Mr. Starey was an Evangelical to the backbone, though of a very liberal turn of mind to those from whom he differed. His life bespoke the man's character. Even-tempered, quiet in manner, kind in disposition, loving in his actions, holy in his conversation and conduct, he was an example and type of what a Christian minister should be: sympathetic with the sufferings and helplessness of his poorer neighbours and parishioners, earnest in the extreme to alleviate their troubles and make known to them the riches of God, straightforward and outspoken as a preacher, he succeeded in making his ministry and life felt to be a power for good."