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ART. I.—GETHSEMANE.

THERE are two great scenes of conflict in our Lord's earthly life, the one at the beginning and the other at the end of His ministry. In the first He was tempted to accomplish His work as Saviour by wrong means and for selfish ends. In the last He was tempted to forego that work altogether. In the first He was tempted to a carnal use of Divine gifts, to presumption, to worldly ambition—to win the conquest of a world, not by submission and suffering and the Cross, but by alliance with the Kingdom and Power of Darkness. In the last He was tried by the shrinking of His human nature from the bitter anguish and horror of a death in which He was to be made a sacrifice for human sin.

But it is not only the nature of the two temptations which is different: the manner in which our Lord meets them is different, and is surely of the deepest significance. In the first, however galling the arrows of temptation, we read of no weakness, no shrinking, no hesitation. Hateful as the suggestions of evil must have been to His pure and spotless nature, there is no trace of the soreness and the pain of conflict. Jesus is throughout the Conqueror, serene in His majestic power and in the certainty of victory. Each temptation is met and mastered as soon as it is presented. Filled with the Spirit who descended upon Him at His baptism, He is "led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil." In the strength of the Spirit He encounters His adversary. Armed with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, He silences and drives away the Evil One. "The Devil leaveth Him, and behold angels came and ministered unto Him."

But it is not so in the closing scene. As He passes within the shadow of death, a horrible dread overwhelms Him. "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death" is His confession, and He casts Himself down with His face upon the earth, and pleads with His Father in the bitter anguish of His spirit. "O My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me!"

And as there was this shrinking of the human nature, this sorrow, this darkness, so there was also here what there had not been before, the craving for human sympathy. In the first conflict Jesus was alone in the wilderness: in the last He takes with Him His chosen disciples, to be the witnesses of His agony. If He leaves them to pray, He returns to them for relief. He clings to these poor weak human friends as if they could lighten His burden; He tears Himself from them (such is the exact force of the word which St. Luke employs), and again wrestles with His Father in prayer; and when He finds them unable to bear the burden of His great grief, and asleep through sorrow, He pleads with them: "Simon, sleepest thou? Could ye not watch with Me one hour?"

Is there not a profound mystery here? Why is it that there is now this sorrow, this anguish, this fervent prayer that the cup may be taken away? Why is it that even the very thought and prospect of this last agony seems to disturb the spirit so calm in its deep repose and in the sense of its union with the Father? Even before this He had said, looking forward to His last hour, "I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" as though He would shorten if He could the passage, and meet the bitterness at once. And again, drawing yet nearer to the end, as with prophetic eye He beholds the glorious issue of His redeeming work, and can say, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit," the cold shadow passes over His soul, the human nature shrinks: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour." "He saw it afar off, and—if we may venture to say it—was eager to have it over. When it came near, it filled Him with agitation, and at last with terror."¹

Contrast His words in Gethsemane with those He had uttered just before. Read that wonderful prayer of solemn self-consecration which, as the great High Priest of His Church, He offers to the Father. How sublime it is in its assertion of perfect union with the Father, how unhesitating in the consciousness

¹ See Dale on the "Atonement," p. 54.

of a work fulfilled, a God glorified, a Church gathered in to be united for ever in the same mysterious oneness as that which unites the Father and the Son! If there is indeed the remembrance in those words, "For their sakes I sanctify Myself," that He is the Victim as well as the Priest; if, when He says "And now I come to Thee," He knows it must be through the shame and the scourging and the Cross, yet there is no trouble on the Spirit, no conflict in the soul of the Redeemer. The love of His Father fills His heart; union with His Father and His brethren, the Father's name manifested unto them, the life eternal and the glory given them—these swallow up all other thoughts.

And yet He who says, "Father, glorify Thy Name, glorify it in the redeeming death, as well as in the victorious life, in the victorious life in and through the redeeming death"; He who says, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me," signifying thereby what death He should die; He who knew all the blessedness of that redeeming work in rescuing the miserable captives of Satan from his cruel thralldom and making them free with the blessed freedom of God's elect; He who knew all the glory that should follow when He and they should sit down together in His Father's kingdom, yet trembles at the last, and is "amazed and is exceeding sorrowful even unto death" when the awful shadow of the Cross falls upon His soul.

The brightness of the vision has faded; the glory is hidden; the conflict and the sorrow have shut it out. There is the cry of the human spirit in its agony: "O My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me."

Men have found this strange. Cold critics would even persuade us that only one of these two portraits can be true. Either Jesus never uttered that Divine prayer, or He did not wrestle thus with death in Gethsemane. And yet surely one hour of Christian experience may convince us how worthless such criticism is. Have we never known what it was in communion with God to gain some self-conquest, to obtain the power from Him for some self-sacrifice? Have we never known the joy of that self-surrender, the nearness to our Father, the blessedness of a sense of union with Him? And then has there not come the reaction? Has not the human nature reasserted itself? Has not the sacrifice and the self-surrender appeared in all its painfulness, in all its opposition to the flesh? and in the anguish of our heart we have been ready to say: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me."

So, too, from that serene height of heavenly communion with the Father, Jesus, like us, must descend into the cold,

dark valley of the shadow of death, in this, as in all things else, our example and our sympathizing High Priest.

Dare we ask why is this? What means this fear, this mortal agony? May we presume with all reverence and all humility to ponder the mystery? I know we cannot comprehend it. He who lies there with His face on the ground in the cold night amid the olives of the garden is God as well as Man. He is God, or He is not our Saviour; He is God, or His agony to us is nothing worth, for it has not redeemed us from our sin. But therefore, also, we cannot explain it. You cannot fathom a Divine sorrow, you cannot comprehend the mystery of a Divine darkness; we might as well hope to fathom the deep of the sea with our outstretched arm, or to compass it about with the swaddling bands of an infant. Surely if all sorrow is a sacred thing, not to be rudely and harshly intruded upon, and if the deeper the character and the more real the grief, the less it admits of vulgar sympathy, so much more must the anguish and sorrow of the Divine Sufferer be above the reach of our comprehension.

But *this* we do know, that His sorrow was not a selfish sorrow, but a sorrow for our sins. Jesus did not shrink from the bodily pain He was about to endure. He did not dread death merely as death. It was not even the shamefulness of such a death from which He recoiled, though, to the keen sensibility of a perfect nature, that may have been more terrible, perhaps, even than the physical anguish; it was not because it was a death in which He was reckoned as a malefactor, or because it was inflicted by the hands of those whom He had spent His life in blessing—it was not all this that made the Saviour's soul so heavy. It was not for this that He began to be "amazed and exceeding sorrowful"; it was not this that made him seek the companionship and the sympathy of His chosen disciples; it was not this which cast Him on His face to the ground, and wrung from Him the bloody sweat, and forced from His lips the prayer, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from Me." Then He would have been weaker than the tender maiden and the boy who have died for His Name; then His courage would have been less than the courage of a Socrates or a Seneca. If with strong crying and tears He made supplication to Him who was able to save Him from death, yet it was not the physical pain even of crucifixion from which He prayed for deliverance. It was because His death was an expiation, was an atonement for sin; it was because upon Him, the innocent Victim, the Lord laid "the iniquities of us all."

It was because "He made His soul an offering for sin"; because "He bare our sins in His own body on the tree," "and

gave His life as ransom for many." It was because God "made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." But though Holy Scripture tells us this, it is difficult for us to comprehend fully the mystery of our Lord's agony, nor, indeed, could we ever presume to do so. But in order that we may more nearly understand the greatness of the temptation, I would suggest comparing it yet again with the first temptation. I do not think that that was a light temptation. I did not mean so to represent it. I believe that the suggestions of the Evil One must have been infinitely hateful to our Lord's pure human soul. But, still, those suggestions were all to gratify human nature, and in so doing to commit sin, which, if not in itself evil, was evil in the particular circumstances in which our Lord was placed—evil as contrary to the ends and purposes of His ministry and to His Father's will concerning Him. But notice the peculiarity of this last temptation. It was addressed to that which was purest and holiest in Him. The terribleness of it was this—that He in His holy, spotless soul was brought into direct and immediate contact with the whole power of evil, as a thing with which He was to identify Himself and make it His own.

If He refused, He would apparently be *severing Himself from evil*. Do we not see that the recoil here from submission was in itself a right recoil? If it be true that the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness of men, and if the mind of our Lord was in perfect accordance, as we know it was, with the mind of the Father, then how intense must have been His abhorrence of the sin, how fearful to make it His own.

In the wilderness He was tempted to assert Himself, to prove, as it were, to Himself and to the world that He was the Son of God and the Messiah of His people—by the extraordinary splendour of His gifts, to inaugurate a reign of visible majesty upon earth. In the garden the temptation is far more subtle. It is to *recoil from evil*. It is to have nothing to do with sin, because sin is hateful. It is to shrink from the contamination. It is, not to put forth supernatural power, but to manifest everlasting holiness. It is to forsake sinners rather than take the burden of their sin. What could be more awful than for the infinite holiness of God to make all evil its own, that so the evil might be put away? And here was the greatness of the love, here the perfection of the obedience, that, in order to accomplish man's salvation, Christ did not shrink from this extremest test, this last suffering, this bitterest agony, that, being "made sin for us," He might

save us from sin. I believe that in this lay the supremest agony of those moments in Gethsemane.

Dr. Dale, in his masterly work on the "Atonement" (pp. 60-62), finds the explanation of the agony in the garden in Christ's foreknowledge of the awful separation from His Father on the Cross; that in the hour of darkness, at the very time when He knew He was accomplishing His Father's will, yet He must lose the comfort and blessedness of God's presence and love.

To me this view seems inconsistent with our Lord's words in St. John xvi. 32: "Behold the hour cometh, yea, is come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave Me alone: and yet *I am not alone, because the Father is with Me.*" He knew that He should be forsaken of *men*, that all human sympathy would fail Him when He most needed it; but there is no hint given us anywhere that He foresaw the severance of the blessed union with the Father, else how can we explain the mysterious cry wrung from Him on the Cross, "My God, My God, *why* hast Thou forsaken Me"? I cannot help thinking that the explanation which I have suggested is alone consistent with the Gospel accounts.

But Holy Scripture casts another light upon our Lord's sufferings—tells us of another meaning in them which we must not forget. Holy Scripture tells us that those sufferings were necessary for Him in order to the perfection of His human nature, and necessary also that we might have the perfection of His sympathy in our trials. They were necessary for Him in order to the perfection of His human nature. "Though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things that He suffered, and being made perfect He became the Author of Eternal Salvation to all that obey Him." This is what we are told. Let us try to understand it. Mysterious as it seems, the truth is certain.

We must notice, then, first that there is a difference between sinlessness and perfection. Adam in Paradise was sinless, but Adam in Paradise was not perfect. He was sinless because he was created in the image of God, but he was not perfect, because he had never been put to the test. Perfection implies growth and development in the moral and spiritual being; these imply choice deliberately exercised, and choice deliberately exercised implies temptation and trial. Without this, in the absence of struggle and conflict, in the absence of the pain of resistance to evil and the perseverance in that which is right, there can be no victory. The fibres of the moral being have not been tested. Hence, as there was in our Blessed Lord that growth in wisdom which was evidence that His Divine nature did not supersede or dispense with the

laws of His human nature, so likewise He encountered temptation and trial in order that, being in *all things* made like unto us, He might for us and in our nature overcome temptation, and thus through temptation be made perfect.

But also this trial was necessary to the perfection of His human sympathy; necessary in order that He might be a faithful and merciful High Priest; necessary that, having suffered being tempted, He might be able to succour them that are tempted. For we must feel that Divine succour is not enough. The poor crushed, bleeding human heart craves the sympathy of a heart like its own. It cannot rest on the arm of Omnipotence if it does not know whether that Omnipotence can be touched with a feeling of its infirmities. And there is nothing more precious in the record of our Lord's agony in the garden than the assurance that it gives us of His perfect sympathy with us—of His sympathy with us in our loneliness, and His sympathy with us in our sorrow.

To conclude, let me say that if we cannot fully understand the agony in Gethsemane, yet we can at least adore the love, we can at least catch some glimpse of the greatness of the sacrifice. That my sin occasioned this awful sorrow gives me at least some measure of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. That He, the Holy One of God, should have identified Himself with my sin, borne it in His own body, put it away by the sacrifice of Himself; that to redeem me the Son of God Himself was made sin in my flesh—this is a revelation of the love of God which must touch any heart not altogether callous and insensible. And I can thankfully lay hold of this fact even if I cannot interpret it; I can feel the love; I can cast my soul upon it for life or for death; I can say, "He loved me, and gave Himself for me."

J. J. S. PEROWNE,
Bishop.

ART. II.—THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

THE publication of Dr. Driver's book on Genesis, in the series called the "Westminster Commentaries," edited by Dr. Lock, prefaced by what we would venture to call a somewhat diplomatic utterance from the general editor, coming as it does after a long interval, during which no leading commentary on this book, which has continued to hold the field, has appeared in England, will naturally arouse a fresh interest in the many debatable subjects which gather around its treatment, and perhaps call for their reconsideration or their retreatment on other lines.

One thing we may be quite sure of—that in the treatment of the subject in hand, neither the general editor nor the editor of this particular book would tolerate anything but reverential handling of a book which both alike would declare to have manifest in it “the presence . . . of the purifying and illuminating Spirit of God” (p. xi).

The only remarks we feel inclined to make about Dr. Lock’s prefatory note are with reference to the words he puts into the mouths of the scientific student and the historical student. No doubt the book “touches science, archæology, and history” (p. vi). What, then, are the students of these subjects to say? We should be inclined to put the statements into a somewhat different form :

1. The scientific student may say : “This is certainly not a scientific manual in any sense of the word ; its account of natural phenomena does not claim to be scientific, and is clothed in other than scientific language. You must not look in it, then, for scientific statements.” This is obvious, just as it is clear that the connection between proper names and the explanation given of them is not governed by the rules of scientific philology. It is much more of the nature of *paronomasia*.

At the same time, the non-scientific man must not be alarmed by some of the statements made on behalf of science. Science has not arrived on all points at absolute truth. It has very often to use working hypotheses from which to start. Those hypotheses do sometimes break down, and even when they do not there may be something behind them still to be discovered which may tell us more, and give us higher and more absolute knowledge than the hypotheses do.

2. It is a little rash for the historical student to demand adequate *contemporary* support before commencing to build. Let it be as limited as you like as to time and place, but there surely must be some room for tradition and what it tells us. The amount of scope you may give to tradition will vary, but, after all, a considerable amount of history would have to be blotted out if we were only allowed to use “adequate contemporary support.” And then comes in the question : “What do you mean by adequate ?” Various views are taken of the same events in history by various historians, very often because they have been biassed by their own predilections, or for some other reasons, in favour of one “contemporary support” rather than another, and have held that to be adequate. Therefore the statement put into the mouth of the historical student (p. vii) wants safeguarding.

3. Dr. Lock does not put any statement into the mouth of the archæological student. It is difficult, perhaps, to distin-

guish between him and the historical student. We do know, at any rate, what the archaeological student must not say. Sometimes his monuments or other archaic remains will appear to tell a story different from that of the Bible. The great temptation is for him to rule that the monuments must be right and the Bible wrong. This he must not do; and we are entitled to ask him to maintain a judicious suspense as between conflicting records. It is what we are obliged to do even in the present day when during a state of war conflicting accounts of the same event, officially narrated, reach us from the opposing sides.

In this and following papers it is proposed to discuss some of the subjects that must necessarily come up for discussion in any treatment of this most important portion of our Bible. I propose to deal with these subjects very much in the order in which they occur in Professor Driver's book, and to begin with the

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK.

No one who reads the book, and considers what it claims to be, can help admitting that, whether, putting out of consideration some few later insertions, it was written by Moses, or in part by someone quite or nearly contemporary with him, or is a composite production gradually put together, it must in all reason have had authorities or sources behind it. It could scarcely be contended that all the information contained in it was a matter of directly Heaven-sent revelation. This is not the way in which God has ever dealt with men. He makes use of men and of men's works as they are. At the same time, this does not exclude a Divine revelation of things which could not have been known in any other way. If, for instance, there is an authentic account of the beginning of all things—we are not at present saying whether there is or is not—but if there is, it cannot be anything else than a Divine revelation. If it is not, then it is a fiction of the human mind.

But we have been tempted into a digression from our present subject. There are two ways in which a history based upon previous sources can be constructed. A historian can take those sources and construct from them a harmonious whole, which, however, will still bear traces of its origin. This is the natural process, and one which is constantly made use of. His own personal bias will lead the historian to make some features of his narrative preponderate, while others will be more in the shade. That is the way in which modern historians work, and it is the way in which the Books of Kings

and Chronicles were compiled, though at different dates. The Books of Chronicles have a sacerdotal tinge about them, and deal exclusively, or almost so, with the affairs of the kingdom of Judah. On the other hand, the Books of Kings have in many sections the atmosphere of the Northern Kingdom about them, and do not deal with much matter which the sacerdotalist editor of the Chronicles has introduced into his work. But both works alike profess to be based upon previous chronicles and records. Each compiler has made his selection, and that, too, from various authorities and in such a way as to suit what the Germans call his own *tendenz*.

But there is another possible way of constructing a history, and that is more what we may call a scissors-and-paste method. According to it, one document is taken after it has been in existence, we will say, for a hundred years, then it is cut up into paragraphs after a second document has been written, and parts of the second document are wedged in between paragraphs of the first, whilst others are pasted over parts of the first, so that you can only guess whether there is a superimposed portion over an underlying one, or whether there is merely blank paper below the portion of the second document. After another century this process is repeated again, and later insertions still are made. And all this is done, and a later compiler or redactor smooths over the points of junction between the pasted fragments, and the whole work is accepted as if it had always been the same, and not a word is breathed about the multifarious processes that the final work has undergone, lasting up to or even past (?) the time when a translation of the whole is made into another language in which the only difference of any importance is a dislocation in the order of six chapters out of 187.

This is in effect the treatment that has produced the Pentateuch according to the current view of to-day; and so well was the final editing done that about 2,000 years from the date at which the Pentateuch is certainly known to have been in existence in its present form had to elapse before a suspicion of such a state of things began to arise.

The reasons for the persistent advocacy of this view are not far to seek, and some of them have more to do with the contents and structure of the other books of the Pentateuch than with Genesis. It will not do to allow that the great lawgiver's powers of foresight were so great that he could look forward from the wandering nomad existence of the wilderness to a settled state, and in parts of his code provide for circumstances very different from those which were provided for at the beginning of his legislative period. It would not do to allow that St. Stephen was right when he said that "Moses

was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," even though it is E. (the second, in point of time, of the sources) that tells us that Moses was brought up as if he were of royal blood, and, therefore, in a country like Egypt, would receive a considerable education.

The facts that "(1) the same event is doubly recorded; (2) the language, and frequently the representation as well, varies in different sections" (p. iii.), may be true, but that does not oblige us *per se* to make the earliest of the documents, which is the source of the Pentateuch, date only from the ninth century B.C.

The question of real or apparent differences in these duplications is a separate matter altogether. The various uses of the Divine names are susceptible of more interpretations than one, and, judging by the way in which they are translated in the LXX., point either to a more varying use of those names in the Hebrew text before it was settled as we have it, or, perhaps, to a modernization to make it agree with the current use of the time when the Hebrew text was settled. But this, again, can be discussed without any *à priori* view as to date, as can the phraseology. And with regard to phraseology, it must be remembered that the Hebrew Bible gives us the whole of the extant Hebrew literature of the period, on any mode of reckoning, to which it belongs, and therefore a discussion of phraseology must have its limitations, from the nature of the case. Such a modernization as we have mentioned above is quite within the region of possibility in phraseology, as in other matters, and is certainly indicated in no obscure way in the account of the reading of the Torah by Ezra and his companions (Neh. viii. 8), and perhaps traces of it may remain in some of the variants given in the Masoretic Bible.

We are concerned in the present paper with Genesis alone, and we think we may take it that there are no passages in it which "reflect the ideas and embody the institutions which were characteristic of widely different periods of Israelitish history" (p. xvi). At any rate, Dr. Driver's Introduction does not give us any, for it allows, as is no doubt generally allowed, that certain isolated verses (*e.g.*, Gen. xxxvi. 31) may have easily been marginal notes that have found their way into the text. It is, of course, one of the difficulties of the treatment of part of a greater subject that such a point must be left undiscussed; but, we repeat, there is nothing in Genesis, putting these isolated verses on one side, and remembering how limited the whole extent of Hebrew literature is, to necessitate such a late date as the ninth century B.C., to say nothing of later dates still.

With regard to the name Yahweh, Dr. Driver makes this allowance—that it is probable that, “though not absolutely new in Moses’ time, it was still current previously only in a limited circle” (p. xix). The present writer’s view is that in the pre-Mosaic times “Yah” existed side by side with “Elohim” (Exod. xv. 2); that on the emerging of the Jewish people as a nation the name was at first יהוה, a form which agrees with (1) the explanation of the name given in Exod. iii.; (2) the archaic reproduction of it in the Hexaple; (3) the abbreviated form in Hebrew manuscripts of the tetragrammaton; (4) its appearance, it may be, in Isa. xxxviii. 11, where dittography has been invoked to explain the occurrence of יהוה, and that only later did the form יהוה become יהוה.

So far as Genesis is concerned, then, the origin of the book may be due to several sources, but there is nothing to compel us, treating that book by itself, to give it a later date than the traditional one.

If, then, we allow that Genesis has within it evidence of having been based upon previously existing documents or records, we have next to investigate the question whether those documents, as used by the author of this book, present us with a harmonious whole or are discordant in the story which they tell. The following are

ALLEGED DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE SOURCES.

1. The narratives of chaps. i. 1 to ii. 4a and ii. 4b to 25. The first discrepancy mentioned is this: “The earth, instead of emerging from the waters (as in i. 9), is represented as being at first *dry* (ii. 5)—too dry, in fact, to support vegetation” (p. 35). It would scarcely be gathered from this statement that in chap. i. 9 the command is “Let the *dry* land appear,” and that the first meaning given to the root verb from which the adjective is derived in the new Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, on the title-page of which the Oxford Professor of Hebrew’s name appears, is “to be dried up without moisture” (the word which is used in chap. viii. 14 of the surface of the earth after nearly two months’ exposure to the atmosphere after the flood, the word for its state when first it was exposed being a different one; see chap. viii. 13). The united idea of the two passages is something like this: The appearance of land from out of the waters; its saturated condition prevents growth; then its gradual drying, which if it had continued indefinitely would equally have prevented growth; then the mist, which makes a regular growth of herbs and plants possible. We have nothing to do here with what science may

have to say as to the process indicated. What we do say is that the two accounts are not contradictory.

The second discrepancy alleged in this same narrative is that "the first step in the process of filling it with living forms is the creation of man (ii. 7), then follows that of beasts (verse 19), and, lastly, that of woman (verses 21 *et seq.*)—obviously a different order from that of chap. i." (p. 35). But surely there is nothing of the systematic order of creation intended here. Just as much of the creation work as is needed for the immediate purpose is mentioned, and no more. Thus, when the naming of the animals is to be recorded, as their creation has not been mentioned already by this source, it is now set down. The various clauses of chap. ii. 19 are not necessarily contemporaneous. If we insert the personal pronoun before the word "brought" in the Revised Version—as we have a perfect right to do—this is made clearer. "The Lord God formed," etc.—that is one transaction. "And [He] brought them," etc.—that is another. We need not labour the question about the place in order of the creation of woman, for the Professor admits that, *if it stood alone*, it is capable of reasonable explanation. The only other point is the different conceptions of God. But so long as the two conceptions do not contradict or exclude one another, both are admissible. After all, if one source says "God said," and the other "God breathed," is not the language in both cases anthropomorphic, and do not both postulate a mouth for God? And if the narrative be read without prejudice, we cannot see that the Divine presence is "locally determined" within the limits of the garden. Certainly, in a later chapter ascribed to the same source (J.) the Lord is present and converses with Cain.

2. The number of animals taken into the ark, seven of each clean kind, two of every kind clean and unclean. Here, again, it is surely clear that the lesser number does not exclude the greater in particular circumstances, and that, in fact, such a greater number was imperatively necessary if the rite of sacrifice, which already subsisted (iv. 4), was to be kept up immediately on the exodus from the ark, otherwise the perpetuation of the various species could not have been secured. The two narrators, therefore, had two distinct objects in view—one thought simply of the providential perpetuation of animal life, the other of that and of the dutiful service of God which was required to be carried out.

3. The two promises of a son for Sarah—one to Abraham by himself, a second a reiteration of the promise to Abraham which Sarah overhears in the tent-door. The following statement is made about the two passages involved (xvii. 16-19,

xviii. 9-15): “. . . The terms used in xviii. 9-15 clearly showing that the writer did not picture any promise of the same kind as having been given to Abraham” (p. iii.). We certainly cannot follow this. The second promise to Abraham is more definite as to time than the first; and the asseveration “I will certainly return unto thee” (verse 10) contains an implied allusion to something that has preceded. Moreover, on the second occasion Abraham neither laughs nor expresses any incredulity. We are also told that there is “an accompanying double explanation of the origin of the name *Isaac*.” This is pure assumption, for the name “Isaac” is never mentioned in the second narrative, though in both cases laughter is mentioned; and husband and wife received the announcement of the birth of a son on the occasion of their first hearing it, as was perhaps natural, in much the same spirit.

4. As to the motives used to persuade Jacob to depart from Canaan and their discrepancy, there is surely a lack of knowledge of human nature. Have we never ourselves tried to influence a person towards a course of action by suggesting first one motive and then another when the first suggestion has failed of its object? Can we not imagine Jacob's saying, when flight from his brother's wrath is suggested to him, No brother of mine is going to drive me away from home; and yet, when another motive is suggested—that of getting a wife for himself—his being ready to go?

5. As to double explanations of proper names, Jacob might well look upon his second vision as confirming what he had already expressed belief in that the place was the house of God—Bethel. And as to the name “Israel,” what is indicated is perhaps that Jacob had not accepted the use of the name the first time of its being given; at any rate, we find Jacob called Israel almost immediately after the second occasion (xxxv. 21).

6. Lastly, it is stated that “in xxxii. 3 and xxxiii. 16 Esau is described as already resident in Edom, whereas in xxxvi. 6 *et seq.* his migration thither is attributed to causes which could not have come into operation until after Jacob's return to Canaan” (p. iv). Here, again, the extremely wandering character of the life of patriarchal times, as described throughout in Genesis, is ignored. Nothing is said—at any rate, in the earlier passages—of permanent settlement. In the first Esau is for the time in Seir; in the second he is on his way to Seir. It is only the third that speaks of anything but temporary residence.

After careful examination, then, of the alleged passages, we cannot admit that there is anything in them which compels us

to admit that any one is contrary to any other, though they may very probably be derived from different original documents.

HENRY A. REDPATH.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—DR. GIFFORD'S "EUSEBIUS."¹

THIS remarkable work will rank with the few really great editions of patristic literature produced by our generation. In point of thoroughness it may justly be compared with Lightfoot's "Ignatius"; and if in the historical reference it is inferior to Lightfoot's epoch-marking volumes, this is due to the fact that, primarily, the editor's object was simply to give an accurate rendering of the "Præparatio Evangelica" into English. We are glad that Dr. Gifford's first scheme became changed as his work went on, for, as he is careful to explain, the further his translation advanced, the more imperative he felt it to revise the original text. We owe it, perhaps, mainly to Dr. Sanday of Oxford that Dr. Gifford was induced to gird himself to the task of producing a fresh recension of the Eusebian text. That his work in this direction should have resulted in the writing of a commentary is not surprising, though it is surely a matter in regard to which scholars may feel just satisfaction. It is certainly safe to assert that one of the most valuable and interesting literary monuments of the fourth century has, at length, been dealt with in so sound and masterly a fashion. Scarcely any valuable contribution to the understanding of Eusebius's work, whether made in England or on the Continent, will be sought for in vain within the pages of this sumptuous edition. While it is never safe to predicate finality for any work of the kind, we may be pretty well within the mark in saying that Gifford's "Eusebius" will hold its own for the next century as the one indispensable edition.

Before proceeding to give a brief account of the contents of this *magnum opus*, a word or two may not be out of place as to Dr. Gifford himself.² Graduating at Cambridge in 1843

¹ "Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicæ Præparationis," libri xv.: ad codices manuscriptos denuo collatos recensuit Anglicè nunc primum reddidit notis et indicibus instruxit E. H. Gifford, S.T.P., olim archidiaconus Londinensis. Tom. I.: Textus, libr. i.-ix.; II., libr. x.-xv.; III., IV., libr. Anglicè redditi; V., Notæ. Oxonii: E typographeo Academico, 1903. Price £5 5s.

² I am indebted to Professor J. E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge, for courteously sending me a valuable note (reprinted from the *Cambridge Review*, October 29, 1903) relative to Dr. Gifford, both as man and writer.

(the year when Adams was Senior Wrangler) as Senior Classic (bracketed)—he was one of Kennedy's pupils at Shrewsbury—he first took a mastership at his old school; becoming, later on, Headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham (1848 to 1862). He was Rector of Much Hadham from 1875 to 1886, being succeeded by Dr. Stanley Leathes; and from 1884 to 1889 was Archdeacon of London and Canon of St. Paul's. His major works include an edition of the "Romans" in the "Speaker's Commentary" (next to Westcott's "St. John," this edition ranks as the most noteworthy of the contributions to that unequal work), a translation of Cyril's "Catechetical Lectures," and (in 1897) an admirable work on the Incarnation.

On October 9, 1903, "more than sixty years after his election to a foundation fellowship, Dr. Gifford was, by a unanimous vote of the college Council, elected to an honorary fellowship of St. John's. Thus, on this higher roll, as on the lower, his name will be associated with that of his friend and contemporary, J. C. Adams." *Sed hæc hactenus.*

Let us now turn for a moment to these five massive volumes, issued from the famous Clarendon Press. The first and second volumes contain the (critically revised) text, the third and fourth the translation (with marginalia), and the fifth the commentary. The entire work occupies nearly 3,000 octavo pages. When one considers all that is involved in the preparation of such a book, one is somewhat at a loss to estimate adequately the labour and time spent; our admiration is certainly not diminished as we reflect that the work is that of a man already past his eightieth year.

The introduction to the text (vol. i., pp. i-xlvii) is written in Latin, and gives us a brief yet sufficient account of the various manuscripts employed by the editor in the task of recension.¹ The index codicum enunciates eleven of these manuscripts. Three codices—A (Parisiensis, tenth century), I (Venetus, fifteenth century), and O (Bononiensis, thirteenth century)—have been specially collated for the present edition, for they (together with H, Codex Marcianus 343) are to be regarded as of fundamental authority. The rest of the critical material, as well as the different versions, have been duly examined and weighed, and a concise *conspectus lectionum* is exhibited at the foot of each page of the text as constituted by Dr. Gifford; who, further, has not neglected to insert

¹ The oldest and best manuscript of the first five books of the "Præparatio Evangelica" was written in the year 914 for Arethas, Archbishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocian. See an interesting note by Dr. Gifford in the *Classical Review* for February, 1902.

necessary references, that the reader may be enabled at a glance to detect every Biblical allusion as it occurs in the course of Eusebius's work. References are also given for all quotations from classical writers. This is no inconsiderable gain, and the careful student will be proportionately grateful.

The commentary, while not exhaustive, supplies all the material needed for forming a sound judgment upon the many and varied questions that naturally crop up in perusing an author so discursive as Eusebius. Exegetical in the main, the notes afford a large number of illustrative citations and parallel passages, collected from a host of authors, ancient and modern. Dr. Gifford modestly disclaims any special knowledge of archæology, philosophy, and the like; but, to judge from his commentary, he is equally apt in his quotations, whether they be from Plato, or Plotinus, or Lotze; and he rarely, if ever, slurs a real difficulty. Of how many commentators can we say the like?

In short, nothing that could usefully illustrate Eusebius's argument, or enable the reader to appreciate the exact bearing of his literary or philosophical allusions, seems to have been overlooked. The following may be taken as a fair specimen of Dr. Gifford's method as a commentator. It will also serve to indicate the scope of the commentary (the passage under discussion occurs in Book VIII., chapter vii., *μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγράφων ἔθῶν καὶ νομίμων, κἂν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῖς. ἅ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν*: which is thus rendered by Dr. Gifford: "There are countless other rules besides these, all that either rest upon unwritten customs and usages, or are contained in the laws themselves. *Let no man himself do what he hates to have done to him*"):

"ἅ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει. Cf. Tobit, iv. 15, *ὁ μαεὶς μηδενὶ πάσης*. In Matt. vii. 12 and Luke vi. 31 the negative precept is converted into the positive and stronger. Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, 95, 135, 272; C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 37, note; Isocrates, *Nicochl.*, 39 C, *ἂ πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ὀργίσεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε*, quoted by Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.*, liv., note 36, as occurring 400 years before the publication of the Gospel."

A good example of his historical or general notes occurs on p. 550 (*à propos* of the Great Year, *τὸν μέγαν ἐνιαυτόν*, xv., 54, c. 6):

"The Great Year is a term employed in several senses: (1) It means the period in which the commencement of the solar and lunar years were made nearly to coincide by means of an intercalary month or months. Cf. Smith, *Dict. Græc. and R. Antt.*, 'Calendarium,' 122 b. (2) 'The year which Aristotle calls the *Greatest* rather than *the Great*, is that in which the sun, moon, and planets all return and come together in the same sign of the zodiac from which they originally started. The winter of this year is the *Cataclysm*, or Deluge; the summer is the *Ecpyrosis*, or Conflagra-

tion of the World' (O'Brien in the *Manual of Geogr. Science*, i. 40). Cf. 415 d 4. (3) 'Censorinus (*De Die Natali*, c. 18) attributes to Aristarchus the invention of the *magnus annus* of 2,484 years' (Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, 'Aristarchus'). (4) Hippolytus, *Refut. Hær.*, iv. 7: 'They affirm that a configuration of the same stars could not return to a similar position, otherwise than by the renewal of the Great Year, through a space of 7777.' This is the same number which is given by Plutarch in the text. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.*, v. 105, says that 'the restoration of the Great Year takes place at intervals of 9977 years.'

In order to give my readers a specimen of Dr. Gifford's skill and care as a translator, I select, pretty well at random, this passage from chapter vi. of Book III., where Eusebius is arguing that Christians are fully justified in withdrawing from any merely physical theory of the Divine power, preferring, as they do, a truer theology:

"Must not the Gospel of Jesus our Saviour, our Christ and God, be great and admirable, as teaching all mankind to worship with befitting thoughts the God and Lord of sun and moon, and Maker of the whole cosmos, who is Himself high above and beyond the universe; and to celebrate in hymns, not the elements of bodies, but Him who is the sustainer of life itself and dispenser of all good things? For that Gospel teaches us not to stand in awe of the visible parts of the cosmos, and all that can be apprehended by fleshly sense, as they must be of a perishable nature; but to marvel only at the mind which in all these exists unseen, and which creates both the whole and each several part; and to regard as God one sole Divine Power, pervading and ordering all things, being in its nature incorporeal and intelligent, or rather impossible to describe and to conceive; which shows itself through all things whereby it works, and incorporeally pervades and traverses them all without intermixture; and, throughout all things—not only in heaven, but also upon earth—both the universal elements and the several parts, exhibits the perpetual mighty working of the Godhead; and presides over all in a manner which our sight and sense cannot perceive, and governs the whole cosmos by laws of ineffable wisdom."¹

Of Eusebius's work as a whole it is not too much to say that its main value lies in its *collections* rather than in the original matter contributed by the good Bishop himself. Eusebius does not shine as a profound thinker; his strength lay rather in the historic than the philosophic faculty. But he knew and valued the works of his predecessors, Christian or pagan, and his erudition was immense. Hence his work, as we have already indicated, is a perfect mine of quotation and extract. A glance at the index to the present edition will at once reveal how wide was his acquaintance with the polemical and apologetic literature, not only of his own, but equally of an earlier epoch.

¹ If we could suppose Pope ever to have read the "Præparatio Evangelica" we might conjecture that this chapter inspired him to write the famous passage in the "Essay on Man" beginning: "All are but parts of one stupendous whole."

Before closing this brief notice it may be as well—for not every theological student has been at the pains to read through the "Præparatio Evangelica"—to offer a short summary of the contents of the book and to indicate the object its author had in compiling it.

At the very outset Eusebius remarks that his purpose is (1) to show the nature of Christianity to those that are ignorant of its meaning; and (2) to prove that Christians, so far from having adopted their faith without inquiry or sound reason, have actually the best of all reasons for abandoning the worn-out teachings of paganism. Next he goes on to give in detail confutations of the inconsistent theology of the ancients, roundly arguing that "dæmonism" lay at the root of the system. When casting aspersions on pagan systems of theology Eusebius is evidently enjoying himself. He returns again and again to the attack. No doubt he was more than justified in his denunciations. By his time, the whole of these religious systems of antiquity were tainted, if not utterly corrupt.

What constitutes the chief value of the book in the eyes of the modern student is, of course, the fact that the author, in his refutation of ancient theologies, draws such abundant material from the actual writings of the best and most learned advocates of paganism themselves. The writings of Porphyry, for example, are thus largely utilized. Eusebius had certainly timed his book to appear at the "psychological" moment. Constantine was on the imperial throne; the persecutions (initiated in A.D. 303 under Diocletian) had ceased; and the longed-for period of repose (the "times of refreshing" of which the Apostle had spoken) had followed upon the fierce outburst of fanaticism that had marked the close of Maximin's reign. Nevertheless, though persecution had failed to exterminate Christianity, other weapons were available. "The old charges of atheism, apostasy, and hostility to the State, though often refuted, were constantly renewed." The enemies of the faith had changed their tactics; that was all. It was at this critical juncture that Eusebius stepped into the breach, and flung down the gauntlet in challenge of his opponents.

We may divide the contents of the fifteen books of the "Præparatio" roughly into five groups:

Books I. to III.: Discussion of the great systems of heathen theology.

Books IV. to VI.: Description of the Oracles, followed by an account of the opinions of Greek philosophers on Fate and Freewill.

Books VII. to IX.: Reasons for abandoning ancestral religions and preferring the doctrines of the Jews.

Books X. to XII.: Arguments to prove that what was good in Greek theology was borrowed from the Jews.¹

Books XIII. to XV.: Comparison instituted between Plato and Moses.

From the nature of the method adopted, not much scope is afforded Eusebius for exercising the graces of literary style. Indeed, he appears rather in the position of an editor than an original author. The title of his book might almost be "Selections from Pre-Christian Writers on the Divine Government of the World, with Illustrative Comments." Certainly the book, though quite invaluable as an armoury of quotations—many of them from writers whose works have been lost, and whom we know solely through this medium—is not attractively put together. There is a lack of cohesion about it, scientific method is often conspicuously absent, and the quoted passages (especially in the later books) frequently do not seem very relevant. The perusal of a number of long passages, sometimes but remotely bearing on the point Eusebius wishes to elaborate, is apt to become wearisome.

He does not seem, one must admit, always scrupulously just to opponents, though his admiration for Plato is evidently sincere. Frequently we miss any really adequate appreciation of the problem of religion in pre-Christian ages; there is a tendency to sweep all religions together (the Jewish alone excepted) as so much tares and darnel, without a whole-hearted effort to get at the real residuum of truth underneath. At least, that is the impression left upon my mind after attentively reading the entire work. It is also sufficiently obvious that the collections of passages from previous writers have *for us* rather a linguistic, or historical, or antiquarian than a strictly apologetic interest—so wide is the gulf that separates us, in the theological reference, from the early days of the fourth century.

I had marked a number of passages, presenting points of varied interest, that I had hoped to touch upon in the course of this notice—for example, the criticism of Aristotle in Book XV.; the attempt to square Platonism with Mosaism in Book XI. (see especially chapter xxiii.); the remarks on Fate and Freewill in Book VI., chapter vi.; and the very noteworthy chapters on the primitive theologies of Egypt and Phœnicia in Book I. But the reader who desires to hear further on these subjects will naturally turn to the book itself. It remains but to ask, What is Eusebius's place in

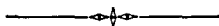
¹ And, as Eusebius almost implies, was "spoiled in the process." The less prejudiced and better informed scholarship of modern times has shown the untenability of this hypothesis.

history? First, in the "Ecclesiastical History" he has given us a work which is (to use Westcott's words) "the last great literary monument of the period it describes." That he should have written such a book argues many things; among them this, that he was a man of wide knowledge and varied attainments. As a matter of fact, he was not only an eminent scholar, but an accomplished "man of the world" in the best sense of the term. We may safely discount Gibbon's careless sneers at the honesty of the historian, when we remember the verdict of Bishop Lightfoot. It is certainly a noteworthy fact that, though Eusebius was suspected of unorthodoxy amid the confusions of the Arian controversy, and despite the odium attaching to him in consequence, no historian for nearly 200 years after his death attempted to rewrite the history of the Ante-Nicene Church and improve upon the work of the Bishop of Cæsarea.

We cannot close this notice of Dr. Gifford's great edition of so celebrated a work as the "Præparatio Evangelica" without cordially thanking him for this contribution to English scholarship. The need of new editions of patristic works is a crying one.¹ The Germans are content with monographs on various writers or critical editions of the texts. This is not all that is required. Who will undertake editions of the Letters of Jerome, of Augustine's "De Civitate Dei," of the Hymns of Prudentius, of the major works of Tertullian, to name but a handful? The harvest is ready; the labourers are indeed few. That the noble example of Dr. Gifford may stimulate our younger scholars to the work of investigation in the vast field of patristic literature, must surely be the earnest wish of every sincere student of antiquity.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

BORLASE, MARLOW.



ART. IV.—THE CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT.

FOR many months during last year there appeared each week in the *Daily News* the results of a census of those attending all the various "places of worship" in a particular district in London or the neighbourhood upon the preceding Sunday. These figures, together with certain chapters upon the conditions of religious work in the different parts of both "Inner" and "Greater" London, have recently been

¹ Something has been done of late; Hort and Mayor's edition of the fifth book of Clement's "Stromateis" is a case in point.

published in a large volume, entitled "The Religious Life of London."

The census appears to have been taken with great care. "In only seven cases," writes the editor, "were our figures disputed. In each of these a recount was made, which completely substantiated and verified our first enumeration. We were convicted of three errors on the ordinary returns, and four in connection with early Communion services."

It is, of course, quite easy to lay too much stress upon numbers, especially when these are used to measure religious *influence*. But numbers do tell us a great deal, and I think that these particular figures, which have now been tabulated and published in a very convenient form, deserve the careful consideration of all who wish to gauge the apparent "attractive power" which various religious bodies or movements have at the present time over people in general.

There can be, I confess, no greater mistake than to *limit* the influence of Christianity through "the Churches" by the numbers of those whom they succeed in inducing to attend public worship. As the Bishop of Rochester has recently pointed out, there is an immense amount of "diffusive" Christianity in the world to-day. Christian ideals and Christian standards, to a varying degree, and often quite unconsciously, rule the lives of thousands who never enter church or chapel. But this "diffusive" Christianity depends, not only for its efficacy, but for its existence and its growth, upon the lives, upon the example and teaching, of those who possess and exhibit an *intensive* Christianity. The diffusion of light depends upon the existence and activity of "centres of light," whence it is diffused. Christ is "the Light of the world," but He still walks among the lighted candlesticks, and He still holds "the stars" in His right hand.

And few will doubt, especially with regard to the generality of people, that when the religious life has arrived at a certain stage of growth it will manifest its presence by leading its subject to join some assembly of Christians. Thus, while we do not limit the influence of religion to those who attend public worship, we cannot evade the conclusion that the numbers of these must be at least some measure of both the extent and the strength of Christian influence to-day.

I have no intention of attempting to review this book as a whole, or even of referring to the immense number of interesting and important questions which are suggested by a study of the figures and the essays which it contains.

I would much prefer to limit my purpose to drawing attention to three important points which, among others, this study seems to force upon our consideration.

The *first* of these is the, apparently, almost universal failure of so-called "Church of England Missions"—that is, of services held each Sunday in buildings other than the parish church—*i.e.*, in mission halls, mission rooms, and schools.¹

The *second* is the, apparently, far greater relative success of the Nonconformists in attracting men to their services.

The *third* is the, apparently, enormous waste of resources, both in men and money, which seems to be taking place owing to the multitude of "small efforts," especially in connection with the Church of England.

I.

In dealing with these "Missions," I propose to consider only *evening* services, because the morning services in the great majority of these buildings are evidently, from the figures given, just children's services. The few adults recorded as present at the morning services will generally be found to have been officials—that is, superintendents and teachers.

As it is obviously impossible for me to consider the figures of each London borough in detail, I must content myself with quoting those of certain typical instances.

In the borough of *Stepney* there are 15 "Church of England Missions." On the Sunday evening on which these were simultaneously visited, there were present in the whole fifteen 226 men and 257 women (I am taking no account of the children); but of these, 133 men and 110 women are accredited to Christ Church Hall. This leaves 93 men and 147 women to be divided between 14 mission services, or an average of 6·6 men and 10·5 women at each service!

In the borough of *Hackney* there are 19 "Church of England Missions." On the Sunday evening on which these were visited the aggregate adult attendance numbered 194 men and 467 women. Here the average—about 10 men and 24 women—in each congregation is better, but it is still lamentably small.

Passing now to West London, we find that in the 8 "Church of England Missions" in *Marylebone* there were 103 men and 203 women, or an average adult congregation of about 13 men and 25 women.

In *Westminster* the conditions are rather better, for in the 9 "Church of England Missions" in that borough there was an average of 20 men and 36·5 women.

¹ These in connection with the Church are, almost universally, *small* efforts.

In North and South London the figures tell a similar tale. In *St. Pancras*, with 6 Missions, the average attendance was less than 10 men and less than 16 women; while in *Wandsworth*, with 10 Missions, the average was less than 9 men and less than 20 women.

That large congregations can be attracted into mission halls in various parts of London the following instances are a proof, though, unfortunately, not one of these instances can be found among the multitude of "Church of England Missions."

The most striking figures are those of the West London Wesleyan Mission in *St. James's Hall*, where the Sunday evening congregation included 800 men and 1,495 women. On the same evening the 9 "Church of England Missions" in the same borough (*Westminster*) had in them together 179 men and 329 women!

Another example is that of the Conference Hall, *Mildmay Park*, where the Sunday evening attendance is given as 763 men and 1,687 women. The same evening, in the same borough (*Islington*), there were in the 26 "Church of England Missions" but 366 men and 709 women.

A third instance comes from *Bermondsey*, where in the "Evangelistic Mission Hall" there were 359 men and 403 women. The same evening, in the same borough, in the 10 "Church of England Missions," there were 105 men and 233 women.

To arrive at the full significance of these various figures we must give a little exercise to our imagination. At the 26 Mission Services in *Islington* there must have been 26 men to give the addresses, another 26 men (or women) to keep the doors, still another 26 to play the organs or harmoniums, and, at the lowest computation, an average of at least 6 other persons at each service, who would help with the singing, collect the alms, etc. Added together, these various people, all in a more or less official position, account for 214 out of an aggregate of less than 1,100 adults. Had there been no Mission Services, the great majority of these helpers would have been at Church; hence we shall probably be justified in concluding that not more than 900 adults were drawn from the non-churchgoing population by these twenty-six efforts; whereas in the *one strong "effort"* at *Mildmay Park* we have 2,450 adults, of which not more than 50 would be "officials."

The Church may at the present time be weak in men who have the power of attracting and holding the masses, but she is surely not so weak as to make it impossible to find at least one man who, on a Sunday evening in each of the London boroughs (not, of course, always the same man), could

in some large and suitably arranged mission hall gather a congregation of at least 2,000 adults. But, of course, this proposal would mean a readiness on the part of the parochial clergy to waive (as far as this particular service was concerned) the rights and the etiquette of the parochial system. Would the clergy be prepared to do this?

Upon the question of relative expense it is more difficult to form a judgment, but, as far as maintenance is concerned, surely one large hall would not cost more than, say, six small ones. To the workers, a concentration of effort should be a real advantage, not only in the way of maintaining enthusiasm, but because it would bring together a greater variety of workers and work, and so would give to each worker a better opportunity of finding the particular kind of work for which he was best qualified.

II.

Upon my second point—that the Nonconformists seem to attract to their services a greater proportion of men than does the Church—the collected and tabulated figures give some remarkable evidence.

As I am thinking mainly of the industrial classes, I will again, at first, confine my attention to evening services.

At the various places of worship belonging to the Church of England in London itself—including cathedrals, churches, and missions—there was counted on Sunday evenings a total attendance of 51,324 men and 102,728 women; thus the number of men was just about 50 per cent. of that of women. If now we take the aggregate totals of the following five Nonconformist bodies—viz., the Baptists, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and the Salvation Army—we find that on the same Sunday evenings the attendances amounted to 56,508 men and 89,026 women, which shows that the number of men was about 63 per cent. of that of women. Among the Congregationalists and Presbyterians the proportion actually exceeded two-thirds, or 66 per cent.

Turning now to the figures for Greater London, which includes such places as Acton, Croydon, West and East Ham, Ilford, Walthamstow, and Willesden, we find the same results. The total attendances at the Sunday evening services of the Church of England in Greater London are given as 29,292 men and 61,958 women. Thus the men are here less than 50 per cent. of the women. Taking now the same five Nonconformist bodies, we find that the aggregate attendance of adults among them on the same Sunday evenings amounted to 30,320 men and 49,447 women, or again the proportion of men to women is above 60 per cent., while the proportion for

both the Wesleyans and the Salvation Army is above 66 per cent.

In order to test whether these figures were or were not due to certain particular congregations, I worked out the figures in detail for several of the London boroughs and suburbs. Of course, the proportions vary in different localities, but almost universally it will be found that among those attending places of worship on a Sunday evening the proportion of men to women is far larger among the Nonconformist bodies than it is among members of the Church of England.

It then occurred to me that these proportions might possibly be explained by the particular classes of society from which the Nonconformists are generally supposed to gather the greater number of their adherents—that is, from the higher strata of the working classes and the lower strata of the great middle classes—because it is of the members of these classes that a Sunday evening congregation is generally regarded as chiefly composed.

To test this question I worked out the various proportions of men to women at the *morning* services, with the following results:

1. For "Inner London": In the total attendances of adults recorded at all places of worship belonging to the Church of England on Sunday mornings the proportion of men to women was 55 per cent.

Among the Nonconformist bodies this proportion was as follows: Baptists, 85 per cent.; Congregationalists, 90 per cent.; Wesleyans, 95 per cent.; Presbyterians, 73 per cent.; while among the Salvation Army, the Primitive Methodists, and the Society of Friends it was in each case considerably over 100 per cent.

2. For "Outer London": The proportion of men to women in the Church of England was 58 per cent.; among the Baptists and the Congregationalists it was 83 per cent.; among the Wesleyans, 92 per cent.; among the Presbyterians, 71 per cent.; while among the Primitive Methodists, the Friends, and the Salvation Army, in each case it was above 100 per cent.

A comparison of these two sets of figures reveals some very striking resemblances, and the same larger proportion of men to women among the Nonconformists has been observed in other places where a census of Church attendances has recently been taken; *e.g.*, in York and Lincoln.

How are we to account for, or to explain, these figures?

That it is the duty of Churchmen to attempt, not only to discover, but to remove the causes for this relatively small proportion of men in our Churches, everyone will agree. This

will not be an easy task. As far as I have been able to test the figures—and I have tested them in a large number of well-known and representative London Churches—the small attendance of men is not confined to, or peculiar to any of the “schools of thought” in the Church. In fact, the more one tries to dissect, or to account for the figures, the more puzzling does the problem seem to become.

In St. Paul's Cathedral the proportion of men to women is above 100 per cent., while in Westminster Abbey it is not 50 per cent. Again, at the City Temple it is far more than 100 per cent., while at the Wesleyan Mission in St. James's Hall it is only just above 50 per cent., and at the Metropolitan Tabernacle it is a little over 70 per cent.

So far I have raised two questions: (1) That of the apparent failure of small Missions; (2) that of the apparent relative failure of the Church in attracting men of all classes to her services. These questions it surely behoves Churchmen to attempt to solve. The only solution which I can suggest lies in the idea of greater concentration of resources, energies, and effort. Is this possible? One answer to this question will depend upon the answer which is given to this further question: Is the Church at present employing to the best advantage the resources which she possesses? In other words, can we detect any waste either in men or in material resources? This leads to my third subject.

III.

At the present time we hear very frequent complaints upon: (1) The increasing difficulty of finding curates; (2) the increasing difficulty of meeting the expenses which the constantly growing number of “efforts” which, in a “well-worked” parish, it is supposed to be necessary to make and to sustain.

We cannot, of course, view the Church as if it were organized on the lines of a great commercial concern, to whose very existence “success” or “satisfactory returns” were regarded as necessary. Such a concern would have a central office, from which would be worked a great number of branches, with, at the central office, a board of efficient directors, who would be constantly “keeping an eye” on each of these branches, and sending to each the most suitable man for the special work of the particular branch, and who at the same time would be carefully regulating the expenditure at each point relative to the actual or possible “returns” at that point.

But we have been assured by those who ought to know that as a single entity the Church of England does not exist, but

that what is known as such is rather a multitude of small corporations, mainly parochial. In this fact lies the primary and greatest difficulty in effecting any economy either in men or money.

On p. 126 of the book before us we have a very striking illustration of this waste of both men and money. This page contains a table of the total attendances at every church within the City of London on a particular Sunday. The total attendances, morning and evening, at 54 Churches, including St. Paul's Cathedral, amounted to 10,561, of which 2,337 belonged to the Cathedral itself. Among the other 53 Churches were 18 at which the total attendance of men, women, and children at the two services did not reach 100 in any case—that is, less than an average of 50 persons at each service. Would anyone venture to assert that any one of these 18 Churches is necessary for the efficient working of the Church within the City? In the carrying on of these services between 25 and 30 clergy are employed, and at the lowest estimate the combined incomes of these benefices is above £8,000 a year!

At the City Temple, on the Holborn Viaduct (within the boundaries of the City), on the same Sunday, the total attendances at the two services were 7,008 persons (of whom less than 250 were children).

There is no congregation connected with the Church in the Metropolitan area which in numbers can compare with this. But is there any essential reason why the Church cannot do what the Congregationalists have been successful in accomplishing?

For £8,000 a year much could be obtained, but *only* if the money is used wisely, and certainly not if it should be squandered in a multitude of small efforts.

Where is the evidence that the Church is rousing and concentrating her energies to grapple with this problem? Where are the proofs that she is obeying the Apostolic command? It cannot be that she does not possess *ἀνδρας . . . μαρτυρουμένους . . . πλήρεις πνεύματος καὶ σοφίας, οὓς καταστήσωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης* (Acts vi. 3). But if the Church does not possess them in sufficient numbers, is it impossible for her to *train* them? Can she not “look out” men who show some aptitude for this work? and can she not find the means and the opportunity for them to give themselves “wholly” to it?

But when the Church has found both the men and the money, she must find, for the men, the opportunity. To finding this opportunity the parochial system as generally worked is, I believe, the great hindrance. This opinion will to the great majority of my brother clergy sound both dangerous

and heretical. "Then, would you abolish the parochial system," I shall be asked—"that system which has for many generations been the peculiar mark as well as the strength of the English Church?" I answer, "No." But I would not regard it as a *cast-iron* system, incapable of modification. It is in one sense "broken" to-day by almost every cathedral in the land; it is broken by dozens of so-called "successful" churches in our large centres of population, whose pulpits are occupied by earnest men who have learnt to speak to the people, so that the people flock to hear them.

These breaches of the system—at any rate, in the latter case—are not "officially" recognised. Under present conditions, those clergy who do "attract" large extra-parochial congregations are not generally beloved by their brethren. Now, I know of a crowded and poor district in which at least half a dozen Wesleyan chapels were struggling for what was little more than a precarious existence. In the midst of that district a hall was erected to hold 2,000 people; the right man was put in charge of it, and it is filled twice each Sunday, and often more than that in the course of the week. The result upon the neighbouring chapels has not been to empty them still further, but to make them—as auxiliaries to the large hall—far more useful, though in special ways. All this is the result of *concentration* and *specialization*, each centre doing one thing well, rather than many centres attempting in vain to do all things.

In many of the poorer districts in London and our large towns the same conditions hold good as regards the Church of England. The figures in the book before us show how lamentably small are the congregations in different parish Churches—*e.g.*, in Stepney there are 9 Churches where the recorded attendances of men, women, and children were at each under 200 at the two services; while at St. Anne, Limehouse, St. Mary, Whitechapel, and St. Peter's, London Docks, the attendances were at each over 1,000. In Bethnal Green there were 6 Churches where the average attendance per service was under 160; while at St. James-the-Less (Mr. Ditchfield's) at the two services the attendances were 1,700, and this number does not include the "men's" service in the afternoon, in connection with which there are 1,200 men on the roll.

Where, then, lies the difficulty of specialization of effort in the Church? Does it not lie chiefly in the parochial system? What opportunities has the single-handed clergyman in a town parish of specializing? Suppose he should attempt it, he meets at once with rebukes for neglecting some parts of his

duties ; at the same time, his clerical neighbours look very askance at him.

Then a church may grow gradually empty. Yet so long as the benefice is endowed, and the moral life of the clergyman is above suspicion, he is practically irremovable. But can we imagine the Congregationalists sitting down in despair if the numbers attending the City Temple should drop from 7,000 to 700, or the Wesleyans being content to see the congregations at St. James's Hall reduced to one-quarter of their present number ?

"But what," I shall be asked, "of the parson's freehold, of security of tenure, and of the rights of patronage?" "Does the Church," I might ask in return, "exist for these?" For what did her Founder establish her? For the people or for the clergy? Is the Church to be tied and bound by the financial and legal fetters of the past? Is her work to be hindered and her usefulness to be lessened by these?

I am not asking for the *abolition* of the parochial system; I am only asking for such *modifications* of it as may be necessary in order for the Church to do far better than she is doing to-day a very special work—that is, the gaining of a greater influence over the masses of the people.

This article is already too long for me to enter further into details. Such a book as this to which I have drawn attention at least helps us to see things as they are. And this is surely the first step towards our rousing ourselves to make them more nearly what they should be.

W. EDWARD CHADWICK.



ART. V.—STUDIES ON ISAIAH—IV.

ISAIAH AND HIS MISSION.

MODERN criticism claims to have "completely dispelled, on the evidence of the Bible itself, the view of inspiration and prediction" which has "long been held in the Church." It confesses that this view is "difficult to define." But it is explained to be "something like this: that the prophet beheld a vision of the future in its actual detail, and read this off as a man may read the history of the past out of a book or a clear memory."¹ It is always easy to refute a theory or doctrine when one states it in one's own language, and not in the language of those who hold it. But the theory

¹ "The Prophecies of Isaiah," by Professor G. A. Smith, vol. i., p. 372.

of inspiration which it is thus attempted to set aside is not "something like" what the writer has described, but "something" very *unlike* it. Nowhere, save in the prophecies of Daniel, do we find clear and detailed statements, like history written beforehand. The rest of the prophecies are shadowy, mysterious, broad in outline, and, as a rule, decidedly vague in detail, though occasionally, as every student of prophecy knows, certain remarkable touches of detail are introduced, which have been most wonderfully fulfilled in the history of One, and One only. So far from the "evidence of the Bible itself" "dispelling" such a view of prophecy, it has for nineteen centuries been held by men of equal or superior intelligence to that of the modern critic—men who are quite as competent judges of "evidence" as he can possibly be—to have established the fact that the prophets did foreshadow beforehand events which no "moral and religious convictions," however "pure," nor any "knowledge" they could have possessed of "certain fundamental laws of God," nor any amount of "loyalty to" such laws, could have enabled them to foresee.¹ That *some*—perhaps a good many—of the prophecies contained in the prophetic writings may be explained on naturalistic grounds such as these we are not concerned to deny. But that they *all* can be thus explained is a view which any candid and unbiassed inquirer can see to be altogether "dispelled" by the "evidence" Holy Writ contains. There is nothing in such a sweeping demolition of the prophetic element in Scripture, until lately believed to be one of the strongest evidences for revealed religion, which appears to us either "profitable" or "edifying," but much that is the very reverse. We put it to those of our countrymen who, as Dr. Pusey used to say, are wont to admit the force of an objection without seeing whither it may lead them, whether there remain any evidence for the Divine personality of Christ, any distinction, save perhaps in degree, between Him and other religious teachers, any objective authority whatever for the truth of our holy religion, if the evidence from prophecy, from miracles, from historical documents, and from the supernatural Divine guidance of those specially commissioned to teach in God's name—known hitherto as inspiration—be thus unceremoniously ordered out of court.

We hear a great deal about the "evolution" of Divine

¹ Professor G. A. Smith, "The Prophecies of Isaiah," *ibid.* The Professor goes on to say that "Isaiah prophesied and predicted all he did from loyalty to two simple truths—that sin must be punished, and that the people of God must be saved." That Isaiah was loyal to these truths is cheerfully admitted, but that this could have accounted for "all" his predictions is one of the many unproved assertions of the critics.

revelation in these days. No doubt there was such an evolution, though not such an evolution as the critics are willing to grant. The true evolution of Divine truth can only be understood by conceiving of the prophet as he has for 3,000 years been conceived of—namely, as the supernaturally inspired guide of God's people, and the authoritative unfold of the spiritual principles which underlie His laws. Modern criticism does not *disprove* his existence. It does not even attempt to do so, as any of its readers may see for themselves. It simply ignores it or denies it point-blank, and then, as usual, calls this denial a "proof." But on the assumption—by no means an unreasonable one—that the Jews knew as much about the course of their own history as a modern critic, the position of the prophet in the elder Dispensation is a cardinal point of the whole system. We read in Deut. xviii. 15-23 what his functions were. We assume, it is true, that Deuteronomy, by whomsoever written, was early and authentic. It has never been proved to be otherwise, save on assumptions which no one has a right to make. Moses, Deuteronomy tells us, was a prophet who spoke with authority from God. In time to come (there is no "vision" here, we may observe, "of the future in actual detail," "read off" as one "may read out of a book") another prophet was to arise, who should speak with at least equal authority, and, we may presume, should "set in order the things that were lacking" in the work of his predecessor. Meanwhile a succession of prophets was to be maintained, men who should instruct God's people in their duties; and a very simple criterion was given to the people whereby they might know whether they were to give heed to their teacher or not—namely, the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their predictions. This is part of the "evidence" which the Bible contains as to the facts of "inspiration" and "prediction." We may, of course, accept or reject that evidence, just as we may accept or reject the religion it presupposes. There is only one thing we are *not* free to do, and that is to overlook or ignore it. And this is precisely the one thing which the modern critic asks us to do.

A succession of such prophets, then, arose to teach, and, when need required, to vindicate the Divine "statutes and judgments." In the time of the Judges they appeared but seldom. At length Samuel arose, and his successful predictions marked him out as the coming civil and religious reformer of his day. But we may safely say that, had no Israel existed before his time, as some critics would have us believe, or had no Divine "statutes and judgments" existed for him to appeal to, his mission must have failed. The prophets gathered

round David and his successors at Jerusalem, and to them we owe the national records and their steadfast rebuke of backsliding, be it on the part of the king or on the part of his subjects. But, as has already been intimated, the reign of Ahaz was an epoch of dismay and degradation. Israel had been carried away captive, and Judah was committed to an apostasy more appalling than any yet experienced. It is at critical periods only of Israelite history that the supernatural element in revelation comes prominently forward. And so at a moment of overwhelming calamity such as has been described there is an outburst of prophetic, just as at other times there was an outburst of miraculous, energy. Hosea, Amos, Micah, and, above all, the great evangelical prophet Isaiah, are sent to warn the people of their danger. And this they do, not only by their moral elevation of character, and their crushing rebukes of sin, but by unveiling the future in a way which is altogether unexplainable by natural causes. One characteristic all the prophets had in common, and it is reflected in the Psalms, which translate the prophetic utterances into the language of the sanctuary. It is their profound conviction of the uselessness of mere outward observance when unaccompanied by the disposition to obey the great moral law which the Creator and Saviour of the Jews had given them. Such was the function of the prophets under the law. Such, as history tells us, has been the no less necessary function of the clergy of the Christian Church. And thus is manifested the unity of plan under the law and the Gospel alike. Institutions are given to men far beyond their comprehension or power to obey. And there is a Dispensation of the Spirit, entrusted to God's ministers, to unfold, or, as the popular phrase runs now, to "evolve," the hidden meaning of the Divine precepts, as well as to "hold the mirror up to Nature," and to convict men of their disobedience to such precepts as they were able to understand.

The well-known Church poet Keble describes for us the true idea of the "seer" as it is pictured, not by the modern critic, but by the Scriptures themselves. Every student of Holy Scripture will remember that the picture is based on Balaam's description of the nature of the prophet's vision in Numb. xxiv. 16, 17 :

" Oh for a sculptor's hand,
That thou might'st take thy stand,
Thy wild hair floating on the eastern breeze,
Thy tranced yet open gaze
Fixed on the desert haze
As one who deep in heaven some airy pageant sees.

“ In outline dim and vast
 Their fearful shadows cast
 The giant forms of empires on their way
 To ruin ; one by one
 They tower, and they are gone.”¹

Here, we may observe, we do not find “ details ” presupposed, or history written as “ in a book,” but the grand broad features of events in outline, though, as in Isaiah and elsewhere, sufficient details may be added here and there to convince the most careless, when the hour for fulfilment has arrived, that the Divine Spirit has revealed things to come by the mouth of His servants. We will add from the same poet another view of the prophet’s mission, which is not in conflict with that given above, but which completes its scope :

“ He on the rock may bid us stand, and see
 The outskirts of His march of mystery,
 His endless warfare with man’s wilful heart.
 First, His great power He to the sinner shows,
 Lo ! at His angry blast the rocks unclose,
 And to their base the trembling mountains part.

“ God is not in the earthquake ; but behold
 From Sinai’s caves are bursting, as of old,
 The flames of His consuming, jealous ire.
 Woe to the sinner, should stern Justice prove
 His chosen attribute ; but He in Love
 Hastes to proclaim, ‘ God is not in the fire.’ ”²

In other words, the prophet bids men understand the principles of Divine evolution—bids them look forward from the present proclamation of God’s wrath to a time when, under the dispensation of the Spirit, the voice of conscience shall take the place of the terrors of the law in determining human action. But we need not confine the province of evolution to the visible and natural. We may depend upon it that Imagination, and Awe, and Mystery, and Reverence, and Godly Fear have at least as large a part to play in man’s relations with the Invisible as the narrow deductions of a criticism which is strictly bounded by the “ things that are seen,” and that there are “ more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of ” in such a contracted “ philosophy.”

Of Isaiah’s life we have but few details, though even those are far in excess of what as a rule we learn of the writers of the Old and New Testament. Theirs was no vulgar ambition. They desired not notoriety or the praise of men. It was enough for them if they fulfilled the will of the Most High. Isaiah, we are told, prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, but he does not appear to have attained any remarkable prominence until Ahaz became king. Then he

¹ Keble, “ Christian Year,” Second Sunday after Easter.

² *Ibid.*, Ninth Sunday after Trinity.

stood forward as the antagonist of that monarch in his contempt of the Divine law. It seems most probable, as we have already seen, that the great prologue to his prophecies contained in chap. i. was written in that reign. We hear no more of him until Hezekiah succeeded his ungodly father, and Isaiah at once steps into the commanding position which he held during Hezekiah's whole reign. His influence with the king appears to have been unbounded, and its source was obviously the consistency with which the prophet maintained the superiority of obedience to the revealed law of God over all devices of mere human policy. It is, unfortunately, necessary in the present chaotic state of Biblical criticism to point out that the whole history of the relations between Isaiah and Hezekiah, as of those at an earlier period between Nathan and David, Elijah and Ahab, Oded and Asa, Jehu and Jehoshaphat, Jehoiada and Joash, are utterly unintelligible, except on the supposition that a religious polity was then in existence of a far more complete and extended character than the four chapters Exod. xx.-xxiii. (with the addition, according to some critics, of a few verses in Exod. xxxiv.). The question must be argued on far larger principles of historical verisimilitude than are contained in the cut-and-dried verbal analysis, and the equally cut-and-dried *a priori* objections, of the critical school.

It is needless to recount the further history of Isaiah, since we find it contained in the book attributed to the prophet. The books of Kings were apparently written by a series of men who had made good their claim to the title of prophet in the way prescribed by Moses, to which reference has already been made, and the historical part of the book of the prophet Isaiah, which is found also in the Second Book of Kings, is obviously Isaiah's contribution to the history of his country. The last time he appears before us is when he prophesies to Hezekiah, on the occasion of the visit of the ambassadors of Merodach-baladan, the future captivity of Judah in that city. To all but the *a priori* critic that prophecy, in the then condition of the world, as far transcends the limits of ordinary human foresight as chaps. xl. to lxvi. can do. It also forms a natural and fitting introduction to those chapters. So far, therefore, as it goes, this fact tends to support the theory of unity of authorship. There is a tradition that Isaiah was one of the victims of the furious persecution which, according to Josephus, Manasseh commenced against the prophets and servants of God. But there is no evidence on which we can rely for the statement. And it is highly improbable that so atrocious a deed could have been passed over without notice by the inspired historians.

We will add a few words on Isaiah's characteristics as a writer. There is a marked difference between his prophecies and those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah's personal feelings are continually expressed in his writings—his shrinking from the discharge of his uncongenial duties, his anxiety, his appeals for help, his outbursts of distress and apprehension. Ezekiel's personal characteristics stand before us no less clearly. The idiosyncrasies of the prophet's character seem often to have determined the form in which his message was delivered. Thus Ezekiel continually *acts* his message, so to speak. In other words, he is himself a figure or sign of the truths he designs to impress on others. But Isaiah lets drop no hints of his personal character or feelings. Majestic, impassive, eloquent, picturesque, he nevertheless loses his individuality in his message. And in this he is unlike any other prophet. And, be it further observed, these characteristics are as plainly observable in the last twenty-seven chapters of his prophecy as of the rest. Like Ezekiel, he has splendid powers of description. But Ezekiel's descriptive powers chiefly display themselves in matters of human interest, as in his graphic description in chap. viii. of the abominations wrought in Jerusalem; in his striking picture of the career of Aholah and Aholibah; and in his magnificent invective, in the form of a lamentation, against Tyre and the luxury in which she wallowed. Jeremiah does not often indulge himself in descriptions or figurative passages. His eloquence, which is undeniable, is of a different type. His best description is that in chap. xiv. 1-6 of the dearth; but its beauty consists, not in its grandeur of conception, but in its vividness of detail. Isaiah stands alone, whether it be in his powerful indictment of the iniquity of his nation, and their tendency to prefer obedience to positive rather than moral precepts (chap. i.; *cf.* xxxiii. 15; xliii. 23, 24), or in his vivid descriptions of Nature in its relation to man (chap. xxxv.; *cf.* xli. 18; xlii. 7; xliii. 19, 20; li. 10-12; lxxv. 19), of Nature itself (chap. xxxiii. 9, 21; *cf.* lv. 12, 13), or in his mode of putting his appeals and rebukes (chap. xxi. 19, 20; xxxiii. 14-17; *cf.* xl. 3-9; xxxiv. 3-11; *cf.* lx. 1-9; lxiii. 1-4), or in his view of the mission of the servant of God (chap. xi. 1-9; *cf.* lxi. 1-6). It needs not to multiply instances; every careful reader will be able to supply himself with them. The grand individuality of the prophet is stamped as clearly upon his prophecies as that of Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, or any other great and original writer, upon their works.¹

¹ It will be observed that these remarkable characteristics are found *throughout* the prophecy which has come down to us under the prophet's name.

A few words will be expected on the question whether, as has been of late very widely asserted, the last twenty-seven chapters of the book are by the same hand as the rest. It would, in the writer's opinion, be unwise to make questions of authorship, as distinguished from that of authority, into tests of orthodoxy. Nevertheless, it must be remarked that while it is possibly a matter of comparatively small consequence whether the latter part of the prophecy of Isaiah be by the same hand as the rest or not, it is a matter of considerable importance by what arguments the difference of authorship is supposed to have been established. Learned University Professors have been content to rest the distinction between the "first" and "second" Isaiah simply and solely upon the considerations (1) that in the later chapters the standpoint of the prophet is Babylon, whereas in the former it is Jerusalem; and (2) that in the former part of the prophecy the Messiah is regarded as one who brings salvation, in the latter He is depicted as the suffering servant of the Lord. With regard to the first, it begs the whole question of supernatural or spiritual influence. With Professor G. A. Smith, it assumes that miraculous vision of things future is a thing impossible, a proposition which no instructed Christian will be ready to concede. The second argument, if argument it can be called, is certainly not a little surprising. It assumes that a writer cannot possibly regard a subject from two different points of view—an assumption which to state is to refute. The writer of these lines has for years past been discussing the question of Biblical Criticism in the *CHURCHMAN* from the historical and literary standpoint. In the present papers he is discussing it from the point of view of prophecy. Therefore, on the principles of the University Professor of the day, his present papers cannot be his, but must be those of somebody else. Such logic as this it is which prevents the present writer, and urges him to the endeavour to prevent as many other people as possible, from being as content as apparently very many of them are at present—*jurare in verba magistri*.

Nor is this all. The supporters of the "second Isaiah" are wont to allure their readers, as one endeavours to capture a reluctant horse, by the argument that, after all, there are only two. But when one comes to look into the matter, we find that this is hardly an ingenuous statement of fact. The same principles which prove the existence of a second Isaiah are found to prove that there are three, and possibly several more, Isaiahs, who have contributed their mite to the common store. Mr. Skinner, in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools," tells us that "a little over two-thirds of the prophetic chapters" in the first part of Isaiah are by the prophet.

That is to say, about twenty-four chapters. And from these twenty-four chapters "stylistic features" are deduced from which we are supposed to be able to obtain a clear idea of the characteristics of the author's work.¹ The same writer gives an analysis of the contents of the "second Isaiah," which seems to be conducted on the principle that all similarities of expression between it and the former part go for nothing, while all differences of expression are vital; and that all the contrasts in style noticed by Dr. Driver are of consequence, while all the coincidences gathered together in Mrs. Jeffreys' valuable little book (the Hebrew scholarship of which is attested by scholars so well known as Dr. Sinker and Professor Margoliouth) are of no consequence. It is true that the alliteration which is so marked a feature in the first part of the prophet's writings does not occur so markedly in the other. Still, it *is found*, and it may fairly be alleged that the differences are no greater than might be expected in the same writer when treating of a different subject at a different time of his life. One of the coincidences which are explained away is the term "Holy One of Israel," an expression which only occurs five times outside the writings of Isaiah, and then only in writers subsequent to him.² The admission is made that "each writer is gifted in an unusual degree with the sense of sublimity," but "the sublimity of Isaiah's images is that of concentrated (often destructive) energy"—after exquisite pictures, such as that of chap. xxxv., have been eliminated, let us remember, and only twenty-four chapters left—while "the later writer's imagination revels chiefly in the thought of physical magnitude, the spacious heavens," and so on (in spite of the contents of chaps. xl., xli., xlii., xliv., xlvii., li., lii., liii.; indeed, pretty nearly every chapter of the "second Isaiah" bears witness, like the first thirty-five chapters, to the prophet's power of imagination and of forcible and minute description. Once more, we may note that the Jews were not inclined to allow their prophets to be anonymous. Even the one chapter of Obadiah was attested by the author's name. Is it likely that the greatest and most splendid of them would have been allowed to remain unknown? And *could*

¹ The parts of the first thirty-five chapters which are not by Isaiah are given as follows: xi. 10-16, xii., xiii.-xiv. 23, xv., xvi. (these chapters contain a postscript by Isaiah, xxi., xxiv.-xxvii., xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxv.). Of course, this list depends on the assumption that the prophet could not have foreseen the events which he predicts. It is odd that chap. xxxv., which is "post-exilic," is repeatedly quoted by the "second," or ought we to call him the *tenth*, Isaiah.

² It is hardly fair, it may be added, to select a few of the "stylistic" coincidences in the prophet's writings as the only ones which "arrest attention," and then to describe them as a "somewhat slender array."

he have remained unknown had he wished to do so? But what need of further discussion? This is not criticism, it is special pleading—the special pleading of the opposing counsel in the court of justice. The fact remains that in no other part of Holy Writ is there an instance of such magnificent eloquence, such fervid and vigorous appeals, such a thrilling power of awakening expectation and hope, such a descriptive faculty, such felicity of illustration, such poetic genius, coupled with such a sublime detachment of the personality of the prophet from his subject-matter, as is to be found in the writings ascribed to him.¹ The honours of minute criticism may, perhaps, be divided; the larger literary aspects of the question demand for the writer of the whole of the prophecies attributed to Isaiah a mind as capacious as that of Shakespeare. The matter of authorship is, as has been said, of little consequence in itself. But as an instance of the large assumptions, the narrowness, the one-sidedness, of the Germanizing school, it is well worthy of closer investigation than the actual importance of the question at stake requires. Without elevating the unity of Isaiah into an article of faith, we may still “refuse to believe” that the prophet was unable to have foreseen the coming of the “Servant of the Lord,” as well as the salvation which He came to bring. We may feel that, however the vision of the prophet may have been partially fulfilled by the types and forerunners of Christ, there was One, and One only, who corresponded to it in every minute particular, as the Christian conscience has acknowledged for nearly 1900 years. And we may note the fact that, as far as the question of prediction is concerned, it was quite as impossible to foresee such an extension of God’s kingdom among the Gentiles as is prophesied in chaps. xlix. and lx., and the idea of such an extension was as much, or even more, opposed to the whole tenor of the Jewish thought of the day, if we suppose the book of the prophet Isaiah was composed in the year 30 A.D., as if it dated from the reign of Hezekiah. If the naturalistic school is to eliminate prediction, it must make its “second Isaiah,” not post-exilic, but post-Christian.

J. J. LIAS.

¹ This part of the subject would repay special study. It will be observed that even in the short prophecy of Micah, Isaiah’s contemporary, whose prophecies, like those of Isaiah, are chiefly addressed to Judah, not only are Isaiah’s higher qualities distinctly wanting, but the personal element continually comes in. See chaps. iii. 1, 8; vii. 1, 7-9.

(To be continued.)

ART. VI.—THE PASSAGE OF JORDAN.

JOSHUA III. AND IV.

IN order to grasp thoroughly the details of this remarkable occurrence, it is necessary that we should have a succinct knowledge of the physical features of the Jordan and its valley, so as to be able to reconcile the apparently perplexing statements of the record with absolute facts.

The river Jordan is described to us by explorers as one that has never been navigable except by an occasional ferry-boat across its stream. It is one of the swiftest rivers in the world, as its gradient is a remarkably steep one. In the short space of its course between the Sea of Tiberias and the Dead Sea no less than twenty-seven rapids have been enumerated, and it is somewhere in a very limited part of the lower half of this course, opposite Jericho, that the scene of the passage is laid by the Scriptural record. Its valley varies in width, from seven miles north of the latitude of Jericho to about twelve miles between that point and the Dead Sea, though the greatest breadth of its perennial stream appears to be never more than about a hundred yards. It is impossible to gauge its depth with any attempt to draw an average, as it is so extremely diversified, and in no part of its course can its bed be described as uniform, the nearest approach to this being close to where its flow ends in the Dead Sea.

Under these conditions we should expect to find the floor of the Jordan's permanent channel where the passage took place, opposite Jericho, to be very rough and uneven; and if by any means we were enabled to witness a *cutting off* of its waters, such as was brought about for the Israelites' passage, we are forced to the conclusion that we should see innumerable holes, pools, scours, etc., where water would still remain, though the whole flow had drained off, and, correspondingly, huge boulders, rocks, banks, and ridges coming between them. The definition also of a ford (and there were many in Jordan) being *a causeway across a river, affording more or less easy passage to waders, and on either side of which deeper water necessarily exists*, it stands to reason that if the actual flow of water were altogether stopped the causeway of a ford would of itself present a barrier to the drainage of the deeper water above it, which would remain, albeit without current. And though many changes must have taken place in the actual bed and valley since this event, we can scarcely doubt that the main features of its course are much the same now as they were then; and we actually know that the river is

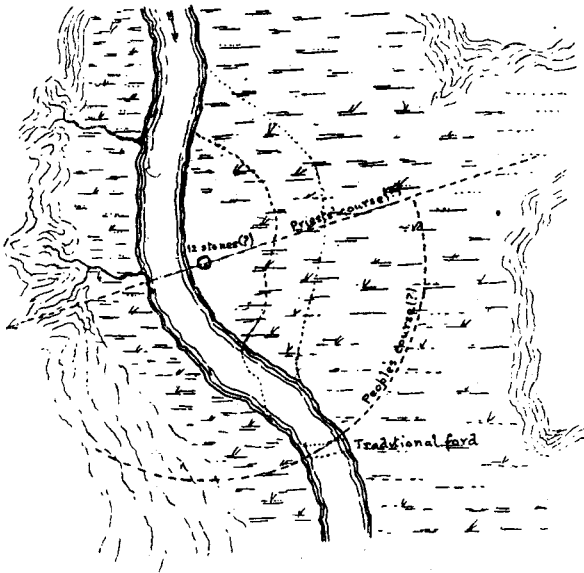
still subject to annual overflow at the same season, or time of harvest.

Let us now consider what the difficulties of the narrative are, for it is quite possible we may not have as yet seriously studied them. On reading chap. iii. we are at once confronted with the fact, in verse 4, that, though the waters were *cut off* for the Israelites, their passage across the river was by no means the simple one we might at first sight imagine it to have been. It distinctly brings before us an element of danger which was to be avoided, and for this purpose we are told that an interval of 2,000 cubits (about three-quarters of a British mile) from a fixed point—the spot where the priests halted with the ark—was prescribed to them to find the only way by which they could cross the river. And here we are shown that there were two lines of passage—viz., that taken by the priests and that taken by the people—for if the people followed the priests with the ark, and maintained the prescribed interval of 2,000 cubits between themselves and it, arriving on the other bank while it was halting in the midst of the river, the conclusion is obvious that the respective courses were not the same, but must have been different. And when we consider carefully what these two separate courses were, we discover that the problem enunciated in verse 4 of the record admits of no alternative in the construction of the figure to be drawn from it, which is practically—not taking the precise locality into consideration, of course—as shown in the accompanying diagram.

Let us now see what we can learn from this figure. Chapter iii., verse 8, which next engages our attention, tells us that the priests with the ark were commanded to halt at the “brink” of Jordan, and yet we find that they halted in the “midst” of it (iii. 17, and iv. 3, 5, 8-10, 18). There was only one halting-place, and it was round this one point that the people were to be careful to wheel, in order to “know the way.” Is, therefore, the term “brink” an unfortunate slip on the part of the narrator, or is it quite intentional in its correctness? If it is correct, as we believe to be the case, then both “brink” and “midst,” though such widely different terms, must have been used to denote one and the same spot, and that this is actually so the only figure (that shown above) which the text warrants us in drawing of the lines of passage puts us in a position to prove. All that we know of the state of the Jordan at this time is that it was in flood—that it had overflowed its banks at the usual season of harvest (iii. 15). The “brink” of Jordan’s permanent channel was not, therefore, the “brink”

("brim," A.V.) of the overflow water. We are not theorizing merely, but are putting forward plain statements founded on the facts narrated. The priests were not left to their own judgment of the point they were to halt at in a sea of waters—for the waters had not begun to fail when the command was given them—but they were directed to proceed to a point which was called the "brink" of Jordan, but which afterwards is called the "midst" of Jordan, and to halt there. It is very clear, therefore, that there must have been a portion

PASSAGE OF JORDAN



of the bank of the permanent channel which the flood had not submerged, and which was indicated to them before they started from camp. This unsubmerged piece of ground will be seen in the lower section of the above diagram illustrating the various water levels. We may infer also that at the time they reached the spot pointed out to them they could not have gone farther if they had tried to do so. It is not difficult to picture this knoll, or high unsubmerged bank, on the "brink" of Jordan's permanent channel, appearing above the surrounding waters, midway between the shallow overflow water on one side and the channel of perennial Jordan with its opposite overflow water on the other. The scene must be a familiar one to many of our readers, and it was precisely

this scene that was presented to the eyes of the priests when they received their orders to go on and halt at that spot on the "brink" of Jordan. This knoll, which must subsequently have assumed the appearance of a headland to the alluvial vicinity as the water drained off, was therefore situated within or in the midst of the waters of Jordan during its overflow, and it requires no stretch of ingenuity or imagination to see how both the terms "brink" and "midst" are indicative of one and the same spot. And, wonderful to relate, the connection of the concluding parenthesis of verse 15 ("for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest") with what precedes it, a connection inexplicable before the reconciliation of the two terms "brink" and "midst," is now clearly revealed to us. For the word "brink" ("brim," A.V.) in this verse, though its individual meaning is exactly the same, must not be mistaken for the same place as the "brink" in verse 8. This first "brink" or "brim" was the margin of the overflow water through which the priests had to pass as it was draining off before they reached the second "brink" of the channel of permanent Jordan. And verse 8 also does not leave us without definite assistance in the elucidation, for it describes that "brink" as being "in Jordan," a qualification which the overflow "brink" or "brim" could not possibly convey, and which almost of itself proves that "midst" and "brink" are used of the same place. And does not this revelation justify us also in realizing the truth of the narrator's record—undesignated as it appears to be—where he says (iv. 9) that the memorial stones set up in the midst of Jordan where the priests halted were still in position when he wrote the record? At any rate, we can more clearly realize how they could have been seen by him if reared on ground not liable to flood, than if they had been set up in the midst of a rapid river's dried-up bed, so as to have been not only uncovered—ay, though they were as large as Stonehenge—but also to have survived the ordinary, much less the overflow, volume of Jordan's water.

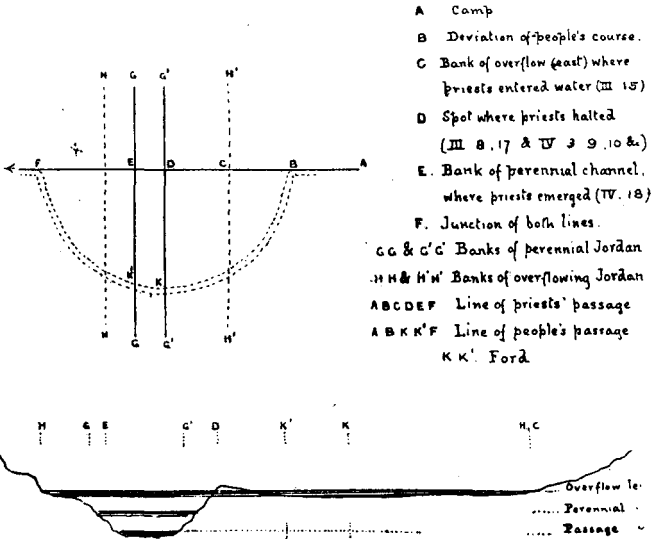
But we have not yet applied all the text to the figure we have drawn. If we may be allowed to paraphrase the warning given in verse 4 (iii.), it would run thus: Come not nearer to the ark than three-quarters of a mile, in order that you may be able to strike the only way by which you can go. And now we must take much more pains over the concluding sentence, as it is capable of three perfectly legitimate interpretations: (a) The first and all too obvious one—you have never been this way before; (b) the meaning—because in all your desert wanderings you have never passed this *kind of way* before; (c) the meaning—because you have had no oppor-

tunity of testing this way during the three days that you have been in its vicinity. We submit that this last rendering is allowed us if we make use of the alternate version, given in the margin, of the word "heretofore." And although we are aware that the phrase "since yesterday and the third day" may be merely a Hebrew equivalent for "heretofore," in the same way that the Homeric expression *χθιζά τε καὶ πρόιζα* is similarly used, yet it must be acknowledged that it is here most felicitous and appropriate. For the Israelites had been actually three days encamped in the vicinity of the river, and yet knew of no way of crossing it, as it had been, and was now, in flood. Now, if it had not been in flood, the priests would not have had to dip their feet in the overflow water (iii. 15) before reaching their indicated halting-station; and the people would not have been unaware of the existence of a ford, the only *way* of crossing a river where there is neither bridge nor ferry. Otherwise the concluding sentence of the verse (iii. 4) is so obvious as to appear superfluous if we do not attach to it the sense of which the whole verse is so suggestive, and which it invites us to take. There must, therefore, have been a ford, which was useless during flood, but which was really the only way they could go; and it is significant that local tradition should also point to the modern ford of *el Mashra'a* ("Bible Dictionary") as the scene of the Israelites' passage. When we reflect that many, if not most, of the fellahéen tribes of Palestine are of Canaanite descent, we must pause before we reject such local traditions, and we know that many of them indicating Old Testament localities are being proved to be substantially correct. But there is still more to be learned from our figure of the passage. It illustrates very forcibly, to all who have experience of such matters, a general and practical rule as to how a ford is to be found—viz., below the junction of a river's permanent channel with one of its own shallower or dry channels; and this leads us to the conviction that the semicircular course taken by the people enabled them to strike "the way" (ford) by which they *had* to go (iii. 4). Owing to their composition, they could not have proceeded along the same way as the priests went, and as the priests had to halt at the brink of Jordan, so would these have had to wait there till the water of the perennial current had drained off sufficiently, and even then it appears to us very doubtful if women and children could have crossed there *in haste* (iv. 10). We are not told of the period of time taken to cross, except so far as that they reached their encampment at Gilgal the same day; but that there was no time to be wasted is evident from the verse cited above. The economizing of time in the line taken by the

people appears, therefore, to have been part of the Divine plan, for we read (iii. 15, 16) that when the priests' feet were dipped in the overflow margin, that instant the waters began to drain off, or "failed." By the time they had reached the higher ground on the actual brink of Jordan, the shallow channel they had crossed was obviously the first to have been drained dry, though that before them was still deep. The differently constituted individuals composing the people following had need of the now dry overflow bed to enable them to exercise the maximum amount of speed along the devious course leading to the ford, which also may have become *quasi* dry by the time they reached it; though we are inclined to think there must have been some water still on it, albeit not inconvenient, on which their prescribed radius from the ark made it still necessary for them to keep to. Their safe transit across, however, was the signal for the priests to cross over—not by the same ford, but through the water of the permanent channel before them, which now sufficiently admitted of their passage; for that they went through water finally is evident (iv. 18). Then, as their feet were lifted out of the water on to the steeper bank before them, the water began to rush into its usual channel, and Jordan gradually overflowed its banks as before. When we couple the fact that the people were to be careful to preserve their prescribed distance as an index to the one way by which they could go with the fact that they had to use haste in their passage, we cannot conceive a more perfect design to economize the time than that exhibited during the period of the drainage of the water on both the lines of passage. But, it may be asked, why should the *failing* of the water before the Israelites be interpreted as a process of drainage? This brings us to a study of verse 16 (iii.), in which a graphic description is given of what took place; and if this description of what occurred were given us at the present day of any modern river, we should, without hesitation, attribute it to but one natural cause, that of a landslip; and we are in thorough agreement with those who have advocated this means employed by the Almighty as the cause of the failing of the waters of Jordan (see also CHURCHMAN magazine for October, 1903, "Miracles of Joshua under the Light of Modern Discoveries"). And, personally, we can offer our own testimony of similar occurrences in India being occasioned by the very same means. Let no one imagine that this natural means employed detracts from the greatness of the miracle, the notable feature of which was that it was designed to be coincident with the passage, where the details were so arranged

that they should not take longer to perform than the limit set to the permanence of the obstructive cause.

But before the priests left their station, twelve stalwart men, each no doubt picked as a peculiarly suitable representative of his tribe, were ordered to cross to where the priests stood, and fetch thence on their shoulders twelve stones to be carried to Gilgal, as a lasting memorial of the passage. It is interesting to note where the station in the column of this chosen band could have been. In verse 12 (iii.) they are merely mentioned as to be selected, without any duty being assigned to them, and it is only in the next chapter that



we hear of their being made use of. But the location of this verse between the 11th and 13th is very significant of the office for which they seem to have been chosen. Their position appears to have been at the head of the people's column, where they probably acted as pioneers and markers to the host of Israel, and were thus in readiness at the same place on the other side to carry out their duty there. The priests meanwhile had not been idle, for it was they, perhaps, who reared the second set of twelve stones where they stood, under Joshua's directions, which was the set reported to be still standing when the narrative was written.

It is quite possible—nay, even unquestionable—that the course of the river has undergone many stupendous changes since this memorable event. High banks have, no doubt, suffered detrition and wholesale demolition ; overflow channels

have silted up as to be rendered no longer subject to inundation, or may have become perennial channels as others have been obstructed. But, making allowance for all changes, it will be admitted that a stony eminence, bank, or island would not be so liable to wear as ground where there is little or no stone. There were stones on the very spot where the priests stood, and this might be some indication of the permanence of the spot ; so that, if it so happened that all the natural conditions accompanying the passage were discovered to be more or less present in or near the modern ford of el Mashra'a, the probability is that the limit of a radius of about three-quarters of a mile would sweep over the very spot where the priests stood with the ark. And it may possibly also be some indication to explorers not to expect to find any traces of these stones in the bed of the river, but on some higher ground not liable to inundation.

It would perhaps be interesting to readers to know that there is an island in the Jordan just above the traditional *ford of the passage*, though it seems that now the perennial channel is immediately on the east, and the overflow channel on the west of it. But these may have, of course, altered. Assuming the channels to have been as shown on our first diagram, that here presented will illustrate how they could be applied to the modern traditional ford.

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ART. VII.—ST. PAUL'S SIGNATURE.

THE following brief notes are an attempt to trace the evolution of the familiar prayer, "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," and the use of the phrase by St. Paul as his signature. The study is one of intense interest, and might be carried a good deal further, especially if any light could be thrown from ancient inscriptions on the method of writing the phrase. Up to the present time the facsimiles of the three great uncials—the Vatican, the Sinaitic, and the Alexandrine—in the British Museum are the only ancient methods of writing the phrase which the writer has been able to examine. Should any student who is more fortunately situated with regard to inscriptions be able to throw further light on this subject, it may help in building an additional line of defence for the genuineness of the two Thessalonian Epistles.

"The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand, which is the token in every Epistle: so I write. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen." There is nothing to indicate that these words are to be treated separately. Our custom of concluding meetings with the "grace" leads us to separate the two verses, but there is no reason why this should be done. The sense is in effect: "This Epistle was written by a scribe at my dictation, but that you may be certain of its genuineness the salutation of me, Paul, with my own hand, which is the proof of genuineness in all my letters, is added. I write the special words thus: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.'"

The first question that must be determined is whether "thus" refers to what has gone before or to what follows. That *οὕτως* can refer to what follows is obvious from a reference to the concordance and dictionary. The use here seems to be analogous to those instances where it introduces a quotation from the Old Testament, "Thus it is written." Nor can we doubt that the "salutation" is what follows, not what precedes, verse 17, because "the Lord be with you" is not a token in any other Epistle, excepting, with a slight difference, in 2 Timothy. But "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," or, at least, "the grace," is found in all St. Paul's Epistles, and all which are attributed to him in our English Bible.

Assuming, then, that the words "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" were intended to be and were a specially Pauline mark, as written by him, we can inquire into the matter of the salutation and the possible manner in which he wrote it. If we had the original documents we should naturally first investigate the manner and, subsequently, the matter of this token. As it is, our inquiry must be reversed. But even so, it will be found interesting, and may throw some light on the defence of the genuineness of the New Testament writings.

The phrase "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" was only possible in the Christian Church. It was not possible for the Jews to speak of the Lord Jesus Christ until Jesus had come and been recognised as Messiah and Lord. This is still the controversy with Judaism. Was Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth, Messiah? and is Messiah also Lord? We believe He was, and is, and because we hold that belief we are Christians. It is the corner-stone of the faith. On this the Church is built. The Rock is the Person in whom we believe; but the Church is the company of those who believe in Jesus as Lord and Christ. Thus St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, works up to this grand conclusion: "Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made this same Jesus

whom ye crucified both Lord and Christ." This is the climax of the Pentecostal sermon. No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost. The Apostles had spoken among themselves of the Lord Jesus when they elected Matthias, but their work was to convince the world that Jesus was Lord and Christ. So the healing of the lame man was a proof that Jesus was Christ. "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth doth this man stand before you whole." The evidence for that miracle was irrefutable; it could not be discredited. The conclusion was inevitable that Jesus was the Christ. The other work is harder, to prove that Jesus is the Lord. The great argument has always been the Resurrection. With great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.

It was the preaching in this name that the Jews forbade, but without effect, for the disciples ceased not to teach that Jesus is the Christ. St. Stephen asserted that He saw Jesus standing on the right hand of God. That was the place for the Lord, and to Him Stephen appeals: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." It was those who called upon this name that Saul hunted to strange cities; it was "the Lord, even Jesus," that sent Ananias to restore Saul's sight. The burden of Saul's first preaching was that "Jesus is the Son of God." Thus did the knowledge of the name spread, and came to the Gentiles. Describing their conversion, St. Peter says: "God gave them the like gift as He did to us who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ." That is the great addition to the creed of Judaism which Christianity made and stereotyped into this phrase in the first instance. The doctrine spread to Antioch and Cyprus, for those who fled from the persecutions of Saul preached the Lord Jesus. On St. Paul's first missionary journey the theme that Jesus is Messiah and Lord underlies the preaching, but the phrase "the Lord Jesus Christ" does not occur. Then we come to the council at Jerusalem, and it is St. Peter again who brings out this phrase as the sum of the belief: "We believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved even as they." Then for the first time the familiar phrase appears, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ." It would seem that in a sense we specially owe it to St. Peter. He was, judged by the standard of his day, an uneducated man. But as such he was in the habit of going straight to the point. The Lord Jesus Christ had revealed Himself to Peter. He knew Him. He had confessed Him as Lord and Christ. He had preached Him, and now summed up the position. We have salvation through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. The phrase had come by a natural growth, and St. Paul carried it away

from the council at Jerusalem and adopted it as his sign-manual. He made it the salutation of Christendom, the universal blessing of the Church. The name offended the Jews. It does not appear in the sermons in the Acts, because the sermons were to prove the name and justify its use. To use it before the argument was developed would be begging the question. This is the controversy of Christendom against the world. Jesus is Messiah and Lord; not Messiah only, but also Lord. The position is eminently scientific. It begins with facts; it deals with the facts about Jesus of Nazareth; it finds that there is another great fact to be reckoned with, that some hundreds of years before the events concerning Jesus of Nazareth took place they had been predicted in the books of the Jews called the Old Testament; it draws certain conclusions from those facts that Jesus is Messiah and Lord. A geologist draws his conclusions from a fossil, a chemist makes experiments with his facts, and the results are scientific in the one case as in the other. The publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of heaven. The mourners are comforted, the outcast is reclaimed, the world is regenerated. By what force? By the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. To question the veracity of the Christian faith in the person of Jesus Christ the Lord is like denying the attraction of gravitation because the evidence for the story of Sir Isaac Newton and the apple is not very complete.

But we are wandering from the point. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" was becoming a phrase of everyday Church life. St. Paul, returning from the council of Jerusalem, carried it away and adopted it in his Thessalonian Epistles as the token in every Epistle.

In the first Epistle to Thessalonica he writes at the close, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen."

In his second Epistle to the same Church, dealing with certain problems about which these early converts had been much exercised, he would have them assured that it is he who wrote what he has sent. So he adopts the phrase written in a special way as his signature, and with but slight variations it remains the token in every subsequent Epistle. That he meant to adopt this phrase as his signature becomes evident if we turn to the first Epistle to Corinthians, which is the next in order according to Bishop Lightfoot's grouping. There in chap. xvi. 21 and following we read: "The salutation of Paul with my own hand. If anyone love not the Lord, let him be Anathema Maran-atha. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus." Here, again, we have in the midst of other greetings the special phrase, written, perhaps, in the special manner adopted before.

In the second Epistle to the same Church we have the fully developed form for the first time, now become so familiar and so precious to the Church: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all." To the Church to which he had written of the more excellent way of love, it was meet that he should send some reminder of that love, to which naturally the mind turned after the definition of the grace of the Lord Jesus which he had given to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 9). "You know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through His poverty might be rich." It was the love of God that prompted it, "For God so loved that He gave. . . ." The grace was the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. He came. The love was the Father's. He gave; He sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world. That love becomes man's by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The fruit of the Spirit is love. "Covet earnestly the best gifts, and yet show I unto you a more excellent way. Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." And so the crowning word, "The communion of the Holy Ghost," is added, making the complete prayer familiarized by the constant use of nineteen centuries. Theologians constantly quote this prayer as a Scripture proof of the doctrine of the blessed Trinity. It was essential to the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ that the underlying assumption of a plurality of persons in the Godhead should be made plain. Thus, St. Peter concludes his address on the Day of Pentecost with the assertion of the Deity of the Messiah Jesus. It would naturally not be long before the doctrine was embodied in the prayers of the Church, as in this phrase, whose evolution we have endeavoured to trace.

The Epistle to Galatia also closes with words written with St. Paul's own hand: "Ye see with what large letters I am writing with my own hand," and with the words: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren." If the Epistle precedes that to Corinth, as many are now inclined to think, we have the attention of the reader in Asia also drawn to the Pauline writing. The Apostle uses the same formula in concluding to the Romans.

In the group of Epistles belonging to the first imprisonment at Rome we find the same formula in Philippians and Philemon, but in Colossians and Ephesians it is shortened to "the grace be with you," or "with all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ." By this time the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ had been preached throughout the Roman Empire:

"the grace" was enough. There was never such grace; it was the unique grace of the only begotten Son of God. In Colossians we also note that St. Paul draws attention to his writing, "The salutation with the hand of me, Paul." In his other Epistles—those, namely, to Timothy and Titus—he uses the shorter form, "The grace be with you" or "with you all." As time advanced there would be less fear of St. Paul's signature being forged. There were other marks by which his work would be known. In no part of the world, excepting Jerusalem itself, does he seem to have met with more bitter and unscrupulous opposition from the Jews than in Macedonia and Greece. It is in the Epistles addressed to those churches, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth, that the special signature appears, where, perhaps, the danger of forgery was greater.

It remains to inquire whether we can tell the form in which St. Paul wrote. Obviously, not with certainty, unless we had the original before us; but it is interesting to remember that the phrase, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you," gave opportunity for certain abbreviations or alternative methods of writing which would enable the Apostle to adopt a peculiar one as his own special mark or signature. In this connection it is interesting to discover that in the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Alexandrine uncial MSS. the abbreviations are always the same, and just in the three same words, "the Lord Jesus Christ," KT, IT, XT, with a line over the T. As the phrase was essentially a Christian one, and primarily, as we have seen, almost entirely a Pauline one, and this abbreviation seems to have been adopted as the universal one in writing (for the earliest written specimens that we have appear thus in all cases), we venture to hazard the suggestion that it was actually this abbreviation that St. Paul used when he wrote the phrase thus to the Thessalonian Church: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen."

C. CAMERON WALLER.



ART. VIII.—THE MONTH.

A VERY important announcement was made by Mr. Balfour the other day in the House of Commons. In reply to an inquiry whether the Government contemplated taking any action for the better enforcement of discipline in the Church of England, the Prime Minister stated that he proposed to recommend to His Majesty the appointment of a Royal Commission to ascertain the nature and extent of the disorder

which had to be dealt with. It will be remembered that just about five years ago—in May, 1899—the House of Commons adopted a resolution stating “That this House . . . is of opinion that if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the observance of the existing laws of Church and realm.” Mr. Balfour said it was difficult to ascertain what progress had been made in thus securing due obedience among the clergy; he believed there had been some progress, but he feared not as much as was to be wished. He therefore thought it would be better to have the circumstances definitely ascertained by a Royal Commission, that it might be authoritatively known what are the facts which have to be dealt with.

There can be no question that if a Royal Commission can discharge this office, an invaluable advance will have been made in dealing with this subject. Evidence has been brought forward by newspapers and associations of the spread of extreme and illegal Ritual practices in the Church, but it has been quietly ignored by the authorities of the Church and by the public as not sufficiently authoritative. On the other hand, Bishop after Bishop may be heard declaring that the number of disobedient clergy in his diocese is quite insignificant. If this conflict of evidence can be overborne, and the facts of the Ritual movement in the Church of England can be clearly and authoritatively placed before the Legislature and the public, a great step will have been taken towards deciding what action is requisite and practicable. All parties concerned in this controversy ought to welcome such an opportunity, and their duty will be to assist in every way in promoting the work of the Commission. The time for controversy will come afterwards; but everyone who is honestly desirous of this momentous question being justly and wisely dealt with ought to do his utmost to assist in ascertaining the facts.

At the same time, the usefulness of the Commission will largely depend on two things, of which at the moment we are ignorant. The first is the terms of reference to the Commission; the second is its composition, and especially the selection of its Chairman. There seems reason to hope that the intention is to give the reference a sufficiently limited character to render it possible for the Commission to report within a moderate time; and it may also be hoped that the Commission will be small and of a judicial character. But we must add that one other question will ultimately determine the value of the Commission. Will the Government of

the day be prepared to act on its information or recommendations or not? The Ritual Commission of 1867 formally recommended that the use of vestments and of lights and incense should be restrained, and that for this purpose "a speedy, inexpensive remedy should be provided for parishioners aggrieved by their introduction." Nothing effectual has been done, and at this moment the number of churches in which vestments, lights, and incense are used has increased from hundreds to thousands. When the facts are ascertained, the main problem will remain to be dealt with, and it will be for the Government to discover a solution. However, it will be a great thing to know the facts, and it only remains to await with patience the report of the Commission.

Notices of Books.

The Religious Life of London. Edited by RICHARD MUDIE SMITH.
London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xv+518. 6s.

The portly volume published under the above title contains full statistics of the census undertaken by the *Daily News*. Mr. Mudie Smith claims that the results it records represent "the first scientific attempt in the history of this country to discover the number of those who attend places of worship in the Metropolis." In the census of 1851, instituted by the Government of that day, the Churches themselves furnished the returns. In 1886 another enumeration of attendances was made through the enterprise of Dr. Robertson Nicoll, and the first issues of the *British Weekly* gave the figures. But this enumeration took place on a single Sunday. There were serious omissions in it, and the sexes were not differentiated, nor were children distinguished from adults. In the present instance the investigation extended over a whole year—from November, 1902, to November, 1903—the month of August being regarded as a holiday, and an interesting account is given of the methods adopted. The total number of places of worship visited in the twenty-nine boroughs forming London was 2,688, besides 1,338 in the urban districts of Greater London lying wholly or partly within a twelve-mile radius of Charing Cross, with the exception of Barking, Erith, and Bexley. Statistics relating to the urban districts are very properly tabulated separately at the end, and are not mixed up with the main part of the volume, making a convenient supplement for the purposes of comparison. Two fine maps of London and its suburbs much enhance the value of the book, which also contains a number of illustrative diagrams and articles on various problems that presented themselves in the course of the inquiry. We could wish that all the contributors of these essays wrote as thoughtfully

and sensibly as the editor or Mr. Watts Ditchfield. Some of them indulge in lucubrations reminding us of what Matthew Arnold called "the magnificent roaring of the young lions." Others, happily for their readers, are content to indicate in a matter-of-fact way the general features of the situation in the districts they describe.

The population of the London boroughs is 4,536,541; and Mr. Mudie Smith calculates that out of this total the number of people who could go to a place of worship if they would, excluding the sick and those too young or too old, may be reckoned as 2,235,152. The attendances recorded amounted to 1,003,361. But, since many of these were double attendances of the same persons, an ingenious plan was tried for ascertaining the approximate percentage of such cases, with the result of reducing the total of worshippers to 832,051. There may, of course, be errors; but the census probably gives a fair idea of the general state of things, and so many precautions were taken in carrying it out that we see no reason for distrusting its comparative correctness. The details it brings to light cannot be considered satisfactory. Since the year 1886 the population of London has increased by half a million, yet attendance at public worship has declined in an alarming degree. It is startling to discover that in the Church of England the figures show a falling off of nearly 140,000, while Nonconformist attendances have diminished to the extent of 36,000. The only religious body that contrives to hold its own, with the exception of Roman Catholics and Jews, appears to be the Baptist denomination, which goes on growing in poor and crowded neighbourhoods, and the statistics supply a remarkable confirmation of Mr. Charles Booth's opinion. Readers of Mr. Booth's work will remember that he was much impressed by the steady progress of the Baptists, attributing it to the strength and intensity of their doctrinal convictions and the absence of anything approaching to flabbiness in their teaching. It would be impossible, within the limited space at our disposal, to summarize adequately the contents of the census tables. They will well repay close and careful study. One thing that may be learnt from them is the signal failure of the various substitutes which have been devised in place of the old-fashioned system of preaching the Gospel. It is in our conceptions of the work of the ministry that a reform is needed, and no remedy for the evils laid bare in this volume would seem to be possible until there is a return to Gospel principles and the faithful delivery of the Gospel message.

The Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit. Sermons preached by C. H. SPURGEON. Revised and published during the year 1903. Vol. xlix. London: Passmore and Alabaster. Pp. xii + 624. 7s. 6d.

A tattered copy of a sermon by Mr. Spurgeon, marked "Very good.—D. L.," was one of the few things Livingstone had with him when he died. The regular publication of the great Nonconformist preacher's discourses began in the New Year's week of 1855, and has been continued week by week ever since without intermission. Several hundred still

remain unpublished, insuring a weekly supply for some years to come. The fifty-two contained in the present volume are of various dates, comprising some delivered by the author in his later life. We have long entertained a warm admiration for Mr. Spurgeon's preaching. Eloquence in the ordinary sense of the word was not his characteristic. He was not a Melvill or a Liddon. There is scarcely any single passage in his works, so far as we know, that could be selected as an example of oratorical art or fine prose. But in force and directness, in the mastery of terse and vigorous English, and in the skilful arrangement of the divisions of his subject, he had few equals. Many young clergymen and ordination candidates would profit by studying him. Such sermons as those on Isaiah xxxii. 2 and Hebrews xii. 13, both of which will be found in this volume, are models of exposition, especially the latter. We may notice also three on our Lord's Passion and another on "The Sower." All these may be marked as Livingstone marked his. They speak to the heart of a reader no less effectively than they appealed to the hearts of their hearers when first preached.

Temptation and Escape: Short Chapters for Beginners in the Christian Life. By H. C. G. MOULE, D.D., Bishop of Durham. London: Seeley and Co., Ltd. Pp. 120. 1s.

The Bishop of Durham's chapters will strike a responsive chord in many hearts. He deals in a homely and sympathetic way with trials to which all classes of people are alike subject, and the contents of his book are rendered the more effective by their brevity. Various incidents in Holy Scripture are selected as illustrating common forms of temptation, the lessons drawn from them being practically applied to present-day circumstances. We would note particularly the author's remarks on the temptation in paradise and the temptation of our Lord, which will be found most helpful, in view of objections often urged against those narratives. The suggestions in the tenth chapter are also calculated to benefit older readers no less than the young persons for whose guidance they are mainly designed. It would be well if the book could be put into the hands of every Confirmation candidate, in place of the noxious, not to say maudlin, manuals so frequently circulated.

Some Elements of Religion. Lent Lectures, 1870. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., late Chancellor and Canon of St. Paul's. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. xxiii+240. 6d.

These lectures are so familiar to our readers that we need only mention their publication in a sixpenny edition. It is printed in clear type, and contains all the notes, together with Dr. Liddon's answer to a writer in the *Spectator*. Messrs. Longmans will have earned the thanks of many by making so valuable a work available for general distribution.

