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THE
CHURCHMAN

APRIL, 1903.

ART. I.—THE DISPUTED PUNCTUATION OF THE
CHURCH CATECHISM.

ALTHOUGH controversy may often be a sacred duty, there is something to be deeply deplored in the heats of controversial strife among those who are called by His Name, who said: "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one towards another."

But especially are to be shunned all needless contentions among those who are desiring to be found striving together for the truth of the Gospel.

I trust, therefore, that what I have to say in this article about a point of recent discussion may be taken as a friendly contribution to the careful investigation of the subject, and as a help to those who would desire fairly to consider the matter, and who may, perhaps, have been somewhat warped in their judgments by the able arguments which they may have seen, fairly setting forth the claims of one side of a disputable question. There was something that might well be said on that side. And it has been well said.

The importance of a fair statement of the case for the other side arises mainly from the doctrinal importance which (by a doctrinal mistake,¹ as may appear to some) attaches to the

¹ If the words "given unto us" be understood of the "*sign*," they may very well also be understood as containing the doctrine of the "grace" "*given* unto us," if only they are viewed as "means whereby we receive" that grace. So Mayer: "Thus the Sacraments are both a means to receive grace, and a pledge to assure us hereof: as he which of old did draw off his shoe, and give it unto his neighbour, did hereby assure him of his inheritance, and as in all ages, he which giveth a pledge of special note to his neighbour, doth hereby assure him of the thing promised: so the Lord, by *giving* unto us the outward *signs* of the Sacraments, doth, as it were by pledges, make us sure of His grace" ("English Catechism Explained," pp. 7, 8; edit. 1635).

insertion of a comma, as interpreted by those who plead for its re-insertion.¹

So Dr. Richard Sherlock, in his "Catechism of the Church of England Paraphrased," while interpreting the answer as with the comma—"Sign . . . given and ordained by Christ Himself, as a means," etc.—goes on to explain that "Christ . . . hath ordained in His Church certain rites called Sacraments, which are not only visible and apparent *signs* of His invisible and *hidden* graces, but also the *means* whereby we are made partakers of His Graces, and *pledges* to assure us of them" (pp. 49, 50; 18th edit.; London, 1699).

Indeed, a learned correspondent of the *Guardian* (July 29, 1891), pleading for the comma, and connecting "given" with "sign," and referring to the scholastic distinction between *signa naturalia* and *signa Hominibus data*, regards it as a valuable help to find in the Catechism a passage to inculcate the truth of "the objective character of the Sacraments," the understanding of which he considers "in these days we are recovering."

See "Cat. Concil. Trident.," par. ii., cap. i., § viii., where *signa* are divided into three *species*: (1) *Naturalia*, (2) *Ab hominibus constituta*, (3) *Divinitus data*. See also Bullinger, "Decades," vol. iv., p. 27, P.S.

I would not speak too confidently, but I certainly incline to think that in this sense, as indicating a *Divine gift*, should be understood the "quod nobis datur" of Durel's version. Those who are acquainted with Durel's writings will, I believe, hardly be much disposed to question this—not that any objection can be made to understanding the "datur" of the human ministration. I will venture to refer only to the following words: "Gratiæ illius invisibilis, quæ utrumque beneficium, reatus ablutioem scilicet, et maculæ purgationem complectitur, Sacramentum seu signum visibile atque pignus certissimum Baptismus est, ut qui ad illam significandam, obsignandamque, atque instrumentaliter exhibendam a Deo institutus fuit" ("Vindiciæ," cap. xxvi., p. 290, London, 1669). Compare the following from Archbishop Sandys: "God's gift, without sealing, is sure, . . . yet . . . He added these outward signs and seals . . . to certify us that His promise is most certain. He *giveth us*, therefore, these holy and visible signs, . . . giving unto the signs the names which are proper to the things signified by them" ("Sermons," pp. 303, 304, P.S.).

"In this Sacrament there are two things—a visible sign and an invisible grace. There is a visible sacramental sign of bread and wine, and there is the thing and matter signified—namely, the Body and Blood of Christ; there is an earthly matter and a heavenly matter. . . . The spiritual part, that which feedeth the soul, only the faithful do receive" (*ibid.*, p. 88).

In these passages we see how well the very outward and visible sign may be regarded as *given* unto us by God because of its relation by Divine institution to that inward and spiritual grace, which it is ordained to be a means of our receiving, or, in other words, of which it is exhibitivè.

Compare the following: "Seeing the Sacraments are the institution and work of the Lord Himself, the faithful do receive them, not as certain superfluous inventions of men, as if at the hand of men, but as His heavenly gifts, and that at the very hand of the Lord" ("Earlier Confession of the Swiss." See Hall's "Harmony," p. 289).

"Deus in sacramentis suis quasi manum suam de cœlis extendit, et porrigit nobis suam gratiam" (Ames, "Catecheseos Sciagraphia," p. 143; Amstel., 1635).

¹ No doubt the purpose in view of the advocates of the comma is to defend the truth (which is not in question) that faithless communicants

It hardly needs to be said that the question is concerning the comma, which in the MS. Book of Common Prayer, as attached to the Act of Uniformity, 1662, separates "inward and spiritual grace" from "given unto us."

The following questions are therefore submitted for consideration :

I. Was the comma in the original draft of the Catechism as first set forth by authority ?

(1) Not : if we rely on the *only authoritative document*—*i.e.*, the "letters patent" of James I. authorizing the addition to the Catechism, a document which is still preserved in MS. in the Record Office (Pat. Roll 1, Jac. I., part 5), which certainly has no comma. Rymer's "Fœdera" is relied on for

do not receive the *res sacramenti*, though they may often take the *sacramentum*. This important truth, however, is otherwise safeguarded by the word "faithful," in the answer to the question concerning the Lord's Supper : "What is the inward part or thing signified?" (see my "Eucharistic Presence," pp. 365-370) to say nothing of the teaching of Art. XXIX.

The testimony to this doctrine seems, therefore, rather weakened than strengthened by the endeavour to force it upon the very doubtful interpretation of a justly disputed punctuation.

We would not do to any the injustice of supposing that they reject or question the truth of the *grace* being *given* in the faithful receiving of the sign. We are in full agreement with the advocates of the comma in their contention that the "*unio sacramentalis*" is not to be regarded as having any force *extra usum*.

It is urged, indeed, in favour of the comma, that it serves "to accentuate the contrast between a 'sacrament' and a 'sacrifice'" (Tomlinson, p. 13). But the contrast is, at least, quite as much accentuated if "given unto us" be understood of the "grace" as if it be connected with the "sign." It is not the "sign," but the "thing signified," which, in the view of Roman theology, is offered in sacrifice to God the Father (see Bellarmine, "De Missa," lib. i., cap. xxvii. ; "Disp. de Controv.," tom. iii., cc. 1035, 1037, 1041). Besides which, it should be remembered that in Roman theology the ideas of *sacrifice* and *Sacrament* are kept quite distinct. The notion of "*sacrificium*" is not allowed to enter into the "ratio sacramenti" (see, *e.g.*, Dens, "De Sacramentis in genere," N. 3 ; "Theologia," tom. v., p. 69 ; Dublin, 1832).

It can hardly need to be said that in the answer, as read without the comma, there was no *new* teaching for the English Church.

In Nowell's "Smallest Catechism" the thing signified in the Lord's Supper had been described as "the Body and Blood of Christ, which in the Lord's Supper are *given* to the faithful, and are by them taken, eaten, and drunken only in a heavenly and spiritual manner, but yet in truth" (see my "Eucharistic Presence," p. 306).

In Jewel's "Apology" it had been declared : "Christum asserimus, vere sese præsentem exhibere in Sacramentis suis . . . idque dicimus non perfunctorie, et frigide, sed re ipsa et vere fieri" (pp. 31, 32 ; Cantab., 1838).

Hooker had written : "The bread and cup are His Body and Blood because they are causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof of the *participation* of His Body and Blood ensueth" ("Eccles. Pol.," book v., ch. lxvii., § 5 ; Works, vol. ii., p. 352 ; edit. Keble).

the comma. It was no doubt intended to be, and professed to be, a reliable reproduction of the original. But the insertion of the comma here is only evidence of the lax way in which punctuation was treated in writings of this date.¹

In Cardwell's "Conferences" (p. 220), the answer will be found correctly printed without the comma, as in the original document.²

(2) *Not*: if we may take the evidence of Dr. John Mayer, who published "The English Catechism Explained" in 1622. A third edition was published in 1623, and a fourth in 1630. Here we have "spiritual grace given unto us" (see p. 497 of third edition "reviewed"). This "Commentary" bears on the title-page "Published by Command."

A fifth edition, also "Published by Command," appeared in 1635, after the accession of Laud to the Primacy, which professes to be "corrected, reordered, and in many things, which were before wanting, supplied by the author," and which contains some things which may be thought to indicate a Laudian influence. (See Goode "On Eucharist," ii., p. 697.) But there is no change in this answer. We still read "Spiritual grace given unto us" (p. 6).

II. *How, then, is the introduction of the comma to be accounted for?* I submit that it may very probably be accounted for—

¹ Rymer has sometimes been referred to (by inadvertence, or perhaps by a misprint—see letter in *Guardian*, July 29, 1891) as if his work had followed shortly after the addition was made to the Catechism. It is not altogether unimportant, therefore, to observe that the first volume of the "Fœdera" appeared in 1704, and the last volume in 1735, after Rymer's death.

² The absence of the comma might be, indeed, no decisive argument against the interpretation of the advocates of the comma, but it is certainly destructive of the arguments built on its presence.

In the original document there is also no comma before "ordained."

But though the answer, as found in the "Enrolment," has no punctuation, it is otherwise in the warrant on which the Patent Roll is founded. This warrant is also preserved in the Public Record Office. It has the King's sign manual, and a note that it was examined by Coke, the Attorney-General. In this warrant the answer is punctuated thus: "I mean an outward and visible sign, of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof."

It will be found, I believe, that these warrants (as they are called) or privy seals, are often referred to to correct or confirm the enrolments. Indeed, these warrants, rather than the enrolments, should, strictly speaking, be regarded as the *letters patent*, unless Archbishop Sandys was mistaken when he wrote: "If a prince give out his letters patent of a gift, so long as the seal is not put to, the gift is not fully ratified" ("Sermons," p. 303, P.S.). These sealed *warrants* must rightly, therefore (I conceive), be regarded as the original authoritative documents.

(1) By the prevalent laxity in the matter of punctuation, which allowed commas to be inserted or omitted in somewhat of a haphazard manner.

(2) By the printers' license, which thus was uncorrected in the Catechism contained in the folio edition of "The Book of Common Prayer" of 1636 (and confessedly in other editions also).¹

(3) By the fact that a copy of this edition (which contained the comma inserted without authority) was used by the revisers of 1661 to receive their corrections.

(4) By the fact that in this revision there appears (I believe) to have been no attempt made by authority to correct punctuation, as a consequence of which some singular examples of inconsistency may be shown. Compare, *e.g.*, in the corrected Book of 1636 the punctuation of the Apostles' Creed, as found in the Morning Prayer, with that seen in the Catechism. These singular discrepancies (not all of which are found in the MS. annexed) are not seen in the Prayer-Books now in use. Why not? Simply, I suppose, because the copyist and the authorized printers, as they altered the spelling and the use of capitals, took the license of miscopying and misprinting what they thought might be amended in the matter of *stopping*.²

¹ Mr. J. T. Tomlinson ("Misprinted Catechism," p. 6), makes mention of two editions of 1603—one quarto, one folio—now in the British Museum, besides what is known as "Saneroff's Prayer-Book," 1634, and the Black-letter Book of 1636, in which the Convocation of 1661 marked their alterations. In all these the comma is found, and the same is to be said of an edition of 1662, and further of 1663 (see Marshall's "Latin Prayer-Book of Charles II.," p. 152).

The Rev. Edward Miller (in *Guardian*, July 29, 1891) makes mention of editions of 1604, 1605, 1613, 1621, 1631, 1633 in which there are *two* commas, thus: "I mean an outward and visible sign, of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us," etc. The two commas appear to be found also in editions of 1709, 1716, etc.

Other editions, however, earlier than the last review are cited as without the comma (see *Protestant Churchman*, January, 1903, p. 8).

² A writer in the *Guardian* (March 16, 1892) observes: "It is quite evident that those who drew up the Convocation Book, and ordered the copying of the Annexed Book and the printing of the Sealed Books, were for the most part entirely indifferent as to punctuation and orthography, as well as the use of small or capital letters. Accordingly, there is no approach to agreement in any of these points between the Convocation Book, the Annexed Book, or any of the Sealed Books" (p. 399).

A writer in the *British Magazine* nearly sixty years ago says: "Everyone knows how arbitrary punctuation was among writers of those days, and has continued even to our own. Even in editions of the Bible and Liturgy no regular system of punctuation seems to have been adopted till Dr. Blayney published the former and Bishop Randolph the latter" (quoted by Mr. Leigh-Lye in the *Record* of January 2, 1903).

(5) By the fact that, therefore, the copyist took the comma into the MS. which was annexed to the Act of Uniformity of 1662.

III. *Does it follow that with the comma, the word "given" must be construed with the "outward and visible sign"?*

Not: if we take duly into account the laxity with which punctuation was frequently employed—a laxity which continued longer, perhaps, than commonly supposed.

The following extract from an "Explanation of the Church Catechism," which was highly esteemed at the time of its publication, will give satisfactory evidence of this: "The thing signified by the outward visible sign in a Sacrament, is an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us of God in the Covenant" (Ellis, "Scripture Catechist," p. 377; edit. 1738).¹

Here the comma separates between "grace" and "given," though it is impossible not to understand the "given" as agreeing with "grace."

Here certainly we have a participial adjective comma'd off from the noun with which it *immediately* agrees, and which stands next to it in the sentence. Other examples of the same use will be found in Parsell as quoted below, as well as in extracts from Beveridge and Harrison, which will appear, I believe, in the next number of the CHURCHMAN.

IV. *Before the last review was the "given" always understood as agreeing with the "sign"?*

Certainly not, unless we altogether reject the evidence of the Greek Version of the Prayer-Book, which was dedicated to Archbishop Laud, and compiled by his desire (perhaps especially for the use of Cyril Lucar. See Blew's letter on "The Common Prayer in Latin," p. 50) by Elias Petley, and published in 1638. Here the words *πνευματικῆς χάριτος ἡμῶν ἐδοθείσης σημεῖον* are decisive.²

¹ Ellis died in 1700, having just completed this "Explanation."

² It is too little to say that this Greek translation, like the Latin "collata" and the English "given" does not necessarily require the dating (or restraining) of the donation to the moment of receiving the sign (see my "Doctrine of the Sacraments," pp. 120-130). Such a restraining sense the words can only acquire by being viewed in connection with "means whereby we receive the same."

So the sacramental signs of the New Law are said to have reference to benefits *past, present, and future* ("Commemorativa Passionis Christi, demonstrativa Gratiae . . . et prognostica Gloriæ"—Dens, following Aquinas, "Theologia," tom. v., p. 67; Dublin, 1832.

Even the Tridentine Catechism teaches: "Quodlibet sacramentum saltem tria significat; gratiam præsentem, Passionem Christi, Vitam æternam" (par. ii., cap. i., § xi.).

The following extract is worthy of special attention: "Cum Scriptura ipsa, omnia ea, quæ pro Sacramentis habentur, inter signa numeret: et interim illis æterna gratiæ suæ dona designari doceat: quæ sint videlicet,

V. *After the last review was the "given" universally interpreted as belonging to the "sign"?*

(1) We have another Greek version—the well-known translation of Dean Duport, dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon, and published in 1665. It was followed by the reprints of Priestley and Bagster. It is not, by any means, a mere reprint of Petley's book. But its evidence on the point before us is equally decisive. The very same Greek words are employed by Duport.

(2) The editions of Durel's version were followed by Parsell's translation, which, though said to be founded on Durel's (see Marshall's "Latin Prayer-Book," p. 37), contained several changes. The edition of 1713 was followed by another in 1716. I have a copy of another edition of 1720, bearing on the title-page the words "Editio tertia prioribus longe emendatior, tribusque formulis auctior."

In this, though the comma remains, the Latin sufficiently determines the sense—the "given" belongs to "grace," and not to sign." The words are "Signum internæ et spiritualis gratiæ, collatæ nobis."¹

et præterita, quatenus jam olim nobis sunt delata, et præsentia, quatenus perpetuo exhibentur : neque cessare unquam possunt : et futura, quatenus illorum gloriam adhuc (sub spe certissima) post nostram resurrectionem expectamus. Perspicuum est, Sacramenta ipsa, non tantum signis externis, quibus dona gratiæ adumbrantur : sed etiam donorum perpetuatione, adeoque et exhibitione constare : sed quæ tamen in ipsis signis Sacramentalibus constitui, neque debeat, neque possit" (Jo. à Lasco, "Brevis et dilucida de Sacramentis Ecclesiæ Christi tractatio," fol. 16b, 17a ; London, 1552. Compare Bullinger, "Decades," vol. iv., pp. 228, 233, P.S.).

¹ These words "gratiæ collatæ" had been used in the translation of Dr. Mocket, chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, which was made in 1617. Mr. J. T. Tomlinson ("Misprinted Catechism," p. 6) says that his "book was forthwith ordered to be burned publicly, and Collier adds that he was accused also of mutilating the Homilies." He refers to Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," vii., p. 390. But I fail to find, either in Collier or in Fuller's "Church History," any word to lead us to suppose that this translation of the Catechism had anything to do with the condemnation of his book. Many charges were made against it. It touched "too close upon the regale." In the Thirty-nine Articles he omitted the first clause in the twentieth, concerning the "authority of the Church in controversies of the faith." And Collier adds : "This omission, amongst other things, might probably occasion the burning of the book" (vol. vii., p. 390). Fuller says : "The main matter objected against it was . . . contracting the power of the prince to enlarge the privilege of his patron." And he adds : "Although the imperfections and indiscretions of this translator might be consumed as dross in the fire, yet the undoubted truth of the Articles of the English Church therein contained, as flame-free and perfectly refined, will endure to all eternity" (vol. iii., p. 266 ; edit. 1837).

Anthony à Wood would have us understand that "the true cause which was conceived why the book was burned" was the omission of the first clause in Art. XX. He tells us, also, that Mocket published his

The same is probably to be said of the editions of 1733 and 1744 (of which copies are in the Bodleian; see Marshall, p. 38). It is certainly the same with the seventh edition, of which I have a copy, dated 1759. Here, again, the comma stands, but the words "collatæ nobis" leave no room for question as to the meaning.¹

collection "in a pious zeal for gaining honour to the Church of England amongst foreign nations." And he adds: "But this his zeal was so little accompanied in the constitutions of the said Church, or so much byassed towards those of Calvin's platform, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but to expiate the errors of it in a public flame" ("Athenæ Oxonienses," vol. ii., c. 232; edit. Bliss).

Is there any evidence (I venture to ask) for connecting the condemnation of Mocket's book with his translation of this answer in the Catechism?

I find it not easy to believe it. Even À Lasco did not hesitate to write in the reign of Edward VI.: "Nemini dubium esse putamus, signa omnium Sacramentorum esse signa Divinæ erga nos gratiæ." And following up this saying, he recognises that "Signa ipsa Sacramentorum signa sunt collati in nos salutari beneficii in Christo" ("Brevis et dilucidata de Sacramentis Ecclesiæ Christi tractatio," fol. 55b; London, 1552). Neither did he shrink from declaring: "Non igitur veram et salutarem Corporis et Sanguinis Christi exhibitionem ab usu Sacramentorum excludimus" (*ibid.*, fol. 44a).

And abundant testimony to this truth might be adduced from the writings of our English Reformed divines. Witness the following: "Neither do we say that the Sacraments are bare and naked signs of spiritual graces; but they do verily exhibit and represent Christ to as many as by faith are able and meet to apprehend Him" (Willet, "Synopsis Papismi," vol. v., p. 38; London, 1852).

The same truth was taught by later "Reformed" divines on the Continent. Witness the following: "Bene hoc quoque dicitur, modo recte intelligatur. Sacramenta sunt signa exhibitiva, hoc est, talia signa, per quæ Deus dona sua atque beneficia nobis confert atque communicat" (Ursinus, Op., tom. ii., c. 1464; Heidelberg, 1612).

"Hæ duæ res, nempe signum et res signata, uniuntur in hoc sacramento, non copulatione aliqua physica . . . sed significatione, ob signatione, ex exhibitione unius per alterum, hoc est, *unione sacramentali*, cujus nexus est hæ promissio pani addita, postulans fidem utentium" (Ursinus, "Explic. Cat., Quæst.," lxxvii., Op., tom. i., c. 266; Heidelberg, 1612). It is added: "Unde patet, eas res in usu legitimo semper conjunctim exhiberi, et percipi, sed non sine fide promissionis."

Nevertheless, if evidence can be adduced to show that when Mocket's book was condemned to the flames there was a judicial condemnation of his "nobis collatæ" as the translation of "given unto us," I will gladly not only acknowledge my error in questioning the fact, but will also willingly acknowledge that this evidence should carry no inconsiderable weight to be set in the scale on the side of the advocates of the comma. If I am wrong in my doubts, I sincerely regret having doubted.

¹ Against the Welsh and Irish translations may fairly be set the evidence of the French Prayer-Book sanctioned for the Channel Islands in 1678: "Un signe . . . d'une grâce intérieure et spirituelle qui nous est donnée."

(To be continued.)

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

AN endeavour was made in the last paper to show the impossibility of deriving the doctrine of our Lord's Virgin birth from current pagan ideas. Before we pass to another aspect of our subject it may be well to refer to the supposed influence of the Buddhist legend upon the Christian narratives of the Incarnation. "Amongst Gentile influences," writes Professor Schmiedel ("Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Mary," iii., 2962), "those of Buddhism must also be taken into account as possible"; and the same writer in another place ("Gospels," 124) gives a list of the parallels which Seydel has drawn between the story of the childhood of Jesus and the life of Buddha. So, too, Pfeiderer, in the new edition of his "Urchristentum" (i. 411), dwells at length upon the same parallels, although he considers that no direct influence of Buddhism upon Christianity can be proved, but that the likeness in the incidents of the birth of Jesus and the Buddha owes its origin to a common source of popular Eastern folklore. But, in the first place, we may well hesitate to defer to Professor Seydel as an ultimate authority, for no writer has shown a stronger bias, or has more extravagantly elaborated the alleged parallels between our Gospels and the Buddhist sources. It would be easy to find acknowledged proofs of this extravagance in learned German critics, and one of them, whose name is well-known in England, has entered a strong and very satirical protest against Seydel's method of procedure in laying stress upon instances of a perfectly general character as supposed dependencies of the Gospels on Buddhist books.¹

But the point with which we are more immediately concerned is this. Seydel, and Schmiedel and Pfeiderer with him, refer to the virgin birth of the Buddha as if it was an undoubted part of the Buddhist story. But, to say the least, this may be seriously questioned. So far as earlier pre-Christian writings are concerned, we find no mention in some of them either of mother or of birth. And when we pass to post-Christian sources, a popular biography, or the part of a biography, like the "Lalita Vistara," while it gives us a lengthy account of the Buddha's birth, makes no affirmation of the virginity of his mother, although it does say that she had never brought forth children, and that her husband had agreed to her wish to live

¹ See *Theologische Rundschau*, February, 1899. The editor, Dr. Bousset, takes Seydel to task for these comparisons, or rather dependencies, and points out by a modern illustration how ridiculous it is to suppose that the blessing pronounced upon the parents of the Buddha involves any dependence upon such words as those of Luke xi. 29.

in ascetic chastity for thirty-two months.¹ In a later biography, the "Abhinishkramana Sutra," the Chinese version emphasizes not only the fact that Queen Maya was married, but that she had lived with her husband as his wife. These statements, which might easily be multiplied, so far from affirming, actually preclude the belief in the virgin birth of the Buddha. Moreover, it is not too much to say that the statement of the scholar Cooma Korösi, which is so often quoted in support of the virginity, not only relates to Mongolian Buddhism, which has a growth of scarcely 400 years, but that in itself it affords no substantial evidence.² Professor Rhys Davids writes of it as follows: "Cooma Korösi refers in a distant way to a belief of the later Mongol Buddhists that Maya was a virgin (*As. Res.*, xx. 299); but this has not been confirmed."

But even if more could be alleged for the virginity of the mother as a factor in the Buddhist birth stories, we should still have to account for the absurdity and grotesqueness which mark these stories, when they are placed side by side with the simplicity and reserve of the Gospels. Dr. Rhys Davids frankly admits that the idea that a man should enter his mother's womb in the form of a (six-tusked) white elephant seems a most grotesque folly, although he claims to have discovered the origin of the belief in the older sun-worship; the white elephant, like the white horse, being an emblem of the sky ("Buddhism," p. 184). But the contrast to the Gospels is not only to be found in this one marked particular, it pervades the whole story; at the conception of the Buddha the ten thousand worlds are filled with light, the child before he is born preaches to the angels who guard him; at his birth he takes seven steps forwards, and exclaims with lion's voice, "I am the chief of the world; this is my last birth." The last words of the infant Buddha remind us of another contrast to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. The Buddha had already been born, as he himself taught, again and again; he had come into the world in his efforts to fulfil all the great Perfections time after time, alike in forms of honour and also of humiliation; thus, eighty-three times he had been an ascetic, twenty-four times a Brahman, forty-three times a sun-god, five times a slave, twice a rat, and twice a pig. Such considerations as these may further serve to illustrate the

¹ See the article of the Sanskrit scholar, the late Professor E. B. Cowell, in "Dictionary of Christian Biography," Art. "Buddha," i., p. 343, and Kellogg's "The Light of Asia and the Light of the World," p. 112.

² See a letter in the *Guardian*, December 3, 1902, by the Rev. Graham Sandberg, who has made a special study for many years of all forms of the Buddhist faith, which will repay perusal on this and other kindred points.

recent remarks of Dr. Fairbairn, in speaking of our Lord's supernatural Person as presented to us in the Gospels: "The marvellous thing is not that we have two birth stories, but that we have *only two*." ("Philosophy of the Christian Religion," p. 349).

But it would seem that any discussion of the question of the Virgin birth of our Lord has now to consider the religion of Egypt, no less than that of Buddhism. Professor Sayce has recently reminded us of the belief in the virgin-birth of the god Pharaoh, which carries us back at least to the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. From the inscriptions we learn that he had no human father, and that his mother was still a virgin, when the god of Thebes "incarnated himself," so that she might "behold him in his divine form." Two comments may here be made. In the first place, such statements, whatever else they may be, are a further evidence of what may be called "the craving of the human consciousness for the intervention of the supernatural," when men are seeking how to describe the origin of lives which they have held to be of more than superhuman greatness. The evidence of this craving was abundant in Egypt. The birth of each king would seem to have been regarded as a special act of the gods; the gods said on the day of his birth, "we have begotten him"; the goddesses said, "he went forth from us." But if it is sought to institute any parallel between the virgin birth described in the inscriptions and scenes from the temple of Luxor in Egypt and the narratives of the Gospels, it must not be forgotten that in the former we have at least some elements of that glorifying of sensual desire which is so far removed from the chaste restraint and simplicity of the Evangelists, and which, as we have seen, was so unlikely to commend itself in the least degree to the consciousness of the early Church. Professor Sayce's own translation on the same page of his work gives us quite sufficient justification for this statement.¹

But the remark of Dr. Fairbairn, to which reference has been made, reminds us of the stress laid upon the silence of the other Evangelists, St. Mark and St. John, as to our Lord's

¹ Said by Amon-Ra, etc.: "He (the god) has incarnated himself in the royal person of this husband (Thotmes iv., etc.); he found her lying in her beauty; he stood beside her as a god; she has fed upon sweet odours emanating from his majesty; he has gone to her that he may be a father through her; he caused her to behold him in his divine form when he had gone upon her that she might bear a child at the sight of his beauty; his loveliness penetrated her flesh, filling it with the odour of all his perfumes of Punt."—"Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia," p. 249, 1902.

Virgin birth. And in each case silence has been interpreted as nescience. But so far as St. Mark is concerned, the earliest Gospel avowedly adopts as its starting-point the starting-point of Apostolic testimony, and if St. Peter, as there is very good reason to believe, was the main source of St. Mark's pages, there is a striking coincidence between the Evangelist's opening narrative of John's baptism, and St. Peter's words in Acts i. 21, where he defines the witness of the twelve as "beginning from the baptism of John." This silence of St. Mark is supposed to be emphasized by reminding us that he was not only the interpreter of Peter, but that he lived some time in the company of Barnabas and Paul. But Luke was also some time in the company of Paul, and Mark with him. At the period when the two Evangelists were thus together in Rome, it may fairly be presumed that St. Luke had already collected in Palestine the main materials for his tracing the course of all things accurately from the first. But if this is a fair inference, it becomes difficult to believe that St. Mark was altogether ignorant of the incidents of the Lord's birth which St. Luke narrates so fully, whilst at the same time his silence may be interpreted by the plan of his Gospel. The Apostolic testimony, on the lines of which St. Mark plainly followed, was, above all, as the Acts of the Apostles enables us to see—i. 22, x. 37, xiii. 24, 31—an appeal to our Lord's public ministry, to facts which were open to the scrutiny of the Jews in Jerusalem and elsewhere, facts of which the Twelve claimed to be witnesses. Moreover, the Apostles were preachers and missionaries, no less than witnesses; they had a message to deliver, and the message which the Twelve and St. Paul with them placed in the forefront of their teaching was the message of Jesus Himself, as it had been of the Baptist before Him—repentance and the forgiveness of sins (Mark i. 4, 14; Acts ii. 38, v. 11, xiii. 38). It would seem, therefore, that there need be no difficulty in allowing that a narrative of what preceded the baptism of John did not regularly belong to the elements of the first missionary preaching. And St. Mark himself had been fully acquainted with missionary methods; he had known, too, how vividly St. Peter had represented the life of Jesus and His official ministry as characterized by action, energy, and power (Acts ii. 22, x. 38); and as St. Peter notes the public appearance of Jesus as the commencement of the Messianic work of salvation, so, too, St. Mark commences his Gospel with the Messianic messenger and his announcement of the coming Christ.

If we turn to the Gospel of St. John, we must remember that that Gospel makes a special claim to be, before all things,

a Gospel of personal testimony, and that we have, therefore, no right to expect in its pages details which are not involved in that claim. But it does not follow that the silence of St. John is correctly interpreted as equivalent to his ignorance of the mystery of our Lord's birth. When—*e.g.*, in vii. 21, 22—he recites the words of the multitude: "What! doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" There is no reason for supposing from this quotation of the question of the ignorant multitude that St. John was himself unaware of the Lord's birth at Bethlehem. The writer of this Gospel, if he was St. John, could hardly have been ignorant of such a fact, and in any case, even if we suppose for a moment that St. John was not the writer, his narrative is quite consistent with the supposition that the birth at Bethlehem was not denied, but rather presupposed. In connection with this interpretation of the passage, it is of interest to quote the closing words of Professor Bacon's note in his "Genealogy of Jesus Christ" (Dr. Hastings' B. D., ii. 138): "The *author*," he writes, "presupposes the birth in Bethlehem."

Professor Schmiedel, indeed ("Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Mary," 2959), seems to think that Jesus should not have allowed the multitude to continue in their mistake, if there was a mistake. But we may reasonably ask, if He had told them the truth, would they have believed Him? They had certainly not shown any marked disposition to do so, and if He had revealed to them the secret of His birth, such a disclosure would only have anticipated in a more painful form the mockery and calumny of a later date. Professor Usener ("Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Nativity," xiv. 3347) fastens upon this passage in St. John, because, in his opinion, "it reveals the hidden path by which Bethlehem found its way into the Gospel tradition," and he evidently also thinks that the Davidic descent attributed to Jesus may be traced to the belief expressed in this same passage of St. John, that the Messiah was to be descended from David. But we have already pointed out that whilst prophecy undoubtedly pointed to the birth of the Messiah at Bethlehem, it is most improbable that the circumstances which brought about a fulfilment of that prophecy in the case of Jesus could have been invented. And so far as the Davidic descent is concerned, we may not only refer to its remarkable defence by Dalman ("Die Worte Jesu," 263; E. T., p. 320), but to the acknowledgment of Professor Bacon ("Genealogy," Hastings' B. D.), that if critical science has shown the futility of harmonistic theories of our Lord's pedigree, it has more than compensated

for it by establishing with equal certainty the acceptance of the fact of the Davidic descent of Jesus by Himself, His contemporaries, and His immediate followers, and that Messianic pretensions absolutely devoid of evidence of Davidic descent could not have passed unchallenged as those of Jesus seem to have done.¹

Moreover, without pressing the fact that the narratives of the Synoptists would have been current long before the publication of St. John's Gospel, according to all reasonable probability, there is a further consideration of no little importance. Supposing for a moment that Dr. Harnack is correct, and that the fourth Gospel comes to us from the presbyter John. This personage, in Harnack's view, had lived for a long time in Ephesus, and had received traditions from the Apostle John, the disciple whom Jesus loved. The Gospel which he then edited could not have been later, according to Harnack, than 110 A.D. But this brings us within a few years of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, and no one has emphasized more strongly than he the Virgin birth of our Lord, or placed it more prominently, as we shall see, in the forefront of the Church's Creed. Can we, then, suppose that what was known to St. Ignatius, and was specially insisted upon by him in writing to the *Ephesians*, was unknown to the writer in whom Harnack sees the chief ruler of the Church in Asia? ("Chronologie," i. 677 *et seq.*).

One more important "silence" remains to be considered, that of St. Paul. In the first place we must remember that St. Paul is not writing a Life of Jesus, but a series of letters to various Churches, in which a large amount of teaching is evidently presupposed. It was scarcely to be expected that in a letter the Apostle would accentuate the details of the Virgin birth, but it may be fairly maintained that he makes statements which are quite consistent with, if not dependent upon, a belief in that fact. Moreover, it is strange that critics, who are never tired of telling us that St. Paul's thoughts moved around two facts and two only—the death and resurrection of Jesus—should express surprise at his

¹ It is noteworthy, although of course too much stress should not be laid upon it, that in Germany, not only Dr. Resch, but Dr. Blass and Dr. Zahn, have recently declared themselves in favour of the remarkable and early attested reading in John i. 13, where, after he had spoken of believing "in the name of Jesus Christ," the evangelist proceeds, "Who was born not of blood nor of the will of the flesh," etc. See Blass, "Philology of the Gospels," p. 234, and Findlay, *Expositor*, February, 1899, where he points out that the phrase in 1 John v. 18, R.V., is a remarkable parallel, as applied to our Lord, to the phrase, in the reading above, of John i. 13, "who was born of God."

apparent ignorance of the miraculous birth, which in their own showing did not form the centre of his Gospel of salvation. It must, of course, not be forgotten that there may be allusions in St. Paul's Epistles to the fact under consideration. The most important passage in this connection is Gal. iv. 4, "God sent forth His Son, made of a woman," etc. The expression, "made of a woman," is sufficiently striking to have caused even Hilgenfeld and Steck to note that it is in excellent accordance with the generation of Jesus without a human father, although not expressly attesting that fact. Amongst more recent writers it is noteworthy that Dr. Zahn asks the following question: "Why does Paul here only mention the mother, since it is evident that it was much more decisive for the subjection of Jesus to the Mosaic law, to which the context refers, that He should have been born and have grown up as the Son of an Israelitish man?" And his answer is this: "Plainly, because in the thought of Paul there was no room for Joseph as the father of Jesus beside His heavenly Father" ("Das Apostolische Symbolum," p. 64).

But whilst Dr. Zahn's interpretation of the words before us shows us that they are not to be lightly dismissed in their relation to the present subject, there is no occasion to press this verse into service, and although we cannot agree with Lobstein¹ in saying that it decisively excludes the Virgin birth, yet it is no doubt open to him and to other opponents to maintain that in the phrase "born of a woman" St. Paul's object is to express our Lord's likeness to other men, and not to distinguish Him from them. But it is quite a different matter when Schmiedel maintains that St. Paul's statement in Rom. i. 3, to the effect that Jesus was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, is quite irreconcilable with the Virgin birth ("Encycl. Biblica," Art. "Mary," iii., 2958). Such words, as we have seen above, need not by any means be taken to involve the paternity of Joseph, and it is also to be noted that on more than one occasion St. Ignatius does not hesitate to assert the Davidic descent in the same breath as the Virgin birth; "fully persuaded," he writes to the Smyrnæans in the opening paragraph of his letter, "as touching our Lord, that He is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, but Son of God by the Divine will and power, truly born of a Virgin," and with this we may compare his language in writing to the Ephesians (xviii. 2)

¹ In a lengthy pamphlet, "Die Lehre von der übernatürlichen Geburt Christi," p. 17.

and to the Trallians (ix. 1) (*cf.* Swete, "Apostles' Creed," p. 55).¹

But quite apart from these and other verses, there are portions of St. Paul's teaching in which the supernatural conception may well have formed the background of his thought. For whilst his Epistles are in entire agreement with the teaching of St. Peter and of other New Testament writers, in referring to our Lord as of the seed of David, and to His human lineage as derived from the Jewish fathers, they also consider Him from another point of view peculiar to the writer. St. Paul represents our Lord as the second Adam, as the pure and sinless Head of humanity in contrast to the first Adam, through whose transgression a sinful taint had been inherited by every member of his race. No one will dispute that St. Paul is the writer who emphasizes most strongly the propagation of sinfulness from Adam down, while at the same time he also insists most strongly that Jesus was without sin in the flesh in which sin before had reigned. But such a conception certainly seems to make a new creative act of God, a cancelling of the natural continuity, an almost indispensable consequence in St. Paul's theology. No words could describe this consequence better than those of Neander, "Life of Jesus," p. 17, E.T., but in more recent days the same point of view has been emphasized by Lechler, Schmid, B. Weiss in Germany. If through the sin of one man all sinned, all knew sin, with the exception of Him who knew no sin (2 Cor. v. 21), surely some factor must have been present in the birth of this One Being which differentiated it from the birth of any other son of man. And if we ask, What was that factor? is it unnatural to turn for an answer to the Gospel of St. Paul's companion and friend, and to his account of the birth of Him, who was for the Evangelist, as for St. Paul, the second Adam? Or, are we to suppose that what was so fully known to St. Luke was entirely unknown to St. Paul? It is full of significance, in this connection, that whilst St. Luke is the Evangelist who describes the human nature of Jesus as due to a new creative act of God (Luke i. 35), he is also the Evangelist who describes the first man as "the son of God" (Luke iii. 38), in virtue also of a new creative act. There was thus a parallel in St. Luke's mind, as in that of St. Paul,

¹ Schmiedel further quotes Rom. viii. 3, and affirms that it contains an impossible statement, the Virgin birth being held. But it cannot fairly be said that either the Greek or the argument represents the flesh of Christ as *sinful flesh*, and it has been well said that the flesh of Christ is "like" ours, inasmuch as it is flesh; "like," and only "like," because it is not sinful (Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," p. 193, and Gifford, "Romans," *in loc.*).

between the first and second Adam. But there was also a contrast; the second Adam was the restorer of life and the renewer of sonship, the Saviour, in whose name remission of sins should be preached; and that contrast, although more definitely expressed in the letters of St. Paul, is most surely implied in the language and representation of St. Luke.

But it must not be forgotten that there may have been special reasons why the Virgin birth was not made publicly known at an earlier date than the New Testament records enable us to affirm. It is, of course, easy for Schmiedel to sneer at what apologists have called the "family secret," a secret which in his judgment had no existence.¹ But such a judgment entirely overlooks what Dr. Weiss again emphasizes in his new edition, "Leben Jesu," i. 209—viz., the high and holy interest which the family of Jesus had in keeping this secret of the house. "If there was never a doubt," says Dr. Weiss, "among the people that Jesus was the actual son of the man in whose house He grew up, if the reproach of illegitimate birth is not employed by the enemies of Jesus till a much later date, and *is obviously based upon our Gospel narratives*, this is an evident proof that the honour of the house was not exposed by affording a pretext for each unbeliever to designate Jesus as one born in sin and shame." And in this consideration he finds an ample reason for the comparatively late dissemination of the facts concerning the Virgin birth.

R. J. KNOWLING.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. III.—ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL AND MODERN CRITICISM.—III.

IT may be useful ere we approach the supposed garbled prophecies to vindicate yet further Luke's connection with those who from the beginning were "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word." In this paper I shall argue that the historical setting of a number of incidents bespeaks a writer who either had this privilege or is a mere romancer, who invents situations as he thinks fit. I do not claim for Luke that he has succeeded throughout in setting the details of our Lord's life in general chronological sequence. But I do claim that again and again he shows that his source was a

¹ Schmiedel insists upon such passages as Mark iii. 21 and the unbelief of our Lord's brethren, but see in answer Edersheim's "Jesus the Messiah," i. 543, and Weiss, *u.s.*, p. 207.

first witness, by supplying minute details of *time* and *place* which must have been almost irrecoverably lost for anyone pursuing such researches after the year 70. A good illustration of this feature is offered by the *parables* of St. Luke regarded by themselves,¹ apart from the general outlines of the biography.

There are, as we all know, at least twelve parables which do not appear at all in the other Gospels, and which, though they are universally recognised as authentic utterances of Jesus, have only come down to us on the testimony of St. Luke. Parables would doubtless travel longer and further on the lips of men than any other discourses of the Master, and I should not draw any inference as to date from this feature if it stood alone. But the fact is that Luke's parables continually introduce a setting of time, place, and occasion which suggests the conclusion—either this is mere impudent invention or the writer learnt it from one who heard the parable spoken.

Let me take first two parables which are certainly given in the first Gospel as well as in the third—the Parables of the Mustard Seed and of the Leaven. Matthew, we recollect, ranges these, in his usual manner when dealing with our Lord's discourses, in view of subject, not occasion. He sets these and four others in a group of Parables of the "Kingdom of Heaven" immediately after the Parable of the Sower. Even that first parable was, he tells us, unintelligible to its hearers, and required explanation. It is therefore scarcely likely that Matthew wishes us to think that all these parables were uttered consecutively, and that the Apostles, as yet so unintelligent, received in one day seven mysterious sayings, all of which they were to digest at once. Turning to the third Gospel, we find that Luke connects those Parables of the Leaven and Mustard Seed with quite a later occasion, and

¹ I have, of course, treated the parables here as a distinct subject merely for my reader's convenience, and I assume that they came to Luke orally. There is, however, a possibility that Luke himself may have found them ranged in a book of parables; but if so, all the historical "tags" enumerated above would be unaccountable unless Luke had from *other* sources such an intimate knowledge of Christ's life as to be able to supply them. We should also have to recognise that it is not a case of mere transcription, but that Luke freely resets the presumed early authority in his own characteristic idioms. Can we conceive of anyone, without personal communication with the Apostles, so superseding a presumably Apostolic document? The same consideration applies to Luke's incorporation of the "common source." I may add, however, that the more we multiply these early "documents," the more precarious becomes Dr. Sanday's dictum that the common source itself was probably not put in writing as early as A.D. 63.

one which gives them a peculiar appropriateness. He tells us how Jesus healed a crippled woman on the Sabbath and confuted the sabbatical scruples of the ruler of the synagogue where the miracle took place. A great impression was made by this on the common people, who are said to have "rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by Him." Thereupon, and in view of this spread of the kingdom, Jesus uttered those two Parables of the Leaven and the Mustard Seed, which correspond so well to such a situation. All this seems strictly historical. But how, except from a first witness, could Luke have got all that setting of time and place and attendant circumstance? No other Gospel gives that Sabbath miracle at all.

Now, just so it is with most of the parables that are peculiar to St. Luke. Not only does Luke know and record the story of the Good Samaritan. He can supply its connection with events; he knows that what prompted it was the incident of a lawyer accosting Jesus with the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" and that a certain conversation on that matter occurred between them before the parable was spoken. This is a very different thing from getting the parable, as one might have got it in A.D. 70-80, on a mere wave of oral tradition. Luke not only knows that the Parable of the Importunate Friend was given by Jesus to His disciples as an incentive to prayerfulness. He can tell us that it was given after He had been Himself praying "in a certain place," and that this and the Lord's Prayer were uttered when the disciples thereupon asked for instructions in prayer. Incidentally we learn from Luke's setting a fact otherwise unattested—that John the Baptist had given his own disciples certain set forms of prayer. All this accords well with my belief that St. Luke got his information from first witnesses, and principally from St. John. For the leading Apostles had been (as we are told in the fourth Gospel) disciples of John the Baptist, and it was doubtless they who cited their experience in that relation, and asked our Lord to follow the Baptist's example in this matter of prayer.

Luke not only records for us the Parable of the Rich Fool who thought he had prosperity insured him for many years. He can supply the curious little detail that it was prompted by the request of some unknown person, "Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me." He is not only our authority for the Parable of the Barren Fig-tree; he introduces it as explaining the true significance of delayed judgments to men who thought that Pilate's recent victims in Galilee must have been exceptional sinners. Both parables must have been communicated seemingly to Luke by one

who heard them uttered, and recollected the occasions which suggested them. So, again, Luke's Parable of the Great Supper, which is doubtless quite distinct from Matthew's Parable of the Wedding Garment, introduces circumstances which none but an actual witness could have supplied. The third Gospel can give this parable the precisest setting of time, place, and occasion. It was spoken on a Sabbath, at a meal in the house of a chief Pharisee, and when one of the guests uttered the pious ejaculation, "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God." How, we may well ask, was all this exact detail recoverable between the years 70-80?

The three Parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Silver Piece, and the Lost Son of course appeal to men, women, and young persons, and were doubtless spoken consecutively, as Luke has ranged them, though the first is not peculiar to St. Luke. This Gospel can again give the historical context of the whole utterance. It was vouchsafed when publicans and sinners had flocked to hear Jesus, and the Pharisees protested against His mixing with such questionable company. The story of Dives and Lazarus would doubtless not easily be forgotten by the first Christians. But they, like ourselves, would probably often repeat the story without knowledge of the occasion. It was spoken, according to St. Luke, when certain Pharisees who were rich had scoffed at that saying, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." There is the same record of the precise occasion in the presentation of the Parable of the Pounds. The third Gospel can associate this teaching of responsibility in view of future judgment with a mistaken expectation on the part of the Apostles, who were still affected by the current Jewish ideas of the Messiah's kingdom: "He added and spake this parable because He was nigh unto Jerusalem, and because they supposed that the kingdom of God was immediately to appear."

Now, not many modern Christians, though familiarized with our Lord's discourses from infancy, and having easy access to printed copies of the third Gospel, could supply off-hand from memory all the settings of those parables. Therefore I cannot suppose that Luke, if, as I believe, his authority was oral, could have remembered them all without recourse to the art of writing. One inference, then, which all this wealth of detail suggests is that Luke was actually writing his Gospel at the time when he collected those parables. It is extremely hard to fancy all these details of place and occasion supplied to Luke in later years. The parables, too, are evidently recorded by an auditor, and which of the Apostles was accessible to Luke after his visit to Palestine in A.D. 58-60?

We can hardly think of Peter here if Mark is in any sense a recorder of that Apostle's teaching, for in the second Gospel no one of these parables appears. It may be too large an inference to say decisively that they all came to Luke's knowledge through St. John. But it seems an unassailable position, in view of the knowledge Luke has shown in his first three chapters, that these parables were collected in Palestine during those two years of leisure, A.D. 58-60, on the testimony of one or more first witnesses, and that they were put in writing at the same time.

But these subtle links of connection with first witnesses, and particularly with St. John,¹ are really discoverable all through Luke's Gospel. Here are a few more from that great section, ix. 51-xviii. 14, in which Luke is absolutely independent of the "common Synoptic source." It is in this section that Luke gives us the story of Martha and Mary, and their different ways of honouring Jesus when He was their guest. Martha was "cumbered about much serving," but Mary "sat at the Lord's feet and heard His word." The man who noted the behaviour of the two sisters on that occasion must surely have been the writer who, with just the same idea of their

¹ Dr. Ramsay has well noticed the many womanly touches in Luke's Gospel, and for chaps. i., ii. I agree with his inference that the oral source of information was the Blessed Virgin. But I think he forgets how markedly this sympathy for women reappears in the record of St. John. Luke, it is true, has alone commemorated the raising to life of an only son of a widow; the women who had been healed of evil spirits, and ministered to Christ of their substance; the woman who wetted Jesus' feet with her tears, and was forgiven because she loved much; the two sisters entertaining Jesus at their house; the women of Jerusalem who followed him lamenting on the day of crucifixion; the women preparing spices and ointment for the burial. But then John has supplemented the Synoptics with a record of Mary's intervention at the miracle at Cana; with the Saviour's discourse with the woman of Samaria; with another picture of the two sisters at a more memorable visit to Bethany; with Mary of Bethany, identified as the woman who anointed our Lord's feet with precious spikenard; with the women standing at the Cross; with the committal of the bereaved mother to the beloved disciple; and, lastly, with the exquisite story of Mary Magdalene in the garden on the resurrection morning. I am convinced we may as safely connect Luke with the Apostle John as with St. Mary herself. Her testimony can scarcely be inferred in the story of the public ministry. An exception, perhaps, is in Luke's account of the mother and brethren interrupting our Lord's teaching. From Matt.-Mk. we should have concluded that they only sent a message that they wanted to speak with Him. Luke knows that they tried to approach Him, but "could not come at Him because of the crowd." It is noticeable, too, how Luke here eliminates the seemingly harsh question, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" Is this a note of consideration to the feelings of her who told the story? The different contexts shows that Luke is here quite independent of the "common Synoptic source" (Luke viii. 19-21).

characters, has recorded the raising of Lazarus. We remember how St. John notices the little detail that when "Martha heard that Jesus was coming, she went and met Him, but that Mary sat still in the house." We may notice, too, in this section the tidings which came "at that very season," "of the Galilæans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." There is a clear indication of time, but neither here, nor in the case of the eighteen men mentioned just afterwards as killed by the fall of the tower of Siloam, is the reference in any way explained. Yet such allusions in A.D. 80 would probably be as meaningless to all readers as they are to us now. More awful catastrophes and Roman cruelties would have obliterated all memory of such incidents. But evidently at the time Luke writes they are living reminiscences. For Luke and some at least of his readers they are well-known disasters, needing no note to explain these terse allusions.

There are in this section three detailed works of healing—the cures of the woman crippled for eighteen years, of the dropsical man, and of the ten lepers. All these stories seem to be in their true historical setting, and are, of course, authentic. I say this because Mr. A. Wright is perplexed at finding in Matt. xii. 11, 12, the same argument as in Luke xiv. 5 about the lawfulness of saving a beast fallen into a well on the Sabbath day. He assumes, therefore, that the cure of the dropsical man is suspicious, as perhaps a "repetition of the Petrine cure of the man with the withered hand." Yet Luke has recorded that miracle, too, in its proper place (vi. 6-11). Surely the utmost that can be allowed here in the way of negative criticism is that Luke may have given here words really belonging to the earlier Sabbath-day miracle. But there is no reason why our Lord should not have repeated so appropriate an argument in repeating miracles on the Sabbath. We may ask, again, "How were these detailed stories recoverable after A.D. 70?" But perhaps the most striking incident in this section is the mission of the seventy, their report, and Christ's greeting it with the words of promise, beginning, "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven." How was such a remarkable speech recoverable save from the testimony of one who heard it? Further, Luke is our only authority for the very existence of this band of seventy disciples. Is it at all probable that no authoritative account of such an important official organization was demanded till A.D. 80?

I have yet to notice the introduction of the true occasions in regard to certain sayings which, because they are of the same import, are linked together in one discourse by Matthew (xxiii. 13-39), and set just before the Teachings on the Future

Judgment. The way in which these sayings are apportioned in Luke xi. 37-54, xiii. 31-35, to two distinct occasions bespeaks greater chronological accuracy. And it is hard to see how Luke could have got this apportionment of the sayings save from an actual witness. Matthew in this passage appears to have congested several utterances of Jesus against the Scribes and Pharisees, and, appending the lament for Jerusalem, given this compilation the form of a continuous discourse. It includes almost all the sayings that Luke has and some which he has not. But Luke can inform us that the pointed denunciation of the Pharisees as men who "cleaned only the outside of the cup and the platter," etc., was really suggested earlier by a peculiar incident. A Pharisee had asked Jesus to dine, and "marvelled that He had not first washed before dinner." Luke knows how, as the denunciation proceeded, a lawyer who was present intervened, and drew on himself the "woe unto you lawyers," omitted or applied to the Scribes and Pharisees in Matthew's Gospel. He knows that it was this twofold denunciation within the house that led up to the prediction that "all the righteous blood from Abel to Zechariah should be required." He knows, too, how outside the house the Scribes and Pharisees retaliated by besetting Jesus with insidious questions. We can quite understand how Matthew with his artificial arrangement thinks fit to append to the mention of the martyrs the kindred lament for "Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets." But Luke is doubtless chronologically correct in attaching this to yet another occasion. He tells us of our Lord's message to Herod Antipas (xiii. 32), and this leads up to the words, "It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem," and this to the disclaimer against "Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets." Without assuming that Luke has in every case recovered the true form of the sayings, we may at all events ask, Who was Luke's authority for that dinner at the Pharisee's house? Who told him of the people warning Jesus about the danger from Herod and of His singularly bold message to the tetrarch? How were such details discoverable so that they thus appear in a story dating A.D. 80, and that in such form as to apparently traverse an authoritative Gospel published in A.D. 70?

I have already noticed how conspicuous the evidences of first witnesses is in Luke's presentation of the close of our Lord's career. His story of the Last Supper deserves far closer analysis than I can give it here. The episode is full of details which, if authentic, could only have been supplied by one of the twelve. For one especially of Luke's deviations, it must be claimed that it could hardly have appeared at the end of a decade which had opened with the circulation of the

authoritative Gospels Matthew and Mark. The intervening years would have given to the record of our Lord's words at the institution of the Eucharistic rite a fixed form which could hardly be traversed merely on the authority of "non-Markan" documents. First Luke records in Hebrew idiom the saying of Jesus, "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer," etc. I believe that this speech indicates that the Last Supper was an anticipation of the Passover, and that Luke from his intercourse with St. John knew, what is so plainly stated in the fourth Gospel, that the real date of the Passover was a day later. The Passover itself, we read in Luke, is "to be fulfilled in the kingdom of God,"—an allusion doubtless to the offering of the true Paschal Lamb next day. Then the saying as to "not drinking of the fruit of the vine" till the manifestation of the kingdom is connected, not with the Sacramental cup, as in Matt.-Mk., but with the "cup of blessing" which was passed round earlier. Instead of "Take [eat], this is My body" of Matt.-Mk., Luke gives, "This is My body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of Me"; and in connection with the Sacramental cup, not the form of Matt.-Mk., "This is My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many [unto remission of sins]," but the words which we find in 1 Cor. xi. 25, "This cup is the new covenant in My blood," with the addition, "even that which is poured out for you." Finally, it is related that even on this most solemn occasion those selfish contentions were renewed "which of them is accounted to be the greatest." The incident is perhaps more disparaging to the Apostles than anything else we read of them. Yet who can doubt its authenticity? It is true that in Matt.-Mk. we find the rebuke that follows, contrasting the self-aggrandisement of earthly kings with Christ's career of service, set in connection with the earlier dispute on the claim of the sons of Zebedee to the chief place in the kingdom. But there is little difficulty in supposing that Jesus, who had just been speaking about the kingdom, impresses again that contrast in similar terms. A comparison of the passages, indeed, not only vindicates the historicity of the incident, but once again sets Luke in close relations with the Apostle John. For there is a striking variation in the rebuke now recorded by Luke. On the earlier occasion, Matt.-Mk. have "even as the Son of Man came, not to be served, but to serve, and to give His life a ransom of many." Here we have the singular question, "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." Had we not the fourth Gospel that speech would be quite unintelligible. "Why," we should ask, "should the very honourable position

of president at a paschal supper be described as if a menial office?" We can hardly doubt that Luke had been apprised of the fact, only related by St. John, that our Lord during the Supper had actually assumed the servile office of washing the feet of the Apostles. That he, an outsider to that wonderful scene, did not venture to describe it is, I think, sufficiently intelligible.

A few words more on those contributions of Luke to the Story of the Cross, some of which I have already associated with the names of St. Mary and St. John: (1) This Gospel alone records Pilate sending his prisoner to Herod Antipas. Here, as elsewhere (xiii. 31, and Acts xiii. 2), Luke tells us facts in regard to Herod which could hardly have been recovered except in Palestine—how he had long wanted to see Jesus and witness one of His miracles, and how this compliment on Pilate's part terminated a rupture between Herod and the Roman governor. (2) The address of Jesus to the weeping "daughters of Jerusalem" is itself a prediction of extreme misery to befall that city within the lives of some of those who were now mourning. It adds, in fact, to those suspected details of the city's siege (xix. 43, 44) a distinct detail of time. Now the orthodox critics, who speak so lightly of a general prophecy being invested by Luke with "greater precision," are apparently silent on this passage. Yet plainly there are but two alternatives. Either this episode is fictitious, and Luke has gratuitously read into the most solemn scene of our religion a legend absolutely worthless, or the whole scene is historical, and our Lord did on that day foretell miseries to fall upon Jerusalem within the possible lifetime of those whom he addressed. If we accept the latter alternative, we shall probably not stumble at the precise prophecies of the city's investiture and destruction by the Gentiles, which have been cited as a ground for attributing a late date to Luke's Gospel. On these points I hope to dwell at length in my concluding paper. (3) In the episode of the penitent malefactor Luke takes us to the foot of the Cross, and gives us words which could only have been heard by the Virgin Mother and St. John and the two or three women who stood by them. The story has no parallel in the record of Matt.-Mk., where two "robbers" are depicted as taking up the insults of the crowd. Unless it be a mere piece of unwarrantable fiction, it bespeaks again an access to these few who were "eye-witnesses." (4) The same attestation must be claimed for that word from the Cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Its authenticity is corroborated by the utterance of the dying Stephen, who, animated with his Master's spirit, cries: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." (5) The closer knowledge of

Luke is shown in the utterance attributed to the Roman centurion: "Certainly this was a righteous man." In Matt.-Mk. this Gentile is loosely represented as joining in the ejaculation which could only have come from Jewish lips: "Truly this was the Son of God." Luke's account of this matter is doubtless more correct.

I conclude this paper with a few words on Luke's story of the Resurrection. I have already noticed how Peter's visit to the empty tomb (xxiv. 12) takes us at once to the testimony of St. John. Luke goes on with a lengthy account of the appearance of the risen Saviour that afternoon to the two disciples going to Emmaus. The only other notice of this appearance is tersely given in the supplementary passage which follows Mark xvi. 8. Our Evangelist has here, of course, given a very detailed narrative, of which one can only say, as I have said in regard to so much besides, either this takes us to the testimony of one of the Apostles or it is fiction of a most unaccountable kind. Ecclesiastical legend would hardly have been contented with such obscure personalities for the heroes of its romance as an unknown Cleopas and another disciple not named at all.

There is the same note of candour and honest reserve observable in Luke's brief statement that the two disciples learnt on reaching Jerusalem that the Lord "had appeared to Simon." Why it is that the details of that manifestation to the recreant Apostle were never communicated to the Church by Peter one can but conjecture. But such works as the "Gospel of Peter" and the "Apocalypse of Peter" give one an idea how the situation would have been improved were Luke a late embroiderer of traditions. As it is, the other attestation of the incident is as instructive as our Lord's casual reference to two distinct miracles of feeding. For here again, we see how the positions of the destructive critics are dependent on the survival or non-survival of a few words. No appearance to Peter is mentioned in the other Gospels, yet the critics do not here assail the truthfulness of Luke or deny that the first generation of Christians believed that the risen Saviour revealed Himself on that Easter Day to Peter. And why? Because we learn from an equally terse passage in 1 Cor. xv. that this appearance to Peter was no legend of A.D. 80, but was a part of the Gospel which Paul had "received" and which he had "preached" at Corinth as early as A.D. 55. But were it not for the accident that certain Corinthian Christians denied the doctrine of the Resurrection, and provoked Paul to write that memorable chapter 1 Cor. xv., what a splendid playing-ground this passage, Luke xxiv. 34, would to-day be for the sceptical critic!

With what confidence we should be told about Luke embellishing the "Petrine memoirs" with another worthless legend which "Marcus Petri interpres" certainly "knows nothing of." The ukases of the "higher criticism" and "science of history" have in this case been spared us by a casual testimony on the part of St. Paul embodied in two words of the passage: *καὶ ὅτι ᾤφθη Κηφᾶ εἶπα τοῖς δώδεκα.*

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.



ART. IV.—THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

THE speech of St. Stephen is one of the most momentous documents in the Scriptures of the New Testament and in the early history of the Church. It was spoken by him at the time when the full scope of the Gospel was about to be realized, and when the Church was, consequently, on the point of taking a new departure; and it was delivered in circumstances of peculiar solemnity and authority. The fact was beginning to be clearly recognised that the Gospel was independent of the Mosaic ordinances and ritual. Stephen's enemies understood him to say that "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us." How much truth there was in that charge St. Stephen was called upon to explain and to justify, and his endeavour to do so cost him his life. His martyrdom, at the close of his speech, was witnessed by St. Paul, at whose feet the witnesses, by whom he was stoned, laid down their clothes; and there can be no reasonable doubt that in the account of the speech and of the scene, which we have from the pen of St. Luke, we have the very reminiscences of St. Paul himself. We are specially assured of the supernatural spirit in which St. Stephen spoke. At the commencement of his speech: "All that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel," and at its conclusion: "Being full of the Holy Ghost, he looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God." The speech, therefore, must be taken as an expression, not only of the highest Christian thought, but of inspired Christian thought, at this crisis of the history of the Church, and as stamped, in a special manner, with the sanction of the Saviour Himself. No wonder that it became the seed from which the whole thought of St. Paul started, and that it thus proved to be the point of departure of Gentile Christianity.

Now, apart from the particular question then at issue, the general character of the argument in such a speech cannot but be of profound instruction. We see there what were the kind of arguments on which an inspired man relied when he had to justify, before representatives of the Old Law, the cardinal principles of the New Dispensation. We may observe, in the first place, and in passing, as a matter of great interest in relation to current controversies respecting the Old Testament, that, speaking on the verge of heaven, and with the light of it shining upon his brow, St. Stephen builds his whole case on the substantial truth of that account of the history of the Jews which is handed down to us in the historical books of the Old Testament. There may be one or two variations in detail, but the speech records the main facts in the story of Abraham and the Patriarchs, the bondage in Egypt and the deliverance, the giving of the Law by Moses, the entrance under Joshua into Canaan, and the establishment of the kingdom and the temple under David and Solomon, and treats them as primary facts in determining the will of God and the duty of the Jews. In this primitive and inspired Christian argument, therefore, the recorded facts of Jewish history are treated as bound up inseparably with the truth of the Gospel, and any view of that history, and of the records of that history, which would undermine those facts would, at the same time, cut the ground from under St. Stephen's argument.

But what I am more immediately concerned to observe, for the present purpose, is that the speech is based, not only upon the recognition of the truth of the received facts of Jewish history, but, still more, upon the truth that that history had been foretold by prophecy, and had been directed in accordance with that prophecy. The corner-stone of Jewish history, according to St. Stephen, was a prophecy, and a very remarkable one. "The God of Glory," he says, "appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him: Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldæans, and dwelt in Charran, and from thence, when his father was dead, God removed him into this land wherein ye now dwell. And he gave him none inheritance in it—no, not so much as to set his foot on, yet he promised that he would give it to him for a possession, and to his seed after him, when as yet he had no child." Then came a further prophecy—that this seed should be in bondage in a strange land 400 years. St. Stephen goes on to relate how this promise was fulfilled, especially through Moses, and how the kingdom was at last

established under David, and a temple was built by Solomon, which God condescended to accept as His abode. But St. Stephen observes that, at the very time when these old prophecies were thus fulfilled, a new prophecy pointed forward to something greater and larger. It was Moses himself who said unto the children of Israel: "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me;" and at the very dedication of Solomon's temple, the King, in his grand prayer, acknowledged the truth that "heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee; how much less this house that I have builded," in accordance with the words which St. Stephen quotes from Isaiah: "Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me, saith the Lord, or what is the place of my rest?" As the prophecy, accordingly, had pointed forward from Abraham for hundreds of years, through the bondage in Egypt to the settlement of his seed in Canaan, and to the establishment of God's worship there, so through the mouths of Moses, David, and Solomon, by whom those prophecies had at last been realized, did it again point forward to the appearance of a greater prophet, and to the recognition of the truth that "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

The cardinal principle, therefore, on which St. Stephen rests his case is that, from the commencement of their history and at its great crises, the Jews had been granted prophetic indications of the Divine Will for the future, which were sufficient for their guidance if they had been received honestly and without self-will. It was due to persistent obstinacy and malice that those prophecies were rejected, either in the first instance or in the result. "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One, of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers." The severity of the censure thus passed on the Jews is a measure of the distinctness and the authority of the prophecies which they thus rejected. It needed, according to St. Stephen, no extraordinary subtlety, but only honest and good hearts, for the Jews to have seen, in the word of prophecy, an adequate assurance of the Divine Will as the facts foretold came to be realized.

Now, this inspired argument of St. Stephen involves the principle, that the truth of Christianity can be evidenced from the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old and New Testament; and in illustrating that truth we have but to vindicate

St. Stephen's argument, and to carefully mark its application to other points besides those which were immediately within his survey. But it will be found to be of great importance, in the first instance, to realize distinctly the view of the nature and office of prophecy which is thus exhibited to us. The reality and the momentous nature of prophecy are sufficiently established by the fact that our religion, as has been well expressed by Dr. Leathes in his Bampton Lectures, is "The religion of the Christ"—the religion, that is, of One who was, beyond all question, expected before He came, and the idea of whose office was deeply fixed in the mind of the whole nation of the Jews by the Old Testament Scriptures; though, when its spiritual conditions were really set before their eyes, they revolted from them. But the full force of prophecy, even in this cardinal instance—its function, and, if I may so say, its reasonableness—will be better understood if we contemplate its operation as a whole under the principle suggested and authorized by St. Stephen, and if we regard it, not merely as pointing forward to one great event and serving one particular use, but as an essential and organic part of the Divine method of revelation, and of the providential government and guidance of God's people.

There has been a disposition of late to reproach Christian theologians of a former school with regarding prophecies as isolated miracles, proving a revelation by the mere manifestation of a supernatural marvel; and in the recoil from the supposed narrowness of this view of the office of prophecy there has been a disposition to concentrate attention, almost wholly, upon the profound religious and moral instruction, or, rather, revelation, which the books of the greater prophets contain. Now, it is a misfortune, perhaps, of the present day that men find it more and more difficult to read what their predecessors have written; but in order to vindicate the older theology from any charge of narrowness of this kind, it is only necessary to refer to a once famous volume of lectures preached some seventy years ago by the Rev. John Davison. It is a volume illuminated by the best thoughts of the ancient Fathers, but affording an independent and most striking review of the whole range of Old Testament prophecy. There are few books equally instructive to an earnest student of the Scriptures; and though it now requires to be supplemented, or supported, on various points, in consequence of the discussions of the last fifty years on the authenticity and interpretation of the Scriptures, the main facts elucidated by the author afford an indispensable foundation for an adequate discussion of this subject.

Now, this authoritative writer commences by noticing that

the prophetic volume really distinguishes itself into two parts, which may be called the moral, or doctrinal, and the predictive. "Prophecy," he says,¹ "is not a mere series of predictions. Far from it. It abounds in matter of another kind . . . the most frequent subjects of the prophets are the laws of God, His supreme dominion and universal providence, the majesty of His nature, His spiritual being, and His holiness, together with the obligations of obedience to Him . . . and of justice and mercy to man. These original principles of piety and morals overspread the pages of the Book of Prophecy." But after an ample recognition of this vital part of the work of the prophets, we are reminded that the direct and proper evidence of the inspired origin of prophecy consists in the series and fulfilment of its predictions: "By which medium it is that prophecy bears its most emphatic testimony to the truth of the Jewish and Christian religions" (p. 68). But that upon which the author chiefly lays stress is the fact that Scriptural prophecy offers "a continuous and connected series of predictions." "It is not," he observes, "a collection of insulated predictions, but it is, in several parts, a connected order of predictive revelation carried on under distinct branches" (p. 69). As it thus embraces "not merely detached events, but a series and combination of them, the proof of a Divine foreknowledge dictating the whole will be the more conclusive." Thus, in the view of the older expositors of prophecy, in accordance with the spirit of St. Stephen's defence, its primary value consists, not in the bare fact of its affording a manifestation of miraculous power or knowledge, but in its exhibiting manifestations of Divine prescience and Divine providence throughout the whole of a long and mysterious course of history, and being adapted to the exigencies of each successive period of that history.

It is notorious that some modern criticism professes to invalidate many of the documents and facts on which this ancient view of prophecy—a view as ancient, we have seen, as the first inspired utterances of Christian teachers after the Ascension—is based, and to its pretensions in this respect attention must be paid in due course. But let us be content for the present to have before us simply the case, so to say, of Scripture prophecy, as generally stated by such a writer as I am quoting, in accordance with the best traditions of the Christian Church. That case is this—that from the first dawn, under Abraham, of that great dispensation of things which led up to the coming of our Lord and the establishment of the Christian Church, and which will be brought to a

¹ "Discourses on Prophecy," 5th edit., 1845.

consummation at his Second Coming, the predictive voice of prophecy was heard at every considerable step in the development, giving such a degree of light on the future as was needed, in order that men might have sufficient encouragement for their faith in the particular duty or trial which was laid upon them; so that it is exactly described in St. Peter's exhortation: "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a lamp that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the daystar arise in your hearts." First, in the case of Abraham, in order that he may have faith "to sojourn in the land of promise, as in a strange country," he is given an assurance which embraces the twofold contents of all subsequent prophecy, temporal and spiritual—That his descendants should inherit the land of Canaan; and that in his seed should all nations of the earth be blessed. Beyond this he was only informed that his descendants would undergo a servitude of 400 years; but, in the faith of these two promises, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, "He looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." Next, on the eve of Jacob's entry into Egypt, a vision is vouchsafed him, by which he is assured that his going there was under God's direction, and that he and his seed would be brought up again. Next, at Jacob's own death, when his descendants are about to enter on that long period of humiliation, he is inspired to give a prophetic sketch of their future prerogatives as distinct tribes, and they are thus assured of a special destiny being reserved for them all; while at this stage, whatever interpretation may be given to a much-disputed text, it is at least clear that a special distinction is assigned to the tribe of Judah. Prophecy then ceases until the moment arrives for Moses to come forward to deliver the people from Egypt. It is his mission to revive the old prophecies made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but to attach the permanent enjoyment of them to the faithful obedience of the Law which he is commissioned to declare. He leaves the people on the border of the promised land with a great destiny before them, and, at the same time, with a heavy charge and responsibility—the charge and responsibility of a Law, solemnly revealed by God, to be their guide and their protection throughout the temptations of their national career. At this time, accordingly, he is represented in the Book of Deuteronomy as endorsing that Law by a prophetic revelation of the blessings which would follow the people if they obeyed it, on the one hand, and of the punishments which would fall upon them if they disobeyed it—punishments which have, at all events, been fulfilled to the letter in the subsequent history of

the people. About the same time, in the prophecies of Balaam—delivered, as they were, on the verge of the promised land—a vision is opened, which was undoubtedly cherished among them, of the rise of a Star out of Jacob, and of a sceptre out of Israel, and of the wide influence which was designed for them. With these prophecies the children of Israel settled in the promised land—prophecies sufficient to assure them that they had been under the Divine guidance hitherto, and that that guiding hand was still over them, expecting their continued obedience, and having a further destiny before them if they obeyed it.

After this, predictive prophecy is again silent for the 400 years previous to the time of Samuel, and this silence, as Mr. Davison points out, corresponds to the fact that no new turn or prospect in their history was opened during that period. There was no change or movement in their course, and, consequently, no special Divine voice was required. But at the time of Samuel that great change in their condition begins which is marked by the establishment of the kingdom, and their subsequent coming into connection with the increasing movements and consolidations of the other kingdoms around them. The 500 years which follow Samuel are the years in which the nation is brought to its fullest development, and put to its great trial in its relations with the powerful monarchies, the seductive religions, and the corrupting civilizations around it. At this point, accordingly, to meet these emergencies, the predictive prophet reappears, and his functions attain their greatest height. Every step and stage in the drama is attended by Divine voices, which, in the first place, mark out sufficiently the course immediately designed by the Divine Will, and, in the second place, indicate more and more clearly the ultimate destiny towards which everything is being directed. First of all, it is laid down as a fixed point in the subsequent development that David's house will be the permanent centre for the nation, occupying the throne, provided his descendants are faithful, as in any case the centre of God's promises to the people. Next, the temple on Mount Zion is marked out as the local centre of God's providence. "Now," it was said, "have I chosen and sanctified this house that My name may be there for ever, and Mine eyes and Mine heart shall be there perpetually." Accordingly, for the next 1,000 years—until the Son of David was finally cast out from the Temple of Jerusalem by the malice of its priests—around that one spot of earth did the development of the Divine revelation turn; but even amidst the glorious scene of the dedication of the Temple, a clear and distinct foresight of its ultimate doom is impressed upon the vision of Solomon.

From this point, as we pass through the subsequent disturbed history, it is unnecessary to recall in detail how every event—the rebellion, for instance, of Rehoboam; the successive disasters of the kingdom of Israel; the destruction of the house of Ahab; the final overthrow of Samaria, and the dispersion of the ten tribes—are all announced in solemn warnings by a succession of prophets, from Ahijah to Isaiah. Kings and people were warned beforehand of the consequences of their conduct, and those consequences were definitely, and not merely generally, predicted. In particular, the restoration of Judah, as distinct from the entire destruction which was to be the fate of Israel, is distinctly marked. In short, it does not seem too much to say “that there was no one considerable ordinance or appointment of God under the first dispensation”—neither the gift of Canaan, nor the Mosaic Covenant, nor the Mosaic worship, nor the temporal kingdom of David, nor the Temple—which was permitted to pass away without definite prophecy (p. 224); and, further, that between the commencement of the monarchy and the return of the people from the Babylonian captivity, there is no known event of any magnitude, by which they were affected as a people, which was not announced by some warning of prophecy. Finally, as the time approaches when the kingdom of Judah, no less than that of Israel, is to be overthrown, and the promises of God to His people are for a time to receive, to human appearance, a complete defeat, prophecy, which from the time of David and Solomon had commenced to point, with increasing clearness, to a Diviner kingdom and a more perfect temple, concentrates its light more and more on that great spiritual future; and as the temporal hopes of the nation are obscured, the spiritual glories of the Gospel which were to arise upon their ruins become more and more clearly revealed. In other words, it is at the moment when the promises of the first dispensation are visibly fading, and when the faith of those who believed in the promises given to Abraham and David must have been strained almost beyond endurance, that the words of evangelistic comfort begin to occupy almost the whole of the prophetic voice, and the vision is more and more clearly seen of those last days when “many peoples shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” Then, too, amidst the suffering of the people, was seen the vision of that Great Sufferer who should bear their sins, and by whom their stripes should be healed. Finally, after the return from the

Captivity, prophecy points forward to the return of the Lord to His temple; it predicts that then would be the great and dreadful day of the Lord—as it proved, indeed, to the Jews of our Lord's time—and that it would be preceded by the advent of one who would come in the spirit and power of Elijah; and thus, in the striking expression of Mr. Davison, “resigning its charge to the personal precursor of Christ, Old Testament prophecy expired with the Gospel upon its tongue” (p. 347). Such is the living and original conception of the nature and office of ancient prophecy, as believed by the Church and urged by ancient interpreters.

Now let it be asked whether this be not a very different conception of the nature and office of predictive prophecy from the narrow notion of it, as of a set of fragmentary marvels, which has been sometimes erroneously attributed to ancient interpreters. In a subsequent paper an endeavour will be made to illustrate more fully its importance as a proof and test of Divine revelation. But meanwhile, let us contemplate for a moment the grand spectacle which is presented to us by such a review. Let us conceive ourselves listening across a space of nearly 2,000 years, from Abraham onward, to the Divine voice, heard behind the vast and mysterious scene of history, uttering the end from the beginning, pronouncing few, but pregnant, words of command and of warning to its chosen ministers at the great crises of their own destiny, or the destiny of their nation, or the destiny of the world; declaring to them that the way in which they were called upon to walk, though often dark and mysterious, was tending towards the vindication of righteousness and the establishment of truth and justice on the earth; bidding them watch with their own eyes how those promises of righteousness were fulfilled, and so encouraging or warning them in every great struggle and every moment of temptation. The historian, if gifted with a more than human insight, might possibly, from the mere facts themselves, trace backward the evidences of a Divine hand ruling this obscure drama; but the devoted student of the Scriptures is privileged in prophecy to hear the Divine Ruler issuing His commands, and thus to follow the history from within and from above, as it is being made. Much in the same manner may the natural philosopher laboriously trace back the stages of the Divine workmanship in the creation of the heavens and of the earth, while the Christian student is admitted to the very vision of the scene when the morning stars sang together, and hears simultaneously the utterance of the Divine voice and its fulfilment—“God said, Let there be light; and there was light.”

HENRY WACE.

ART. V.—REUNION AND ESTABLISHMENT: AN
APPEAL TO ENGLISH CHRISTIANS.

IF the New Testament is to be our guide, the public and national recognition and honouring of the Church by the State is just as certainly part of our Saviour's plan as preaching the Gospel or receiving Sacraments. It is prescribed in terms which ought never to have been mistaken, and in that one book of the New Testament which, as a book, makes a more solemn demand for our acceptance of its teaching than any other. If any man adds to the book or takes away from it, God takes away his part from that tree of life and out of that holy city which the book describes. And one thing in this book is this: "AND THE NATIONS SHALL WALK AMIDST THE LIGHT THEREOF: AND THE KINGS OF THE EARTH DO BRING THEIR GLORY INTO IT. And the gates thereof shall in no wise be shut by day (for there shall be no night there): AND THEY SHALL BRING THE GLORY AND THE HONOUR OF THE NATIONS INTO IT."

But for most English readers, from the days of Tyndale's translation down to our own times, this passage has been practically taken away from the book, and that by means of an addition to it, the insertion, between "nations" and "shall walk," of the intrusive phrase "which are saved," or "of them which are saved." From 1534 to 1611 there was a further obscuration: instead of "the nations" the words were "the people"—"the people which are saved shall walk in the light of it." And the printed Greek text contained the words *τῶν σωζομένων*. Even this was not correctly translated. It meant not "of them which are saved," but "of those who are being saved," or "of those who are in process of salvation." That would not have been far wrong. But the printed words are no part of the true text. They crept into the first printed edition of the Greek Testament through the mistake of a copying clerk, who had mixed up an ancient commentary with the words of Scripture. Luther's German translation embodies the same mistake. The Latin translation is right, and so is the Rheims or English Roman Catholic version, which was made from the Latin. But the two great Protestant nations, through their very desire to have their translations made from the original, have in this case, for nearly 400 years, been encouraged by the Scriptures, as they read them, to thrust the fulfilment of this prophecy into some dim and distant future.

The accurate version of 1881, after more than twenty years' circulation, seems to have done little for the right understanding of the passage in question, so far as regards the

great bulk of English readers. Else would it now be possible for leading men among Nonconformists to press for Disestablishment as almost a fundamental principle of Christianity, and for many Churchmen to view the prospect of the English nation and its King withdrawing their glory and honour from the city of God with acquiescence if not approval? A great national error is not corrected in a day.

Still, there have been scholars amongst us who have seen, like the late Professor Milligan of Aberdeen, that *the New Jerusalem is an ideal picture of the true Church now*.

Indeed, when we cease to take away from the book the plain and repeated declarations in the first chapter and in the last, that the things written in it were then shortly to come to pass, that the time was at hand, how dare we say, after more than 1,800 years, that the time is not yet? Did not the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews say, even before the destruction of the old Jerusalem, "YE ARE COME unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem"? And had not our Saviour Himself said, standing, an apparently helpless prisoner, before the high priest, "HENCEFORTH ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven"?—another text of Scripture sadly misunderstood. Wiclif was right here, "fro hennes forth"; but the other translations, the Rheims included, give "hereafter." It is true the word "hereafter" used to mean "henceforth." When we ask, in the General Confession, that we may "hereafter" live a godly life, we do not mean after a long time, probably after we are dead, but from this time forward. That was what our Saviour meant when He said, according to St. Matthew, ἀπ' ἄρτι, or, according to St. Luke, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, *from now*. I suspect that the popular mind could not conceive that our Saviour could have meant what He said—namely, that from that very moment He would be sitting at the right hand of power and coming on the clouds of heaven, and that His persecutors should so see Him—a lack of imagination which has probably had something to do with the change that has passed over the word "hereafter." Possibly the coexistence of "henceforth" and an unconscious tendency towards a desirable differentiation of the words may have also helped the change forward.

I cannot, within the limits of this paper, show in detail how St. John's great vision of the New Jerusalem is indeed the Divine "ideal of the true Church now." Suffice it to say that when a man ceases to look upon God as a law-giver whose existence he cannot deny, but would if he could, and discovers that He is what Christ reveals—our Father who loves us—we

have a new heaven and a new earth far more excellent than if the Creator were to supply us with new constellations and new fields, such as men have who go to South Africa. And as to there being no more sea and no more death, do we not remember how our Saviour said that they who heard His word, and believed Him who sent Him, had passed out of death into life? how St. Paul declared that those who were in Christ were new creatures? how for them the old things were passed away and become new? how Isaiah compared the wicked to the troubled sea that cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt?

But the vision of the New Jerusalem in chaps. xxi. and xxii. comes after the vision of judgment in chap. xx. Yes, but the "camp of the saints and the beloved city" stand upon the earth in chap. xx. before the judgment, and the judgment recurs in chap. xxi. 6-8. The visions are successive, but the facts are contemporary. While Christians should rejoice in their inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, having washed their robes, and come to the tree of life, and entered in by the gates into the city, that is not their only experience. They are still sojourners and pilgrims, and have frequent need of feet-washing. In spirit their camp is the city on Mount Zion. By the flesh their city becomes too often a camp in the wilderness.

The grand prophecies of Isaiah may help to remove a difficulty which some may raise when they find me resting the Scriptural case for Church Establishment upon a single passage of holy Scripture. Such prophecies as that in Isaiah xlix., vers. 22, 23—"Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their faces to the earth and lick the dust of thy feet"—or the magnificent 60th chapter, were never fulfilled on any but the smallest and coldest scale in the subsequent history of the Jews. There are people still, I suppose, who look forward to a literal, or, at least, a substantial, fulfilment of these and other like prophecies in some future establishment of the Jews in Palestine. They may be right. But meantime I find our Lord applying the opening words of the 61st chapter directly to Himself. His Apostles and others in the New Testament make free application of these same prophecies to their Master. And, what seems to me to settle the question in hand, St. John's description of the New Jerusalem, including the 21st chapter of the Revelation, and five verses of the 22nd, only thirty-two verses in all, quotes or refers to Isaiah more than twenty times; and the very passage on which I am laying so much stress in the Dis-establishment controversy is little else than the 60th

chapter of Isaiah *christened*—lifted, that is, above the prophet's local horizon and made universal. "And nations shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." "The wealth of the nations shall come unto thee." "And strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee." "Thy gates also shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night, that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations, and their kings led with them." If the Revelation is not an inspired commentary on these and other passages of Isaiah, we had better give up comparing Scripture with Scripture.

This being so, I deny that the obligation of the nation to recognise, protect, and honour the Church rests upon a single passage of Scripture. The New Testament takes up the story of the Old. Simeon in the temple with the babe Jesus in his arms spoke of Him as the means of salvation for "all peoples" (R.V.) of whom the "people" Israel was one. Our Lord's favourite title was Son of man, of the political man equally with the husbandman. His Gospel is to be preached to all the nations. When He shall come in His glory—that same coming, apparently, as He told the priests three days afterwards they would immediately see—"before Him shall be gathered all the nations." He is "King of kings and Lord of lords." What wonder, then, that the nations shall walk amidst the light of His holy city, and they and their kings—that is, the nations in their political capacities—shall bring their glory and honour into it? Did not our King do so last August, when he was crowned in what may fairly be called the cathedral church of the Anglo-Saxon race, and by the chief Bishop of our English nation? In the seed of Abraham all the families of the earth and all nations of the earth were to be blessed. This is done in proportion as every family takes its place in the city of God, and every nation walks in the light of that city, and brings its national honour and glory into it.

Besides the prophecies of Isaiah referred to above, there is also a remarkable prophecy of Jeremiah's (chap. iii. 16, etc.) about *Jerusalem without the ark*, and all the nations being gathered into it. Is this the germ of "I saw no sanctuary (*ναός*) therein: for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb are the sanctuary thereof" (Rev. xxii. 22)? It is a pity, perhaps, that the revisers have retained the word "temple," though that is rather inexact than incorrect. The sanctuary was reserved for the priests alone. It contained the ceremonial lights, the reserved bread, the altar of incense, and the localized presence of Deity. The second temple did, indeed, contain no ark; but the Presence was believed to be

behind the veil. That veil was rent in two from top to bottom when the true Sacrifice was offered by the true Priest. The sanctuary was then destroyed, and in three days it was raised up in the Body of Christ. But in the Christian Church, which, in another, but practically identical, sense is Christ's Body, there was to be neither *ναός* nor *ιερεὺς*, neither shrine nor priest. Living Christians are sanctuaries of God, both corporately (1 Cor. iii. 17) and individually (John xiv. 23), but not their lifeless walls or pyxes, except as God is everywhere immanent in His works (Col. i. 17). There were no chancels till Transubstantiation grew up and, as the Bishop of Salisbury says in his "Ministry of Grace," p. 103, "changed the solemn Eucharist from a home-like communion feast . . . into a drama."

I am not Goth enough to wish to destroy the magnificent choirs of our cathedrals or the beautiful chancels of our parish churches, but I do wish to see restored in them or outside of them the primitive ritual, according to which the president of the congregation officiated behind the holy table, facing the people, while they stood facing him and taking their full share in the sacrifice of thanksgiving. Some day this should be done by a lawful revision of the rubrics. And I appeal to all English Christians who dislike ritualism as reviving the errors which our Reformers were burnt for rejecting, I call upon them, Nonconformists especially, to lay aside their anti-Scriptural project of Disestablishment, and rally round the old Church of our common and grand nationality. It is because the Puritan element has so largely drifted away from the parish churches that the Oxford dreamers have been able so far to fulfil their dreams. Professor Drummond went astray when he wrote his "City without a Church." The City *is* a Church, and the sum total of all true Churches.

Our churches are not temples, but synagogues; our ministers are not priests of sanctuaries, but elders of congregations. It is a pity that the word "priest" has become ambiguous. In its etymology it is a protest against official priesthood. It is simply the English form of presbyter or elder, as bishop and deacon are English for "episcopus" and "diaconus." The elder was an officer of the synagogue, not of the temple. I cannot go further into these details. But may I hope that some, whom at first I could not carry with me when I contended that Disestablishment was forbidden by Scripture, may be disposed to consider my contention more seriously when they find that the same Scriptural ideal which insists upon Establishment leaves no room for medievalism either in doctrine or in ritual? Disestablishment is a policy of despair.

Next I must affirm as a matter of absolute certainty that

the New Testament gives neither example of, nor warrant for, two or more Christian churches in the same locality, independent of one another, and drawing their members and adherents from the same population. No one will dispute the absence of example. And as to warrant, surely our Saviour's solemn prayer for the visible unity of all who believed in Him should of itself close that question. The prayer was offered as the closing act of His ministry immediately before He went out to meet His death. The unity He prayed for was to be like that of Himself with His Father, and one purpose of it was to be that the world might believe that the Father sent Him. The world sees us disunited, a very chaos of Christians, and it does not believe. Here in England the condition of our towns and villages is appalling. The great bulk of our fellow-citizens are neither Churchmen nor Dissenters. They "go nowhere." But yes, they do go, wherever our foreign missions go, and counteract the Gospel which, but for our divisions, they might be propagating.

There is in the New Testament, as I have said, no instance of actual secession and the setting up of a rival Church. But there are very vehement condemnations of that factious spirit which tends to secession. The factious members of the Church at Corinth are described, on account of their factiousness, as carnal—that is, of the nature of mere animals. And divisions are classed in the Epistle to the Galatians (ver. 20, R.V.) among the vilest sins. Even at Laodicea where our Lord was disgusted, and at Sardis where the Church was dead, not the slightest hint is given that the few decent Christians who remained might or ought to secede and form themselves into purer communities.

Now, in England, long before any of our present secessions were heard of, our cathedral and parish churches covered the whole land but for some extra parochial places due chiefly to the monastic system. And I ask whether these churches as a whole, or any of them in detail, have ever been worse churches than the Church at Corinth or the Church at Sardis, as described in the New Testament; and so much worse that, while in those churches the remedy was more union and strengthening the things that remained, in our English dioceses and parishes it has been the bounden duty of the seceders to secede, and of their successors to remain in secession. At Corinth the communicants boasted that one of their number was living in incest; some of them got drunk at the Lord's Table; some denied a future life, and so on. At Sardis the Church had a name to live and was dead. If it was wrong at Corinth to say "I am of Paul" or "I of Cephas," can it be right in an English parish to say "I

am of Wesley" or "I am of the Pope," and to say it, as the Corinthians did not, in unabashed secession?

If I have stated these propositions without qualification, that is because I see no other way of stating them truly. The application of the statements to individuals is a different thing. Therein will be needed all mutual respect and thorough-going courtesy, which Churchfolk and Non-conformists alike must learn to call for by diligent prayer. I know well, in my forty-sixth year as a beneficed clergyman, that our parish and cathedral churches are heavily weighted with abuses and anachronisms. But nobody is obliged to approve of them as a condition of Christian fellowship. In matters of faith nothing more is required of anyone for lay communion besides the Apostles' Creed; a simple statement not of theories, but of facts, which may be denied, but cannot be explained away. The clergy are bound by the Prayer-Book and Articles, as interpreted by the courts, but the laity are not. In matters of discipline there must be baptism and confirmation as the introduction to Communion. But baptism is held to be valid by whomsoever administered. Confirmation, according to Scriptural example, is administered by one of our chief ministers. Holy Communion cannot be received in our churches except through one of our presbyters. But no one is bound to profess a belief in confirmation as necessary to salvation, nor in the necessity of a Bishop for its efficient ministrations. And if a man believes that the celebration of Holy Communion is restricted to ministers only as a matter of decency and order, no Churchman has authority to forbid him. But he is equally at liberty to believe the contrary. Indeed, a characteristic of the Church of England is not a great number of closed questions, but the great number it leaves open. It gives no theory of creation, inspiration, atonement, conversion, sacraments, modes of worship, relations of Church and State, the orders, ordination, and appointment of ministers, and, indeed, most subjects on which Christians have been used to hold diverse opinions. This does not mean that no truths are important except those which are explicitly stated in the Apostles' Creed. But it means that when the fundamentals, as laid down in that Creed, are secured, the Church thinks it best not to refuse its fellowship for differences of opinion on other subjects.

National churches in times past made a great mistake. They tried to compel all the citizens by force to act as members of the Church. And I do not doubt that Almighty God, who usually teaches men by their mistakes, has allowed Nonconformity to reach its present dimensions in England on

purpose to make persecution impossible. No sensible person wishes to persecute now. That lesson has been learnt. Conformity by compulsion is gone. It is time to pray and labour for free Conformity.

Wait not, my brethren, wait not
Till they that sleep arise ;
Wait not till angels waft ye
To rest in Paradise.
The glory dwells not only
Beyond the starry sphere :
The kingdom is among you,
Jerusalem is here.

From East to West the nations
Are walking in her light ;
Hers is old England's glory,
And hers our monarch's might.
Portrayed in glowing vision
On John's prophetic page,
Her gates and brave foundations
Are our long heritage.

Through times of tribulation,
Through times of fierce reform,
Through times of peace and plenty,
Of struggle and of storm,
One faith in God Incarnate,
One Lamb for sinners slain,
Hath linked all times together
As with a golden chain.

And now, O gracious Father,
To us in this our day,
The things Thou hast against us
Grant we may put away ;
And walk with Thee where light is,
In fellowship and love,
Cleansed by the blood of Jesus,
Led by the Holy Dove.

'Twas what our Saviour prayed for,
'Twas what our founders plann'd ;
Give plan and prayer fulfilment
Through all this Christian land—
One church for every parish,
And all the parish there,
One body and one spirit,
One voice of praise and prayer.

Through Christendom's wide borders
That plan and prayer fulfil,
Till popes and parties vanish,
And Christians do Thy will :
Then shall the heathen seek Thee,
For all the world shall see
How good it is and joyful
When brethren thus agree.

ART. VI.—"THE STRENGTH OF THE PEOPLE."—II.

"Only let every worker among the poor, whatever his station may be, remember that the main good that he doeth, and by which he most emphatically acquits himself as the benefactor of the poor, is by working out this lesson in the midst of them, that their own resources are the best securities against want, and that they themselves might indeed be their own best benefactors."—*From Dr. Chalmers on "Charity."*

IN the former part of this paper we found that the great means of raising a man from the lower or animal life—that is, where life is governed merely by "instincts"—to the higher life—the rational, moral, and spiritual life—consisted in widening its "interests." We will now turn to Mrs. Bosanquet's treatment of this most important problem.

The section of the book which deals with "Interests" is a particularly difficult one to summarize, because the reasoning is so close and so condensed. The section opens with an apt quotation from Mill on "Liberty," which serves to indicate the direction of the writer's thought: "He who lets the world or his portion of it choose his plan of life for him has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation. He who chooses his plan for himself employs all his faculties. He must use observation to see, reasoning and judgment to foresee, activity to gather materials for decision, discrimination to decide, and, when he has decided, firmness and self-control to hold to his deliberate decision."

How to promote initiative appears now to be the question for solution. This leads to an interesting comparison between the way in which "intelligent" animals and "reasoning" men attempt to deal with difficulties to be overcome. The first use "the method of trial and error with the utilization of chance success—a somewhat clumsy process. . . . The second consider the problem in all its relations with a view to ascertaining the essential nature of the difficulty." Mrs. Bosanquet next examines the principle of association, long thought to be the only principle of mental development. But this principle is shown to be quite insufficient, because "it works most obviously and purely in those intelligences which never develop beyond a certain not very high limit." From this the writer proceeds to think of that factor in life which enables a thoughtful man to see a situation, not in fragments, but as a whole. This factor Mrs. Bosanquet calls a man's "interests." The term does not seem a very happily chosen one, but it is difficult to suggest one more appropriate; and Mrs. Bosanquet is careful to remind her readers that when she speaks, for instance, of "the interests which predominate in a man's mind," the term "does not necessarily mean his own interest

in the selfish sense.” What the term really implies will best be gathered from a concrete example. How is rational action determined and rational life carried on? There is a result desired dictated by a man’s “interests,” and to that result the present situation does not correspond. “What is the missing factor which will produce what is wanted? What is the next step to take? To the man of practical ability with some object in view, the situation, seen not scrappily or dimly, but as a whole, itself suggests what is wanted to complete it, or the next step to take”—*e.g.*, “if a man is in poverty, he does not hang about waiting for something to turn up, but he seeks for work, . . . he sets himself to master the situation—in this case his particular corner of the labour market. The situation seen in this way will suggest to him the appropriate action.” Now, Mrs. Bosanquet ventures upon at least a partial positive definition of the term: “The factor which gives the power to see things steadily and see them whole, which distinguishes the rational life, . . . is the ‘interests’ of life as distinct from its appetites.”

If we know a man’s interests, we know the man, for his interests will rule his actions, and we shall know whether or not the man will be an interest to us.

Here, again, arises an important question. Suppose a man has no interests; how is he to acquire these? for the “finding” of interests is generally the result of a highly-developed mind. Mrs. Bosanquet now draws attention to the contrast between appetites and interests. She shows that at every satisfaction the appetites cease, and that they recur again on the same level; “they contribute nothing towards raising the agent above the level of animal life.” But suppose a man, in order to obtain his food, is driven to acquire some art or skill. The man who has to earn his living can never be entirely without interests. The responsibilities of the maintenance and education of a family should form a permanent interest to every parent, and should open his or her eyes to the importance of the future. Then, if a man is free to follow his interests, they lead him progressively to other and still wider interests.

It will at once be seen how all this bears upon the necessity of calling forth self-effort; how it at once condemns that removal of responsibilities which seems to be the inevitable result at once of the Poor Law and of private charity. The mere animal needs are temporarily or permanently satisfied. The man’s interest in the maintenance or progress of himself or his family has gone.

After an extremely interesting section upon the importance of the formation of habits, in which also the effects of “routine” and “mechanical” work are discussed, we come to that

division of the introductory chapter which is entitled "Circumstances."

This section is of peculiar importance for two reasons: (1) From Mrs. Bosanquet's somewhat unusual, yet, I think, very useful, interpretation of the term; and (2) because of the very common tendency at the present time to make "circumstances," rather than nature or character, the scape-goat for the various ills from which the poor are suffering.

Mrs. Bosanquet insists that our "circumstances" are largely the result of our selective activity, and are those facts, selected from the multiplicity of detail amid which we live, which "interest" us. In her own words: "Throughout our life we are engaged in selecting from the infinite universe about us just what facts shall constitute our own little world, our circumstances; the rest we let go as irrelevant." Difference of "taste" or of "interests" she believes to be the chief element in determining a man's circumstances. This assertion is illustrated by noticing the differences, even among the poor, in the way in which money is spent, friends are chosen, and houses or "homes" (however poor) are clean and tidy, or dirty and full of disorder. To confirm the last assertion she quotes Miss Octavia Hill: "The people's homes are bad because they are badly built and arranged; they are tenfold worse because the tenants' habits and lives are what they are. Transplant them to-morrow to healthy and commodious houses, and they would pollute and destroy them." The same holds true of food, and drink, and recreation. These at present, in the vast majority of instances, are rather determined "by limited interests and desires than by any external scarcity." "If a man's interests were wider, the public-house and music-hall would not be the only sources of recreation." From experience we are driven to this conclusion: "A man's circumstances depend upon what he himself is." If he has no higher interests, his appetites and habits will make his circumstances. If we want to change a man's circumstances, we can only do this by putting some new interest in his mind.

Before closing the chapter, Mrs. Bosanquet deals with the question of the children. We all know the usual appeal of the so-called charitably disposed: "If you won't let us give to the parents, at any rate you will let us see that the children do not suffer or want." At first sight the appeal seems almost unanswerable, but a more intimate knowledge of the lives of the very poor, even of the degraded, shows how dangerous is the method suggested, viz., the relief of the parents from the responsibilities which Nature intended them to bear. Every intelligent worker of experience among the poor could give

proofs of this assertion. Here is one from my own experience. For many years I have been a manager of large elementary schools in which, in two contiguous buildings, “ mixed departments ” of every standard have been taught. In the one building no fees have been charged, in the other a fee varying from 3d. to 9d. has been paid. [The income of many of the parents of the children in the “ free ” department is quite as large as those in the fee-paying department.] In this department the average attendance of the children on the register varies from 91 to about 94 per cent. ; while in the free department, even with the aid of attendance officer and magistrates, it rarely rises to 75 per cent. By the removal of fees, the sense of the responsibility of the parents for the education of their children has been weakened, and this is the result.

To-day the common cry is, “ Let us try to influence the children. ” Mrs. Bosanquet believes “ that little real effect can be produced upon the child at all except through the will of the parent. ” Does this, then, imply that we are “ entangled in hopeless chain of cause and effect ” ? She thinks not, because the relation of parent and child is a reciprocal one ; “ the dependence of the child upon the parents is only the other side of the influence of the child as an interest in the parents’ lives. ” Further, Mrs. Bosanquet believes that this mutual relation often fails of its regenerating effect owing to misguided interference : “ The child is left under the influence of the parents, but they are tacitly or openly divested of all responsibility to it. ” Here again, in advising that appeal should be made to the parents rather than that concentration of effort should be directed upon the children, Mrs. Bosanquet traverses the opinion of many philanthropic workers ; but the reasons she gives for this judgment are extremely strong.

To sum up the teaching of this valuable chapter : In dealing with those who need help and whom we desire to help, we seem face to face with two limits or barriers : first, the economic limit—*i.e.*, their monetary income ; second, the limit fixed by their lack of interests. How are these limits to be extended, or these barriers broken down ? The economic limit can only be extended by capacity and energy, and these, as we have seen, are largely governed by “ interests ” ; so, the two limiting powers are in a very true sense only one. The powers for breaking down these barriers, Mrs. Bosanquet believes, are mainly three—*viz.*, the “ grace of God, ” the help of our teachers, and the schooling of our necessities. But are not these three powers again only one ? What is the “ grace of God ” but the sum of those forces which conduce to the building up of true manhood and womanhood—the making of human life what it was meant to be ? And are not “ the help

of our teachers" and the "schooling of our necessities" two of the chiefest channels by which this Divine grace is ministered to us?

Here, then, seem to be indicated the lines upon which the true, wise, and well-instructed philanthropist will strive to act. One condition he will ever bear in mind—that neither any individual nor the community can "give" to any permanent advantage without at the same time *demanding* some exertion in accepting and assimilating on the part of the recipient; to give gratis is to give in vain.

I have dwelt at such length upon this introductory chapter because it contains the foundation principles upon which the rest of the book may be said to form a commentary or exposition. In chapter after chapter we have set before us proofs from experience, illustrations from history, or indications of opportunity for the application of these principles. These chapters contain records both of failure and success. Where there has been failure, it does seem as if it has almost universally arisen from neglect of the primary condition of the worker making effort to call out the response of *self-effort* on the part of those whom it has been desired to assist.

These various chapters are upon such subjects as "The Source of Poverty," where it is shown that the economic position of a class depends upon the moral qualities of individuals; "The Remedy," where the work of Dr. Chalmers is described at length; "The Economic Importance of the Family," where it is proved that the State can never be, or provide, a substitute for parents; "The Children," and their claims upon the community; "The Aged," under which the question of old age pensions is fully discussed.

The final chapter, which is very valuable, contains a summary of the argument, an examination of the principal forces affecting social reform, and a programme for social workers. Mrs. Bosanquet lays great stress on the fact that now it is in the midst of society as a whole that the industrial forces are working out their realization, and that now, owing to newspapers, books, meetings, and societies of various kinds, "society as a whole" has become an extremely sensitive medium to every movement which is taking place within it; and that what is termed "public opinion" may easily be "hasty, emotional, and ill advised" in its conclusions, whereas the problems waiting for solution are such as call for a disciplined and well-informed, because well-instructed, judgment. She believes that through the elections of those who have to administer the Poor Law it is the community as a whole who shall decide what the number of paupers in the country shall be. No one can, during the last few months,

have read the daily press upon the subject of pauperism—no one can have read the constant, almost innumerable, appeals for relief—without being struck with the fact that the attitude of the press is much more that of an advocate, whose purpose is to present a situation vividly, than that of a judge, whose duty is to see that all the evidence available is forthcoming, and who must then declare the law.

In this connection, the importance of the following words cannot be exaggerated: "Perhaps the greatest obstacle to getting a sound public opinion on matters of social policy lies in the general ignoring of the fact that scientific principles are as much involved in them as in chemistry or architecture, or any other of the arts of life."

When will people learn and recognise in practice that there are, governing the well-being of society, laws as fixed and immutable as are the laws of physics or mechanics—as the law of refraction or the law of gravity? The data, from which these laws are being proved beyond all doubt, are strewn over the pages of history, and they are still accumulating in the experience of careful workers. But many workers on behalf of the poor are either ignorant of, or they are careless with regard to, the lessons of history. So careless are they that, as Mrs. Bosanquet says, "every generation or two begins afresh; the old knowledge and experience are only regained by passing through the old suffering."

Hence we see the vital importance of trustworthy and scientific teaching on the principles of Social Science, and the equal importance of trying to get people to take up this study, which, as Mrs. Bosanquet shows, must be pursued in two directions. "In the first place, we must learn how human nature in the individual man or woman reacts under certain conditions; in the second place, we must learn how causes take effect in society as a whole." The first of these lines of study is, of course, psychological, and though Mrs. Bosanquet does not here name the word, no one who reads the book can fail to see how important she regards the provoking of those wise reactions at which the psychologist in education aims.

Towards the end of the chapter Mrs. Bosanquet speaks of the opportunity which the Church possesses in giving help towards educating people in this social work. She believes the Church might be far more helpful than she actually is, and she thinks that "while the Church of to-day certainly cannot be accused of any neglect of the people," the methods by which the Church works are not the wisest. Like others, Mrs. Bosanquet deplors the want of interest on the part of the people in the Church's work, and this, she believes, arises from the failure of the Churches generally to make claims

upon the people. "The Church which is to save the people . . . will be not only *for* the people, but *of* the people." "The great spiritual leaders have always been those who made great demands upon their followers; who knew that they could not give except to those who were strenuously exerting themselves to partake; and who knew that the less you ask of human nature, the deeper it falls into apathy and indifference."

These words may be said to contain the moral of the book, the conclusion of the matter. The book is certainly one to be studied by all who desire to help those who seem to stand in need of help. We may not agree with all the writer's assertions. Some will doubtless think she has formed too high an estimate of the strength of the people if only they could be aroused to put forth that strength wisely and in the right direction. These may regard her faith in the possibilities of human nature as too great. But the men and women of faith have history on their side; more than one nation which has seemed "nigh unto destruction" has ere now, by wise guidance, risen to a new life of prosperity and usefulness.

Of all men, it behoves the Christian—one who believes in the possibility of "man's remake in Christ"—not to despair; and I believe that those who have faith in this, rather than in merely material alleviations of human needs, will find that the writer of this admirable book is on their side.

W. EDWARD CHADWICK:

ART. VII.—THE MONTH.

THE past month has been marked by events of unusual importance and significance in the affairs of the Church. On March 13 the Church Discipline Bill, promoted by Mr. MacIver and Mr. Austin Taylor, together with a Bill of a very different character, but with a similar purpose, introduced by Mr. Cripps, came on for second reading in the House of Commons, and, in anticipation of the debate, a remarkable movement was set on foot in the House of Commons. A deputation of more than a hundred Members of Parliament, headed by Sir John Dorington, waited on the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to put before them, in Sir John's words, "what they believed to be the views held by their constituents as to the present condition of affairs in the Church of England." "They had been brought together," he said, "in consequence of the feeling of alarm at the position into which the Church had got in the estimation of a very

large number of people in the Church of England. He intentionally used the word 'alarm.' A feeling of suspicion and mistrust had disclosed itself, and he thought that that feeling ought to be taken immediate notice of by the rulers of the Church." Among other speakers in the deputation, Sir Francis Powell, an old and tried friend of the Church, who subsequently voted as one of the tellers against Mr. Austin Taylor's Bill, said that "what they objected to was not old practices, but new practices and new developments, which had caused the greatest sorrow amongst the laity, and, in some cases, indignation as well as sorrow." He said "it must be admitted on all hands that, if the evils were allowed to continue, the arguments in favour of the Church of England as an establishment would become most grievously weak. In fact, he believed that in a locality where the mischief abounded it was difficult to prove to the people that the Church of England was a National Church which had a claim upon their allegiance and their support."

These are very grave representations to be made to the rulers of the Church by so large a body of its staunchest supporters in the House of Commons, by old High Churchmen no less than by moderate Low Churchmen. It was evidently the indication of a feeling that the patience of the Laity of all schools of thought was well-nigh exhausted, and that, unless the Archbishops could give some assurance that the recent tendency of thought and practice among the Clergy would be checked, it would be impossible to restrain the House of Commons from adopting some such strenuous measures as were proposed in Mr. MacIver's Bill. The long and elaborate reply of the Archbishop showed that he appreciated the gravity of the occasion, and its ability has been generally recognised. But we wish we could feel sure that he had adequately recognised the cardinal points of the situation, and that his assurances would suffice to afford the guarantees which the public desire. His speech was in the main a skilful defence of the action of the Bishops in dealing with the illegal practices of the extreme High Church clergy. He urged that the action of the Bishops during the last five years had had a considerable effect in "sweeping away" a number of unauthorized services, and he frankly admitted that in certain cases of flagrant illegality still subsisting no further tolerance was possible. With respect to such cases, of which he quoted as illustrations St. Michael's, Shoreditch, and some churches at Plymouth and Devonport, he declared: "I say to you deliberately to-day that, in my view of such cases, tolerance has reached and even passed its limits. The sands have run out. Stern and drastic action is in my judgment quite

essential." So far all is satisfactory in his declarations. But when he occupied a large portion of his speech in elaborate explanation of the reasons why the Bishops had not taken strong action sooner against such illegalities, when he pleaded the discredit into which the policy of prosecution had fallen—even in the quarters represented by the *Record* newspaper—and when he appealed to the example and authority of Archbishop Temple, all that he can be regarded as establishing is that the failure of the Bishops to enforce the law, and to maintain a sounder spirit among the Clergy, is due to motives which may fairly be regarded with much consideration and indulgence. His description of their attitude is but too candid and just: "Bishops are quite as fallible, perhaps at times as timorous, as other public men. They are often wanting, like other men, in courage to face a difficulty or in wisdom to avert it. I claim for them no immunity from criticism as to failure or deficiencies on their part. But this I do say without hesitation or reserve: the picture which represents them as having apathetically or obstinately, and in face of public opinion, abstained from acting themselves and refused to let others act is as inaccurate in fact as it is unfair in argument." Few, we think, will hesitate to admit the justice of this modest apology. But the practical question is not one of the moral blame to be attached to the Bishops; it is the question of the practical results of their action in the past, and of the prospect of their more effective action in the future. Many an army has been sacrificed and many a State ruined by persons of the most unimpeachable moral virtue, whose intentions were admirable at every stage of the career which ended in disaster. The deputation was itself a glaring proof that the present result of all the mild virtues which the Archbishop claimed for his colleagues is that, as Sir Francis Powell said, "he doubted whether the utterances of the Laity had been sufficiently vigorous to convey to the minds of the right reverend Bench their deep and profound sense of the evils and the mischief which now afflicted the Church of England." What is the use of a course of proceeding, however excusable and respectable, which has led to this result? And what security for the future does it afford to be simply assured that this policy will be supplemented by "stern and drastic action" in the case of a few men "defiant of episcopal authority, and really reckless of the true Church of England spirit"? Will that be sufficient to stop a drift and a tendency which has been allowed to get to such a height as to create what Sir John Dorington called "a feeling of alarm at the position into which the Church had got in the estimation of a very large number of people throughout England"?

We hope and believe that it is in the Archbishop's mind to exert other influences of a more powerful and active character; but it is, we think, to be regretted that he did not avail himself of the occasion to appeal, with all the force of his position, to that central body of opinion and feeling among the Clergy and Laity to which alone it is possible to look for a reassertion of the true position of the Church of England, and to call upon them to discountenance, by every means in their power, not mere flagrant illegalities, but that spirit of alienation from the principles of the Reformation, and of the Anglican Church of the two or three centuries after the Reformation, to which the distrust now prevalent in the public is mainly due. The reason of the failure of the Bishops does not lie in their reluctance to resort to prosecutions, but in their not having used their great authority, personal and official, to discountenance the un-Anglican, if not Romanizing tendencies, which have prevailed so long among the Clergy. If the face of the Bishops had been steadily set against the tendencies which, in their extreme form, are represented by the lawless churches of Plymouth and Devonport, those extreme practices would never have been reached; or, if they had, the sense that the Bishops as a body were resolutely opposed to them would have prevented the distrust of the laity from reaching such a height. The only hope of salvation for the Church at this juncture lies in the possibility of rallying once more the old Church of England spirit, High as well as Low, against tendencies which are radically inconsistent with the whole historic position of the Church, and which tend inevitably, whether with deliberate purpose or not, to assimilate its position to that of the Church of Rome. The moment has arrived when resolute action by the Bench of Bishops is imperative if dangers of the greatest gravity are to be averted. Notwithstanding the Archbishop's apologies, the second reading of Mr. Austin Taylor's Bill was carried by a majority of fifty-one, although Mr. Balfour, in a speech of great consideration for the position of the Bishops, threw his personal opposition against it. At the same time, two elections, both in constituencies whose former members were Conservatives, have resulted in overwhelming votes for the Liberal candidates; and there can be no question that the opposition to the Education Bill has had a great part in these results, and that that opposition is in great measure due to profound distrust of the Church. The Bishops have allowed a feeling to become widespread among the constituencies that the sympathies of the Clergy are in the direction of Roman doctrine and practice. Unless that distrust of the Church can be checked, the consequence plainly stated by Sir Francis

Powell is inevitable, that "the arguments in favour of the Church of England as an Establishment would become most grievously weak." The Archbishop of Canterbury has now a great opportunity for checking this feeling, but there is reason to fear it is the last opportunity which any one in his position will have. If a General Election comes upon us while the present distrust is prevalent, the consequences to the Church are likely to be disastrous. But that distrust cannot be checked by apologies, however skilful, for the past or present inaction of the Bishops. It can be reversed only by a plain manifestation of "stern" opposition on the part of the rulers of the Church to all un-Anglican and anti-Protestant tendencies, by an encouragement, on the part of the State as well as the Church, of the men and the influences that represent true English Churchmanship, and by a revival of the great principles of the Early Church and the Reformation. The Church of England owes its present position to the fact that the nation recognised in it, in former days, the best bulwark of those principles. Let it recover its character in that respect, and the nation will still prize and support it. But let that character be a little further damaged than it is at present, and the nation will seek its religious sustenance elsewhere.

Notices of Books.

Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis, Book VII. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices. By the late F. J. A. HORT, D.D., and J. B. MAYOR, M.A., Hon. Litt.D., Dublin. London: Macmillan, 1902. Price 15s.

WITHIN the past few years there has been a growing tendency towards bringing the less-known writers of antiquity within the purview of students. This tendency has not been confined to classical antiquity, though it is there that it has been most pronounced. Such publications as the Oxford "Studia Biblica" and the Cambridge "Texts and Studies" have done much to familiarize students with some of the theological writings of the early days of Christianity; while such first-rate works as Bishop Wordsworth's (still unfinished) edition of the Vulgate and the Cambridge LXX. (edited by Dr. Swete) have rendered signal service in similar directions. It may seem, perhaps, strange to speak of "familiarizing" students with the Vulgate and the LXX., yet the word is correctly employed, for the serious student of either of these celebrated versions had been *rara avis* till Tischendorf, Swete, Nestle, and Lagarde began to work upon the existing text for the purpose of critical recon-

struction. Yet, hopeful as all this is, a vast deal remains to be done, and that chiefly in the field of patristic theology. For example, we still desiderate a complete and adequate edition of Tertullian (Oehler's, the latest, is half a century old); Jerome's letters—a perfect *θησαυρός* of interest and instruction—still lack an editor who will bring to his task sound historical sense as well as a knowledge of textual problems; Origen has had no adequate interpreter for generations (though, it is true, we recently have witnessed the publication of a good English edition of the text of the “Philocalia”); the sermons of Chrysostom are all but a *terra incognita*, save to professed scholars; while last, but not least, we are still waiting for the completion of a worthy edition of Eusebius's “Church History” in the great Berlin series now being issued. The Germans have spent time and portentous energy in issuing patristic texts; but commentators are still to seek, whether in Germany or the British Isles. What is needed is, perhaps, a committee of competent scholars who will map out some definite portion of the field to be surveyed, and then entrust the carrying out of the scheme to sub-committees of specialists. Thus, one scholar might be made responsible for MSS. collations; another for ransacking the periodical literature, both English and foreign, for information bearing on the author under consideration; another for making digests of notes of former scholars, sifting out and retaining only what was permanently valuable; another for drawing up full indices and onomastica. The material thus brought together by individuals would, before being printed, be discussed by the committee as a whole, and the various questions that arose—archæological, philological, exegetical, and textual—be fully dealt with. In this way a vast number of authors, whose names even are but little known to-day, would be brought within reach; and men would read, *e.g.*, Josephus, Plotinus, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Cyprian, as they now read Persius and Manilius, and to much better result.

Holding these views, we believe that the publication of the seventh book of the “Miscellanies” of Clement, illustrated by the commentaries of such scholars as Hort and Mayor, is a most welcome sign of the times. Not only has Dr. Mayor printed the notes of the late Professor Hort pretty well in their entirety, but he has added a number of most valuable comments of his own, while he has further gratified the student by printing opposite the Greek text a careful English translation. For this we are thankful. Clement is a most difficult writer, and one is frequently apt—unless uncommonly well acquainted with his diction—to go adrift, and miss the sense of a passage. In fact, Dr. Mayor has done his work with exemplary thoroughness—a thoroughness which his editions of Cicero's “De Natura Deorum” and of the Epistle of “St. James” would naturally lead us to expect.

The Introduction—which runs to over a hundred pages—consists of five main sections: (1) The Title “Stromateis”; (2) Influence of Greek Philosophy on the Theology and Ethics of Clement; (3) Clement and the Mysteries; (4) Estimates of Clement; (5) The Text of the “Stroma-

teis." Following on these comes an elaborate analysis of Book VII; then we have the text and translation together on corresponding pages. This is followed, first, by the full and helpful commentary, and then by three appendices, two grammatical, the third "On the Relation of the Agape to the Eucharist in Clement." The book concludes with an index of quotations (there is a noteworthy crop from Plato), and with two indices—one of Greek words, admirably complete, and almost exhaustive; the other an index of subjects and of grammar.

To the question that may perhaps be asked, "What is the 'Stromateis'?" we can hardly do better than give Bishop Westcott's words by way of reply: "The 'Stromateis' is an endeavour to claim for the Gospel the power of fulfilling all the desires of men, and of raising to a supreme unity all the objects of knowledge in the soul of the true Gnostic. . . . Clement affirmed once for all that Christianity is the heir of all past time and the interpreter of the future."

We cannot close this brief and inadequate notice of a remarkable piece of scholarship without a word of sincere thanks to Dr. Mayor for the labour he has so fruitfully expended upon it. That this book may be the forerunner of similar scholarly editions of the masterpieces of "patristic," must be the earnest wish of every sincere student.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

