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# The Churchman Advertiser.

MAY, 1903.

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INSTITUTED 1844.

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“Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.”

1 TIM. i. 15.

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“For though I preach the Gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me: yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel!”—1 Cor. ix. 16.

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THE Gospel MUST be preached to the perishing souls who, day by day, are working on our Great River, and the Committee of the Thames Church Mission find NECESSITY LAID ON THEM to ask those of the Lord's servants who possess their Master's gold and silver to assist as in their power this imperative command. The Mission has during the past year, from many causes, suffered financially. An urgent need is the reason for this appeal.

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WILL BE HELD IN THE

**Henry Hoare Memorial Hall, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster,**

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### THE ANNUAL BREAKFAST

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ART. I.—BAPTISM: ITS PLACE IN THE CHRISTIAN  
SYSTEM, ITS PART IN THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

I.

IT is a primary subject, for the Church and for the man; conspicuously prominent at the foundation of the Church, and thenceforward its door of admission; in Christian life the ordained starting-point, the investiture with its title and its rights. Hence, questions concerning it are amongst the first to be encountered in an early stage of religious thought, and difficulties which they involve are soon felt in the process of formation of opinion, and are often felt for long. Perhaps these are first experienced in view of the language of the Office for Baptism, which does not allow it to be regarded as merely a ceremonial act of admission or consecration, but appears to identify it with regeneration, and to make it a conveyance of the remission of sin and of the gift of the Spirit. The next step is to find that this is the language, not of the Church of England only, but of the Church from the beginning, expressed in creeds, confessions, liturgies, and early patristic writings. The authority seems sufficient. Yet to attribute such great inward and spiritual effects to an external ritual act is felt:

1. To be hardly reconcilable with psychological principles, with certain Scriptural teachings, and with our general habits of thought.

2. To be unsupported by facts in the religious (or irreligious) histories of a large proportion of baptized persons.

3. To be detrimental in effect, as obscuring the truth of spiritual regeneration and detracting from the necessity of conversion.

A man who has, on the one side, a preliminary confidence in the voice of the Church, not only from dutiful reverence for its authority, but from reasoned trust in its testimony, and who has, on the other side, a lively sense of such difficulties as have been mentioned, will find that his first business is, not to deal with formulas or objections, but to gain as distinct a view of the place of the Sacrament in the Christian system and its part in personal life as he can derive from the written Word. Only from that standpoint would he be able to see his way in the questions which ensue. It will be understood how this was felt by one whose early ministry was cast in the days of the Gorham controversy, when the subject of Baptism occupied all minds, and seemed to have the field to itself, and debates on the other Sacraments had scarcely yet begun. Briefly and rapidly must the case be stated here, without reference to authorities, discussions of diverse opinions, or exegetical arguments which have been traversed in reaching the results.

Historically, baptism appears as the sign of a new departure, the ordinance of a fresh commencement. Of all beginnings that there have been in the history of the world, the grandest is that announced in the words of St. Mark: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." And what was that beginning? "John did baptize in the wilderness and preach the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins." And that was on account of what was coming. "The kingdom of God was at hand." The voice penetrated men's souls, and awakened conscience to the sense and confession of sin. This found expression in the baptism, which was the pledge of forgiveness; but it was also an acceptance of God's purposes, and an obedience to His call. So the reception of it became One who would "fulfil all righteousness," though He had personally no part in repentance and remission of sins: "Jesus also came and was baptized." As He came up out of the water He received the anointing of the Spirit and the heavenly testimony, and entered on His mission to mankind; and thus the baptism of John was a preface to the great message and an inauguration of the great mission. While the preparatory stage of the Divine order lasted, Jesus united Himself with it, making, it is said, and baptizing (by the hands of others) more disciples than John. When that work was ended, and He withdrew into Galilee, it appears that baptism ceased; if so the suspension served to separate between the baptism of the day of preparation and that of the day of fulfilment. Christian baptism belonged to another level of revelation, and another stage of the kingdom, and another dispensation of grace—namely, those which are in

Christ. Only when He had finished the manifestation in the flesh, and accomplished redemption by death, and been "declared to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead," did the Lord give the final charge, in which the majesty of announcement and the fulness of promise accord with the grandeur and completeness of the scheme. "All authority has been given to Me in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and disciple all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you; and lo! I am with you all the days, even to the consummation of the age." It is not a ceremony or a symbol which is instituted in such words and in such a context, but an essential ordinance in the life of the Church, and a factor in human salvation. In that character it is also included in the few rapid words which, in a different tone, convey the same commission, as recorded in the fragment attached to St. Mark's Gospel. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creation: he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not, shall be condemned." So in this double form we have the Lord's mind concerning the place of the Sacrament in the Christian system to be established through the world.

Therefore, at Pentecost, to the eager inquiry, "Brethren, what shall we do?" the Apostles had the answer ready: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, unto the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." And so by water and the Spirit men entered into the kingdom of God.

The ordinance which gave form to the Church is implied ever after, and is expressly mentioned in special and peculiar cases, as of the Samaritans who are "baptized, both men and women," the Ethiopian proselyte, Saul of Tarsus, Cornelius and his friends, the first Gentiles chosen of God, or Lydia and the gaoler, "with their households," first converts in the West, or the twelve men at Ephesus, who had been baptized with John's baptism.

Christian baptism did what John's baptism did not: it constituted a society, which had its head and centre in a Person; not, as in other schools and societies, a name and a memory, but a risen, living Lord, present with His people and acting among them by His Spirit, and about to return in glory. The Sacrament which associated men with this society separated those that were within from those that were without, or (in the language of the Acts and Epistles) "the saints" from the world, in virtue of the personal relation which it gave them with Jesus Christ Himself. Hence the baptisms of



the first period were all "in the name of Jesus Christ," or, as St. Paul puts it shortly, "ye were baptized into Christ." It may seem strange that the Apostles, who had received the commission to baptize, did not apparently use the prescribed formula. But was it a prescribed formula, or did they take it so? Was it not rather a declaration of the significance of baptism—of the revelation of God and the relations with God into which the neophyte was brought? These would be well understood from the intention of the act and the virtue of the ordinance, whatever liturgical form was used. We can see how naturally at first the form might be what it seems to have been. It was not tenets or doctrines which were preached to men, it was the risen Lord who drew them to His side, Jesus the Christ, the Son of God. In Him they knew the Father, and from Him received the Spirit; and so it proved to them a baptism into the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Not less clearly we can see how naturally, how necessarily, in the next generations the Church adopted as its settled form the words, comprehensive and definite, in which we are now baptized. "In the name of Jesus Christ" was no longer a security when speculation was rife and heresies were rising, which gave to that name inadequate or perverted interpretations. At the end of the first or early in the second century, when these uncertainties demanded more definite confessions of faith and the Gospel of St. Matthew had obtained circulation, a resource was found in the terms of the institution there recorded; and everywhere the Sacrament of admission was administered in the sacred Name, which is the summary of revelation and the foundation word of the Church.

Thus, Christian baptism had its origin in the manifestation of Jesus Christ—in His example at the beginning of it, in His institution at the end of it; and by His administration in the Spirit through His Apostles it was constituted the fundamental act and effectual sign of Christianity, in respect both of personal salvation and of formation of the Church.

On the latter subject little need be said, but that little is important. Christian baptism, it has been observed, was an advance on John's baptism, in that it created a distinct society. That effect was manifest while the Church was only Jewish, and conspicuous when it became Catholic. We are not here concerned with its part in the world, but with what membership was and is to its members. The ordinance which joins them to the Lord associates them with a great society—that is, by the will of God and according to the constitution of our nature. Man develops and becomes truly man only in society—the family, the community, the country. The con-

sciousness of being a part of this larger life, its exigencies, its influences, go to the making of him. It is the same with the Christian life. So Christ ordains. Its birth, its nourishment, its setting, and its exercise are in the Church which He founded. A man does not baptize himself, the Church baptizes him by its officers and in the congregation; and if necessity demands exception, still the authority of the Church is understood. Reception into the society is a main part of the intention, as is expressed in our Office by the prayer that the persons to be baptized "may be received into Christ's Holy Church, and be made lively members of the same"; as afterwards by the thanksgiving, that "they have been grafted into the body of Christ's Church," or "incorporated into His holy Church." This incorporation is everywhere assumed in the Epistles, which are addressed to persons living in that corporate state, described as "the household of God—the house of God, which is the Church of the living God—buildd together for an habitation of God in the Spirit"; or as a "body compacted together by that which every joint supplieth—the body of Christ, and everyone members one of another," with many like sayings. One who should count his spiritual life a wholly separate thing, without the sense of association with the corporate life of the Church, would so far be out of harmony with the Apostolic teaching, and would suffer untold loss in the expansion of heart and elevation of mind which accompany the conscious participation in a larger life than our own.

The relation of baptism to the corporate life is sufficiently plain, and may be taken as well understood. We cannot say the same of its relation to personal salvation. The question is before us, What virtue and power for this end belongs to the ordinance? What inward and spiritual effects are attached to the outward and visible sign?

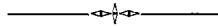
First, it is necessary to distinguish certain spiritual experiences which are represented, not as following baptism, but as preceding it; as its conditions, not as its effects. These are repentance and faith, first summed up in the opening call of Jesus. He "came into Galilee, saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the Gospel." These are ever the qualifications for entering into the kingdom. So with us: "What is required of them that come to be baptized? Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that Sacrament." Again, in the Office for those of Riper Years, the confidence is expressed "that He will favourably receive these present persons truly repenting and coming to Him by faith." It seems but an

inchoate stage of repentance and faith which is suggested by the Scripture in its accounts of numerous speedy and even sudden baptisms ; and there was no doubt an intensity in the movement at first, which had to be compensated later on by more deliberate preparation. Still, the ordinance, by its nature, is one of commencement, and stands at the entrance of life in Christ ; and it stands there as meeting, not as originating, the desires of awakened souls. These predispositions may exist in very different measures, for repentance and faith are words which include a great compass of experiences. Their sincerity and truth are one thing, their depth and enlightenment are another, and the Scriptural record supposes their admission at a very early stage. Baptism in the Acts is not the seal of a proved profession and recognised attainment (as in some modern systems), rather it responds to desire and accepts intention. And these are necessary in those who come to be baptized. But what of those who are brought to be baptized ? Infant baptism may seem to dispense with the requisite predispositions, admission being granted without them. They are not dispensed with, but anticipated by such pledges as are possible. Repentance (*μετάνοια*)—the change of the natural mind which turns from sin to God—and faith in the Gospel promises made in that Sacrament are as necessary to the person who has received admission as to the person who comes to receive it, and without them the virtue of the Sacrament is suspended and the promises are in abeyance. Scripture teaches, and our formularies concur, that baptism has its essential effects in conjunction with repentance and faith, whether that conjunction exists at the time of administration or is reached as a later experience. Was a man baptized under transient impressions, or in a defective—or even, as Simon Magus, a wrong—condition of mind ? Still, the Sacrament, as a constitutional act in the kingdom of Christ, could not be repeated, but remained in force, with all its promises secure for their fulfilment whenever the changed heart should turn to claim them. If that is true of adult, it is also true of infant baptism. The right given under the institution of Christ is given once for all, and awaits the mind that will use it. Only then is it fulfilled in the way of spiritual grace. It is in respect of the inward and spiritual grace that the Sacrament has its proper part in the personal life of the Christian. It has obvious and important effects even on the most superficial view of admission into the visible Church as “the sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened.” The position thus marked and held, with the advantages and influences which attend it, is probably to

many minds their whole idea of the effect of baptism, as the Article seems to suppose. More worthy thoughts are theirs who, knowing the Church as "an habitation of God in the Spirit," regard the "admission into the visible Church" as an "incorporation into the body of Christ." But this association or incorporation, however it may affect the personal life, is yet external to it. Effects of another order, more inward to the soul, more potent for salvation and eternal life, are connected with this Sacrament in the Word of God.

T. D. BERNARD.

(*To be continued.*)



## ART. II.—THE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.<sup>1</sup>

ON this occasion, as on a former one when I addressed the members of the League, I shall confine myself chiefly to the Old Testament. My reason for doing so is that in consequence of the Old Testament having no contemporary literature with which to compare it, it is difficult to confute theories which, when applied to the New Testament, are far more easily dealt with. And yet, when these theories *do* get accepted, they are very soon applied to the New Testament; and though less readily credited in regard to a volume which was written well within the historical period, they give a great deal of trouble, and tend indefinitely to spread the doubts about the authority of Old and New Testament alike which are very widely felt at the present time.

I shall deal with the question I have chosen on purely critical lines. I shall not assume the authority or inspiration of Holy Writ. I shall take as my text the preface written by the Bishop of Ripon for the "Temple Bible," a work which has, I believe, been conceived in a moderate spirit, and in which many commentators have taken part who are not supposed to be identified with the conclusions of the followers of Wellhausen. I have the honour of the Bishop of Ripon's acquaintance, and have the warmest respect and admiration for him. But I cannot but feel that, had he been less oppressed by the weight of diocesan business, which presses, as we have been lately told, so heavily upon episcopal

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at a meeting of the Bible League at Bourne-mouth on March 12th, 1903.

shoulders, he would not so lightly have given his adhesion to conclusions which have been put forward with a great deal of confidence, but of which nothing like an actual proof has as yet appeared. I may say, broadly, that their general acceptance has depended, in these days of haste and superficiality, on their having been systematically represented as accepted by everyone who has studied the subject—everything which is said on the other side being coolly, and not a little superciliously, ignored.

The first thing which is ignored is that, as competent scholars have shown, those in England who have maintained the fourfold division of the Pentateuch, have maintained their conclusions while abandoning the premisses on which they were founded. This, on logical principles, is certainly a very curious course of procedure.

I will briefly explain what I mean by this.

The school of Wellhausen commenced its operations by laying down a good many theorems which have since been abandoned. Kuenen, one of its ablest members, described Ezekiel as the "father of Judaism," and maintained that the portions of the Books of the Law which are supposed by some critics to form what is now called the "Priestly Code" were the result of the prophet's labours. This Code, according to the leaders of the school, was therefore an invention of the exilic period, and was combined with the other portions of the Book of Moses some time after the return from Captivity. The Book of Deuteronomy, we were further told, was composed in the reign of Manasseh—smuggled, I suppose (for no one appears to know how it got there) into the Temple in the reign of that King or his successor, found there by Hilkiah, and believed to be the work of Moses, and accepted as such by King Josiah and the Jewish people. But the contents of the Pentateuch were ultimately found to be at variance with that extreme theory. So what it has come down to now is this: that the so-called "Priestly Code" is not the work of Ezekiel, but a "codification of pre-existing Temple usage," published for the first time after the Exile; that Deuteronomy was not a composition, but a compilation of the days of Manasseh, Hezekiah, or perhaps Ahaz, and that the history contained in the compilation known as "JE" is the only Jewish history known to the compiler of Deuteronomy. This, as the late Professor James Robertson has remarked, is really quite another theory to that of Wellhausen and Kuenen. It may be also observed in passing that this theory, if it be, as no doubt it is, very difficult to refute, is also extremely difficult to establish. It is difficult to refute because, if you point out that certain portions of Deuteronomy or the so-called "Priestly

Code" were in existence before the age in which either book is supposed to have been published, you are met by the answer: "Of course. We told you so. The one book is a compilation made up of older ingredients; the other is a codification of pre-existing usage." But it is clear that, before such a theory can be regarded as proved, we have a right to demand that the pre-existing matter in these books shall be authoritatively, and on satisfactory evidence, distinguished from the original matter contained in them, and that the date of the pre-existing matter shall be satisfactorily determined. This the critics who have so boldly advertised their "results" have not only not done, but have not even attempted to do. Their "results" are unsubstantial phantoms, with which it is impossible to grapple. That, in a busy age like the present, combined with the confidence with which they are put forth, constitutes the main reason of their easy acceptance, especially as they happen to fall in admirably with a general, but, to my mind, eminently misleading, current of thought in the present day.

Consequently, the preface to the "Temple Bible," unfortunately as I think, prematurely as I am well assured, accepts the part of the theories of Wellhausen and Kuenen which have been saved from the wreck of the rest. It presents us, however, with a castle in the air, instead of a castle on a quicksand. Wellhausen's theory, right or wrong, is definite. The theory substituted for it is altogether in the clouds. The theory in the preface to the "Temple Bible" postulates a so-called "Jehovistic" writer and a so-called "Elohistic" writer, whose works were written at some period between 700 B.C. and 900 B.C., and were combined into one by somebody else writing at a more recent period. This combined narrative is called JE by those who now monopolize the title of scholars. Then, about the reign of Ahaz, or perhaps later, a volume was written, under what circumstances or for what reasons no one seems to have the least idea, which collects the materials of which Jewish worship consisted when it was written, and attributes them to Moses. This volume somehow, we know not how or why—though I must say I think an historical critic worthy of the name is bound to tell us how and why—got into the Temple, and being found there in the time of Josiah, was supposed, when found, and has been supposed ever since, to have been the work of Moses and to be of Divine obligation. This work is the Book of Deuteronomy. Then, either during or after the Exile, somebody else—again no one knows who he is—drew up another collection of materials from the Jewish worship of his day. And, finally, some other "person or persons unknown," as coroners' juries

are accustomed to say, collected and edited all these volumes, and published them as the laws and religious institutions of the Jewish people from the time of their wanderings in the wilderness. This publication took place some time in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. A most remarkable and strikingly lucid account, truly, of what are confessedly the greatest religious and national institutions known to the ancient or even the modern world—institutions which have such vitality that they have twice survived captivity and exile and the destruction of the Jewish polity—the second time for nearly two thousand years! I say this is a most extraordinary and unprecedented set of facts, if they *be* facts. Other peoples know who their great men were. They hand down histories by noted writers. Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, Livy and Tacitus, were no nameless persons. Their diligence and faithfulness in compiling history from ancient records was known to the men of their day. The Jews, on the contrary—that people whose institutions, religious and moral, have attained greater celebrity than those of any other people in the world, the Romans not even excepted—took the accounts of their history and religious institutions at haphazard from men of no reputation and no authority, and venerate the memory of a man as a great founder of a great religion who gave them four chapters of the Book of Exodus and nothing more! Let us first consider what this view of the history involves. The Jews, as I have said, picked up at haphazard some histories composed three or four centuries after the events recorded. These histories were continued by nobody knows whom, enriched by a remarkable book, also by nobody knows whom, which had a very remarkable history. Somebody else, also unknown, compiled the Jewish laws of his own day, and attributed them to Moses, who lived some eight centuries earlier. And, lastly, somebody else—still unknown—combined all these histories into a volume, and added Deuteronomy to it, and the joint volume was at once accepted without debate as genuine Jewish history. Thus the Jews, a nation proud of their history, and more passionately devoted to their institutions than any other nation ever known, adopted these histories, by they knew not whom, compiled they knew not how, and handed them down as veracious accounts of the history of which they were so proud, and of the institutions which they literally adored. These *may* be the results of philosophic or scientific criticism, but I confess that to my possibly untutored mind they look as unlike it as can be conceived. I feel inclined, with Juvenal, to say, "*Credat Judæus, non ego.*"

When we come to the proofs of this astonishing theory of

the genesis of historical documents, I confess that I am more amazed than ever. I have read some of the authorities to whom the Bishop refers as having stood sponsor to these remarkable discoveries, and I can find no proofs whatever of the assertions so boldly made. I find a string of difficulties of a kind which, were we to regard them as fatal to the truth of the history, would destroy the credibility not only of Jewish history, but of all history whatever—even the history of the last forty years, which I have followed with my own eyes in the newspapers of the day. I could give proofs of this if I had time. I have given proofs of it in my published works; but I proceed. I find a number of “may-be’s,” “must-be’s,” and “probably’s,” which may serve, it is true, to give a hypothesis a claim to consideration, but which can never, by any person possessing a scientific mind, be regarded as establishing any historical fact whatever. History, again, is generally regarded as dependent on testimony. I know of no case in which it is founded on critical analysis alone. But the history above given of the Jewish historical documents rests on *no testimony whatever*. And there is scarcely a single book of the Bible which, as it stands, does not give it a flat contradiction. It is true that, by picking out phrases here and there and assigning them to certain writers, it is possible to give some slight show of probability to the theory of compilation adopted by some modern critics. To this method of proof the Bishop of Ripon refers in p. 107 of his preface. He accepts, apparently without inquiry, the statements in a volume on the “Hexateuch,” by Messrs. Estlin Carpenter and Harford Battersby. I have not seen this particular book, but I have read Wellhausen, Kuenen, Professors Robertson Smith and Driver, the Bishop of Exeter, and Mr. Addis on the subject, as well as several minor works. In none of them have I found anything which amounted to a scientific proof on the principles admitted by experts in historical investigation. I have found nothing but arguments *ex silentio*, such as professed historical inquirers have repeatedly refused to accept, beside a number of guesses and assumptions which may either be true or false, but which have in them nothing which amounts to a demonstration. The learned American scholar, Professor Green, has examined these conclusions in detail, and has shown a hundred reasons for rejecting them.<sup>1</sup> I have myself, in the columns of the CHURCHMAN magazine, carried on during the last six years an investigation of the critical methods and conclusions of the Wellhausen school, and have found and have published the

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<sup>1</sup> In his “The Unity of the Book of Genesis.”



gravest reasons for doubting their correctness. But, as a rule, the writers of this school, while busy in merciless criticism of the Bible, take no note of criticism of themselves. They wave their hands superciliously when such criticism appears, and dismiss their critics as bigoted traditionalists holding a brief for the Old Testament. I have never seen any attempt to meet this criticism fairly, nor have I ever heard that the work of Messrs. Carpenter and Battersby has made any such attempt. Had it done so, I must have heard of it. In the meantime, I do not think I shall be far wrong in assuming that it takes no note of such objections, but proceeds on its way with the same majestic indifference to hostile criticism as has hitherto been displayed.

“These be thy gods, O Israel.” We need another Daniel to arise, and to show how little reality underlies so formidable an array of confident assertions.

(*To be continued.*)



### ART. III.—THE DISPUTED PUNCTUATION OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM.—II.

WE have yet to take account of the evidence to be derived from a variety of expositions of the Catechism. The cumulative weight of these testimonies cannot be lightly set aside. They certainly tend to show quite clearly that there was no *consensus* of interpretation against the doctrinal connection of “grace” with “given.”

We may refer to a few of those best known :

(a) Bishop Nicholson, in his treatise, understands Sacraments as “resemblances of higher things—to wit, of some special favour, spiritual grace and treasure, that is bestowed upon us by God. Which grace they naturally represent not, but were imposed and ordained by God to that purpose” (p. 186, edit. A. C. L.). “By them ” (he says) “grace is offered to all the Church, though exhibited only to the faithful” (p. 189). Again he says: “In them that grace is truly given, which by the signs is represented ” (p. 189).

(b) What is commonly spoken of as the Oxford Catechism

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards he speaks of *faith* as “a gift of the Spirit, which by apprehending and applying, unites the signs and the things signified, which in their own nature are far dissonant” (see my “Doctrine of the Sacraments,” p. 121 *et seq.*, and especially the quotations there given from Dr. Warde and Archbishop Ussher).

("printed at the theatre in Oxford") has gone through many editions. I quote from the sixth edition, date 1684. Here the answer, as printed at the commencement (unpaged), has the comma. In p. 42 we read: "The outward signs do signify, exhibit, and seal the spiritual graces to the believing receiver." And again, under the "Two Parts," we are told "the benefit of the inward graces, both in that first and second Sacrament, is assured by God's promises." Again (in p. 47), in the instruction on the Lord's Supper, we find "The bread and wine administered, signify and seal the giving of Christ, with all the benefits of His Death to the true believer."

(c) "The Catechism of the Church of England, with Marginal Notes" (with the *imprimatur* of Geo. Hooper, "Archiep. Cant. a sacris domest.>"). I quote from an edition of 1678. Here the answer is given in the text without the comma. On the words "inward and spiritual grace given unto us" there is a marginal note: "Of some unseen gift and favour of God, bestowed on our souls for the sake of Christ's death, and as the fruit of the Covenant."

(d) "The Art of Catechising," with the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of London, was first published in 1692. I quote from the third edition, 1699, p. 93: "A sacrament (I say) is an outward sign of an inward favour bestowed on us. And not only so, but 'tis also a means and instrument of conveying that Favour to us."

(e) "The Church Catechism Explained, for the Use of the Diocese of St. Asaph," by Bishop Beveridge. London, 1704. Here the words of the Catechism are printed (p. 179) with the comma. But in the explanation (p. 183) the comma is omitted, and the comment leaves no doubt as to the sense. It runs thus: "*It is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us. So that in every Sacrament, properly so called, there must be some invisible spiritual grace or favour given unto us by God.*"

(f) Dr. Edward Wells' "Exposition of the Church Catechism . . . adapted to the Capacities . . . of the Common People," 2nd edit.; Oxford, 1708: "I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, (*which outward and visible sign was*) ordained by Christ Himself, both as a means whereby we receive the same inward and spiritual grace, and also as a pledge to assure us thereof" (p. 57).

(g) Harrison's "Scriptural Exposition of the Church Catechism." Here the comma stands; but the "more plain and distinct account" of the sacramental properties begins thus: "First, there must be something discernible and apparent to our senses; which, secondly, must represent some spiritual

grace and favour *vouchsafed us by God*” (pp. 106, 107, edit. 1718).

(h) Archbishop Wake’s “Principles of the Christian Religion Explained.” Here we have the answer given without the comma. And in the explanation, showing that Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are “properly Sacraments,” we are taught that, first, there is in both an “outward and visible sign”; and, secondly, there is “an *inward and spiritual grace* signified, and conveyed by these signs.” And again: “They were both ordained as a means to convey their several graces to us, and as a pledge to assure us of them” (pp. 145, 146; edit. 1731).

(i) Salter’s “Practical Treatise on the Church Catechism.” Here we read: “It [Baptism] consists of two parts, the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace. For as both the Sacraments were ordained by Christ, so do they consist of some outward signs and ceremonies, by which grace is given to the soul of the worthy receiver” (p. 157, Exon. 1753).

(j) Archbishop Secker’s works. Here we have the answer quoted without the comma: “In a Sacrament, the outward and visible sign must denote an *inward and spiritual grace given unto us*: that is, some favour freely bestowed on us from heaven . . . a further requisite is, that it be *ordained by Christ Himself*. . . . Not only signs of grace, but *means* also, whereby we receive the same. . . . A Sacrament is not only a sign or representation of some heavenly favour, and a means whereby we receive it, but also a *pledge to assure us thereof*” (vol. vi., lect. xxxiv., pp. 295, 296; 3rd edit.; Dublin, 1775).

I will add here two extracts, not, indeed, from expositions of the Catechism, but from the writings of two champions of Protestantism, whose words seem to have an important bearing on the interpretation of its teaching on the point in question. They certainly do not tend to support the doctrinal arguments of those who would insist on retaining the comma.

The first is from Prebendary Gee, who, after quoting the definition of a Sacrament from the Catechism of Trent, says: “This definition gives us the true notion of a Sacrament, and agrees in every branch of it with that definition of a Sacrament which we find in the Catechism of our own Church” (in Gibson’s “Preservative,” vol. viii., p. 136; edit. 1848). Again he says: “We acknowledge as well as they [the Romanists] that the Sacraments were not instituted by our Saviour to be mere signs, but that they are efficacious of the grace for which they were instituted, and instruments to convey the grace to us which they signify” (p. 163). “Our difference,” he adds, “is about their nature—that is, what sort of instruments they are.”

The second extract is from Prebendary Payne, who writes thus: "Does not every Catechism tell us that the Sacrament is made up of these two parts—of the *res terrena* and *coelestis*, as Irenæus calls it; the *esca corporalis* and *spiritualis*, as St. Ambrose; the *sacramentum*, or outward sign, and *res sacramenti*, as St. Austin; and must we not have regard to both these, without which we destroy the very nature of a Sacrament, as well as to one?" (Prebendary Payne, in Gibson's "Preservative," vol. ix., p. 8; London, 1848).

This was written as against the arguments of the Bishop of Meux in favour of "Communion in One Kind," who wrote as if the external and visible part of a Sacrament did not belong to "the essence or substance of it."

I am quite aware of the strength of the position held by the advocates of the comma, and have, I trust, no desire to understate it, or underrate it.

It is impossible to deny that the omission of the comma is, strictly speaking, a misprint. And nothing that I have said is intended to justify it. I can but plead, in extenuation of the error, that there seems good reason to believe that this printer's misprint is the correction of a former printer's misprint, which misprint somehow escaped correction at the last review.<sup>1</sup>

And as regards the grammatical construction, it is idle to question the weight which attaches to the careful translation of Durel,<sup>2</sup> which, however, was never examined or authorized by the Convocation, by whose instructions it appears to have been undertaken. Nor is it attempted to deny that his view of the answer—to which he was probably led (notwithstanding what has been stated above) by the comma in the authoritative form—may be supported by other authorities.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The punctuation with the *comma* in the MS. attached to the Act of Uniformity is followed by all the sealed books, and by the MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland (see Marshall's "Latin Prayer-Book of Charles II.," p. 153).

<sup>2</sup> Durel's version was dedicated to Charles II. It was sold by S. Mearne, "Regius Bibliopola." It had been submitted to Sancroft. And it was regarded by Bishop Barlow as an *interpretation* of the English Liturgy (see Marshall's "Latin Prayer-Book of Charles II.," p. 20). But all this must not be understood as making it either faultless or authoritative.

<sup>3</sup> As, *e.g.*, in Hole's "Practical Exposition of the Church Catechism," 1708, as quoted by Mr. J. T. Tomlinson ("Misprinted Catechism," p. 7), and in Dr. R. Sherlock's paraphrase as quoted above, p. 338. Also by Nicholls's "Comment.," London, 1710, and Marshall's "Catechism . . . briefly Explained," Oxford, 1679, as noticed in Marshall's "Latin Prayer-Book of Charles II.," p. 153.

It is only submitted that some weight attaches to what can fairly be urged on the other side, and that that weight ought to be weighed. Whether it can turn the scale is a question which I leave to others to answer.

Perhaps, however, I may without presumption venture to express an opinion, that if, as acknowledged, the printers must plead guilty to a legal offence (in the strictest sense of the word) in that they have omitted a comma which is found in the MS. copy of the Catechism, as appended to the Act of Uniformity which gives it legal authority, they should hardly be severely condemned in a court of equity if they plead, and can give good evidence in support of their plea, that in this omission they were only correcting an unauthorized deviation from the authoritative standard—amending an error which had become prevalent, and which, there is good reason to believe, had through mere *incuria* been allowed to pass uncorrected in the work of the official scribe, who copied the Book of Common Prayer for the purposes of the Act.

I trust that, in any case, it will be seen that there must remain in the answer the teaching concerning the Sacraments “ordained by Christ Himself” that, when rightly received by the faithful, we are not to doubt<sup>1</sup> (as Hooker says) “but that they really give what they promise, and are what they signify,”

<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of a true *Unio Sacramentalis* (to be distinguished clearly from any *hypostatical union*) ought hardly now to be called in question (see my “Eucharistic Worship,” p. 182, *et seq.*). Since the date of the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549), the reality of the *sacramental donation* (in some sense) should be regarded as a matter of agreement among the “Reformed” (see my “Lectures of the Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper,” pp. 35, 36; see also my “Eucharistic Presence,” pp. 381-407, 425 *et seq.*, and “Doctrine of the Sacraments,” pp. 121-130).

Thus, the *Consensio Tigurina*: “Etsi distinguimus, ut par est, inter signa et res signatas; tamen non disjungimus à signis veritatem” (cap. ix. in “Calvini Op.,” tom. viii., p. 649; Amst., 1667). “Certum quidem est, offerri communiter omnibus Christum cum suis donis: nec hominum incredulitate labefactari Dei veritatem, quin semper vim suam retineant Sacramenta: sed non omnes Christi et donorum Ejus sunt capaces. Itaque ex Dei parte nihil mutatur: quantum vero ad homines spectat, quisque pro fidei suæ mensura accipit” (*ibid.*, cap. xviii.).

“Verba [“Confessionis Aug.”] sunt: in Sacra Cœna cum pane et vino vere dari Christi Corpus et sanguinem. Absit vero, ut nos vel cœnæ symbolo auferamus suam veritatem, vel pias animas tanto beneficio privemus” (*ibid.*, “Consensionis Expositio,” p. 654).

“Christum enim tam reprobis quam fidelibus corpus suum in Cœna porrigere sic asserimus, ut quicumque sacramentum indigna sumptione profanant, nihil tamen mutant ex ejus natura” (*ibid.*, “De vera participatione,” p. 731).

“Hoc autem controversia caret apud omnes pios, inseparabile esse vinculum signi et rei signatæ in promissione ipsa, qua Deus nihil fallaciter ostendat, sed figurat quod vere et reipsa præstat” (*ibid.*, p. 744).

seeing they are "means effectual whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the Sacraments represent or signify" ("Eccl. Pol.," book v., ch. lvii., § 5).<sup>1</sup>

Are the advocates of the comma desirous of making the answer teach less than this—as understood in Hooker's obvious sense? (see above, p. 339). Would they have it deduct anything from this sound doctrine? Most sincerely we trust *not*. Let no one believe it.

Nevertheless, though I fear I may seem presumptuous in saying it, I can hardly help fearing that the insistence on the doctrinal importance of the comma may tend to lead some towards a too prevalent error (as it seems to me) regarding the true *status controversiæ* as between ourselves and those who have accepted what they will call "the Catholic doctrine of the Sacraments." Our controversy with Romanists and Romanizers does not turn on the question, "Is there, or is there not, a real inward and spiritual grace given unto us?" It is not in question that there is a true giving, taking, and receiving of the true *res sacramenti* by the faithful. The question is, "How is the grace given? *How* is the *res sacramenti* taken and received?" or, in other words, "What is the true relation of the sign to the thing signified? What is the *nexus* which connects the *signum* with the *signatum*?" We know what sort of answer the Church of Rome gives to these questions. We ought to know also the contrast to that answer as given by the theology of the Reformed, and by the formularies of our Church. For the *giving* we look *only* to the promise of Christ's institution. We know no other *nexus*; we need no other *unio sacramentalis*. For the *receiving* we know that it is *only* "spiritualiter per fidem." We know no *corporal Presence*; we need no *oral manducation* (72).

Without the comma, the answer teaches nothing more than had been taught very clearly in the Belgic Confession of (see my "Notes on the Round Table Conference," pp. 24, 69,

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<sup>1</sup> There is here nothing more than is strongly asserted in the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Church of France: "We believe . . . that both in the Supper and in Baptism God really and effectually giveth us that which by them He representeth. And therefore with the signs we join the true possession and enjoying of that which is there presented unto us" (see P. du Moulin, "Buckler of the Faith," pp. 464, 466; and Hall's "Harmony," pp. 330, 331).

So also the earlier Confession of the Swiss: "These [Sacraments], being tokens of secret things, do not consist of bare signs, but of signs and things also" (Art. XX. See Hall's "Harmony," p. 287; see also the "Latter Confession," p. 286).

Faith. See Article XXXIV., a part of which may well be compared with the teaching of our Catechism: "Ministri quidem, quantum ad se attinet, præbent nobis Sacramentum, et rem visibilem; Dominus vero noster donat id quod Sacramento significatur: dona nempe et invisibilem gratiam" (see Maresius, "Exegesis," p. 500). See also Article XXXV. (p. 520): "Etiamsi Sacramenta conjuncta sint rei significatæ, utrumque tamen simul ab omnibus non accipitur."

The same truth is also most distinctly taught in Nowell's larger Catechism, authorized by the Convocation of 1604 (Canon LXXIX.), thus:

"M. Beneficiorum ergo, quæ commemorasti, non imago tantum, set et ipsa veritas in Cœna exhibetur?"

"A. Quid ni? Quum enim Christus ipsa sit veritas, non dubium est, quin quod verbis testatur, et signis representat, id revera etiam præstet, et nobis exhibeat; quodque sibi fidentes tam certo faciat corporis atque sanguinis sui participes, quam certo se panem atque vinum ore et ventriculo recepisse sciunt" (p. 170, Oxford, 1835).

Compare Zanchius: "The things are signified by the signs, and are given to be received" ("Confession of Christian Religion," p. 112; Cambridge, 1599)—words very carefully guarded in the context, which the reader may do well to refer to.

The reader may also be glad to be referred to the very valuable sermon of the martyr Bradford, from which I make the following brief extracts:

"I pray you all to beware of these and such like words, that it is but a sign or figure of His Body, except you will discern betwixt signs which signify only, and signs which also do represent, confirm, and seal up, or (as a man may say) give with their signification. . . . In the other signs, which some do call exhibitivè, is there not only a signification of a thing, but also a declaration of a gift, yea, in a certain manner, a giving also. . . . This I speak . . . that they might be discerned from significative and bare signs only, and be taken for signs exhibitivè and representative" ("Writings," vol. i., pp. 93, 94, P.S.).

It is hardly to the purpose to urge that, as read without the comma, the answer was relied upon to support the error of Archdeacon Denison. Romanizers, if I mistake not, rely much more on the answer: "The Body and Blood of Christ which are verily and indeed to be received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper"—a teaching which we thankfully agree to uphold and defend. That teaching needs, indeed, to be guarded against accretions of superstition from human thoughts, but we do not therefore allow its truth to be

maimed. We may be in danger perhaps sometimes of over-doing our needful work of fencing. With the teachings of past history before us, we are bound, indeed, to surround our Christian doctrine with defences. But we must, I think, beware of making our defences to appear so bristling with negations—the negations of dangerous errors—that simple-minded Christians may fear to grasp the affirmative of Divine truth we are guarding. As Protestants, we *must* guard our Christian doctrine from Romish errors and superstitions; but certainly we must not allow our vigilance in this matter to deduct from the Catholic and Apostolic doctrine which rests upon the Scriptures of truth, and which to believing Christians, convinced of sin and taught by the Holy Spirit of God, is full of most precious comfort and most blessed assurance of faith, to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls. Possibly this word of caution may be found to be specially applicable to the circumstances—to the difficulties and dangers, which surround us in these perilous times (see my “Theology of Bishop Andrewes,” pp. 26-28).

What we want to teach *first*—to teach in our primary Catechisms—is the *affirmative* of the Divine Truth, the truth of the Divine gift (see Cardwell’s “Conferences,” p. 358). The *negatives* which belong to the *mode* must come in, as occasion requires, afterwards (see Nowell’s Catechism, pp. 174, 175, Oxford, 1835; and the Middle Cat., fol. 101, 102, London, 1577). We are not to be supposed to be heedless of our fences, because we are careful *first* to have rooted firmly the truth to be defended.

Are the opponents of the comma bent upon making the answer teach more than the teaching of Hooker? Would they have it understood to involve the doctrine of the grace being inseparably united to the sign, or fastened upon it, or contained within it? Taking no account of some teachers of novel doctrines who would fain read into our formularies a sense which (as we are persuaded) they were intended to exclude, we can have no hesitation in answering, *No*. We could heartily wish, indeed, that such misleading teachers might be regarded as a negligible quantity. Alas! we fear it is far otherwise. But whatever encouragement these teachers may think to find in our Catechism, we are sure that their sacramental doctrine must go elsewhere for any real and valid support. Certainly no such doctrine is taught in the answer without the comma.

Then let the friends and the foes of the comma draw near and strike hands. Let them say, “We have on both sides been zealous for a truth. But we have, perhaps, been contending for two sides of one truth. We are at one. Henceforth, let



("Smyrnæans," i.). If such words mean anything at all, they surely indicate that St. Ignatius was aware that he was not asserting the Virgin birth as if it was something novel, alluded to for the first time. It formed part of the message which was to be cried aloud; it was placed on a level with the undoubted historical fact of the crucifixion of the Lord.

Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that St. Ignatius evidently has in mind the Docetic heresy. We can see this from his repetition of the word "truly"—"truly born," "truly crucified." It would have been comparatively easy, as Dr. Swete so well puts it, for St. Ignatius to have turned the Docetic position, if he could have replied that our Lord was born, not in a different way, but exactly as other men are born. But it is evident that no such reply was given, and that, on the contrary, the Virgin birth was strenuously asserted as part of the deposit of all the Churches. Of course, men like the Docetæ, who did not scruple to explain away the Passion, would not hesitate to explain away the miraculous conception; but it has been carefully noted that, with all their explanations, they do not appear from the evidence before us to have denied the fact. Before proceeding further, we may here pause to notice one or two points connected with this early testimony. In his recent edition of the "Ascension of Isaiah," Dr. Charles would refer the remarkable passage (xi. 2-22) to a very early date, deriving it from the archetype which he carries back to the close of the first century (Introduction, pp. xxii-xlv). The Mother of the Lord is spoken of as Mary, a virgin, espoused to a man named Joseph, a carpenter, who was also of the seed of David: "And when she was espoused she was found with child, and Joseph the carpenter was desirous to put her away." The narrative is then continued for several verses, until in xi. 16 we read: "[This] hath escaped all the heavens and all the princes and all the gods of this world." On this passage Dr. Charles comments as follows, and the significance of his words in relation to the testimony of St. Ignatius will be seen at once: "What escaped the princes of this world is the virginity and the child-bearing of Mary. This being so, it is hard to avoid concluding that our text is the source of Ignatius" ("Ephesians," xix., see the passage cited above, where the commencing words are the same as in the passage before us). It would seem, therefore, that if Dr. Charles is correct, the passage in the "Ascension of Isaiah" is earlier than the letters of St. Ignatius. But however this may be, these letters in themselves carry us back, as we have seen, to a very early date; and the virginity of Mary in the Ephesian Epistle of Ignatius obviously forms part, as Dr. Charles remarks, of a received doctrine. In this

connection, moreover, we may at least refer to the statement of the learned German Kattenbusch, that the oldest Roman formula dates about 100 A.D.<sup>1</sup> In this formula we read of "our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin." In this verdict of Kattenbusch we have, not only the statement of a German scholar who has made the Apostles' Creed and its history his special study, but also a statement which assigns the oldest Roman formula to a far earlier date than that to which it is often referred by a large circle of his countrymen, in their pursuit of similar studies.

Reference has already been made to the remarkable testimony of Aristides,<sup>2</sup> in which we find the Virgin birth placed side by side as equally an historical fact with the death, the burial, the resurrection and ascension of Jesus. The testimony of Justin Martyr to the fact under consideration is equally emphatic, while he differentiates in the strongest terms the Christian belief from the stories told of the god Jupiter ("Apology," i. 33). We have thus in St. Ignatius, Aristides, and Justin the combined testimony of the Churches of Asia, Syria, Palestine, Greece—a testimony both early and widespread. Moreover, this testimony may be strengthened from other quarters, and that, too, in an unexpected manner. Thus, in the Gospel of Peter, which we can hardly place later than the end of the first quarter of the second century (Dr. Sanday, "Inspiration," p. 310), there is, according to Origen ("Com. Matt.," x. 17), a statement that the "brethren" of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former wife; "now they who say so," adds Origen, "wish to preserve the honour of Mary in virginity to the end." But if it is quite unlikely that any such deduction would be drawn by the heretical circles in which this Gospel of Peter originated, we can only conclude that the deduction had been previously drawn, and that because the belief in the Virgin birth was so early and so firmly established.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Schmiedel, "Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Ministry," iii. 3122.

<sup>2</sup> "Everything that we know of the dogmatics of the second century agrees with the belief that at that period the virginity of Mary was a part of the formulated Christian belief. Nor need we hesitate, in view of the antiquity of the Panthera fable, to give the doctrine a place in the creed of Aristides."—J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., "Texts and Studies," I, i., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxv., pp. 480, 481; see also Bishop of Worcester, "Dissertations," p. 48, and Pullan, "History of Early Christianity," p. 207. No reference is here made to the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," because of the uncertainty of the date. Dr. Charles maintains in Hastings' B.D., iv., that what he regards as Christian interpolations, including a plain reference to the Virgin birth, may be dated from the middle of the second century onwards, whilst Bousset places them between 150-200 A.D., and regards them as coming from one hand.

us on both sides take for our motto the words—*ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ* (Eph. iv. 15)."

N. DIMOCK.

P.S.—It has been pointed out to me (and I am thankful for it) that it might not unnaturally be inferred from my note on p. 341 that Mr. Tomlinson claims only four editions in support of the comma. This would be a great mistake. I desire, therefore, by way of correction, to state that Mr. Tomlinson asserts: "It [the comma] is found in every Prayer-Book which has any pretension to an official character." Again he says: "Pages might be filled with a list of the editions in which the true reading was retained" (p. 6).

I sincerely regret having, however unintentionally, given occasion to misunderstanding.

I must add that an earlier edition of Parsell (1706), which I did not know of, has "exhibitum nobis," as stated in the *Guardian*, April 15, 1903, p. 531.

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#### ART. IV.—OUR LORD'S VIRGIN BIRTH AND THE CRITICISM OF TO-DAY.—IV.

**I**N the further investigation of our subject we may suppose that our Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke in their canonical form are to be placed, as Schmiedel would place them, in the first or second decade of the second century. But even so, there is evidence that the belief in the Virgin birth must have already gained wide currency. Reference has already been made to the remarkable testimony of St. Ignatius. If we may reasonably place his martyrdom about 110 A.D., and if we remember that he had been the Bishop of the great Church of Antioch, and that on his way to his death he addresses various Churches of Asia and the Church in Rome itself, that he writes a letter to St. Polycarp, in which he explains that he had been suddenly prevented from writing to all the Churches, we shall better understand with what extent of knowledge and authority he could write such words as these: "And the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing escaped the notice of the princes of this world, and likewise also the death of the Lord—those mysteries to be cried aloud—the which were wrought in the silence of God" ("Ephesians," xix.). So, again, in addressing the Smyrnæans, he gives glory that they are fully persuaded as touching our Lord that He is truly born of a Virgin, and truly nailed up in the flesh for our sakes under Pontius Pilate and Herod

Much stress has been laid upon the fact that the Ebionites of the second century denied the Virgin birth. But we must remember that the name "Ebionites" does not meet us at all before the time of St. Irenæus; and that Origen in two places ("Contra Celsum," v. 61, and "Com. Matt.," xvi. 12) refers to two kinds of Ebionites, one of which acknowledged that Jesus was born of a Virgin, while the other did not accept this belief. No doubt there are statements in Justin Martyr which plainly show that a certain number of Christians in his day held with this latter kind of Ebionite, referred to by Origen.<sup>1</sup> But the context in which Justin places his statements enables us to see, not only that Jewish Christians would have had a special difficulty with regard to the acceptance of the Lord's Virgin birth, since the Jews believed that the Messiah was to be born "a man of men" (as Justin points out in his "Dialogue with Trypho"), but that Justin himself is stating the belief of a minority in the Church—a belief which he for his own part strongly repudiates: "For there are some, I said, of our number who admit that He is Christ, while holding Him to be a man of men, with whom I do not agree; nor would I, even though most of those who have the same opinions as myself should say so, since we were enjoined by Christ Himself to put no faith in human doctrines, but those proclaimed by the blessed prophets and taught by Himself" ("Dial. cum Tryphone," 48). Professor Schmiedel ("Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Mary," iii., 2963) bids us remember that we do not hear of the Ebionites as a "sect" before the end of the second century; and he quotes the above passage in Justin, or, rather, a few words of it, in proof that the Ebionites represented the continuation of one of the earliest tendencies of Christianity. But that tendency was predominantly a Jewish tendency, as Irenæus, in his description of the Ebionites, abundantly testifies ("Against Heresies," i. 26, 2); and that such a tendency might easily be associated with a difficulty in accepting the Virgin birth we have already

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<sup>1</sup> In his "History of Early Christianity," p. 207 *et seq.*, Mr. Pullan has fully discussed Dr. Hort's statement that the Ebionites and Nazarenes were only one sect ("Judaistic Christianity," p. 197, and to the same effect Dr. Bright, "Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life," p. 259). But if we prefer Dr. Hort's account, and see in the name Nazarene a description of the Jewish Christians of Syria, "either taken or inherited from the designation of the Apostolic Age," it does not follow that we should regard these people as representing the full Catholic tradition about our Lord's birth and person. Epiphanius in his day is very hesitating in his language, and apparently cannot say whether they denied the Virgin birth or not, whilst in their Christology there is also considerable uncertainty, although they appear to have held what may be fairly called "the somewhat shrunken orthodoxy" of the *Didache*.

seen. We do not, however, find that Dr. Schmiedel quotes the strong condemnation which Justin Martyr passes, nor does he mention that the Church-writers mentioned above show that the belief in the Virgin birth was not only of early date, but of wide acceptance—an acceptance shared amongst others by the Churches of Syria and Palestine. And whatever may have been their origin, Justin Martyr's "some of our number" certainly did not represent the belief of the Catholic Church.

The mention of St. Irenæus reminds us how his writings supply us with a further remarkable proof of the position which must have been assigned to the belief in the Virgin birth, long before the close of the second century and in Churches far and wide.<sup>1</sup> In the opening of his great work ("Against Heresies," i. 10) he speaks of the faith which the Church had received from the Apostles and their disciples: in one God, the Father Almighty; in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, Who by the prophets declared the birth of a Virgin, and the Passion and Resurrection and bodily Ascension. After reciting these and other articles of the Faith, Irenæus proceeds to remark that, "while the languages of the world differ, the tenor of the tradition is one and the same; and neither have the Churches situated in the regions of Germany believed otherwise, nor do they hold any other tradition, neither in the parts of Spain, nor among the Celts, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor those which are situate in the middle parts of the world." Again, in a later part of his work (iii. 4) he speaks of the tradition which the Apostles had delivered to those whom they entrusted with the Churches, which accept the articles of the Faith mentioned above, and believe in One God, the Framer of heaven and earth and of all things that are in them, by Christ Jesus the Son of God, "Who for His surpassing love's sake towards His creatures submitted to the birth which was to be of the Virgin."<sup>2</sup>

It may be noted in passing that the latest date to which we can refer the work of St. Irenæus (190 A.D.) is also the same date to which Professor Schmiedel has lately assigned the

<sup>1</sup> See Wohlenberg, "Geboren von der Jungfrau Maria," p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Worcester ("Dissertations," p. 44), in referring to the testimony of St. Irenæus, points out what special stress he lays upon the representation of two churches—that of Rome, and that of the Church of St. Polycarp, Smyrna—who taught those things which he had learned from the Apostles. St. Irenæus dwells upon this testimony just before he mentions the various articles of the Creed, iii. 3, and he adds: "Yea, and the Church in Ephesus, having had both Paul for its founder and John to abide among them, is a true witness of the Apostles' tradition."

remarkable epitaph of Avircius of Hieropolis, the rediscovery of which we owe to Professor Ramsay.<sup>1</sup> From this epitaph we gain an invaluable picture of Church life and belief in the second century, and Ramsay strongly maintains that in one striking expression, where our Lord is spoken of as "the Fish from the fountain, mighty, pure, which a spotless Virgin grasped," we have a reference to His conception by a spotless Virgin. It must, however, be admitted that Bishop Lightfoot inclines to refer the Virgin to the Church ("Ignatius," i. 481), whilst Schmiedel apparently regards the expression as ambiguous ("Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Gospels," ii., 1778). But if we prefer Professor Ramsay's interpretation, its significance is very great, since Avircius, no less than Irenæus, claims to describe the faith as it was held everywhere, in many and different lands; Avircius had travelled east and west, and wherever he goes he finds fellow-worshippers in the same Church, and fellow-believers in the same faith. But without pressing this point of interpretation, we may add to St. Irenæus the great names of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, although in the latter the references are few. And to these, again, we may add the testimony of writers so varied as Origen, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Lactantius, to say nothing of others.

Much has been made of the fact that the original Nicene Creed as accepted by the Council contained no allusion to the Virgin birth, and we are significantly told that the time may come when the original Creed of Nicæa may gain a hearing. But let us look into the matter for a moment. The Bishop who occupied the first seat at the Council of Nicæa, on the right of the Emperor, was Eusebius of Cæsarea; he delivered the opening address, and his Creed, the Creed of the Church of Cæsarea, was first presented to the Council. But that Creed, so it is objected, made no mention of the Virgin birth. Yes; but does it follow that Eusebius denied it? We shall make a great mistake if we jump at any such conclusion. The same Bishop, in writing against Marcellus within a few years of the Council, on the theology of the Church,<sup>2</sup> speaks in one and the same sentence of the birth from the holy Virgin, of the becoming Man, of the Suffering. Does not the true explanation lie in the fact that the Virgin birth was supposed—as it has been well said—to be *involved in* any statement of the Incarnation? It will be noticed that in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Expositor*, ix., pp. 264-272, Third Series; and Bishop Lightfoot's account, *Expositor*, i., p. 5, Third Series.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is quoted by the Bishop of Worcester in a note on p. 42, "Dissertations."

passage quoted from Eusebius' own writings the allusion is quite incidental; it evidently indicates, from its terms, a truth well known, and it places the Virgin birth and the Passion on the same level as historical facts. But may we not fairly ask, Why should the additional statement "And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary" present a stumbling-block to those who acknowledge that they are prepared to accept the Nicene Creed as it was adopted by the Council? To believe that Jesus Christ, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, was incarnate and was made Man, involves a belief in a miracle so stupendous, so transcending all other facts in the world's history, that the details connected with it can scarcely surprise us on the ground that they, too, are in their nature unique. Whatever difficulty these details may present, a still greater difficulty faces us in any attempt to account for their origin and their acceptance, apart from their truth.<sup>1</sup> It is quite beside the mark to maintain that the expression "Born of the Virgin Mary" is only symbolical of our Lord's unique purity and sinlessness (so apparently Lobstein and other modern writers). If this had been their purpose, we may ask, why should such words have been introduced at all? One might have supposed that it would have been easier and more intelligible, if we may judge from the standpoint of our opponents, to have said simply: "Who knew no sin" (2 Cor. v. 21), and we should then have had, at all events, an article of the Creed which rested upon an indisputable foundation, so far as the New Testament is concerned.

Professor Schmiedel tells us that the Church attached the highest value to the doctrine of the Virgin birth. In one direction a value for this doctrine was sought in connecting it with the sinlessness of Jesus, although it was not until the doctrine of original sin had been fully developed that the theory of the Virgin birth became important with regard to Him (Art. "Mary," *u.s.*, 2964). But if, according to Schmiedel, this important connection existed between the assertion of original sin on the one hand, and the doctrine of a Virgin birth on the other, and if we remember that no

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<sup>1</sup> In "*Contentio Veritatis*," p. 88, we read: "We should not now expect *a priori* that the Incarnate Logos would be born without a human father"; but if the belief in the Virgin birth comes to us, as we maintain, from Jewish circles, there was no *a priori* expectation to this effect, and the only prophecy which could be quoted in support of it was not referred at the time of the Advent to the Messiah at all." See also Dr. Chase's criticism, "Supernatural Element in our Lord's earthly Life," p. 23.

one has asserted more emphatically than St. Paul the doctrine of original sin (although he does not use the precise phrase) and the implication of all men in Adam's fall, the strange thing would have been, as Schmiedel's words help to show us, if the Apostle had *not* regarded the birth of the one Sinless Man, as differing in some way from the ordinary propagation of a sinful race. Whilst, then, it is quite true that we cannot *prove* that the Virgin birth was known to St. Paul, it is none the less true that such a mode of birth falls in, and that, too, in a remarkable manner, with the Apostle's own language, and with the language of the early Church—*e.g.*, that of St. Irenæus ("Against Heresies," iii. 22; v. 1, 19). In modern days this connection between sinlessness and the birth of a virgin has been often emphasized, but in a different manner from that remarked upon by Dr. Schmiedel, who seems to think that the only logical outcome is the Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Thus, Dr. Illingworth ("Divine Immanence," p. 95), after pointing out that the real ground upon which the Virgin birth is rejected may be found in the *a priori* one of its intrinsic improbability, and that the tradition of the Early Church was that only by such an event could the sinful entail be broken, adds, "and that, too, at a time when the relation of body and soul was conceived as far less intimate than we now know it to be." "But," he continues, "with our modern knowledge of their mutual interdependence, it is doubly impossible to conceive that natural human generation should issue in anything else than a contaminated personality. It may be urged that we have no reason to think otherwise, even in the case of a virgin birth. But the cases are widely different. For of natural generation we have positive knowledge, based on universal experience, that it does as a fact issue in a sinful person. Whereas of virgin birth we have no positive knowledge; it is wholly outside our experience; we can only conjecture what its consequences would be. And in the absence of all knowledge, it is a perfectly conceivable conjecture that a mode of birth from which an essential factor of ordinary heredity is absent should involve independence from hereditary taint."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With these remarks we may compare those of Dr. Sanday, "The Meaning of the Virgin Birth," in Art. "Jesus Christ," Hastings' B.D., vol. ii., p. 646, also of Mr. Ottley, "Incarnation," in the same volume, p. 460, and those of the Bishop of Worcester, "Dissertations," p. 66, and "Romans," i., p. 200. To these references may be added, amongst English writers, Mr. Garvie's thoughtful paper on "The Virgin Birth," *Expositor*, February, 1902. In his book on "The Ritschlian Theology," pp. 208, 281, 290, Mr. Garvie has given us some interesting remarks on the attitude of Ritschl and Hermann towards the fact in question.



This is a very different thing, of course, from any notion that sexual intercourse is in itself sinful—a notion which in Dr. Schmiedel's opinion was at work in the elaboration of the theory of the Virgin birth, and in support of which he quotes Rev. xiv. 4.

But if this passage exalts virginity, there are two considerations to be noted: First, that such teaching is insisted upon to counterbalance, as it were, the sensuality and carnal sins which had eaten into the life of more than one of the Churches; and, secondly, that in Rev. xxi., xxii., the holy institution of marriage receives both recognition and consecration from the imagery employed (see "Century Bible," *in loco*).

One other reason for the value attached by the Church to the doctrine in question may be best seen, in Schmiedel's judgment, in such a writer as Justin Martyr. This writer we are told, is concerned to show the points of comparison between all that was alleged of so-called sons of Zeus and Jesus, the true Son of God, and he argues from these comparisons that there is so much common ground between Christian and heathen belief. "Such arguments," urges Schmiedel, "show us to what a level Jesus can be (not raised, but) lowered by the doctrine of the Virgin birth." It is a strange conclusion to deduce from any Christian writer, but it is arrived at by insisting upon points of *comparison* to the almost entire exclusion of points of *contrast*; by forgetfulness of the fact that Justin is keenly alive to, whilst he strongly condemns, the grossness and license of the heathen mythology.

But quite apart from these and similar criticisms, the object of the preceding pages has been to insist upon the evidence for the Virgin birth, and to show that no reasonable account can be given for a belief in that doctrine apart from its historical truth. It is not a pleasant or an encouraging task to look back upon chapters in the history of the Church, wherein men have endeavoured to transform the facts of the Creed into mere symbols for the expression of universal religious ideas.<sup>1</sup> From this perversion, which is no new danger and no new discovery, our English Prayer-Book may guard and protect us. In the Collect for Christmas Day we address God, Whose only-begotten has taken our nature upon Him, and Who was born of a pure Virgin. Here we have the statement of an historical fact; yet it is no dead fact, but a fact possessing "the power of an endless life": "Grant that we, being regenerate and made Thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by Thy Holy Spirit." This is the spiritual truth. The historical fact is not forgotten, but it is the basis,

<sup>1</sup> See, *e.g.*, the remarks of Hagenbach, "Kirchengeschichte," ii., p. 472.

not the symbol, of the spiritual truth. It is not forgotten any more than it was in the days of St. Ignatius, who could place our Lord's Virgin birth as a fact side by side with His death, and could speak in the same chapter of the same letter ("Ephesians," xix.) of the results of that child-bearing of Mary: "From that time forward the ignorance of wickedness vanished away, when God appeared in the likeness of men unto newness of everlasting life."

To the historical fact of the Virgin birth the English Prayer-Book bears witness, not only in our Christmas Collect, but in the morning Hymn of Praise—the triumph song of the Western Church—in which for century after century her children have rejoiced and been glad. The same testimony is again recorded in our most solemn Service of Thanksgiving, in Creed, and in Preface—one of the two Prefaces which first found a place in our first Book of Common Prayer. We are not asked to accept the Virgin birth—at least primarily—as a spiritual or doctrinal truth, although undoubtedly there is a sense in which it becomes so, but as an historical fact; and that fact our Creeds, our Articles, and our Prayer-Book proclaim with no uncertain sound.

Translate the facts of the Creed into terms of modern life if you please—in one sense they will bear it, for they form "a creed for every time and age"—but in the translation let us not lose sight of the importance and the truth of the original. Without keeping close to the original, there is always a danger in a translation.<sup>1</sup>

R. J. KNOWLING.

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<sup>1</sup> In some recent numbers of the *Guardian* during March, Mr. F. C. Conybeare has made some remarkable observations, which seem to call for qualification, if not by himself, yet at least by those who are interested in the subject. Mr. Conybeare makes at least two assertions: (1) That the verses, Luke i. 34, 35, disappear in several of the most ancient witnesses; (2) that the "Protevangelium Jacobi" fails to bear witness to those verses. With regard to his first statement, which Mr. Conybeare describes as a commonplace of German criticism, he does not mention the fact that both verses are retained by at least two of the most distinguished of German textual critics in their recent editions of the third Gospel. When we turn to the *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, edited by Dr. Blass, we find that although he is well aware of the reading of the Codex Veronensis, in which Mr. Conybeare places such absolute confidence, he retains the two verses in his text precisely as they are retained by Westcott and Hort. And if we turn to Dr. E. Nestle's recent edition of the Greek Testament (1901), we find that he retains the verses precisely as they are retained by the critics previously named. With regard to the second statement Dr. Schmiedel, who would no doubt be ranked amongst the Germans to whom such deference is paid by Mr. Conybeare, informs us that in the "Protevangelium" an angel announces to Mary, during Joseph's absence from home, the birth of Jesus "in the words of

ART. V.—ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL AND MODERN  
CRITICISM.—IV.

I FAIL to find in the articles on our Gospels in Hastings' Dictionary any presentation of the arguments which I have tried to set before my readers in Papers II. and III. There appears to be a tacit assumption on the part of our modern critics that our Lord's predictions in xix. 41-44, xxi. 20-25 bespeak on the part of Luke an experience of the events predicted. Nothing is said of the numerous proofs that this Gospel was published about A.D. 62-64 from materials which Luke had a few years previously accumulated in Palestine.

This treatment of the subject becomes more unsatisfactory when we find (Hastings, *s.v.* "Luke") the worthlessness of those arguments which are cited actually admitted. This is done again and again by Mr. Bebb without regard, apparently, to the effect on the minds of such readers as do not think detailed prophecy suspicious, and do think that Luke makes an obvious claim to authorization from first sources. Our attention is diverted from the plain question, Are the detailed predictions in this Gospel necessarily written after the event? Often we are summoned to a mere *σκιμαχία*, or contest with once fashionable critical arguments which are recognised to be worthless. I do not understand how these proofs of past error commend the destructive criticism of to-day. But it would be certainly unfair not to give the whole catena of argument its full claim to consideration. Let, then, any such reader ask: "Apart from this question of prophecy and arbitrary theories about the date when oral teaching was superseded by written Gospels, what objection is there to supposing Luke wrote before the fall of Jerusalem?" The whole case may be put before him in the following compendium of "objections" and my "answers" to them.

*Objection 1:* Because certain critics once supposed that

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Luke i. 35" ("Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Mary," iii., 2967), and it is difficult to see how anyone who reads the "Protevangelium," ch. xi., can reasonably doubt that the words of the angel are a distinct reminiscence of the same verse (see, *e.g.*, Mr. Walker's translation in T. and T. Clark's "Apocryphal Gospels"). Other points adduced by Mr. Conybeare are fully answered by the rejoinders of Mr. Headlam. It is a pleasure in this connection to be able to quote Dr. Chase's words with regard to the verses under discussion: "I cannot think that there is a shadow of justification for regarding the question of Mary, 'How shall these things be?' and the answer of the angel, as an interpolation inserted in the story of St. Luke, and for thus eliminating the idea of the Virgin birth from the original narrative which St. Luke edited."—"Supernatural Element in our Lord's earthly Life," etc., 1903.

Luke must have read Josephus, who certainly wrote after that event. *Answer*: The critics of the same school have had to give this up. Mr. Bebb, in fact, himself endorses Schürer's dictum: "We must suppose either that St. Luke did not use Josephus at all, or that, if he did, he forthwith forgot what he had learnt from him."

*Objection 2*: Because this Gospel repeatedly bears out the testimony of the fourth Gospel, which is admitted to be late. *Answer*: So much the better for those who believe that Luke consorted with first witnesses. It is, as I have shown, an indication that St. John was one of those authorities from whom Luke got materials for his story. Mr. Bebb, without noticing this inference, candidly admits that the old hypothesis of indebtedness to the fourth Gospel was wrong, and that "these points of contact do not establish a literary relationship, but are only common points in the oral tradition." So this, again, is not an argument for late date.

*Objection 3*: Because in iii. 1 Luke apparently dates Tiberius's reign from the time when he received the *tribunicia potestas* from Augustus. Titus was somewhat similarly "associated" with Vespasian in A.D. 71, and his reign was afterwards reckoned from that year, not from his accession as sole Emperor in A.D. 79. Luke, writing in A.D. 80, is conceived to have read back the practice of his times into the times of Tiberius. *Answer*: This argument, though undoubtedly ingenious, is admitted by Mr. Bebb and by Dr. Ramsay, its propounder, to be "taken by itself insufficient" for any assignment of date.

*Objection 4*: "More weight," says Mr. Bebb, "may perhaps be attached to the evidence afforded by the theological terms used in this Gospel, as, for example, the expression *ὁ κύριος* of our Lord (*cf.* 'Ev. Petri'), some of which point to a date later than St. Matthew and St. Mark." *Answer*: The reader may estimate the value of this criticism from the one instance alleged. Whatever the usage of the apocryphal "Gospel of Peter," we know that one Paul, with whom Luke much associated, continually refers to our Saviour in this very term, *ὁ κύριος*, "the Lord." He does so in every one of his surviving epistles except that to Titus. The term also occurs in Hebrews and in James, and was doubtless in general use. Otherwise I should press the obvious inference: "It is a proof that Luke wrote while in constant contact with St. Paul, who is so fond of this term, 'the Lord.'" As a fact, the characteristic theological terms of Luke are again and again those of the Pauline Epistles.

*Objection 5*: Matt.-Mk. has: "When ye see all these things, know that *He* is nigh, even at the doors." Luke:

“When ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that the *kingdom of God* is nigh” (xxi. 31). Further, Matt.-Mk. has: “This generation shall not pass till all these things be accomplished”; Luke the same words, omitting *these* (xxi. 32). These minute differences in the records of our Lord’s prophecy are held to imply that Luke wrote at a time when the Second Coming of Christ was no longer connected with the prediction of the fall of Jerusalem, and therefore that the latter event had actually happened. *Answer*: It is extremely doubtful whether such slight variations of language have any theological import. The “coming of the Lord” and the “coming of the kingdom” were interchangeable terms in the early Christian idiom. If they are to be pressed at all, they must be judged side by side with Luke’s knowledge of our Lord’s prophecy of the “times of the Gentiles” that were to intervene between the fall of Jerusalem and the final justification of Israel’s privileges. Throughout we claim that Luke is conscious of an element in our Lord’s prophecies which is admittedly absent in Matthew and Mark. With that element, however, we find that St. Paul was acquainted when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans *circa* A.D. 58. Mr. Bebb apparently admits this. Why should not Luke have the same knowledge in A.D. 62-64?

I think my readers will agree with me that the claim of Luke to early date is not invalidated by such arguments as these. We are thrown back on Dr. Sanday’s dictum that “It is probable that the common basis of our synoptic Gospels was itself not committed to writing so early” as A.D. 63; or rather, on the general assumption in regard to the prophecies which accompanies it. For, considered by itself, what is more baseless than this theory that written narrations of our Lord’s doings were unknown for more than thirty years after the Ascension, or that people who wrote on all other subjects never put in writing the story dearest to their hearts? “Written Gospels were not necessary,” it is sometimes said, “till after the dispersal and deaths of the Apostles.” In other words, if anybody between A.D. 30 and A.D. 68 wanted to learn about the life of Christ, he had necessarily to hunt up an Apostle or trust to some “oral tradition” of the Christians. The quasi-ecclesiastical pretensions of this assumption have made it acceptable in quarters where the insidious postulate against prophecy would not find such a ready acceptance. It is often repeated as if it afforded a sort of scientific clue to the history of our Gospels. Yet “this thing” said St. Paul, “hath not been done in a corner.” Whatever the tendency in later and more troublous times, there is no indication of any desire at this period to keep the Christian tenets at all secret.

What is more unlikely than that there should be this abeyance of written accounts for some thirty or forty years? On the Day of Pentecost 3000 converts were made, many of them foreign Jewish proselytes from distant lands. Can we suppose that such men never afterwards required any written account of the life of Jesus, but were dependent always on oral traditions and the chance of meeting an Apostle? Did the Ethiopian eunuch return to the Court of Queen Candace and never correspond with Palestine on the subject of the faith which he had so hastily embraced? Were Paul's numerous and scattered converts from about A.D. 45 to A.D. 68 entirely dependent on his oral teaching and letters of admonition? Did no one throughout this period ever conceive the thought that the doings of Jesus should be put in writing? The assumption seems to conflict with all our experience of the ways of men.

We have to face, too, the fact that in Luke's opening chapters we have a use of documentary narrations seemingly as old as the career of John the Baptist. We have also to recognise the Evangelist's free handling of the common source or sources in the account of our Lord's Galilean ministry. The re-editing itself involves fresh testimony from a circle of first witnesses. We cannot otherwise conceive of anyone taking the liberty of reshaping a story which we may suppose had some ecclesiastical sanction. Luke's own position is clearly that of one who not only has this ecclesiastical story, but who claims the right from personal intercourse with eye-witnesses to publish a fuller and revised narration. Such claims seem to come best from a man who had been recently in touch with the circle at Jerusalem, a privilege which Luke had in A.D. 58-59. Finally, there is no force in the argument that Luke's mention of other and quite unauthoritative narratives (i. 1) implies a late date, when once we are rid of that theory that the first Christians did not write. A parallel case is the circulation of unauthorized accounts of Paul's teachings which is alluded to by that Apostle as early as A.D. 54 (2 Thess. ii. 4).

Let us now approach the subject of the predictions recorded by Luke with an open mind as to the date of his Gospel. First there is the great discourse on the fall of Jerusalem and the Final Day of Judgment, which all three Evangelists connect with an occasion of the disciples showing Jesus the splendour of the Temple (Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.). It is obvious that in the first two Gospels we have an account in which the two subjects were commingled, and that Luke was informed by a witness who distinguished the one from the other and knew how our Lord had foretold the dispensa-

tion of the Gentiles (Luke xxi. 24) which was to intervene. In this respect, then, and in the mention of Jerusalem being "compassed with armies," Luke's account is certainly richer. His informant, however, had not told him of the other sign of impending ruin, "the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place," nor of the prediction "of false Christs and false prophets." In these respects, therefore, Luke's account is poorer than the other, and it may be remarked again, if Luke wrote in A.D. 80, and was the kind of historian to press wherever possible our Lord's predictive power, it is curious that he omits these prophecies, which had been fulfilled in men's experience. The critics tell us they were published by Matthew and Mark as early as A.D. 70. How is it Luke misses such a good opportunity?

For those who admit prophecy as a fact there is nothing more suspicious in Luke recording this discourse with details not found elsewhere, than there is in his similar presentation of such scenes as the Last Supper and the Crucifixion. Our Lord's words were intentionally obscure; the discourse was uttered only once. It is natural that some details should impress themselves on the memory of one hearer, others on the memory of another. Nor is this all. With respect to that prophecy of the delimited "times of the Gentiles," we have, as I have already noticed, an extraneous testimony to its genuineness. St. Paul in Rom. xi. 25 can allude to this topic as a "mystery," or partly revealed Divine purpose. "A hardening in part," he says, "has befallen Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." This peculiar phraseology is best explained by a knowledge on Paul's part of that very element in Luke's record of the prophecy which seems most assailable. He, too, seems to be cognizant of a part at least of the prediction that "Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." But Paul's allusion to this matter is made *circa* A.D. 58. Obviously, then, there is no ground so far to regard Luke as embellishing our Lord's prophecy by the light of events which he had noticed occurring between the years 70 and 80.

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. VI.—CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT: A  
FRIENDLY CRITICISM.

ENGLISHMEN have never been accustomed to be much taken with those who come to them with paper constitutions promising much. Paper constitutions have been viewed with deep suspicion, as frequently proving the symptoms and heralds of revolution. And the reason is not far to seek. Compromises, which are often essentially illogical, are the method of history. They are not infrequently the bulwarks of freedom and the safety of the State. They have grown and not been forced. Their very want of logic may be strangely enough the very secret of stability. Growth in societies does not follow the logical line, but the real. It is well for States and Churches to have an ideal, as for individuals, but to force entire conformity prematurely and with too much diligence has been found in practice a fertile source of disaster. Growth is from within; force is from without. For the State or Church to force the best possible may be to imperil the best practicable. As the anonymous writer to Diognetus puts it in the highest matters, so it applies to lower matters. "As a King, sending His Son, He sent a King. He sent Him as God, as to men He sent, as saving He sent, as persuading, not as forcing, for force belongs not to God." It was an ill day when men, with the best intention, began to try to force what they thought the most perfect in its entirety and completeness upon societies not prepared for it. They may or may not have been right in their ideas of perfection, but the extreme straightness of their method is not to be imitated. Laud was a great Christian, but would it be very bold to hold the opinion that Laud, with whose aims one may be in cordial agreement, with a little more moderation in action and a little more practical and far-seeing wisdom, might have saved this country from many an evil from which it suffers to this day? He would have achieved more with less energy. His very success was fatal. So with the Puritans. "The truths assured of ultimate triumph were, so far as political liberty is concerned, rather with Falkland than with the Puritans."<sup>1</sup> Extremes of temperament are not favourable to growth. Does it not seem that, as the pendulum of history swings from the one extreme to the other, the underlying principle is the same? It is the impatience of a gardener who should hack a tree to his liking from without rather than watch and train its growth from within. He might achieve more immediately, but less permanently.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Arnold, "Mixed Essays," Falkland, p. 231.



There are questions which are widely debated with regard to the constitution of the Church of England, which clearly need to be weighed from all points of view. Give more real power in legal status to the layman, and, we are enthusiastically told, all will be well. Our present distress will gradually vanish away. Take away the parson's freehold, and the Church will at last make greater headway. Concentrate to the Bishop, for the sake of getting rid alike of irresponsible self-will and of sleepy parochialism, and the energies of the Church, dissipated by controversy, at length with a unity which centres in obedience and symbol rather than in truth, will revive. These are questions of constitutional government.

It is a problem of true freedom. If we hurry into mistakes, we may plant the seeds of many difficulties, which those who come after us will have to suffer from. It is a question as to how best the freedom and energy of the Church can be fostered, and established, and turned to a blessing to the nation; for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. It is to make the Church the best instrument possible in the hands of the Spirit of the Lord that we seek. How best shall the Church of the twentieth century grow? The aim is not logical completeness, but real advantage.

There are two considerations which strike the thoughtful observer at the outset with regard to these suggestions of Church reform themselves, and the way in which one of them is presented. First and generally, they centre in the position of the presbyter already hard pressed enough, and receiving in the open, sometimes under conditions not very encouraging, the first onset of such division, unbelief, and indifference as there may be. They affect his independence. They threaten his security of tenure. They promise to enlarge indefinitely the sphere of the Bishop's influence over him. Next, with regard to an increased legal status of the layman, perhaps we are led to expect more from it than changes in legal status usually reach to. We some of us know the layman pretty well. We love him, work with him, learn, perhaps, as much from him as from anybody else, and heartily respect him. But we are not quite convinced of his infallibility. It is asserted that the layman's "interest in Church affairs would be deepened, his zeal for righteousness would be kindled afresh, his love for his suffering and destitute neighbours would revive, his sense of membership in a spiritual society would be strengthened, and he would himself be more ready to submit to its laws and discipline"<sup>1</sup>—all this if only he should have an assured legal

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<sup>1</sup> Convocation Report on the "Position of the Laity," p. 54.

position given to him, which he has not now. We are a little inclined to ask whether all this would result always and in every place from whatever change in legal position. The end is too deeply to be wished; but this means to compass it, does it not promise more than it can perform?

It is not without instruction that the ancient Greeks seem to have regarded forms of government with comparative indifference, each being open to its special abuse. We remember that Sir Henry Maine brought down the rhapsodies of democracy from the sky to the earth by calling it only a mode of government, and that the most difficult.

We have some of us seen and read of legally constituted and duly elected parish vestries, which have proved nothing but a scandal in themselves and an obstruction to good works. We remember reading in the life and letters of a broad-minded and democratic clergyman how he spent some of his time in the East end of London in endeavouring to teach even his churchwardens their small importance.

Again, some of us have read of deacons, and have in a little way experienced what they might be like. We do not want deacons in the Church of England. This is a question with which aspect has a good deal to do. As Newman points out, Montaigne and the seamstress saw the world very differently.

Given a party leader, with a strong party behind him, or a man of commanding influence and large success, the legally constituted layman is only anxious to help and to follow. Mr. Spurgeon, we are told, "was supreme in his church, and was never trammelled by boards of deacons, elders, or trustees; his wish was law among them." But to others it has fallen out differently. The interest of "Salem Chapel" by Mrs. Oliphant centres in the impossible position into which a man of ability and sensitive feelings is driven by the organized power of the laymen, who were without sympathy with his higher aims.

Dr. Guthrie's elder was great in *objecting*. The lay temptation is to work a church on purely business principles. "The accepted policy," says one, "of throwing the entire burden of the church on one man's shoulders, of making a church a financial investment, on which the minister is to pay the dividends, is encouraging and intensifying the demand for the talent which fills pews, and making it the unpardonable sin of the minister not to draw. To more than one faithful pastor his church is a cross on which he is crucified, while the people sit down and watch him there."

"One of the admirable sayings of Fred. W. Robertson," says Dr. Carpenter, "has always seemed to me to be his reply to the remonstrance addressed to him by one of his Church-

wardens, as to the displeasing effect of the outspokenness of his preaching upon some of the principal supporters of his church. 'I don't care,' he said—meaning, of course, 'I must preach as my own sense of duty prompts me.' 'You know what "don't care" came to?' said the remonstrator. 'Yes, sir,' replied Robertson, 'it came to Calvary.'<sup>1</sup>

Now, undoubtedly, the presbyter has sacred rights which it is the duty of the Church and the advantage of the nation to preserve. "Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock amongst which the Holy Spirit made you Bishops, to shepherd the Church of the Lord which He purchased by His own blood."<sup>2</sup> "Amongst which the Holy Spirit made you Bishops" (*ἐπισκόπους*), says the High Churchman St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus in the first Episcopal Charge. I can scarcely help reading in it the Divine right of the presbyter's episcopacy. Conferred by the laying on of hands with the assent of the Church, there is yet an immediate Divine mission, a sending, an apostolical succession, a heavenly vision, a faithful witness. "Let a man—*i.e.*, a layman—so account of us as ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God. Here, besides, it is required in the stewards that one be found faithful. But with me it is a very small thing that I should be examined by you or by man's judgment." The idea is that of service, as under-rowers in the ship of the Church to the Divine steersman; officers for His work; stewards to be faithful, not in the judgment of the layman, but to Him whose goods they dispense. We are bound by such words as these to recognise the sacred Divine right of the faithful presbyter. For Apollos is one of those coming under this category in the context. And this mission the laity neither confer nor take away.<sup>3</sup> The idea of Christ's servant for the good of His Church, which is His body, is one given to us. We dare not impair it. For the power and presence is His.

Again, the New Testament view of the ministry is an apostolic charge to the consummation of the age with Christ's presence; a faithful keeping and witnessing of the faith once delivered to the saints, a deposit committed unto us ministers of Christ. "If I were still pleasing men, I should not be a bondservant of Christ." "These things speak and exhort and reprove with all authority. Let no man despise thee." These words are spoken to a Bishop. But even if we receive

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Carpenter's "Mental Physiology," Preface, p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xx. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Clement of Rome's letter in behalf of presbyters improperly ejected by the laity.

a theory, for which I find no warrant in Scripture or in the primitive Church, that the presbyter is nothing but the Bishop's representative, the words equally apply to him in this capacity. The language of the first Church, when the voices of the Apostles were still echoing in men's ears, though as far removed as possible from the language of modern priestly domination, yet faithfully reflects the Apostolic idea of Christ's ministry. Clement of Rome impresses the laity with the thought that order is Heaven's first law; that each man has his own rank, and is to be subject to his neighbour, according as he was appointed with Christ's special grace; that Christ and His Apostles both came of the will of God in the appointed order; that Bishops (presbyters) and deacons were appointed unto them that should believe by the Apostles as their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit. Let them subject themselves unto the presbyters. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances. They are to submit to their leaders and to render the fitting honour to the presbyters who are with them.<sup>1</sup> The perfervid Ignatius, though he allows himself, in expressions which are easily perverted in a sense of autocracy and arrogance, from which he himself is wholly free, speaks the same language. His words are but extreme and unguarded reflections of the words of Christ: "As My Father sent Me, even so send I you." "For when ye are subject to your Bishop," he says; "as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died on our account, that so believing in His death, we might escape death. It is therefore necessary that as ye do, so without your Bishop ye should do nothing. Also be ye subject to the presbytery as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope, in whom, if we walk, we shall be found in Him. But the deacons, also being deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, ought in every way to please all, for they are not deacons of meats or drinks, but servants of the Church of God; therefore they must avoid all offences as they would fire. In like manner let all reverence the deacons as a commandment of Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup> It is true, as has been said, that the expressions of Ignatius are open to the abuses which after set in in the monarchy of Bishops, and the painful assumptions of the clerical order, but in their own context, and in the spirit of Ignatius, they do but reflect the New Testament idea of the ministry of Christ. The ministry is entrusted with the commandments of Christ with which

<sup>1</sup> Clement, "Epistle to the Corinthians," chaps. i., xlii., xli., xl., lvii., and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Ignatius, "Ad Trallianos," chaps. ii. and iii.

also the laity are "in all things ordered and beautified,"<sup>1</sup> and without the ministry "the Church is no proper Church." It is the mind of Jesus Christ that they witness. Like the Bishop of Philadelphia, they "obtained the ministry belonging to the public good, not of themselves, neither by men, nor after vain opinion, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup> It is not the dignity of an order that is in question, but the health of the body as touching unity, and perseverance in the true faith committed to the saints. It is for this that "where the Shepherd is, there as sheep do ye follow."<sup>3</sup> It is to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ that each estate should observe the order of his own office or ministry. "The admirable and striking gentleness of equity" of the Bishop of Philadelphia, "who by his silence is able to do more than others with all their vain talk," consists in this, that "he is in harmony with the commandments<sup>4</sup>—i.e., of Jesus Christ—as a harp with its strings." On the other side, Polycarp is addressed as "the Bishop of the Church of those in Smyrna, but rather as one overlooked (*ἐπισκοπημένω*) by God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, Polycarp reminds the deacons that "they are deacons of God in Christ, and not of men"; that the laity are to "submit themselves to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ"; that the presbyters should fulfil the charge of loving oversight over all; and all this "that we may turn to the Word committed to us from the beginning."<sup>6</sup> In the early Church leaders, presidents, rulers, governors, were terms common to the presbyters, and to the Bishop set over them.<sup>7</sup> The danger of "lording it over their parishes" which the Primate St. Peter guards against, was not the danger of those times. The danger of the times was separation, disunion, scattering, following false teaching. The Church, instinct and breathing with love, was to be kept in love and truth by the Divine ordinance of its ministry. Clericalism had not set in. The faith was a life too simple and Divine for that to flourish.

Now I am aware that all this will be regarded as a mere truism, a truism that all schemes of Church reform have well in view, and are quite content about. But truisms need to be

<sup>1</sup> Ignatius, "Ad Ephesios," chap. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Ignatius, "Ad Philadelphenos," chap. i.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *ἐντολαί*. Cf. teaching them to keep all things whatsoever I commanded (*ἐνετείλαμην*) you.—Matt. xxviii. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Ignatius, "Ad Polycarpum," chap. i.

<sup>6</sup> Polycarp, "Ad Philippenses," *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Bingham, i., 266.

emphasized, and this one in the present day especially. The general principle that the Christian ministry is a charge not given by men, but to witness the commandments of Jesus Christ and to exercise a stewardship of the mysteries of God, for the health and life of the body of Christ, is a principle which descends into details. The policy and direction of each Church and parish is a matter of details. Unity and co-ordination are of the essence of advance and progress.<sup>1</sup> The individual soldier in Christ's army has his rights and his place of honour. He should be trained to act with independence and true freedom, as the modern soldier is desired to do. But nothing but chaos and dissatisfaction can result if the leader is obliged to bow before every passing phase of opinion; or if the policy and direction of a parish may be altered in an hour by a bare majority. Government is concerned with details. Constitutional government is still government. It is not abdication. It gives *suum cuique*. It tempers and co-ordinates. It gives free-play to each in his own order, in his own office and ministry in the Church of God, that each may serve truly and godly.

Let it not be thought that what has been written has been written in a spirit of hostility to Church reform. But experience teaches that there are dangers which Church reform should have full in view. Human nature likes power, but chafes at rule.

Many years ago Dr. Arnold wrote: "To revive Christ's Church is to restore its disfranchised members, the laity, to the discharge of their proper duties in it, and to a consciousness of their paramount importance. All who value the inestimable blessings of Christ's Church should labour in arousing the Laity to a sense of their great share in them. In particular that discipline, which is one of the greatest of these blessings, never can, and indeed never ought to be, restored till the Church resumes its lawful authority and puts an end to the usurpation of its powers by the Clergy." Archdeacon Hare, in a note to one of his interesting and important charges, commenting upon this, proceeds: "Most truly does Coleridge lay down that the great pervading error and corruption of the Church of Christ is not so much the usurpation of the Papacy, as that by which the rights and privileges of the Church were narrowed and restricted to the Clergy. This division of the Church has fatally narrowed and crippled the kingdom of Christ. It has led the opposite parties to eye each other with jealousy, to keep watch and

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<sup>1</sup> The writer has for many years had a parochial council, which has exercised its powers pretty freely.

guard against each other, instead of working together as brethren in the same Divine task of love. It has rendered the Laity profane. It has rendered the Clergy secular. It has deadened the corporate life of the Church; inasmuch as the laity being debarred from a share in that life were fain to suppress it, and refused to recognise an authority which they justly felt was founded on usurpation."<sup>1</sup>

We have travelled some distance since these words were written in 1842; it is hoped in many ways in a right direction. Would to God that the laity would take everywhere and always their right position of work, and of influence, and of lawful authority as living members of Christ's body. For them to be influenced, as the Convocation report quoted above on the position of the laity suggests, would indeed be life from the dead. We see, on the one hand, an ever-widening breach between clericalism and the laity; on the other, with much assurance, and assumption of blessing, a growing movement for Church reform. "The errors and defects of old establishments are visible and palpable," writes the layman Burke,<sup>2</sup> "it requires but a word to abolish the vice and the establishment together. No difficulties occur in what has never been tried. At once to preserve and to reform is quite another thing. We see that the parts of the system do not clash. The evils latent in the most promising contrivances are provided for as they arise. One advantage is as little as possible sacrificed to another. We compensate, we reconcile, we balance. We are enabled to unite into a consistent whole the various anomalies and contending principles that are found in the minds and affairs of men. From hence arises, not an excellence in simplicity, but one far superior, an excellence in composition." Wisdom consists in no inconsiderable degree, says Burke, in knowing what amount of evil is to be tolerated. *Il ne faut pas tout corriger.*

The laity have rights and privileges of influence, of co-operation, of initiative, of counsel, of legitimate authority in the body of Christ. This position of the laity has often been lost, and not always by the fault of the clergy.

But they are members in particular. It is no usurpation, but it is the sacred duty of the presbyter to lead, and let it be said without offence, to govern. We want constitutional government—a temperament and composition of many orders. Love, which seeketh not her own, must be the cement of it. It seems the weakness of the Church Reform League that it puts forward no constitutional checks to a possible abuse of

<sup>1</sup> Hare's "Charges," p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> "Reflections," p. 198 (Clarendon Press Edition).

power on the part of the laity ; it does not seem to have them in view. St. Paul prays to be rescued from unreasonable and wicked men in the Church, for all men, he says, have not the faith. It is in the midst of an ignorant and careless laity, who do not or cannot study the commandments of Christ, that unbounded priestly arrogance is found to flourish. But, on the other hand, it is abundantly possible for a well-educated and sensitive presbyter, who has given up his lay independence to serve the Church, anxious to extend his master's kingdom, to find himself in the hollow of the layman's hand, thwarted and cramped and checked in schemes that are admirable, in teaching that is sorely needed.

The present completely anomalous system of patronage sprang up historically, not always from causes that are unworthy. It is better than "the trier's."<sup>1</sup> The parson's freehold ought not indeed to be absolute by any means. It is so too much. But better far endure the evils that spring from it, than destroy the parson's independence and self-respect by making it possible that he should be removed by caprice or uncharitable judgment. The motives that produced its legal recognitions were sound, and abundantly justified by evils which it supplanted. The present system has enabled many an able, humble, and conscientious presbyter to do noble work for God and His people. Where these qualities are not, we shall not succeed in making them by mechanism. It is the prayer of the laity that such humble, able, and conscientious men may be raised up by God to bless our England. There are many disabilities, which might well be removed from the power of the Bishop, but it should be constitutional power, lest it should destroy all individuality and initiative in the presbytery. Where the Bishops lead even now, there are many to follow. There is a select circle to advise. And if the parish presbyter is to have his legally constituted Parish Councils, a representative oligarchy should have no absolute power to check new efforts and prayerfully laid plans for the good of the Church by a bare majority. Their power should be constitutional power. There should be always the possibility of an appeal to the country. It ought to be possible to go from a decision of the parochial council to the general body of the communicants in the parish ; nay, finally, before action, even in very important matters, to the Bishop himself. Rash decisions, not to say heated and partisan, in a small assembly would bear to be discussed more fully, to

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<sup>1</sup> See an interesting account of the intolerable proceedings of "the triers" of men's qualifications for a benefice in the time of the Commonwealth in "Perry's Church History," vol. ii., p. 230.



have time afforded for further thought, to enlist the opinions of other minds, to listen to a Bishop's wisdom in counsel in the last resort.

What has been said about the ignoring of the layman's legitimate influence, of his responsible and honourable estate, of the valuable counsel of the humblest in the Church of England, is only too true. The best results may be anticipated from a due and balanced recognition of every true member in co-operation, counsel, and influence in the body of Christ. But in an ancient historical Church improvements must be slow and tentative to be improvements indeed. Long custom must be broken down by gradual education. If the Bishops would advise to all their presbyters the trial of voluntary Parish Councils with defined powers and constitutional checks, we should be nearer a just legislation.

It is no imagination but a grave certainty that there is a possibility of being hurried into the other extreme. It is absolute from Scripture and the primitive Church, the proper standpoint of a Catholic Churchman, that it is a commandment of Jesus Christ that the presbyter should lead and govern for the everlasting good of the Church, which He purchased with His own blood.

What we want is constitutional government.



#### ART. VII.—ASSYRIOLOGY AND THE EARLY RECORDS OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

THE discovery of ancient monuments in the Nearer East, and the decipherment of the cuneiform writing which most of them bear, proceed apace, and as nearly all these have some reference to Bible lands and illustrate Old Testament history, we cordially welcome the appearance of a volume by one of the most competent experts,<sup>1</sup> giving us a full outline of Assyriological research in its bearings on the narrative of the Hebrew Scriptures.

It would be impossible in a monthly magazine to review *in extenso* a book covering as much ground as this book covers, especially when written by a scholar as thorough and as painstaking as Dr. Pinches; we propose, therefore, in this article to confine ourselves almost exclusively to a discussion of so

<sup>1</sup> "The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia," by Theophilus G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge).

much of the earlier part of it as treats of the Babylonian accounts of the creation of mankind, and of what Assyriology has to tell us of his dispersion after the Flood.

### I. THE CREATION.

When the late Mr. George Smith came upon the Chaldean account of the Deluge in 1872, and that of the Creation and Fall in 1875, extraordinary interest was naturally excited in the information he was able to put at the disposal of Christendom. It was believed by some that we had been wondrously permitted in these latter days to meet with "the clear and legible story of the Beginning as Abraham heard it in Ur, and the Pentateuch repeated it." But the "high dry light" of scholarship soon threw grave doubts upon that interpretation of what were certainly very notable discoveries, and the newly-found ancient records (especially that of the Deluge) were said to be but Chaldean legends of the twelve signs of the zodiac. As Dr. Pinches shows, this is not a satisfactory theory of the cuneiform mythological epic. We may now add that a complete refutation of it has appeared in the fullest and latest edition of the tablets of the Creation series—that of Mr. L. W. King, which has been published since the book before us, but to the then early forthcoming issue of which Dr. Pinches refers in a page or two of "Additions and Corrections" which he appended while his volume was passing through the press. Mr. King makes it clear that there were never more than seven tablets or sections in the series; they cannot, therefore, have been an epic of the zodiac. The Deluge tablets, on the other hand, were in a series of twelve; but the title given to the complete work by the Babylonians themselves was "The Legend of Gilgames," and it correctly describes the series, which is not zodiacal. Gilgames was the king of the city of Erech, and the hero of the Flood; the name of the Babylonian Noah was Pir-Napistim or Uta-naistim.

With reference to the Creation epic, Dr. Pinches (following in the main the late Mr. George Smith) points out that the Syrian writer Damascius<sup>1</sup> gave a more correct explanation than the modern zodiacal theory gave of the introductory part of the Babylonian Creation legend, which legend might well be named the Story of Bel and the Dragon. The dragon Tiamtu (Tiamat), aided by Kingu her husband, and by other gods, sought to get the Creation into her own hands. The rebellion

<sup>1</sup> As Dr. Pinches and Mr. Smith, following Cory, omit to state the place which is quoted from Damascius, it is desirable here to state that it is from his "Doubts and Solutions of the First Principles," cap. 125.

struck consternation into the breasts of the heavenly powers; but Merodach, the son of the great god Aa or Ea, accepted the task of destroying the evil dragon, and recovering from her the tablets of fate. Gross mythological and gruesome details tell how Merodach advanced to the attack, caught her in his net, compassed her destruction, and made of her corpse a covering for the heavens—in other words, the firmament. Thus far the third tablet brings us. The fourth tells us of the building of the heavens by Merodach, and the fifth describes the making and ordering of the moon and stars and their courses, according to the views of the Babylonian astrologers. The tablet which described the creation of man is lost,<sup>1</sup> but what is supposed to be the final one of the series, and which Mr. George Smith thought to contain an address to primeval man, is found really to contain an address to the god Merodach, praising him for his great work in overcoming the dragon and in ordering and making a new Creation.

As Dr. Pinches remarks, the discrepancy between this account of Creation and that of the Book of Genesis is exceedingly great. "The whole Babylonian narrative," he says justly, "is not only based upon an entirely different theory of the beginning of things, but upon an entirely different conception of what took place ere man appeared upon the earth." The two accounts of the same thing have little in common. One is mythology, the other is a pure and reasonable revelation from God to man whom He made in His own image and likeness.<sup>2</sup> We must, however, remember that not only is the cuneiform legend as we have it a very late copy, but its very *raison d'être* is the glorification of Merodach, who was the later national deity of Babylon.

In this connection there has to be considered another and shorter version of the Creation story which Dr. Pinches himself discovered, and which is written in the older pre-Semitic language of Babylon, the Akkadian (accompanied by a Semitic translation). Being in that earlier language, we should have presupposed that it would have had a mythological tendency different from and earlier than the Semitic version. But, no; this glorifies Merodach even more than the other. According to the Semitic version, Merodach was the youngest born of the gods, who, however, elected him to be their chief because of his conquest of Tiamtu and his new creation of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. King, however, has now recovered part of it.

<sup>2</sup> Similar is the view of Professor Kittel, in his excellent booklet on the "Babylonian Excavations and Early Bible History," translated by Mr. McClure, and published, with an added preface by Dr. Wace, by the S.P.C.K.

the universe; but according to the Akkadian version (in the form it has come down to us), Merodach appears to be the creator of all the gods, and so, as Dr. Pinches says, it "must belong to a comparatively late date, when the god Merodach had become fully recognised as the chief divinity, and the fact that Aa was his father had been lost sight of and practically forgotten."

Although the two poetical legends have much resemblance, so far as their imperfect remains allow us to judge, in their leading features, as, *e.g.*, in their accounts of the preparation of the heavenly habitations for the different gods, the creation of mankind, and the founding of the famous cities and temples of ancient Babylonia, they have also important differences. We have already referred to two: the inferior supremacy assigned to Merodach, and the much greater length of the Semitic account. There is one other difference which is very notable indeed, and that is that the Akkadian legend only is merely an introduction to an incantation for the purifying of a temple!

Infinite, however, as is the intellectual, moral, and religious disparity between the Babylonian and the Hebrew accounts of the Creation, it may be that both of the Babylonian legends are extremely corrupt, mythological forms of a primitive revelation which Moses was inspired to give afresh to the world, or to transcribe from an ancient record.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that the last tablet of the longer or Semitic Babylonian epic gives us an epilogue in praise of Merodach, who is "endowed with all the names and all the attributes of the gods of the Babylonians—'the fifty renowned names of the great gods.'" They are given to him not under the name of Merodach, but under that of Tutu, an Akkadian word signifying the Begetter. This, in the judgment of Dr. Pinches, is "symbolic of a great struggle, in early days, between polytheism and monotheism;" the popular belief being in many divinities, the more thoughtful summing up all the attributes in one Divine Being. Our author further thinks it possible, as Dr. Hommel suggests, that the name of Aa or Ea, the father of Merodach, is another form of the Hebrew Yau or Jah (the shortened form of "Jehovah"), but that it is more likely that the people of the East may have assimilated the two divinities and "identified them with each other in consequence of the likeness between the two names." Certainly it was faith in the one true God which brought Abraham forth from the seething and overwhelming tide of polytheism which surged around him and enabled him to preserve that seed of the true faith, as in an ark, for the untold blessing of the human race for ever.

## II. THE DISPERSION OF MANKIND.

We turn now to consider the light thrown by the most recent researches in Assyriology upon the dispersion of mankind and the confusion of tongues.

As Dr. Pinches would readily acknowledge, we have by no means untied all the knots, philological and historical, which the Scripture narrative of these two events presents to us. A vast deal has yet to be done by the excavator, the decipherer, and the student of languages, before the solution of many of the problems of Gen. x. and xi. can be arrived at.

With reference to the dispersion of mankind, the greatest difficulties are to be found in the section (Gen. x. 6-20) which tells us of the sons of Ham, because many of the nations therein enumerated are, according to profane history, Semites in speech. Recently discovered monuments, however, throw much light on this section.

The prevalent idea among scholars, that the division of mankind noted in Gen. x. is not a historical, but a "geographical" one, is a bold stroke with the knife at the knot, but one which does not satisfactorily solve the difficulty, and seems to ignore the clear, thrice repeated statement of Gen. x. 5, 20, 31 (and 32). The subject is too large and complicated to be discussed here in detail; we must content ourselves with gaining some light on the main story.

It should be known, then, as we are here reminded, that "large additions have of late years been made to the number of ancient remains from Babylon, and most of these are of a very early period." Very many of them belong to the first Babylonian Dynasty, one of whose most celebrated rulers was Hammurabi, who is now pretty generally identified, for reasons which Dr. Pinches sets forth, with the Amraphel of Gen. xiv., and who was, therefore, contemporary with the patriarch Abraham. Of the older monuments, the cylinder seals show us a comparatively slim race, long-bearded, erect, and dignified. In the yet earlier sculptures, "the representations of kings and deities are often heavily bearded, but, on the other hand, high officials and others are generally clean-shaven." The dress, as well as the physical characteristics, are shown as differing very much. Hence, besides the native race, we see considerable foreign admixture. "Perhaps, however, the true explanation is that the plain of Shinar represents the meeting-point of two different races, one Cushite and the other Semitic," or, as we might otherwise phrase it, one the family of Shem and the other the family of Ham. The Akkadian (or Sumerian) tongue stands for the speech of the Cushite race, the later Babylonian for the Semitic race. When we

further note that before the gap immediately preceding Hammurabi's dynasty the cuneiform records are in the Akkadian language and after it in the Semitic, we comfort ourselves with the thought that Abraham, who came from the Babylonian land and was contemporary with Hammurabi, must probably have known, better than modern scholarship has yet been able to determine, the true story of the origin and dispersion of the nations.

Perhaps the critics will appreciate the further consideration that the natural prejudices of a Jewish writer (of Gen. x.) would have led him to claim the great nations of Shinar and adjacent lands for his own Semitic stock. That he did not do so is because the facts of historical tradition as well as the leading of inspiration guided his pen to a faithful record.

There is more to be said on this matter. Seeing that the Akkadian monuments give no special ideograph for a river (as the Semitic Babylonian do), and represent both mountain and country by the same character, which same character stands for the country of the Akkadians, of the Amorites or people of Canaan, and of the land of Aarat, we have in these facts an indication that the three peoples mentioned gradually spread from the mountains of the east (beginning, must we not say, at Aarat after the Deluge?), and that, by-and-by, "as they journeyed east [or, as the margin of the Revised Version suggests, as they journeyed 'in the east'] they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there."

We see, then, that the local colouring of ancient Babylonia is very strongly marked in Gen. x. and xi., and so confirms the old view of the patriarchal tradition of the pre-Abrahamic history of the Bible.

With reference to the Tower of Babel, Dr. Pinches considers the language of the former part of Gen. xi. 4 as the language of Eastern hyperbole, and interprets the verse, "Come, let us build us a city, and a tower, and its top (*lit.* head) shall be in the heavens, and we will make to us a name," etc., as meaning, "Let us build a very high tower for a name and rallying-point, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." This rendering of the former part of the verse he thinks is confirmed by some of the names given by the ancient Babylonians to the old temple towers of Babylon, such as E-temen-ana, "the temple of the foundation-stone of heaven"; E-igi-e-di, meaning, apparently, "the temple of the wonder (of mankind)"; E-sagila, "the house of the high head." These names might, on the other hand, be supposed to justify the literal and traditional interpretation of the verse, to which, however, Dr. Pinches' objection is that "the mountains of Elam were not so very far off, and travellers from that part

would have been able to assure them (the builders of the tower) that the heavens would not be appreciably nearer on account of their being a few hundred cubits above the surface of the earth, even if the traditions of their fathers' wanderings had not assured them of the same thing."

So far the monuments go to confirm the historical correctness of Gen. x. and xi., but their evidence is imperfect; and Dr. Pinches suggests that the story of the Tower of Babel (Gen. xi. 1-9) is an interpolation of a contemporary Babylonian tradition into the sacred narrative.

What we take to be his chief reason for this opinion is that it is not until *after* the account of the dispersion of the nations in chap. x. that we are told that "the whole earth was of *one* language and of *one* speech."

This difficulty, however, completely vanishes when we remember the very common usage of Hebrew historical writers of introducing incidents into their story, and telling the result of them before resuming their main theme. It greatly helps both brevity and vividness in a history to introduce its important features as episodes. The portion of the Book of Genesis before us is full of these—*e.g.*, the mention of the three sons of Noah who came out of the Ark leads the sacred historian to add that of them the whole earth was overspread, and then to introduce that incident of their father's shame which had such great and lasting consequences in the over-spreading of the earth; next (in Gen. x.) he enumerates the nations of the world in his own time as they sprang from those sons; after that (in Gen. xi. 1-9) he again returns to the early postdiluvian days to tell us how the different families of speech originated from one common stock; and, finally, he reverts yet once more to the period of the Deluge in order to trace (Gen. xi. 10 *et seq.*) the line of them unto Abraham, whose family is the subject of the whole later history of the Old Testament. This consideration of the historical manner of the writers of the Old Testament not only relieves, but removes the objection that the narrative first gives a brief enumeration of the nations of the earth, and then turns back to that earlier time when the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. It is, however, by overlooking this point, and supposing that Gen. xi. 1-9, at least, is to be taken in strict historic sequence to the tenth chapter, that Dr. Pinches' greatest difficulties as to the authenticity of the account of the confusion of tongues arise.

Another suggestion that he makes at this point is deserving of special consideration. It is that, instead of translating Gen. xi. 1 as "And the whole earth," etc., we should read, "And the whole *land* was of one language and of one speech,"

"the whole land" being either, as our author thinks, "the whole tract of country from the mountains of Elam to the Mediterranean Sea," or, as we might prefer to take it, the whole land of Shinar and the inhabited parts around it, as well as that through which the tribes of Shinar had passed on their way thither from the region where the ark rested. As far as mere translation goes, certainly the phrase "the earth" (*ha arets*) not infrequently is and must be rendered with only a local meaning, as of "the land" or country of, *e.g.*, Israel or Egypt.

Even, however, if we thus restrict the word in this place and again in the former part of ver. 9, we should still be left with some expressions which seem to imply more than a merely *local* reference, as where we are told that "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the *children of men* builded. . . . Behold, they have all one language. . . . The Lord did then confound the language of all the land: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth." The tone of these words and the plan and purpose of the Book of Genesis seem, as we have said, to imply more than a merely local reference to the Plain of Shinar.

But here we are met by other considerations. Had it not been for the reasons just mentioned, we should have supposed that the families of Noah's sons as they multiplied would betake themselves to form new settlements north, south, east, and west of their first halting-places on the slopes of Aarat, establishing themselves sooner or later, as Gen. x. tells us they did establish themselves, "in the isles (or coastlands) of the nations"; in the cities and lands of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Mediterranean; of Syria, Elam, and Arabia. We might further have supposed that this division of the world began, effectively or in some very marked way, in the early years of Shem's grandson Peleg, as, indeed, Scripture tells us, "for in his days was the earth divided."

If this were the case, the miracle of Babel would have been more restricted in its operation than has hitherto been generally supposed, and would have been universal only with regard to the ancestral home and the kindred of the patriarch Abraham.

However this may have been, the perusal of Dr. Pinches' volume shows us afresh and impressively how wondrously truthful are the anticipations, or, rather, the records, of Holy Writ, and assures us that we may well be content to wait with patience and trust for the explanation and vindication of much that is still obscure.

A further illustration of their accuracy is supplied us in Dr. Pinches' appendix with reference to a long-standing critical objection to Gen. x. 22. In that verse we are plainly told



that Elam was a son of Shem; but the Elamitic language as hitherto known—that is, the old Persian—is an Aryan (or Japhetic) language. Obviously, therefore, says a rationalizing criticism, this proves that the “roll call of the nations” in Gen. x. is not true history, though it may be an approximately correct geographical survey of the nations of, say, Moses’ time, or, preferably, much later. The recent discovery of many inscriptions, however, shows us that “*Semitic Babylonian* was not only well known” in ancient Elam, but was “also used in that country”; and the indications are, as Scheil and Pinches suggest, that, in truth, Elam was the very first Semitic settlement, as might be inferred from Gen. x. 22.

Lastly, one of the latest discovered, as well as the largest and perhaps most important of the Semitic Babylonian inscriptions found in Elam, is that met with in the excavations of the French *délégation* at Susa, which has been published with a French translation, by Scheil, and was described by our author at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Archæology in November last. The monument is a great stela  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, inscribed with over 3,600 short lines of Babylonian cuneiform, besides space from which five columns more have been erased. Apart from about 700 lines in glorification of its author, the inscription contains a *legal code*. It is of great antiquity, as it dates from Hammurabi, Abraham’s contemporary; but its importance was long recognised, and the ancient Assyrians made copies of it; part, at least, of one of them is now in the British Museum. The whole of Hammurabi’s legal code has been already carefully rendered into English by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, and published as a little volume under the title of “The Oldest Code of Laws in the World.”

It is instructive to recall that the higher critics of but a short time ago derided the notion that in the much later age of Moses could anyone have composed a Levitical or legal code. Civilization and literature, it was urged, were not then nearly advanced enough to have permitted the production of an elaborate work of that sort. Alas! for critics’ hypotheses; we may now behold with our bodily eyes a long legal code as old, at least, as the times of the patriarch Abraham.

W. T. PILTER.



## ART. VIII.—THE MONTH.

THE state of affairs in the Church does not become less difficult, and even critical. One of the most dangerous symptoms is afforded by an article on "The Crisis in the Church" which is contributed by Lord Halifax to the April number of the *Nineteenth Century*. The article is marked by the utmost candour and plain speaking, and it will be inexcusable in the authorities of our Church if they attempt to disguise from themselves the purpose aimed at by Lord Halifax, and by the large and active party of whom he is the spokesman and representative. It is nothing less than to eliminate Protestantism from the Church of England. We are not putting any gloss or interpretation upon his words; we simply accept them in their plain meaning. He says (p. 550) that "since the sixteenth century Protestantism has effected a *de facto* lodgment within the borders of the Church; an anomaly in itself hardly tolerable, which hampers the Church in her office of proclaiming the truth at every turn, and which makes any really consistent action on the part of her Bishops as Catholic Prelates—and they will not deny that they profess to be such—to be at the present moment almost impossible. . . . It is possible to minimize the conflicting elements and the points of divergence within the Church of England; but minimize them as you will . . . it remains true that within the Church of England there are practically something very like *two* religions, and that it is only possible to tolerate a condition of things so contradictory of the nature and office of the Church on condition that nothing is done by the rulers of the Church to make the recovery of Catholic doctrine and practice more difficult, or to consolidate the position of those within the Church who, from a Catholic point of view, ought never to have been allowed to occupy the position they now hold."

In other words, as Lord Halifax expresses it elsewhere in the same article (p. 544), Protestant Churchmen "have to be shown that they are in the position of the lodger who is trying to turn the rightful owner of the house out of doors."

If anything could be more audacious than this claim it would be the grounds on which Lord Halifax asserts it. We cannot adequately describe his attitude except by saying that he endeavours to "bluff" the situation, by assuming that the practices and doctrines for which he and his friends are contending are those of the Catholic Church of the first five centuries, and that Protestant views involve a repudiation of those primitive models. "No one," he says (p. 542), "pretends

that by the time of the fourth General Council the doctrines and practices for which the clergy are now being attacked were not everywhere recognised by the Church." We gave Lord Halifax credit for more knowledge of this controversy than to make so astonishing an assertion. We might refer him to two recent volumes by Canon Meyrick, published by Messrs. Skeffington, which afford direct proof to the contrary. The contention of any such learned opponent of the present Ritualistic school in the Church of England is that their doctrines and practices in such subjects as the Mass and the Confessional, to which Lord Halifax expressly refers, are as inconsistent with the doctrines and practices of the Church of the first four Councils as with those of the Church of England. Can Lord Halifax be ignorant that the leading Protestant divines of the Church of England have been unanimous in claiming the authority of the primitive Church on their side? He imagines that Dr. Wace, in saying not long ago that he would not have any clergyman prosecuted for any practice which could appeal to the sanction of the first five centuries, was remembering that "it is precisely to the teaching and practice of the church of the first four Ecumenical Councils that the Church of England makes her most explicit appeal" (p. 541). Dr. Wace, we apprehend, is sufficiently instructed to be aware that the Church of England explicitly refuses to defer to the mere authority of General Councils unless their decisions may be proved by Holy Writ. He is more likely to have remembered, what Lord Halifax would seem to have forgotten, that the chief apologist of the Church of England, in the days when its doctrines and practices were mainly determined, Bishop Jewel, challenged the Roman divines of his day to show that any of the Roman doctrines which he and his Church repudiated could be shown to have been held in the Church of the first few centuries, and declared himself ready to relinquish his cause if this could be shown.

Dr. Wace no doubt meant that that challenge went far to bind English Churchmen for the future, and that men might not unfairly claim Jewel's authority for the toleration of views and practices which could appeal to the sort of authority he had in view. Of course, Jewel could not have meant that any view or practice which could be shown to have been held or adopted by anybody in the first few centuries was admissible, and could only have referred to such views and practices as had adequate sanction. Taken with that limitation, the principle might, perhaps, be admitted as a fair working rule; and we venture to say that no competent historical scholar can doubt that it would cut off at once the great mass of views and practices by which the Ritualistic clergy have pro-

voked the present crisis. It would cut off at once the distinctively Romanizing practices and doctrines; and though it might allow some things which we should dislike, it would at least bring back the Church of England within the general limits of old High Churchmanship. It is strange indeed that Lord Halifax should yet have to learn that what Protestant Churchmen maintain is that Protestantism is true and primitive Catholicism, and that the Catholicism which Lord Halifax and his friends profess is spurious and medieval. As Archbishop Benson said when in Ireland in the last few weeks of his life, the Church of England is "Catholic, Apostolic, Reformed, and Protestant," and cannot dispense with any one of those designations. It is Protestant Churchmen who are the true owners of the house, because they are the true Catholic Churchmen. It is the maintainers of Lord Halifax's contentions who are the lodgers, and whose true home lies elsewhere.

We earnestly trust that the situation may not be embittered by an action which is imminently threatened by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Under the impulse of a guild in the army, they have consented to allow a celebration of the Holy Communion to be held in the Cathedral this month which would be, to all intents and purposes—and those purposes hardly disguised—a Requiem Mass. Passages and forms are to be introduced into the service which are not to be found in the Prayer-Book, and some of which are taken from Roman usage on similar occasions. It is at all events to be hoped that the Bishop will not allow such a service. As involving unauthorized additions to the Prayer-Book, it would, of course, as a mere matter of fact, be illegal, whether he sanctioned it or not. There are, indeed, deviations from strict law on special occasions which are both excusable and desirable. But deviations from law which would set the example, in the Cathedral of the Metropolis, of prayers and practices unheard in our Church since the Reformation, and deeply opposed to the convictions of large numbers of English Churchmen—these are illegalities which it would be a scandal of the gravest character for a Dean and Chapter to introduce, and for a Bishop to allow. If such a service should be performed, it would, in our opinion, become an imperative duty to prosecute those who would be responsible for it, in the maintenance of the broad right of English Churchmen to have the services in their Prayer-Book, "and none other." If the Bishop should veto such a prosecution, the question of the maintenance of the Veto would assume a new and far more pressing character. It would then be shown by a conspicuous example that the Veto gives Bishops the power of allowing

services and doctrines, which are repugnant to large numbers of English Churchmen, to be introduced into our Cathedrals and Churches in defiance of the law. That is a power which, as it seems to us, could not possibly be tolerated. A Veto which is used to hinder trivial or unreasonable prosecutions is no doubt desirable. But a Veto which was actually used, in a conspicuous instance, to bring back into the Church of England doctrines and practices excluded from her Prayer-Book, and protested against by a large and historic school of thought and belief within her pale, would involve a complete unsettlement of her foundations, and would leave her members without security against the most dangerous innovations. If the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, with the support of the Bishop, allow the service in question, they will have done more to destroy confidence in the position of the Church, and to provoke drastic legislation, than anything which has occurred within the present generation.

