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THE
CHURCHMAN

SEPTEMBER, 1904.

ART. I.—LOISY'S SYNTHESIS OF CHRISTIANITY.

V.

I NOW approach an issue in the two rival syntheses of Harnack and Loisy which is by no means so easily determined as the claim of Jesus when on earth to be Divine. The subject of this paper is the "kingdom of God," or "kingdom of heaven" as presented by the teaching of Jesus. In my second paper I showed how very differently this theme of our Lord's parables and discourses is treated by the two Professors. Harnack tells us that we are to get our ideas of the kingdom from the Saviour's parables, and he depicts it thus: "It is the rule of the holy God in the hearts of individuals: it is God Himself in His power." He goes on to say that amidst all the subsequent transmutations of Christianity this conception was "never quite lost," and that the kingdom has essentially a triple significance. "It is supernatural, not a product of ordinary life. It is a purely religious blessing, as the inner link between man and the Living God. It is the most important experience that a man can have, and permeates his whole existence."¹ Loisy, on the other hand, presents the kingdom in its social aspect. For him, "l'idée du royaume céleste n'est donc pas autre chose qu'une grande espérance." It is a "conception eschatologique," to be realized more and more by objective agencies;² and "l'idée du royaume renfermait le germe de l'Église." "Selon la rigueur des termes l'Église n'est pas plus le royaume des cieux que ne l'était l'Évangile, mais l'Évangile et l'Église sont dans un rapport identique avec le royaume."³ The Church

¹ Harnack, "Das Wesen," etc., chap. iii.

² "L'Év. et l'Égl.," pp. 41-49.

³ "Autour," etc., p. 159.

continues the Gospel, holding out before men the same ideal of righteousness to be realized for the accomplishment of the same ideal of happiness. This interpretation leads up to what is really an identification of "l'Église" with the Roman Church exclusively. Broadly, Harnack's readers would understand that this "kingdom of God" is to be realized by an inner experience of the individual soul; Loisy's, that it can only be appreciated through the agencies of a close society.

The divergence of thought is of ancient date. In some sort these two critics revive the controversy of the Donatists and Augustine, and one is struck by the omission on Loisy's part of the parables to which the Carthaginian Father made his appeal—those of the tares and the wheat, and of the net with bad fish mingled with the good. For it is, I think, obvious that these parables do contemplate a federation of Christian disciples. So far they tell against Harnack's limited ideal of a purely individualistic Christianity, even as they told against the Donatist theory of a Church on earth purified from all corruptions and retaining no unworthy members.

But the controversy really hinges on the question whether we may not interpret Christianity not only by the light of the Synoptic Gospels, but by that of the Acts and the Epistles. Christians generally do this. It is a pity that Loisy did not boldly adopt this course against Harnack, and instead of needlessly questioning the authenticity of certain Gospel texts, confront his adversary's impugner of the genuineness and authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles. The "fait chrétien" is, we must admit, so far on the Abbé's side. Loisy's emphasis on the social aspects of the kingdom may be unwarrantably strained, and his delimitation of them by an assumption of Roman hegemony is, of course, contradicted not only by primitive history, but by the actual condition of Christendom. Yet for all Christians, except some very insignificant sects, there is some appreciation of the federation depicted in the Acts, as a matter included in the idea of their religion. Most, in fact, would say that while Harnack's Christianity might serve the purpose of a hermit or a shipwrecked mariner, such cases are the exception and not the rule, and that the establishment of the Christian principle in the human society must necessarily be regulated by the ordinary conditions of human life.¹

¹ Harnack's opinion, "History of Dogma," vol. ii., chap. ii., is that the Acts is a "late book," which had been, till Irenæus' times, only "in private use," and then became "the central structure of an edifice otherwise possessed of but two wings." Of course, the date of the Acts is a question inextricably connected with that of the third Gospel. On this I have treated in former numbers of the *CHURCHMAN*. I must assume here

But first let us survey these teachings of the kingdom in the Saviour's parables. By anyone who has not a theory to press, or a license to suspect as spurious such Scriptural passages as he does not sympathize with, I imagine they will be found to include both the interpretations involved in the professorial controversy. It is simply the old case of the wrangle about the quarterings on two opposite sides of the shield. The very power of the Gospel consists in its presenting many facets. Christ's parables especially are of many-sided character. They indicate various traits in a system which, if as yet independent of ecclesiastical organization, by no means on that account excludes it. They are professedly proleptic in their trend, and the future disciple is to find in them things new as well as old. It is consistent that such discourses should present the kingdom in varying, almost conflicting aspects. The majority emphasize the individual relations of the soul to the God revealed by Christ. Yet here and there we catch glimpses of the social relations of Christianity, and we may say that the setting of the Gospel is the Church. It is perhaps thus when the kingdom, by appropriation of an old prophetic figure (*cf.* Dan. iv. 10-12; Ezek. xxxi. 3-9), is likened to the "great tree," on the branches of which the fowls of the air can lodge, this same tree springing from the smallest and most insignificant of seed. It may be so possibly in the simile of the leaven quickly permeating the whole lump of dough and giving it a certain peculiar character, though here it must be recognised that the individual application is primary, the social only secondary. The reference to the Church is, at any rate, undeniable in the two parables cited above, where we read of a field in which are noxious weeds as well as wheat, a net in whose meshes are many fish unserviceable for food.

In these two parables we see that objective or social side of the kingdom which we connect with our belief in a "universal Church." On the other hand, that there is no virtue proceeding mechanically from the social relationship is plain enough. Indeed, the figures themselves prohibit such an idea. We see at once that the field or the net do not of themselves insure the purposes of the Gospel *ex opere operato*, and that there are potentialities beyond. These two parables are thus in strict harmony with that of the Sower, where the crop is dependent on the character of the soil and on the care spent in preparing and cleaning it.

that the book is written throughout by Luke, the companion of Paul, and refer those who demand evidences to the commentaries and Biblical dictionaries.

Further, there are parables and sayings which sufficiently express what this potentiality is. They tell of active forces which are as yet almost devoid of social setting, and might, if the New Testament only included the Synoptic Gospels, be regarded as so working to all future time. The conclusion is thus forced on us that the power of the Saviour's religion is centred, not in any association *per se*, but in its author, and that, however useful the association may be as a secondary agency, the first condition for realizing the kingdom is to realize the kingdom's Lord.

Thus, Matt. xiii. 30 speaks of the powers of the kingdom already demonstrated at a time when there was certainly no delimited company of believers. That the forces of evil are already overthrown in human hearts is a clear sign that "the kingdom of God" is already "come unto you." The "kingdom" is here clearly the spiritual sway of that Christ who is elsewhere entitled the King. There are no social agencies concerned. It denotes evidently a personal realization of the Saviour, and nothing more. There is, of course, no reason to doubt this saying of Jesus; indeed, it is just the sort of teaching that later and more organized Christianity would never have invented. I say this because Loisy suggests that "cette assertion pourrait appartenir à une couche secondaire de la tradition évangélique." He adds, however: "Supposé qu'elle vienne de Jésus, elle présenterait le royaume réalisé dans son commencement,"¹ which is all I contend for.

An equally telling proof that this potentiality may work independently of the society is to be found, as Harnack recognises, in Luke xvii. 20, 21. The "kingdom" is here said distinctly *not* to be itself a visible organization, provoking men's attention, but a secretly working force. It "cometh not with observation; neither shall men say 'lo here' or 'lo there,' for behold the kingdom of God is within you" (or "in the midst of you"). Again Loisy fences vainly with the passage, and casts most unwarrantable aspersions on its genuineness as a saying of Christ.² "Cette déclaration ne se lit pas que dans Luc." "Il y a beaucoup de chance . . . que la parole citée vienne de Luc ou de sa tradition particulière." The Saviour could not be holding out a conception of a spiritual kingdom to His hearers, for they were Pharisees, and "ces pharisiens ne croient pas à l'Évangile, et n'ont point de part au royaume." As an eschatological prophecy follows, it is most probable that "le rédacteur" only meant to make Jesus say "que le royaume surviendra

¹ "L'Év. et l'Égl.," pp. 43, 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54-56.

sans qu'on s'y attende, et sans qu'on ait le temps d'annoncer qu'il est apparu en tel ou tel endroit."¹

"On serait fort embarrassé de prouver par des textes authentiques et clairs que le royaume, don surnaturel, est un bien purement religieux, l'union avec le Dieu vivant, et l'expérience capitale d'un homme." So says Loisy in his insistence on the social aspect of the kingdom, and the delimitations evidenced by such external organization as the choice of twelve Apostles. Yet when we turn from parables to other teachings we have clear proof to the contrary: "Blessed are the poor in spirit. Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is [not shall be] the kingdom of heaven." Thus the note of discipleship is set at the beginning of the Ministry. Later on we have these words addressed to the Apostles themselves: "Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." Men, therefore, might be even in the inner circle of discipleship, and yet have never realized the potentiality of the kingdom. Of this Judas Iscariot, of course, furnishes an illustration. Was Judas from our Saviour's point of view ever one of the "children of the kingdom"? Was he ever as near affiliation as that unattached questioner who, because he had realized the binding force of the two great commandments, was told, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God."

It would seem, indeed, as if the Saviour was at pains to warn men against this confusion of "un bien purement religieux, l'union avec le Dieu vivant," with mere federation in a visible society. This was precisely the mistake of the contemporary Jews; and the very term "kingdom" takes one to current Jewish terminology, and to crude material ideas of glory accruing to Israel as a sacred community apart from spiritual qualifications. When, therefore, the charity and faith of the centurion indicate him as a true disciple, our Lord contrasts him with those who, relying on ecclesiastical privilege, called themselves the "children of the kingdom" (Matt. viii. 10-12). The very error of the Jews was this

¹ The answer to such criticisms is that we have no right to read as future what our Lord clearly puts in the present. That the kingdom is being manifested *now* is plain from the next verse, "The days will come when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man and shall not see it." Some of the Pharisees did believe, and the "you" may only indicate Christ's hearers generally. That the phrase *ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν* really = "in animis vestris" is clear from the context. As for the attempt to impugn the genuineness of the passage the reader may be reminded that by the same reasoning we should say that the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son are the creations "de Luc ou de sa tradition particulière."

limitation of a term to which Christ gave a sense ethical and spiritual. How utterly independent this "kingdom" might be of ecclesiastical privileges—even of a knowledge of Him who is its Lord—is shown in two utterances, of which Loisy can hardly doubt the authenticity. Many, Christ says distinctly, shall claim to have prophesied and done wonderful works in His Name, and yet shall be found to have missed the essentials of the kingdom: "And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from Me, all ye workers of iniquity." On the other hand, a loving, merciful disposition itself attaches men to the kingdom, and insures its final rewards. For in an eschatological discourse,¹ which has too frequently been overlooked by theologians, Christ plainly teaches that it is this ethical trait which determines the final separation of the saved from the lost. All mankind are arraigned before the Son of man as Judge. The standard for acceptance is not any enrolment in a visible religious body, but a personal compliance with ethical laws, written, as St. Paul tells us,² sufficiently plainly in the human conscience. We have still the familiar Jewish imagery: the King and the "kingdom prepared from the foundations of the world." But whatever is vague or figurative in the parables is sunk here in the light of most distinct legislative pronouncement: "Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

I have dealt thus exhaustively with Loisy's exposition of the "kingdom," rather with the view of showing how he has failed to realize the enlarged significance which Jesus gave to a familiar Jewish conception, than because I sympathize with his adversary Harnack. Both critics appear to me to miss the essential truth that the "kingdom" as expounded by Christ itself connoted *the King*, and that all His teachings lead up to those final scenes where He, who has claimed sway over the consciences of men, determines all human destinies as the Divine Judge. I have treated in my former papers of these personal claims to the Divine attributes. Just as we read into all the parables the Personality of the Teacher, they fall into line in subordination to a profounder central truth. Just as we exclude it, they seem to strike discordant notes, and we are involved in endless "logomachy," dissociation of the "subjective" and "objective," and arbitrary pronouncements about what "le rédacteur" added from his own resources to the Saviour's words.

But we have still to consider the relations of the individual to the society in this Gospel of "the kingdom of God."

¹ Matt. xxxv. 31-46.

² Rom. ii. 14, 15.

The Gospels are not the whole story of the establishment of the faith; nor can parables and discourses be regarded apart from the Saviour's own acts of appointment. Side by side with this ideal of a spiritual kingdom we have to place all that Christ Himself set up in the way of objective institution. We must add, too, that stratum of Scripture testimony in which is portrayed the life of a society claiming to have received from Him the power of the Holy Spirit. Extending our gaze in this way, we find the ideal of the "kingdom," even from the first, including the germs of new social relations among those who have realized its essential significance. It takes in external agencies, not, of course, as an alternative to subjective realization, but as means to free this from the dangers of a self-absorbed pietism, and to communicate its blessings with greater facility. All this is quite ignored in the jejune synthesis of Harnack's "*Wesen des Christentums*."

Thus, first, there is the use not only of private, but united, prayer. From Christ attaching His special blessing to the occasions when but two or three were gathered together in His Name, we can trace on that idea of Christian federation which, in the Acts, is called *κοινωνία*, or "fellowship." It is the kingdom realized thus socially that Jesus calls His *ἐκκλησία* in Matt. xvi. It will be based, He says, on the recognition of His Divinity, and contain in itself the forms of perpetual life; and its ethical power is to be the proof of continual Divine inspirations. Though the great starting-point of this social life is the Pentecostal illumination of Acts ii., this Church exists in embryo ere our Saviour leaves the world. Baptism—its future external rite of initiation—marks the Saviour's followers quite early in the Ministry.¹ It is borrowed from Jewish practice, but in its potentiality it connotes new and higher teachings. A Nicodemus, who limits himself to admiration of Christ's preternatural powers, has to be told of the need of a regenerate heart and its close connection with this symbolic Baptism which is being administered by Christ's leading disciples. The passage, of course, attaches no mechanical virtue to Baptism, but it plainly invests the rite with the most hallowed associations. Baptism even thus early speaks to the believer as in a parable of the cleansing influence of the Divine Christ on the life, just as afterwards the Eucharist attests the truth that He is

¹ I assume here that John iii. is historical, and that John iv. 1, 2 has the meaning ordinarily given. Loisy, however, supposes that Christian baptism was not instituted before our Saviour's death, and remarks: "C'est peut-être par une sorte d'anticipation que le quatrième Évangile montre le baptême chrétien en vigueur pendant le ministère du Sauveur."—"Autour," etc., p. 239.

the food of the human spirit. The rite itself, moreover, connotes Christian federation. Nowhere do we hear of a believer baptizing himself.

Equally obvious is the social character of the Eucharist, an adaptation of a Jewish rite, in which the head of each household acts in an official capacity. It is plain that there will be a president at each Eucharistic gathering, and this itself will necessitate an official organization. The life of numerous Christian societies will have to be provided for as well as that of the individual Christian pietist.

On the other hand, the powers of this kingdom are in no way confined to officials. They are but representatives of a society which has received peculiar promises of blessing. There is no preference in the manifestations of the Resurrection for the eleven as distinguished from other believers. Nor can we connect the commission of remitting and retaining sins in John xx. with any idea of a "collège des Apôtres," since neither inclusively nor exclusively does the gathering in the upper room suggest the eleven Apostles. The commission is primarily the charter of the Christian society; it is that of Apostles or future clergy only as its representative officials.

There is, indeed, evidence at the beginning of the Acts of Peter maintaining the prominence familiar in the Gospel story, and the election of a twelfth Apostle to be a witness of the Resurrection, and to take the Ministry and Apostleship from which Judas fell, might lead us to expect a permanent retention of the actual organization adopted by Jesus; but the intention, if it existed, is altered by circumstances. It is plain, as we proceed with the story, that the primitive lines were broken up by the special consecration of Paul and by the unfettered grant of prophetic charismata.¹ Nor is there any inconsistency in such a narration. The Book of the Acts is professedly an account of Christianity developed by something more than memories of the Saviour. It describes a period of fresh revelations, which are recognised as fulfilling the promise of the Holy Spirit's guidance, and as supplementing the teachings of the Saviour's Ministry. It is a form of inspiration peculiar to the first age. The miraculous powers of which we read in the Acts apparently did not survive the sub-Apostolic period. Even at the time when the "Didaché" is written, prophetic gifts have been so abused as to be open to suspicion, and the writer presses the necessity of caution in recognising professed "prophets" and "apostles" (= mis-

¹ St. Paul himself is confirmed by an ordinary disciple (Acts ix. 12, 17), and he and Barnabas are ordained for their missionary work by "prophets and teachers" (*Ibid.*, xiii. 3).

sioner-preachers), and the duty of acknowledging God's ordering in the less pretentious fixed organization of "bishops and deacons."¹

The subject of the "Acts," then, is broadly the life of the Christian society as developed by special revelations of the Holy Spirit. On the one hand, it takes us far beyond Harnack's conception of individualistic Christianity. On the other, it has passages which one finds it hard to reconcile even with the second-century ideal of organized ecclesiasticism,² and this feature of itself attests the authenticity of the book. Reading the Acts side by side with the Epistles, we may, I think, find material for an answer to the question, "What is Christianity?" which, if not in harmony with either Loisy's or Harnack's, is in no way at variance with Christ's own portraiture in the parables of the kingdom, and seems to combine sufficiently the individualistic and social elements of our religion.

There is first a distinct recognition of a Christian fellowship permeating each society and connecting each with all, albeit admitting considerable divergence of the Gentile from the Judæo-Christian use in minor matters. Everywhere there is baptism recognised as the means of entrance into the Christian society. Everywhere there is the sacred rite of breaking of bread, and the observance of the Lord's Day in honour of the Saviour's Resurrection. There is everywhere the association of the charismata of the Holy Spirit with obsignatory rites such as the laying-on of hands, for completing the initiatory baptism, or for special ministerial appointment. Although the Churches are mutually independent, a realization of common brotherhood promotes sympathy and active charity, so that the richer societies are found subscribing for the maintenance of the poorer. The Acts thus portray a federative system, illustrating Paul's own parable of the body and the members—a parable hard to reconcile with Harnack's conception of Christianity as an individualistic religion.

On the other hand, there are in this book striking indications of the elasticity of the modes in which the permanent ordinances of Christianity are presented. The ideas of federation and unity do not exclude considerable individualism on the part of leading teachers and inspired men. Peter himself, instead of maintaining a permanent hegemony as we might expect, is evidently eclipsed in influence by the more cultured and peculiarly inspired Paul. It is on constitutional principles that the Church is governed, and whatever autocratic elements are at first discernible are soon effaced by a

¹ "Didaché," chaps. xi. and xv.

² *E.g.*, Acts xv. 20, xviii. 25, xix. 2, 3.

larger experience of the Holy Spirit's guidance. Thus, when Paul and Barnabas submit the question of compulsory circumcision to the "apostles" at Jerusalem, it is as to freely-chosen arbiters, and the presbyters there act conjointly with the Apostles in giving judgment. It is observable, too, that James takes the leading part, not Peter. Indeed, on an earlier occasion there has been an investigation on the part of this Church into Peter's own conduct in admitting the uncircumcised Cornelius, and the "brethren" are similarly associated with the Apostles in this inquiry. It is impossible to recognise in this freer and adaptive Christianity either Loisy's ideal "prince des apôtres" or his "collège des apôtres," and Luke's testimony on these points is of course confirmed by the evidence of Paul's Epistles.

It is easy, too, to find instances of the adaptation to circumstances by tacit consent, and quite independently of authority, even in important matters. The early rule that the Gentile converts are to eat "*kosher*" food like the Jews vanishes quite unexplainably. There is evidently the widest variation as to observance of the Jewish Sabbath, and we know that, despite Paul's protests against Judaizing, the seventh day was honoured either as a fast or a feast in most quarters to post-Nicene times. There is at first a universal commemoration of the Lord's Supper at night, and we have to conjecture why it is that in Pliny's time it has evidently been transferred to the early morning. The form of government is at first that of the Jewish synagogue, with its presbyters or associated overseers, and it is long, as Loisy sees, before their rights and powers are everywhere merged in the monarchical overseer or Bishop.¹

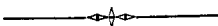
As far as organization is concerned, the point of view of these first times is certainly somewhat different from that assumed at the end of the second century, when Christendom had been constrained by heresies within and persecution without to adopt a more elaborate official system providing for the unity and cohesion of the communities. As yet we are taken no further than an ideal of a single spiritual community on earth, itself appropriated from the Old Testament, and expressed by St. Paul in such phrases as "the bride of Christ," "the Israel of God." But the account of the development and materializing of this ideal and of its relation to Papal pretensions must be left for another paper. I conclude with two remarks on the story of the kingdom of God so far as we have traced it:

¹ Bingham, "Antiquities," p. 1137 *et seq.*

1. I have noticed the elasticity which thus early effects changes automatically and silently even in the central Christian institutions. It is a fair inference that this age realized that these were in all cases a means and not an end, and that it was to lead men's souls to inward realization of Christ that they had been provided. It is plain that their efficacy is not mechanical *ex opere operato*. We seem to learn, too, that they may be continually modified, according to the Church's needs in various climes and ages, without affront to the Church's Head. Our survey of the Acts, in fact, repeats the teaching we get from the Gospel story—viz., that it is Christ Himself, and not a systematized Christianity, that is intended to occupy the central place in our religious conceptions.

2. While the value of all the institutions of the Christian society lies in their association with doctrinal or ethical truths, and they can claim no mechanical efficacy of their own, none the less is it plain that the Christian may claim to find in them a special blessing as appointed means of realizing the "kingdom of heaven." The accidental abuses of later times are not to debar us from a recognition of their inherent value. There is no *a priori* assumption that their influence will clash with the subjective principle emphasized by Harnack. We may still regard them as did the first generation of Christians, as obnoxious of those blessings of which Christ spoke. The only caveat is that they must always be set in connection with will and effort of our own. Their value will, of course, be affected by our ability to link our own faith with that of the Apostolic age; and it is in this view that the Christian bodies that can claim historical continuity have the advantage of those that have originated by way of schism or violent disruption. But even to the latter they may speak continually as suggestive of the works which the Holy Spirit enabled the age of Pentecostal illumination to achieve. They are designed to assure all Christians that, though miracles may cease, that Spirit still offers His assistance to the followers of Christ, and that, however much the conditions of the world may change, the Saviour's promises remain the same.

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.



ART. II.—STUDIES ON ISAIAH.

CHAPTER VI.

A DATE is given to chap. vi. It is the year of Uzziah's death. "The normal methods of interpretation and criticism," when applied to the Bible, appear to be these: to dispute every statement found in it which it suits one to dispute, and call upon its defenders to prove that statement. Needless to say, such "methods" are not adopted with any other history or literature in the world. It would be impossible to write a single line of history on this principle. Yet *every* statement of the Bible is called in question by some one or other, as the exigencies of a theory may seem to require. Be it so. So long as unbelief lasts men will be found who call in question the revealed Word of God. It is therefore to be expected that it should be compelled to fight its way to acceptance through the fiercest fire that ever a literature sustained. Such a conflict is a necessity of its Divine origin. The only misfortune is when those who are its sworn defenders are found in the attacking ranks. *Then* there is indeed reason to complain. It need hardly be said that there is no reason whatever for questioning the date assigned to this prophecy. But it has evidently been placed in the midst of another prophecy or prophecies of later date. This need not disturb us. The prophecies, at least of the greater prophets, seem to have been collected and arranged after the death of the writers. The order of Jeremiah's prophecies in the LXX. and in the Hebrew is not the same. And it is probable that, as the Septuagint translation was executed in Egypt, its arrangement is to be preferred to that found in the Hebrew text. That Isa. vi. has somehow got displaced in its order is clear from the fact that the sentence, "for all this His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still," is found, not only in chap. v. 25, but in chap. ix. 12, 17, 21, and in chap. x. 4. Thus chaps. v. and ix., x. 1-4, appear to belong to the same prophecy. Not only so, but the "woe" pronounced in chap. x. 1-4 seems to be connected with those which we have already considered in chap. v. Chap. v. 26-30 is probably a prophecy of the Assyrian invasion some time before its occurrence. The prophecy of the same event in chap. x. 5-14, 28-34, seems to agree with the history in chap. xxxvi., and is no doubt a vivid prophetic anticipation of it. There is no reason why chaps. v., ix., and x. should not belong to the same period. "Normal methods" of criticism do not allow the

insight of the prophet to anticipate events by more than a year or two. But if it be, as in fact it is, demonstrable that something more than moral and statesmanlike insight is to be found in the writings of the prophets, there remains no reason why a supernatural or, at the very least, abnormal prevision of what was to come should not have been vouchsafed to Isaiah, and that chap. x. may, like chaps. vii.-ix., be assigned to the reign of Ahaz.

Chap. vi., however, stands apart from all the rest, and, as we have seen, bears the date of the last year of King Uzziah. It has the deepest possible interest for us as being the history of the call of the greatest prophet the world has ever known. Modern criticism has whittled away the greater part of his majesty. It has deprived him of the great and glorious utterances, which stir our nature to its depths, to be found in chaps. xxxv., xl., xlix., liii., lx. But modern criticism is not always *intentionally* irreverent. And so it has done something approaching to justice to the grandeur and awfulness of the call and the greatness of the prophet who received it. Let us note, as briefly as so grand a vision will permit us, some particulars of the instruction it has for us.

I. Not every prophet received such a call. There was the same difference between the prophets of Israel as there has been among the clergy of the Catholic Church. Some have been mere official prophets, trained in the schools (see 1 Kings xx. 35; 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, 15, iv. 38),¹ while some have been special messengers to their generation, rebuking the iniquity of God's people, and calling them to repentance by a voice clearly coming from above. Of the latter kind have been men such as Moses, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, John the Baptist, and, under the New Covenant, Athanasius, Bernard, Savonarola, Wiclif, Hus, Luther, Wesley, and others whom we may call to mind. Of the former class are men who have witnessed boldly for God when occasion required, without having the special vocation and supernatural powers required for rousing a sinful generation. Such were Nathan, Azariah (2 Chron. xxvi. 18), Ambrose, Anselm, Grindal, Burnet (whose noble letter to Charles II. rebuking his immorality and bidding him beware of the judgment to come is less known than it ought to be), Ken, and many others. It may safely be said that the higher the standard a Christian clergyman or layman sets before him in these days, the more likely he is to rise to the level of the former class.

¹ Yet even they often displayed the power of foreseeing things to come, as the passages cited above plainly show.

II. Note the *time* of the call. It was not at the moment when the danger was at hand. A man wants *preparation* for so tremendous a task as lay before Isaiah. So our Lord taught us, when he remained unknown for thirty years, in spite of the stupendous work He came to achieve. So we learn from St. Paul, who retired into Arabia for three years before commencing his lifelong task of ministering to the Gentiles. For similar reasons the whole reign of Jotham was given to the inspired prophet after his call to prepare him for the adequate discharge of the high, difficult, and dangerous duty to which he was called, of denouncing the great apostasy under Ahaz and of "comforting" God's "people" in the imminent peril through which Judah and Jerusalem had to pass in that unbelieving King's reign.

III. The *nature* of the call. Most of the prophets belonging to the second of the classes above mentioned seem to have had a special call. But that of Isaiah presents the most remarkable features. That of Jeremiah (Jer. i. 4-10) was very simple and unattended by visions. That of Ezekiel commenced with a vision, which, mysterious as it was, lacked the special solemnity presented by that seen by Isaiah. Unlike that of Isaiah, Ezekiel's prophecy is marked by continuous special intimations from above. Both visions partake of the character of those vouchsafed to Moses (Exod. xix. 3-25, xxiv. 9-11, xxxiii. 7-23), but are evidently an extension and advance of his. The call of Amos was attended by no vision, but was a simple inward impulse (Amos vii. 14, 15), which, however, like that of Jeremiah, was of an imperious character which could not be disobeyed (Jer. xx. 7-9, and Amos iii. 8). There was One, however, he it remarked, to whom no such vision was vouchsafed. And if it were *not* vouchsafed, it was because He needed it not. So intimate was the union between the Godhead and the Manhood in Him—a fact, by the way, which modern critics of the Old Testament have found themselves constrained to deny—that He needed not the assurance with which men less uniquely related to the Eternal Godhead could not dispense. Though the limits of even His Divine humanity were, we may well believe, too confined to transmit to us all that the Divine mind held within it, yet the Hypostatic Union was too close to allow of the need on His part of the Divine assurances of pardon, favour, protection, guidance, which were needed by other men, how highly gifted soever they may have been.

Great was the solemnity of the prophet's supernatural vocation, and great his need of preparation for it. Great, too, is the solemnity of the prophet's call under the Christian dispensation, whether the mission of the prophet be to a parish

or to a nation. And though the supernatural character of the call be less externally evident in this case, it is none the less a fact. The sense of vocation seems to have undergone, to some extent, an eclipse among us of late years. The necessity and responsibility of the task is perhaps a little less realized. A hundred years ago, when undisguised ungodliness and profaneness were rampant, when men openly scoffed at the name of God and at the name and restraints of religion, then God's minister felt that his duty was to "save souls" by preaching the urgent need of conversion. In these days, when there is at least a nominal profession of Christianity, the sense of the need of conversion is less keen, and the work of the presbyter is regarded rather as one of *building up* the flock than of summoning men to join it. And in these times, when such undue attention is paid to statistics and details of ceremonial, and the less weighty matters of the law generally—when the essential *inwardness* of the Christian life is not so intensely felt—there has been a tendency to water down the conception of a clergyman's duty to a mere professional recitation of offices and discharge of functions, supplemented by what may obviously very easily become a most perfunctory "hearing of confessions." Yet every man may be an Isaiah if he will, at least, to his own parish. As the Ordination Service abundantly shows—it is surely unnecessary to quote it—the building up of the flock is a most solemn and weighty function, and needs as much earnestness and watchfulness and faithfulness and plainness of living and speech in a luxurious age like the present as in any age that has preceded it—perhaps more, now that the perils to faith lie far more beneath the surface than in former times. Well does the Church bid the pastor think of the gravity of the work that lies before him, and of the terrible punishment which will ensue if he neglect it! Let him, therefore, meditate upon each detail in this most striking vision, which will bring before him, point by point, (a) the holiness and glory of Him whose commission he holds, (b) the deep sense it behoves him to entertain of his unworthiness for so great a work, (c) the readiness with which, nevertheless, he is bound to undertake it, (d) the patience with which he should bear with the weakness, waywardness, and wilfulness of those to whom his testimony must be delivered.

IV. The vision itself. Observe that Isaiah is describing *what he saw*, doubtless in an ecstasy such as that which rapt St. Paul to paradise, to hear unspeakable things which it is impossible for man to utter; or as when St. John was in the Spirit, and was permitted to behold, not one, but a whole series of such visions, that he might thereby imprint on the conscience of the Church the reality, the long duration,

and the deadliness of the struggle between good and evil. Modern criticism does not generally make for reverence; yet we may be thankful to note that even it is constrained, in some cases at least, to bow its head and hold its breath before such a sublime vision of things unseen as is here presented to it. Professor Driver ("O, si sic omnia!") has a magnificent description¹ of the scene which the enkindled soul of the prophet here brings before us with a few graphic touches. Would that he, whose own faith does not suffer from his treatment of Holy Writ, would remember that a branch severed from the vine cannot flourish, and that though flowers may bloom for a time apart from the plant from which they spring, they ultimately fade. Once reduce the inspiration of Scripture to a level with God's ordinary dealings with mankind, and though reverence for it and its contents may linger among us for a time, as a sweet odour lingers about a spot when its source is removed, yet it must eventually die away, and its place be taken by indifference or contempt.

It was a wondrous sight which presented itself either to the prophet's eyes or to his mind. Whether "in the body or out of the body" we "cannot tell: God knoweth." But either before his natural or his "mind's" eye there floated the most glorious vision which had ever yet been seen by man. He *felt* rather than *saw* that the eternally existent One was before him. He does not attempt to describe Him. We may believe that the prophet neither "heard" an audible "voice" nor "saw" a visible "Form"—nothing but a vague indication of shape. His "skirts" or "train," filled the Temple.² The "house," we are told, was "filled with smoke"—that is, the Shechinah, or visible symbol of God's glory, of which we read frequently in Holy Writ.³ This cloud of glory indicated to the inspired soul of the prophet the shadow only of an awful Form, which at once suggested Itself and eluded his grasp. The "throne" was doubtless nothing more than the centre toward which everything else that was visible converged. Above it stood the seraphim, the exalted beings who ever dwell about God's throne—beings burning with eternal love to Him and to all things He has made, filled with reverence for His Majesty, even as was the case with the four-and-twenty elders and the four living creatures seen by St. John in the great unveiling which was vouchsafed to him;

¹ In "Isaiah, his Life and Times."

² This must have been the Temple at Jerusalem, as it is called the "house" in ver. 4.

³ Exod. xix. 9, 18, xxiv. 15, xl. 35; Lev. xvi. 2; 1 Kings viii. 10; 2 Chron. v. 13, 14, and elsewhere.

their faces covered as though unable to bear the brightness of Him who "inhabits the unapproachable light"; their feet covered as indicating their lowly devotion to His will; their remaining wings for ever employed in speeding them to His service, wheresoever their unceasing activity might be required.¹ We will not attempt to pry into the mysteries of the existence of those who inhabit the presence-chamber of the Most High, to discuss the various orders and activities of the heavenly host, to distinguish between the office of seraphim and that of cherubim, to decide whether the living creatures and elders of the Apocalypse are identical with or dissimilar to the wondrous beings Isaiah was permitted to behold. Suffice it for us to have been enabled, through his instrumentality, to feast our souls on a scene of scarcely imaginable and almost indescribable majesty. Voices of praise are for ever heard around the throne of God. Thrice holy is His name, and in its threefold repetition every humble Christian will delight to believe the mystery of the Trinity in Unity to have been indicated thus early in the history of Divine Revelation. Holy is He in Himself, for ever dwelling in His consecrated aloofness of essence, apart from created beings. "The earth is full of His glory"²—that is, the impression or *χαρακτήρ* of His ineffable greatness and goodness—the shadow, as it were, of His Being, which is all we inferior beings can spiritually attain. This is spread abroad through all creation, reflected, so to speak, by the visible universe. So mighty was the voice of praise—and has not its sound gone out into all lands, and its words unto the end of the world?—that the thresholds of the heavenly places, symbolized by the earthly temple, were shaken to their foundations as by a great earthquake. Such was the clearest vision vouchsafed to any of the saints of the Old Covenant—Daniel himself not excepted—of the majesty and glory of Him Who made the heavens and the earth, and all things that are therein; Who was before them all, and holds them all in the hollow of His hand.

V. The vision of God thus granted to the prophet conveys two ideas to us: first, the awful aloofness of God, as far as essence is concerned, from all creatures whatsoever—this is

¹ Origen, both in his "De Principiis" and in his treatise against Celsus, strangely regards the wings of the seraphim as veiling the face and feet of God!

² This is by some translated, "His glory is the fulness of the whole earth." This may be the literal translation of the original into English. But I confess that for myself I can attach no meaning to the words in English, whatever may be their force in other languages.

contained in the thrice-repeated word "kadosh" (holy);¹ and, next, the influence which His incommunicable Majesty should have on the minds of inferior beings. The immediate result on the prophet's mind was the consciousness of infirmity and of sin. This is the inevitable consequence of all conceptions of God which are in any degree commensurate with the reality. We find it flashing on Simon Peter when the miracle of the draught of fishes impressed him with the truth that a Divine Being was before him. "Depart from me," he cried, "for I am a sinful man, O Lord." And this, as the experience of thousands has demonstrated, is invariably the first effect on man of *any* nearer revelation of the presence of God. The ancient Hebrews had an idea that none could look on the face of God and live (Gen. xvi. 30; Exod. xxiv. 2, xxxiii. 20; Deut. v. 24; Judg. vi. 22, etc.), and this was doubtless due to their antecedent conception of the holiness of God and of the unworthiness of man. In other words, this belief witnesses to the existence of an idea of God in the earliest times opposed *toto cælo* to the subsequent degradation of that idea involved in polytheism and the so-called nature worship. From this point of view the sense of sin was not *produced* by the vision; it was due to antecedent conceptions of the Divine purity and holiness, which the vision intensified and impressed on the seer. But however this may be, the vision of God seen by the prophet brought home at once to him the holiness of God insisted upon by the law from the beginning (*cf.* Exod. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30²), as well as the sinfulness of himself and the people to whom he belonged. Dr. G. A. Smith has a long and deeply interesting extract from the writings of Mazzini, the well-known Italian patriot, showing the searchings of heart with which he undertook the task of delivering Italy from her oppressors. No doubt the supporters of established institutions in this country, as well as the believers in revealed religion, have felt an unjust prejudice against this great man in consequence of his opposition

¹ The critics have, as usual, endeavoured to minimize the force of this meaning by pointing out that the word which signifies separation and consequent consecration is equally used of the impure gods of Canaan. But the most conspicuous fact in the creed of Israel was its fierce antagonism to the degradation of the conception of God which is found in Phœnician and also in Babylonian worship. It may be observed that *no such condemnation* of the religion of Egypt is even hinted at. All this strengthens the impression derived from the phenomena displayed in the Pentateuch, that Abraham and Moses alike endeavoured to clear the original conceptions of God from the degrading accretions which, in the course of ages, gathered round them.

² I need hardly say that I do not recognise the alleged post-exilic date of these regulations.

to both. They have not sufficiently understood that the established governments in Italy in his day were instruments of cruelty and oppression, nor are they aware of the extent to which Italian Christianity—in fact, the Roman form of Christianity everywhere—has degenerated into a number of childish and degraded superstitions, reaction from which has driven many good men, who have identified those superstitions with the religion they have obscured, into a renunciation of Christianity. But, in truth, the introduction of Mazzini and his mental struggles, as would have been the mention of Rienzi, another noble and patriotic Italian, whose aims and history are in some ways not unlike those of the great Triumvir, is *nihil ad rem*, and that for two reasons. First of all, Isaiah's alarm and self-depreciation *precedes* his mission. It is due, not to it, but to *his sense of the awful purity of God*. And, next, his mission was not to deliver his countrymen from tyranny, but to *rouse them to a sense of their duty to God*. The two positions are by no means identical. Isaiah's commission, being one of a more inward and spiritual character, might well induce searchings of heart of a far deeper kind to those which would beset a deliverer of people keenly sensitive of their wrongs, and which, as we may remember, were strongly felt by Moses (Exod. iv. 10). It is one thing to identify one's self with an oppressed nationality for the benefit of those who compose it; it is a far different and more solemn thing for one who knows himself to be a sinner to undertake the task of rousing other people to a sense of their sin. The searchings of spirit which have attended the resolution to minister to the needs of other men's souls have frequently, as the experience of thousands of pious clergy has shown, "pierced even to the dividing of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow," and compelled them to search into and to "discern the thoughts and interests of their own hearts." And in so doing they are but following in the steps of Him who had to wrestle with temptation in a special form before entering on His ministry of redemption and regeneration. Though, unlike the rest of mankind, none could "convict Him of sin," yet both in the Temptation and in the Agony the shrinkings of mortal flesh from a more than mortal work must needs be felt.

VI. The live coal. There is a deep mystery in this act of purgation, which could not adequately be explained till Christ had come, and which is hardly adequately understood nearly twenty centuries after His coming. Of course, those who deny to an inspired prophet of the Most High the power to see beforehand the things which should happen a hundred years after his time will hardly allow that he could have foreseen the revelation of truth which was not made for

nearly eight hundred years. They naturally, therefore, fall very far short of the truth in their exposition of this passage. It is not contended that the prophet fully understood the meaning of what he saw. But no reasonable person, acquainted with the idea of revealed religion universally entertained in the Christian Church until lately, can doubt that there is contained here the germ of the great doctrines of Atonement and Justification, as taught by the Apostles of Christ. Many patristic, Anglican, and Lutheran divines have seen in the live coal a type of Holy Communion, as the application to individuals of the great Evangelical facts of Atonement and Justification which Christ made known to His disciples. Taken from an altar burning with the fire of love and laid on the lips of the penitent, it is a token of the perfected humanity of Christ, with which the soul, conscious of its sin, comes into contact by the means of faith. The sense of pardon coalesces with the power of renewal and quickening unto better things which the indwelling of the man Christ Jesus communicates to the heart. The lips are here taken to represent the whole man. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." And so it comes to pass that "by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned."

VII. The mission. On this little need be said. The whole contents of Isaiah's prophecy, the whole history of the Christian Church, are a commentary on it. The prophet is sent to a people steeped in indifference, forgetfulness, or open disobedience, and he is to strive to awaken them to a knowledge of their state. It is only when he realizes the gracious pardon he has received from above that he dares undertake a task so overwhelming. But that act of grace once realized, he is willing, and even eager, to accept the Divine call. May his eagerness be emulated by those who are called to a similar service now!

VIII. The effect of the mission. At first sight it appears a remarkable one. It appears to be one of hardening rather than of awakening. But that is always the case in mission work. The heart of man does not, as a rule, respond at once to the appeal to embrace the truth. When Jesus came, they crucified Him. When His Apostles carried His words to the ends of the earth, bonds, imprisonment, stripes, even death, awaited them. Wherever the truth of God is first proclaimed, wherever forgotten truths are revived, wherever the progress of human thought reveals new aspects of Christian truth, the first effect is always to intensify men's prejudices, and to stimulate their passions and their hatreds. And so vers. 9, 10 are more than once quoted in the New Testament, and their

fulfilment remarked upon. If to this day the task of the genuine preacher of Christ remains a difficult one, let him remember that all faithful preaching of Him must go through four stages: (1) incredulity, (2) opposition, (3) struggle, (4) conviction and victory. The first and second stages, moreover (see vers. 11, 12) last a long time, and for the moment defeat seems not only possible, but certain. But however fierce the conflict may be, however near defeat may appear, the conscientious worker need not despair. Victory is certain in the end. And so, as ever in the writings of Isaiah and other prophets (see what has been said above on chaps. ii., iii., and iv.), the picture of ruin and desolation, apprehension and despair, is ever balanced by one of reviving joy and hope. There is ever a "tenth" remaining (ver. 11). The "stock" is never destroyed, but is left to spring up again. There are always "seven thousand in Israel," whether we know it or not, who have not "bowed the knee to Baal." So it always is in the history of Christ's Church. Elijah in Horeb; John Baptist in the castle of Machærus, Athanasius *contra mundum*, when the world seemed to have abandoned the Catholic faith and to have become Arian; Luther at the Wartburg, wrestling with the fiercest and most subtle temptations; Tyndale in the castle of Vilvoorde, expecting death from day to day; Henry Martyn, persevering in his work in India, though he made not a single convert, are witnesses from among thousands of the universality of the principle. And the history of every great movement for the improvement and progress of humanity is a confirmation of its truth.

NOTE.—This chapter, unique at once in the writings of the prophet and in the Old Testament at large, does not contribute much to critical analysis. One would not expect many of Isaiah's usual phrases here. Yet, in relation to the theory of composite authorship, beside the use of the term "Lord of Hosts," which is so largely characteristic of this book, there is also the fact that the word translated "shut," applied to the eyes in ver. 10, scarcely occurs outside the book usually ascribed to Isaiah. It is found here, in chaps. xi. 8, xxix. 9, and in lxvi. 12. Elsewhere it is only found in Ps. xciv. and cxix., and there not in its literal sense of *closing up*, but in its figurative sense of *blinding to all defects*, and therefore being *pleased*.

In connection with what I said in the last paper about the degrading effects of tame submission to cruel and brutalizing oppression, such as used to take place in Siberia, and to a certain extent takes place there still, I might have quoted Milton's words in support of my view:

"But what more oft in nations grown corrupt,
And by their vices brought to servitude,
Than to love bondage more than liberty—
Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty."

And he further notes how such are wont

"At last
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds."
"Samson Agonistes," lines 268-276.

J. J. LIAS.



ART. III.—THE BOOK OF GENESIS (*continued*).

WHEN we leave the first three chapters of Genesis behind in our investigations into the credibility of the narrative, which we hope have not been wholly profitless, we expect to come into less troubled waters. But the modern critic never seems to be so happy as when he is upsetting cherished notions. At the same time, he occasionally omits to clear up difficulties. One could not tell, for instance, from the book with which we are more immediately concerned, that there was any difficulty as to the interpretation of the last words of chap. iv., "with *the help of the Lord*"; but such there is.

It would be impossible to deal exhaustively with all the points that are suggested by a perusal of each chapter of Genesis in succession. The following, however, may be mentioned:

1. It is implied by the commentators that Abel and Cain were uncivilized persons. This is, of course, a pure assumption. It is also asserted that no such motive as thankfulness for the fruitfulness of the ground and of the herds and flocks is alluded to in the account of their offerings. This bare assertion is simply based upon one theory of sacrifice that is now current, and is, to say the least, far from being established. Noah, at any rate, would appear to have offered up burnt-offerings in thanksgiving for his deliverance from the Flood.

2. Many more statements are made as to the history of Cain and Abel, which to most minds will be held to be incapable of proof. Such are the following: That (*a*) according to the existing Book of Genesis it is plain that there could have been no one (in existence in the world at the time) to slay Cain; and (*b*) that the presence of Jehovah is regarded as confined to the garden of Eden and its immediate neighbourhood.

We have dealt partly with the former of these statements in a previous article. Again, it is assumed that Cain had a wife before the murder of Abel. Where the wife came from we are not told. More than one explanation can be given; we have already suggested one. A considerable number of inhabitants is not, as is asserted, necessarily required by the statement of chap. iv. 14, "whosoever findeth me shall slay me." As to the second of the statements mentioned above, we find the Lord's presence recognised in later passages of the same document (J), and not limited to that particular locality.

3. The statement as to the discovery of certain arts and institutions is ascribed to the inventive faculties of the Hebrews of a later day; and these discoverers are to be regarded as in their origin demi-gods or heroes, whose semi-divinity was cut out of the tradition about them by these same later Hebrews. At least, that is the explanation which Dr. Driver adopts as his own, using the language of the present Bishop of Winchester.¹ Although there may be, as no doubt there were, such inventors, who were surrounded in later times among some peoples with a heroic or semi-divine atmosphere, it does not follow that there was not a human element behind them. Certainly there is nothing heroic, to say nothing of anything semi-divine, about the inventors of Gen. iv. Moreover, we need not be astonished by the omission of the Stone Age. The fact is, as we have asserted before, that both before and behind these inventors there may be many cycles of ages in the world's history. At any rate, it is interesting to note that the narrative here recognises with the scientists a *Bronze*² and *Iron* Age; it only omits to tell us what preceded it. That did not fall within its scope.

A caution may also be given. We must not imagine, because the birth of Seth is not mentioned sooner, that therefore it did not take place till the days of Lamech. The author of Genesis, or of the chronicle called J, was anxious to dismiss the history of Cain and his descendants from his narrative, and therefore dealt with them first. Chap. iv. 25 really connects itself with chap. iv. 15. Further still, it is to be noticed that this part of the narrative owes nothing, so far as we know, to Babylon, and has most affinity with other Semitic legends, perhaps derived from the Bible narrative or running parallel to it (Eus., P.E., i. 10).

4. It will surely appear unreasonable or almost puerile to

¹ "Early Narratives of Genesis," p. 81.

² Bronze or copper (R.V., marg.), not brass, is the right rendering in modern English of the word used in Gen. iv. 22.

most minds that they should be asked the question, "Was the knowledge of these arts preserved in the ark, or had they to be rediscovered afterwards?" and then, being given the answer, "No; both these alternatives are improbable," that they should be told that behind the narrative as they read it were two cycles of traditions, one of which had no Flood in it, and that, too, when it is admitted that the tradition of a Flood was almost universally prevalent in the East.

We have little to add to what we have said already as to the next chapters of Genesis. Considering how little we know about man's environment in the earliest ages of the history of the human race, it seems a somewhat rash assertion to make that "longevity, such as is here described, is physiologically incompatible with the structure of the human body" (p. 75). Many might be found, we imagine, to assert the contrary. The conditions of life may have been, and doubtless were, so different from those of the present time that it is difficult to say what might be then compatible or incompatible with the structure of the human body. As it is, science nowadays sometimes occupies itself with endeavours to prove the reverse, and the possibility of prolonging human life. But even if it be so, there are other ways of explaining the statements made, as we have seen in a previous article. It must be remembered that the "higher critic" does not claim to know, any more than others, upon what principle the figures given were computed. And instead of saying, as some do, that the names and narrative were derived from the Babylonian stories, we should be inclined to think it more reasonable to infer that the Babylonian form of the history, especially considering its character,¹ was a corruption of the account which we have in a much purer and more original form in Genesis. There is no doubt a tradition common to both; but the Scriptural one is so much more modest in its assertions and probable in its circumstances that we look to it as without doubt containing a more reasonable form of that which has been exaggerated for the aggrandizement in popular opinion of the Babylonian kingdom. The differences between the narratives are thus accounted for, and are as noticeable as their agreements.

Once again, we have already had something to say about the sons of God and the daughters of men. As to their giant issue, though no traces of any such race have been found, we cannot see why they need be treated as if it were impossible

¹ For instance, according to Berossus' account of the Babylonian records, there were ten kings before the Flood whose united reigns amounted to 420,000 years.

that such could have existed. Several of the mammals existing upon the face of the earth at the present time can claim relationship with beasts of much more gigantic form in the earlier days of the world's history. Our museums are witnesses to that, and the discoveries of such creatures as the elephants embedded, flesh as well as bones, in the tundras of Siberia, and the fragments of the flesh and skin of a gigantic form of sloth in the caves of Patagonia. If this be so, there may very well have been *anthropoids*, if not *anthropoi*, of considerably greater stature than any existing in the world at the present time, especially when we remember the differences of stature that do occur in men of different races at the present time.

I turn now to the

HISTORY OF THE FLOOD,

with which I have already dealt in part. It remains to consider the alleged difference which, it is asserted, exists between the various documents as to the duration of the Flood. Of course, if the fragments of the so-called P and J be taken by themselves as they stand, as if each contained the whole narrative as to the Flood, and not only a part, it is possible to make out that P's flood lasted one year and eleven days and J's sixty-one days. But this was not what the writer who combined the records, if they were so combined, intended. To him they were sections combined to make up a whole, and the whole and the parts, with thirty days to a month, are perfectly consistent and concordant. The years are reckoned by those of Noah's life, commencing with his six hundredth birthday. The first seven days of the year (vii. 10) are days of waiting. Then the rain begins to fall, and for forty days and forty nights, till the seventeenth day of the second month (vii. 11), follow days of combined incessant descent of rain and ascent of water from the fountains of the earth (vii. 11). At the end of those forty days there are 150 days, during which there is no perceptible diminution of the flood (vii. 24). This makes 197 days in all, equivalent to six months and seventeen days of the seventh month (viii. 4). Then the ark rests on the mountains of Ararat. In that district there is a mountain, if identical with the Mount Ararat of to-day, standing alone, with its lofty peak of about 17,000 feet.¹ Then the subsidence of the waters continues till the first day of the tenth month (viii. 5), when the lower heights and hills appeared

¹ Mount Ararat is apparently about 12,000 feet higher than any of the neighbouring mountains.

above the water. The cautious Noah waits forty days more (this brings us to the tenth day of the eleventh month), and after three weeks more (here we arrive at the first day of the first month, Noah's six hundred and first birthday) the surface of the ground is dry (viii. 13), though it is not till another eight weeks (viii. 14) have passed that the earth can be called dry. If these calculations are right, no inconsistency on this ground can be asserted between the two documents. We have already drawn attention to the many occurrences of weeks of seven days in the narrative.

The whole narrative, then, whether derived from other sources or not, is consistent with itself in its marks of time.

As to the Flood itself, the following statements may, I think, be made without gainsaying: (1) The date of the Flood cannot be fixed from the Biblical statements, if what we have said already deserves consideration, at either *circa* 2501 B.C. or (LXX.) *circa* 3066 B.C. It may have been an event far away earlier than that. (2) The Ararat of Gen. viii. 4 is not a mountain, but a district, and need not necessarily be the Armenia of to-day, though it was identified with it in later times. The narrative does not, as we have assumed above for argumentative purposes it does, presuppose one high mountain several thousand feet higher than anything round about it, but rather the contrary. (3) The historical character of the Flood is implied by the Flood stories current in many different parts of our globe, for the attempts to explain away such a universal belief are not convincing (see, *e.g.*, Driver, p. 102). Not least among these Flood stories is the narrative of the Babylonian tablets. But, because we acknowledge this, it does not follow that the Bible story *must be* derived from the Babylonian. It is equally possible to assert that they both came from an earlier source, which has been much more elaborated and dramatized in its Babylonian form. (4) What remains alone open for discussion, and always will so remain, is whether the Flood was a universal one—and this seems the most difficult theory to maintain—or whether it was a Flood in a far-off cycle of the ages of the world's history, which only affected the parts of the world then inhabited by reasoning man. If this latter view be adopted, and Oriental modes of description be taken into account, we do not think that there need be any difficulty in accepting the historical character of the narrative.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. IV.—GOD'S PROVIDENCE FOR THE
INFINITELY SMALL.¹

“Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.”—MATT. x. 29-31

YOU have come here, my brethren, to ask God for His blessing upon this Institute of Public Health on a Sunday which reminds us in a striking manner of our dependence upon Him. We are taught in the Collect to pray to God as to the Being “whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth.” It goes on to remind us, moreover, that we are not to understand this merely in a general sense, as though we were to regard God simply as the Creator and General Governor of the Universe, but that we are to understand it in a particular sense as applying to everything that happens to us, good or bad. We are taught to beseech Him humbly “to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us those things which be profitable for us.” So that whatever the harm or the hurt to which we may be exposed, we are taught to realize that God can keep it away from us if He will; and that, on the other hand, He is able to give us whatever will be profitable for us. This applies, moreover, to bodily things as well as to spiritual ones, for we address Him as ordering all things “both in heaven and earth”—not merely in heaven, but here in earth; not merely those spiritual interests which belong to heaven and to the spiritual life of our souls, but those temporal things which concern this earth and affect our bodily life. In all things that happen to us, whether in soul or body, we are to be alive to the immediate action and will of God; we are to be sure that He is governing all of them, and that nothing which occurs to us, whether for harm or for benefit, can occur without His express providence.

Now, this is really no more than what is indicated in the Lord's Prayer, in which we are taught to pray, not merely for the fulfilment of the will of God, for our forgiveness, and for our deliverance from spiritual evil, but for our daily bread; and are thus bidden to remember that we are dependent for the very bread we eat upon His love and His will. But our Lord more than once taught the same truth in a still more emphatic manner, and the text is a very remarkable expression of it. He points us to the little birds, two of which were worth no more than a farthing, and says explicitly that

¹ Preached in Folkestone Parish Church before the Royal Institute of Public Health, on the eighth Sunday after Trinity, July 24, 1904.

not one of them shall fall to the ground without our Father. "Fear not, therefore," He said; "ye are of more value than many sparrows." But He adds a still more remarkable statement: that "the very hairs of your head are all numbered." He could not have used an expression which would assert more strongly that even the slightest and most insignificant parts of our frame, the most trivial accidents which happen to us, are all under the control and providence of our Father in heaven. This statement is the most absolute contradiction to a feeling which men have often had, that God must be too great to attend to the trivial interests of small creatures like ourselves. Such a feeling, indeed, is so natural as to find expression by one of the psalmists, who exclaims: "When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained, what is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him?" But our Lord declares that the mindfulness of God, and the visiting hand of God, extend not merely to the sons of men individually, but to the smallest accidents which can happen to them. There is another feeling, which has been very prevalent in our time, to which our Lord's words give a similarly direct contradiction. We have learned so much of the fixed character of the laws of Nature that many men have been disposed to think and to teach that all that happens in the world is the consequence of mere general laws, and that there is no room for the interposition of a special will in the course of Nature, even if it be the will of God. But when our Lord says that not a sparrow falls to the ground without our Father—that is, without His immediate concurrence and action—He teaches us in the most positive manner that the most common occurrences of Nature are dependent on His personal will. Neither our insignificance, nor the fact of our being subject to certain general laws, alike in our bodies and in our souls, must be allowed to obscure to us the great truth of the continual action of God's providence in every detail of life. We must be alive to Him, we must see His hand, we must recognise His personal will, in the fall of a sparrow or in the slightest accident of our own lives. We must not be content merely to look to laws of Nature: we must look to Him.

Now, if anyone should be disposed to think that there is some exaggeration of expression in these statements respecting the sparrow that falls to the ground and the numbering of the hairs of our head, if anyone should find it difficult to realize that such slight and insignificant things as these receive the immediate care of God, he may find some assistance if he will take into consideration the undoubted facts, the remarkable

and momentous discoveries which have given occasion for the establishment of such an organization as this Institute, and which are engaging its attention at this moment. You are occupied with the operation on the human frame of the very smallest organisms known even to microscopical investigation. Take as an example the disease scientifically called tuberculosis, of which one of the most common forms is the too familiar malady of consumption. What has been the central point from which all such discussions start? It is the fact, which has been discovered within the last few years, that this terrible disease, which has been and still is destructive to such vast numbers of the human race, is all due to a little creature, so small as to be quite invisible to the naked eye, and only to be discerned by powerful microscopes. Almost incalculable numbers of these little creatures may be present in the space of a postage stamp or of a teaspoon. Yet they have their direct organization and constitution; and there are different kinds of them, each of which may be the cause of a distinct disease. One kind of these little creatures, or *bacilli*, as they are called, will produce the disease of consumption, another kind of them will produce malaria or other specific fevers, and so on. It is upon these infinitely small creatures, and not upon things which we are disposed to consider great, not upon things which we see with our eyes and which impress us by their magnitude, that the health of mankind depends. Sometimes, in former days, whole countries were desolated, and a large proportion of their inhabitants swept away, by a plague or a fever. And what was the cause of this terrible destruction? We now know that it was simply to the action of these infinitely little creatures that such tremendous results were due. Our bodies themselves, in fact, are built up out of indescribably little atoms; and all the great things we see in the world—the trees, the mountains, the sea, the very heaven itself with its light and warmth and electricity—are made up of these infinitely little things. It is upon the structure of the little things, of the very smallest things we can imagine, that the welfare and the very existence of the greatest things depends. In fact, it is by the marvellous wisdom of God in creating and maintaining these infinitely small things that the great things have been created; and if we wish to see and to realize His creative and sustaining work in its origin and its application, we must look at the very smallest and slightest of all His creatures. It may indeed be said that if He did not attend to the very smallest things, there would be no great things for His providence to attend to.

The science of the present day has taught us, therefore, that we could not make a greater mistake than to suppose

that because things are little they are not governed by the providence of God. But many people, perhaps, will feel more difficulty with respect to the other consideration I mentioned to you—namely, that, as we know that all things are governed by general laws, it is not reasonable to suppose that God interferes, as the Collect teaches us, in the details of our lives, putting away hurtful things from us and giving us things which are profitable to us. But it seems a sufficient answer to this difficulty to remember that we ourselves, with our own feeble wills, are perpetually interposing to put away from one another and from ourselves things which seem hurtful. With our own children, we do not say that they are subject to general laws, and that therefore we cannot keep harm from them or do them good. In spite of all the laws of Nature by which a little child is surrounded, he is dependent to a infinite extent upon the will of his father and mother, and upon their providence for him. But if our little wills can play this momentous part in Nature, is it reasonable to doubt that the will of God can do so to an infinitely greater extent? The simple truth seems to be that the laws of Nature show us the ways and the methods by which the will of God acts, but they do not show us what that will is; and He, by His infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, is able to guide and direct the action of those laws of Nature, so as to carry out His will in any particular which He may determine. Take, for instance, the journey of St. Paul to Rome, which had such momentous consequences. The vessel in which St. Paul was being conveyed to Italy was caught in a violent tempest, and seemed at the mercy of the natural action of the winds and waves. But, nevertheless, God's particular providence was controlling its course; St. Paul was able to promise the crew that not a hair of their heads should perish, and they were all brought safe to land.

At the same time there is an important truth to be borne in mind as to the operation of those general laws of Nature, which is of equal consequence with respect to our bodies and to our souls. That truth is that men and women are expected to learn those laws, and to obey them, and to accommodate themselves to them to the best of their powers; and that God does to a large extent, and perhaps for the most part, leave us subject to the action of such laws, only interposing as He may see fit, according to the beautiful old proverb, to "temper the wind to the shorn lamb." Look first of all at God's moral laws. There are certain laws of right and wrong in human conduct laid down, for instance, in the Ten Commandments; and according as men obey those laws or violate them, they must expect for the most part to suffer the natural

consequences. If men and women live in disregard of God, without due respect to their parents, if they indulge in violence, impurity, and dishonesty, they will, in the ordinary course of things, suffer the punishment which, in the system of God's government of the world, are attached to the violation of His moral laws. But at the same time our whole future hope as Christians depends on the assurance, which has been given us by our Lord, that, for His sake, our violations of these laws will not be strictly visited upon us hereafter, that He has made atonement for them, and that if we trust Him, and submit to Him, the terrible consequences which in strict justice are attached to them will be averted from us. Even in this world, what Christian man is there who, in looking back on his own experience, does not thankfully recognise many cases in which, by some merciful guidance of God's providence, the evil which he had deserved by his violation of those laws has been averted from him? I am sure that in proportion to a man's spiritual experience he will realize that again and again the hand of God, perhaps acting through some human, or it may be through some angelic, influence, has interposed to check him in some fatal course, and to warn him of his danger. Many of us must be sensible of similar experiences in our bodily life, when some strange accident—as we deemed it at the time—has suddenly occurred to save our lives or to protect us from some physical disaster; but we are none the less subject in the main, and in ordinary circumstances, to the general operation of physical laws; and if, for instance, we neglect the discoveries which have been laid before us by physicians and biologists as to the means by which consumption and similar diseases are spread, we must expect to suffer the consequences in the continuance of those diseases, and in the ravages which they commit among us. It is, in fact, only by the maintenance of these general laws in strict and, as it may often seem, in stern operation, that they become known to us. It is by their regular enforcement, often in apparent disregard of the consequences to individuals, that God reveals them to us, and thus enables us to adopt the preventive measures by which their terrible consequences are averted. Those general laws, which seem sometimes so merciless, are thus, in His merciful and marvellous wisdom, made to avert their own natural operation, and to open the eyes of men to the means of protecting themselves and their fellows from the physical evils to which they are liable. There is no more gracious way in which His providence puts away from us hurtful things than by that physical order of Nature which enables us by the exercise of our own will to put them away from ourselves. An Institute

like this is rendering a great service to society and to mankind at large by urging on the attention of the people in various districts of the country the general laws of health which have thus been discovered, and so arousing the attention of the public to the physical dangers to which they are exposed, and to the means in their own hands of averting them.

Only let it be the comfort of every individual Christian to remember our Lord's teaching in this text, and to be assured that in every case it is by the express and deliberate permission of God if any disease or harm actually attacks us. It has come upon us, perhaps, in the general course of Nature, according to the ordinary operation of natural laws; but it has come by His permission, because He did not see fit to interpose to ward off some danger to which we had been exposed. It is under the laws which He maintains that it has come upon us; and yet, as it could not have actually come upon us without His permission, it is due, not to Nature or to chance, but to His will and His providence. As the minister is instructed to say, in the beautiful words of the Service for the Visitation of the Sick: "Dearly beloved, know this, that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and of all things to them pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness. Wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly that it is God's visitation." If, indeed, this assurance is to be of full comfort to us, we must have our hearts right with Him, and thus have reason to feel assured that He is dealing with us in love and mercy, and not in wrath. But if we are striving to live with Him in Christ, if we are daily looking up to Him as His forgiven children, endeavouring to fulfil His injunction, "If ye love Me, keep My commandments," we may then confidently take to ourselves the assurance of His Apostle, that "all things work together for good to them that love God"; we may be assured, at least, that He will dispose the way of His servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation, and that "amidst all the changes and chances of this mortal life" we shall ever be defended by His most gracious and ready help.



ART. V.—METHODS OF SOCIAL ADVANCE.¹

THIS should prove an exceedingly useful book. It consists of a number of papers which have recently been read at meetings of the Charity Organization Society, together with an introduction by the secretary. All the subjects dealt with are, from a social point of view, of pressing importance. Some of the papers are of more general interest than others, but all are of value, and all are the work of men and women who write from experience, and who may be regarded as experts in the special department of social effort with which they individually deal.

The introduction by Mr. C. S. Loch is nominally upon "Distress and its Prevention," but is really a preliminary treatment of some of the subjects dealt with more fully in the papers which follow. The true object and method of social work is at once indicated. The *object* is, "to make and keep our people competent. We would add to their ability, energy, and resources, strengthen their affections, and increase their pleasure in a healthy, robust existence; and, as we do this, it would follow that their power of preserving their independence in all the ordinary contingencies of life and in the strain of hard times would increase proportionally." The *method* by which this much-to-be-desired result is to be attained is by making "an appeal, not to their weakness, but to their strength, however elemental or undisciplined that strength may be. We must add strength to strength. This view is of vital importance. It affects the whole question of relief and the use of means. Relief or even increased wages or income will not help the people (of whatever class they be), but will rather weaken them, if it does not coincide with some movement on their part which makes for better social habit" (p. 1).

Effort on the part of social workers to arouse effort on the part of those for whom they work may be said to be the keynote of the various policies outlined, and of the different suggestions made throughout the book. And we are convinced that all who have any really intelligent experience of social work are becoming more and more certain that this method is the only right one, and the only one by which we can hope for any permanent results.

As examples of efforts by which the social habits of the people may be improved Mr. Loch instances, (1) careful

¹ "Methods of Social Advance: Short Studies in Social Practice, by Various Authors," edited by C. S. Loch, B.A., Secretary of the Charity Organization Society. London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.

instruction to mothers upon the right methods of rearing children ; (2) greater care on the part of municipal authorities in providing in crowded centres of population adequate playgrounds for boys and girls ; (3) increased opportunities for physical and military drill, as tending to make both men and boys harder physically, cleaner, more temperate, more adaptive, and self-reliant, etc. He believes that "the Friendly Society as well as the Savings-Bank might be organized in the closest relationship to the school system." He strongly advises the general adoption in poor neighbourhoods of "the collecting bank," because "the power of husbanding is usually a first step to civilization," and because it "enables many people who would never think of putting by to harvest the fruit of their labours, and it opens out to them a better life than that of hand to mouth hopelessness" (p. 3).

Mr. Loch then notices another subject, with which he deals at length later in the book in a separate and very valuable paper—viz., the great and rapid increase of local or municipal taxation. This increase of taxation is, of course, in one sense self-imposed by the people, but it is, probably, in the vast majority of cases imposed through ignorance, arising from the fact that many of the poor pay rates only indirectly—*i.e.*, through their rent. They do not notice that the higher rents, at which they complain, and which are a very serious consideration to many of them, are largely due to increased rates which the landlords pay, and for which they have to recoup themselves by raising the weekly rents of their tenants. As examples of the increase of rates Mr. Loch quotes the boroughs of St. Pancras, Poplar, and Camberwell, in which, in nine years, the total rates have increased 34·2, 52·7, and 66·7 per cent. respectively ; whereas the populations of these boroughs have in the same period increased by only 0·4, 1·2, and 10·2 per cent., while in West Ham, in the same nine years, the increase of expenditure on "the relief of the poor and purposes connected therewith has been 102 per cent." Unfortunately, the poor, as a rule, do not notice the incidence of indirect taxation ; and they do not realize that high rates, besides raising rents, have a tendency to drive industries into other less heavily rated districts. "The remedy lies largely in the collection of the rates from the individual occupant. An increase in the rates will then be expressed definitely as the equivalent of so many pence collected periodically by, or on behalf of, the rate collector. And a sense of responsibility, one of the first safeguards for the good use of means and so against distress, will thus be created" (p. 4).

The next subject upon which Mr. Loch touches, and to which Mrs. Bosanquet and Mr. George Livesey devote separate

papers, is indicated in the following sentences: "Trades unions may aid skilled labour; they cannot benefit unskilled labour permanently. To improve his economic position the unskilled labourer must have recourse to some other method. With him progress lies in the better use of wage (*vide* Mrs. Bosanquet's paper on "Wages and Housekeeping"), or if it can be arranged, in profit-sharing, or in similar co-operative relations between employer and employee. . . . As a matter of justice, should not workers share in profits according to some estimate of the extent to which they have helped to create them? Were this possible a new element of security would be given to life, which, accruing as a reward of work done, would bring with it alike self-restraint and economic hopefulness" (p. 5).

Lastly, Mr. Loch deals with "the two great evils of the present system of Poor Law administration. These are, first, the way in which the "ins" and "outs"—that is, the class now within the scope of the action of the Poor Law and now just bordering upon it—are for ever coming and going. Years—we might almost say generations—pass, and little of any material or social improvement in this class seems to be effected. For them "social neglect does not carry with it the penalties or the discipline of social reform." If the social reformer is tempted to despair, it is in his dealings with this, alas! numerous class. Mr. Loch believes that this section of the community "might be largely modified by even the prospect of committal for a period of laborious and wholesome detention as an alternative to 'in and outing.'"

The second great evil connected with the Poor Law is the allowance system, or outdoor relief, which is "contrary to all the canons of charity. The key to success in charity lies in the persistent care for the individual in close connection with the family, and in discerning and friendly aid suited to the needs of the particular case. Few realize how great this success may be. But a statutory and rate-supported allowance system reduces all remedies to one—the granting of money. It then deprives the people of one of the most useful means of social education—the personal responsibility of charity—and it prevents any large growth of that responsibility" (p. 5).

These are wise words, and they deserve to be remembered by all who are called to the work of helping those who stand in need of help. As assistance is now too generally given its effect is rather to weaken still further the already enfeebled powers of its recipients. In other words, it does more harm than good. The cynical see this and find in it a welcome excuse for refusing to help in any way. It is not less expendi-

ture that is needed, but expenditure of thought and personal service along with expenditure of money. Those who would help to good effect must help with knowledge and discretion. They must study both before and while they work. They must educate themselves for the task they undertake. To quote Mr. Loch's final words, our "cardinal want" at the present time is "education in social life and economics," and that "those who undertake the duties of administration or of charity will learn that to promote competence in others they must first make themselves competent; and that without intelligence and a clear purpose neither personal devotion, nor religious feeling, nor excited philanthropy, nor large communal expenditure, can prevent or remove our distress."

Of the other sixteen papers in the volume, those of most general interest are that upon "Agriculture and the Unemployed Question," by Mr. H. R. Haggard; those upon "Past Experience in Relief Works" and upon "Wages and House-keeping," by Mrs. Bosanquet; that upon "The Separate Payment of Rates," by Mr. Loch; that upon "Poor Law Reform," by Mr. T. Mackay, and that upon "A School of Sociology," by Mr. E. J. Urwick. All the papers are valuable, but these I have named will, from their subjects, interest a wider circle of readers.

Mr. Rider Haggard pleads for a more active agricultural policy on the part of the Government, in order that a greater number of persons, whether as owners or workers, may be established on the land. He also pleads for the wider establishment (under the authority and control of the Government) of "Credit Banks," such as have proved so widely useful in Austria and elsewhere on the Continent. They have so far been tried in very few places in England, but where the experiment has been made it has proved to be most beneficial. Mr. Haggard draws attention to this strange and painful fact: that "while in England we have a land which was never more fertile, while we have men who would be willing to work and a very hungry market, yet three-fourths of the agricultural produce we consume comes from abroad." Whether regarded from the physical or the economical point of view, Mr. Haggard believes that the countryman is superior to the dweller in towns. "The young and strong who come to the town may do better than those who remain in the country, for they earn a better wage while they are young and strong, but how the results work out for those of the ages of, say, between fifty and seventy is another matter. My own opinion is, taking them over the average, that the economic competence of the inhabitants of cities is not in

any way equal to the economic competence of the ordinary dweller in the country" (p. 67).

The problem of the "unemployed" threatens to become permanent, and with the approach of every winter, in most of the great towns, there is a demand for "relief works" of one kind or another. Those who are inclined to enter upon such schemes should read Mrs. Bosanquet's paper, which is simply a plain and unvarnished record of results, financial and otherwise, of several such efforts made in different ways and in various localities. Upon one and all, we fear, the verdict of "failure" must be pronounced. Some of the figures given are very remarkable—*e.g.*, in St. Pancras work done by the unemployed to the value of £12 cost the Guardians £100; in St. Olave's every ton of stone broken cost the Union £7, the market price for the same being at the time 12s. 4d. At Wanstead the work done by the unemployed was found to be worth 1d. per hour; the work done for the Metropolitan Gardens Association by the unemployed cost just four times what the same work would have cost if done by contract.

Mrs. Bosanquet's second paper should be of special value to that numerous body of Christian workers who visit among the poor. Those who are constantly dealing with its many "problems" know that "poverty" arises from two main causes—(1) insufficiency of income; (2) ignorance, or carelessness, or want of self-control in using what income there may be as wisely as possible. It is with the second of these causes that Mrs. Bosanquet deals. In reply to those who "point to the returns of pauperism and to the flagrant cases of poverty so familiar to those who work in large towns as proof of the insufficiency of wages," she "concedes at once that in many instances, and notably in the case of unskilled women, wages are still insufficient even to supply the necessities of an efficient life, though not nearly to the extent popularly supposed. But we also maintain that the more flagrant cases of poverty, which are generally supposed to be evidence of this, are, on the contrary, comparatively seldom due to insufficient earnings. In the great majority of these cases a wise economy is all that is needed to remedy the poverty" (pp. 133, 134).

I have not space to enter into the evidence by which Mrs. Bosanquet substantiates each of these statements; I can only advise my readers to weigh most carefully the excellent advice she gives to those who work among "the poor" as to how to teach them to spend their earnings so that they obtain the maximum benefit from them. The whole paper is full of the results of a most carefully con-

sidered experience, and it cannot fail to be of the greatest usefulness to all who will take the trouble to study it.

The last paper I propose to consider is that by Mr. Urwick, on "A School of Sociology," and in some respects this is, perhaps, the most valuable contribution to the volume. Mr. Urwick begins with a note of hopefulness. He believes that at last it is dawning upon the minds of many that "training is as essential for social service as for other kinds of service"—in other words, that "some experience and some knowledge are useful adjuncts to the equipment of the reformer and social worker." But in this very fact he sees a danger. He believes that in regard to this knowledge we shall be content with a too limited ideal. It is something (1) to have taught people to regard the "poor" as persons, as members of a society normally related to each other; (2) to have "a right estimate of social 'values,' most of all of the relative importance of comfort and character"; (3) to have "a right knowledge of present conditions—at any rate, of the localized conditions of the industrial and social life of some one district." But what we need is that, besides being mere administrators—in whom there is always a tendency to work by "rule of thumb"—the workers of to-day shall be "apostles of true doctrines," and that they shall, like all apostles who wish to be effective, preach in the language, not of their grandfathers, but in that of their contemporaries.

Mr. Urwick pleads for a study of the science of social life, or "sociology," a knowledge of which he believes must be brought into the scheme of education for social work. But the science is a many-sided one, and we shall have to determine what branches we think it necessary to include. Mr. Urwick believes that these "must embrace four main departments of thought and inquiry." The first of these is "Social Science," which includes "the natural history of society, the analysis of the various physical conditions of social life, the development of natural and racial characteristics and habits, etc. From this point of view, sociology is concerned with society as a growth, and aims at the interpretation of social evolution" (p. 183).

But the social reformer cannot be content merely to watch the natural evolution of society. The principle of *laissez faire* is inconsistent with all measures of reform. With the reformer enters the warfare between ethics and evolution. We are then led to the second view of society, which is idealistic as the first was natural. Mr. Urwick calls this the view of "Social Philosophy." "In this aspect society is regarded less as a natural growth than as an embodiment of ideas or an expression of purpose and will." We are here "concerned with

the structure of society . . . as subservient to some ideal of human life."

The third aspect of society is the "Economical." Here "inquiry is directed to the economic framework of social life and to the effect upon all social relationships of economic needs." As Mr. Urwick shows, a knowledge of this particular aspect would be most valuable at the present time of "hasty socialist theories" and of "dangers from over-municipalization." Our administrators have forgotten to study the "economic effect of the collective expenditure and enterprise on the productive capacity of the individual." In other words, we have raised the rates without thinking of their effect upon either the trade or the workers in our great centres of population.

The last aspect is the "Psychological." It is only of recent years that a knowledge of psychology has become recognised as a very useful element or factor in the equipment of those who wish to deal wisely with those for whom they are making effort. As Mr. Urwick says, the relation of psychology to the problems of social life may not as yet be clearly defined, but "the social relations among individuals . . . are themselves always and only thought-relations and feeling-relations. . . . The bases of social action—habit, example, imitation, initiative—even character itself, the root of all good and all evil in social being and doing; turn where he will, the sociologist must look to psychology for the first steps on the road to understanding" (p. 185).

There are several other papers in the book to which I should have liked to draw attention—*e.g.*, that upon "Physical Education," or that on "Emigration and Want of Employment," or those upon "Apprenticeship" and upon "Poor Law Reform." But I trust I have proved the truth of the assertion with which I commenced—that the book cannot fail to be a most useful one.

Its chief merit seems to consist in the fact that it is the work of men and women who write from experience, and who, from the experience which they have themselves gained, state principles of action which may be helpful to others who are faced with the same difficulties which they have at least tried, honestly and thoughtfully, to lessen or to overcome.

W. EDWARD CHADWICK.



ART. VI.—THREE PARSONS OF THE PAST, AS SEEN
IN THEIR WILLS.

THE "last will and testament" of some one of that great multitude over whose mortal remains

"The earth who shelters in its vast embrace
The sleeping myriads of the mortal race"

has closed for many a generation is by no means the least interesting of the various documents which come under the notice of the student of the past. Such a document may contain records of facts in vain sought for elsewhere, yet which would not, *a priori*, be expected from such a source. And so it happens that the local historian, the archaeologist, and the ecclesiologist, as well as the genealogist, resort to such documents in the hope of finding therein items overlooked or undiscovered in more likely localities or by the higher historians. In them, besides glimpses of the personality of the testator, of his likes and dislikes, his whims and his oddities, the ecclesiologist may find information relative to the churches of his country, great or small, extinct or extant—as, for instance, to their dedications, their altars, their chapels or their tombs.

Both the interest and value of ancient wills is in direct ratio to their antiquity; and as we approach modern times both these qualities come very near to the vanishing-point, though not in the gradual way which might have been expected. As a matter of fact, the Reformation forms, in this respect, as decided a critical point as a cataract does in the course of a river. And over that particular cataract what priceless possessions, gems of art, invaluable records of the past, painted, sculptured, carved, and written, were swept by the frightful flood of fanaticism! Few, very few, are the wrecked relics which have been cast up by the calmer stream below. The differing interest of old wills may be judged from a comparative view of those of three Vicars of a South-down parish—Ringmer, to wit—of the thirteenth, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth centuries respectively.

Let us premise that Ringmer, the scene of their pastoral labours, is a parish lying at a short distance from the northern slope of the Southdown hills, three miles north-east of Lewes. The parish contains four hamlets or vills, two of which, Wellingham and Ashton—or Hastone in the most ancient manuscripts—are earlier mentioned in medieval documents than the inclusive name of the parish itself. Thus, in the earliest Subsidy Roll dealing with this part of Sussex—namely, in the twenty-fourth year of Edward I.—the vills of the parish

are mentioned, with their contributions, but Ringmer itself, *eo nomine*, does not appear. The place has had no part to play in history. The only great ones of the earth I can connect with it are King John, who once passed through it on one of his many rapid journeys; and Edward II., who, during his exile in Sussex while Prince of Wales, used to hunt and hawk about this neighbourhood, keeping a stud of horses at Ditchling, no great way off, where he lodged. When King, he once passed through the village on his way eastward from Lewes to Battle, possibly casting regretful thoughts back to the time when the Downs with their bustards, the herons of Ringmer Park, and the tall deer that the Conqueror "loved like a father," which abounded in Broyle Chace—another of Ringmer's game preserves—had afforded him and his hounds so many days of sport. Besides these royal personages there have been two distinguished men, worthy to be had in remembrance, who have been associated with Ringmer, namely, William Penn and Gilbert White.

The former found his bride, Gulielma Springett, here, and doubtless often visited her at her home, the fine old dwelling called Broyle Place. The better part of this old three-gabled mansion has since been pulled down, and it has now devolved into a farmhouse.

Gilbert White, whose "Natural History" is now in its eighty-first edition, was a frequent visitor to Ringmer, to the house which still stands among the pines and elms which crown the village green. Here he came annually for thirty years to visit his aunt, who was married to Henry Snook, son of one of the Vicars whose wills we will now discuss.

We shall find some difference in form as well as contents between the earliest of these and the latest. For with the coming of the feudal system at the Norman Conquest came the prohibition of that power of disposing by will of real property which the Saxons had so freely exercised, so many interesting examples of which may be seen in Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus." Probably this change was the least oppressive of many to the Saxons, for before taking away their power of leaving their lands to their heirs, the Conqueror very thoughtfully had taken away the very lands themselves from the wretched Saxons.

This disability lasted until the time of Henry VIII., when "the Statute of Wills" permitted freehold land to be bequeathed, but copyhold only in those cases where the custom of the manor or special grant permitted. Of the latter one instance may be given, when, in the thirteenth century, the Prior and Convent of St. Swithun, of Winchester, granted to their men of Alverstoke various liberties, *inter alia*, to make

wills and to dispose of their children and "avers" (beasts of burden) and to sell and alienate their land. Otherwise medieval testators had recourse to charter, deed of gift, or feoffment. Such appears to have been the form adopted by Henry, Vicar of Ringmer, in the year of Grace 1275. The actual document is not extant, but there are contemporary manuscripts which embody the terms, intentions, and conditions drawn up by this ancient testator. For the amount accruing from his various properties not having proved sufficient to discharge the obligations entailed, the various parties concerned, as the chaplain-elect, the Dean of South Malling, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, concurred in rearrangements embodied in deeds wherein we find quoted the original will, in which he says :

"I Henry vicar of Ringmer, give and bequeath all my lands, meadows, rents and possessions and all my acquisitions (as are shown in my charter) which I hold of various lords, to Dan William, chaplain my comrade who has long and faithfully helped me by his ministrations in the chapel of Ringmer offered for the souls of those on behalf of whom I the said Henry have received alms during my life. But if the said possessions do not suffice for his support I give and bequeath to him the sum of twenty marks for improving his condition, so, nevertheless, that the said twenty marks be handed over to the keeping of some good men or to the custody of Master John de Wichio, until my executors shall have decided in what manner they can be invested in lands or rents to the advantage of the said William."

The charter to which the Vicar refers contains details of his possessions and the purposes which he had in mind when bequeathing them as a trust to William, the chaplain—namely, that he and his successors should celebrate daily Masses in Ringmer Chapel for the repose of the testator's soul and the souls of all the faithful, for his benefactors ; for St. Mary also, and for the Holy Spirit. The document, translated as the will, from the Latin, runs :

"Let the living and those to come know that I Henry vicar of Ringmer have given conceded and by this my present charter confirmed to William of Pontefract chaplain all my lands rents and possessions, and all my other belongings with meadows, pastures, and all other things appertaining as well in the manor of Malling as in the manor of Glynde saving however to my friend and brother the land which he holds of me in Glynde Also all my houses and rents situate in Lewes and Cliff namely at Wike twenty-one acres of land in Burdunes Hame three acres and a half and two crofts lying opposite the house of Richard Capre and one croft near his

enclosure and one acre at the House of Le Ridere and the whole croft which lies at Wintersgate which formerly belonged to Simon Albi except one acre lying to the north and which Stephen Clerk holds of me and five perches of land which Roger le Viteler held of me upon which the house is situate and in Osselmescroft one acre in Wetelond at Hestone and in Whasten one acre in Cumbe one acre in Northlongeland and in Lyge one acre and a half in Westwise de Hestone two acres. Also the whole house rooms and garrets standing on the lay-fee where I Henry have long dwelt. Item, half an acre and the house situate upon it near the land of Philip Breybon Item, the house and croft which once belonged to Ysabelle upon condition that she may remain in it during her life. Item, the houses and possessions which I hold of the Lord Archbishop upon the bridge of Lewes Item, the house which I bought of Simon de Niwicke Item, the rent which I bought of Johanna once the wife of Michael Marshal Item, the house which I bought of John Dusenell Item, the land and croft which I once bought of Albreda daughter of Emma de Cliva Item, the house and messuage which I bought of Nicholas Renals Item, the house and messuage which I bought of Walter Squintere and of Helwysa his mother Also the house and messuage which I bought of Roger de Cusario and his wife to have and to hold of me and my heirs while he lives so that another chaplain shall succeed him one after another successively and in perpetuity by arrangement of the Dean of Malling for the time being So that all and singular every day shall celebrate Mass in the chapel of Ringmer namely four masses for my benefactors, and for the faithful on behalf of whom I have received alms while living and two masses for St. Mary and one for the Holy Spirit. I will also that the said William shall fully discharge the whole service to the Lord Archbishop for the lands and messuages which he holds or ought to hold of him In the same way let him satisfy all other lords for all other tenements which the charters show I hold of those lords

“ In testimony of which John Marshall witnesseth and many others.”

The properties mentioned in this will and charter would seem to make quite a landed proprietor of this country parson; but when properly appreciated, their whole amount only sums at 32½ acres of land and five crofts (small pieces of land with a cottage on each) and eight houses, exclusive of those “ upon the bridge of Lewes.”

This bridge is now but a single-span structure of no architectural beauty, but in mediæval times no doubt it was a longer erection of several arches, prolonged into a causeway

at each end, for in all probability in those days the river was not confined so strictly into a narrow stream at this particular spot; but when engineering was in an elementary stage and drainage imperfectly understood, the land on either side the river was in a swampy state, with subsidiary streams here and there, as we may see in any ill-drained, low-lying marsh. Hence, more than one arch would be required to carry a bridge, and a causeway over the wet lands, doubtless often overflowed at high tides, would be a necessary adjunct; and thus there would be space thereon for the houses and possessions which had been built upon the bridge.

As the Archbishop was their owner, he, or one of his predecessors, may have been the builder of this bridge—a most meritorious act in medieval times, as many a last will and testament witnesses. Thus we find Lady Joan Burgavenny, member of an ancient Sussex stock, leaving a substantial sum for mending “foul wayes and fabul brugges.” Others, not content with post-mortem benevolences, built bridges during their lives, as the two ancient sisters who erected the celebrated “Auld Brig o’ Doun.”

It is not possible to locate all the other lands and houses as accurately as those buildings on the bridge of Lewes, but some of them are to be traced by names in use to-day. One of them, for instance, “*Domus le Ridere*,” is in all probability the present Ryder’s Wells, a moderately-sized house and grounds between Wellingham and Lewes; and if this be the case it can claim a higher antiquity than the Vicar’s time, for it is mentioned in Earl Warenne’s endowments of the Priory of St. Pancras in Southover, near Lewes. It is said also to be mentioned in Domesday. Another property scheduled by the Vicar is “*Winter’s Gate*.” This is probably “*the Wynters*,” or “*Winter’s Pouch*,” in Ringmer. “*Hestone*,” which occurs more than once in this will, is identical with “*Hastone*,” the modern Ashton Green in the same parish. It is mentioned at an earlier date, when, in 1230, the Dean and Canons of South Malling entered into a deed to assign the tithe arising from a hidate of land at “*Hastone*, in the parish of Ringmere,” to the repairs of the collegiate church.

Another Ringmer place-name still extant is “*West Wise*,” now Westwish, in Ashton tithing; but “*Osselmescrofte*” is a lost locality. “*Wetelond at Hestone*” is not easy to assign, since the first word may mean “wheat” or the adjective “wet.” The latter is the more probable, since many place-names about Ashton refer to water, for it is a locality bordering on the “*Laughton levels*,” at that time little better than a great swamp or marsh. Thus, “*wishe*” means a watery meadow, and is often met with in that neighbourhood, and in this will as

“Westwise”; while a more modern place-name thereabouts is “le wateryng place,” mentioned in the Court Rolls of the manor in the sixteenth century.

As we have seen, all this property did not suffice to maintain the “Mass priest,” and in consequence a reduction was sanctioned by the Archbishop of the number of Masses to be said from the original number to five weekly—three for the testator, one for the Virgin Mary, and one for the Holy Spirit—the endowment as a whole being assigned to the emoluments of the sacrist. From contemporary manuscripts we learn that the first sacrist under the new arrangement was a certain Alexander de Sonde.

About 250 years after the death of Henry, Vicar of Ringmer, Richard Allmyn, twelfth Vicar in succession (of whom there is any record), drew up his last will and testament. Compared with that which we have been considering, it is a document of extreme brevity, and indicates also that this particular parish priest was a man of few possessions. Although usually written “Almayn,” it is apparent from this will that the Vicar’s name was “Allmyn”—“Sir Richard Allmyn,” as the usual pre-Reformation custom puts it, a vernacular rendering of “Dominus”; a preferable word being the “Dan” of Chaucer.

This Richard Allmyn, or Almayn, succeeded Thomas Gybbys in the Vicarage of Ringmer in 1525, and died in 1531. Any sepulchral stone or brass which may have commemorated his name, or recorded the spot in the chancel where he was laid to rest, has long ago disappeared, less care being bestowed on such things in modern restorations than on raising the altar-steps, to which purpose, indeed, the tombstones of the long-forgotten dead may even be subservient. Who “Sir Willyam” may have been to whom the bedding and the gown were bequeathed we know not. Probably he was some neighbouring cleric, possibly the Sir William Wyllys who witnessed this will. He may have been a relative of Thomas Welles, who in 1511 was Rector of Ringmer. “Master Deane of South Malling” may have been a person of that name; more probably he was the Dean of the neighbouring Collegiate Church of that place, John Pers, or Piers, by name. The Vicar’s will reads as follows:

“In dei notie amen I sr Richard Allmyn clerk vicar of Ringmer the last day off December the xxii yere of the reign of King Henry the Eight do make my testament in this man’ of forme following First I bequeath my soul to God Almighty to our lady saynt Marye and to all the holly company of hevin and my bodye to be buried in the chauncell of the church of Ringmer Item, I bequeath to the church of

Ringmer xx^s Item, I bequeath to Master Dorint my best bedd and the bolster Item, I bequethe to Mawde my woman vⁱ and her chambr hole and iiii paier of sheets Item, I bequethe to the said Mawde vi silver spones Item, I bequeth to Richard Pullyn xl^s and a fetherbed and a paier of sheets Item, I bequethe to Robert Walker xiiis iiii^d and my worsted Jacquet Item, I bequethe to Thomsyn Croydon xl^s and a bedd It., I bequeath to Henry Pryor xx^s and a gowne Item, I bequeth to Sr Willyam a fetherbedd a gowne and a pair of sheets Item, I bequeth to Richard Tyney a gowne Item, I bequeth to John Yong my horse and my saddle Item, I will have at my buryeing xxx masses and at my monethes mynd other thirtye masses and ev'y preest to have vi^d for ev'y tyme Also I woll have at my yeres mynd xxx masses and ev'y preest to have for his labor vi^d Item, I woll that William Corneforth shalbe my sole executor and he to have for his labor xx^s Also I woll that Master Deane of Malling shalbe myn ov'sear and to have for his labor xx^s The Resideu of my goods moveable and unmoveable I put to the discreetion of my executor only and he to dispoase yt for the welthe of my soule as he thingketh best Thes witnes Sr Willyam Wyllys John Yong and Mawde (a blank) his s'vint."

The picture which this will presents to us, slender as it is, conveys the idea of a rural cleric who ran his course remote from man, having but little worldly property, personal or real, with no relatives sufficiently near or dear to require remembrance in his will; whose only indulgence seems to have been in his saddle-horse, on which we may imagine him ambling about his parish, or into Lewes, or to visit some neighbouring fellow-priest; and, after all, sufficiently solvent to help on the salvation of his soul by the provision of three "trentals": one at his burial, and two others—one at his monthly commemoration, the other at his "yeres mynd," a similar service.

We now pass on to the eighteenth century, to the vicariate of a certain Henry Snooke, a period remote enough from the ancient Vicar Henry, yet scarcely less divided from our modern times, so accelerated is the current of the rapid river of time, than the last pre-Reformation parson of Ringmer was from the first. Henry Snooke, whose will is dated 1715, was a son of John Snooke, who died in 1702 at the age of seventy years, and was buried in the north chapel of Ringmer Church. He was the first of that cacophoniously-named family who appears in the records of the parish, and with his grandson Henry (son of the Vicar), who died in 1763, the stock as completely died out of the history of the county as it had

mysteriously come in. From the bequest to the poor of Brighthelmston (then a little fishing village, now Babylon-by-the-Sea, or Brighton) it is permissible to conclude that the testator had some ties of family there. His kinswoman, Mary Whalley, was probably daughter of Sir Herbert Whalley and Lucy his wife, who out of her affection raised a monument to his memory, on which, among other things, it is quaintly observed that "he gave the commandments"—that is, caused two tablets inscribed with them to be placed at the east end of the church. A more memorable connection was formed by the younger Henry by his marriage with Rebecca, daughter of the Rev. Gilbert White, grandfather of the naturalist of the same name. A long-lived lady, she died at the age of eighty-six, seventeen years after her husband's death, which occurred in 1763—"post vitam difficilem," as his epitaph tells us. His name appears in the parish registers on more than one occasion, by which it is evident he was of an unquiet disposition. In 1759 Henry Snooke the younger was publicly rebuked for his supercilious scoffs at the minister and for his indecent behaviour in sermon time. Again, finding in the registers, under date 1641, an entry of "the Protestation" of that year (a declaration to uphold the Protestant religion required by Parliament to be taken in every parish), with the names of the signatories, he appended thereto: "May the memory of such rebellious Rogues perish and their names be forgotten. So wishes Henry Snooke, Ringmer, 1737."

I have found another reference to this uncle of Gilbert White, in the MS. tithe-books of Michael Baynes, who succeeded Snooke's father in the vicarage. In a marginal note the parson writes: "I take Snooke's tythe to be worth one year with another £3 . 3 . 0 for which he paid but fourteen shillings. . . . What a rogue was Snooke to pretend he paid enough for his tythe at fourteen shillings a year!" Though Gilbert White, in the letters he wrote from Ringmer, where he was wont to stay at various times during thirty years, has much to say about his aunt Rebecca, he does not once refer to her husband, Henry Snooke—on the principle, perhaps, of *nil nisi bonum*.

The will of Henry Snooke the elder is as follows:

"In the name of God amen. I Henry Snooke clerk vicar of Ringmer in the county of Sussex do make and ordaine this my last will and testament viz. First I recomēd my Soul to God hoping for mercy through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ my body to be buried in the same grave with my former wife if conveniently it may be, and as to the temporal estate God hath vouchsafed me I give and dispose the same as followeth

Imprimis I give and bequeath to the poor of the parish of Ringmer fifty shillings to the poor of Brighthelmstone four pounds Item I give to my wife Mary all that linen and household stuff she was possessed of before our marriage. I give also to my said wife ten pounds Item I give to my manservant and maidservant dwelling with me at the time of my decease twenty shillings each and their wages till the next quarter-day Item I give to my kinswomen Mary Whalley Judith Bushbridge Mary Pleydel and Dorothy Gillam two guineas to each Item I give to Mr. John Hunt to his wife Mrs. Margaret to James Purse clerk to his wife Mrs. Anne one guinea each to be paid within one month after my decease Item I give and bequeath to the charity school at Ringmer thirty shillings to buy such books for the poor children there taught as my successor shall think meet. What remaineth from my worldly estate (my debts and legacies being first paid) viz. my lands ready money debts chattels books plate household goods and all my other substance whatsoever I bequeath to my only son Henry Snooke whom by these presents I make and ordaine full and sole executor of this my last will and testament and hereby I do revoke and cancel all other wills by me formerly made. In witness whereof I the said Henry Snooke to this my last will and testament have set my hand and affixed my seal the day and year above written." (Witnesses: William Payn, Mary Whalley, Hannah Chatfield.) Dated March 26, 1715.

There is not much to be gathered from this will beyond matters concerning his family only. His wife, who, indeed, appears the second spouse, he generously endows with ten pounds and the goods she already possessed before her marriage. In the registers I can find no entry of the burial of his first wife or any record of her name. Perhaps her body was conveyed for burial to the home of her childhood, wherever that may have been.

Such are the wills of the three quondam Vicars of Ringmer, so separated in time, though their lot was cast in the same rural spot. How different it would appear to them could they revisit the scene of their sublunary lives can only be guessed. But it is easy to imagine that the later Henry would be hardly more surprised at the changes in merely mundane matters than Richard Allmyn, the pre-Reformation parson, at the vicissitudes in ecclesiastical affairs.

W. HENEAGE LEGGE.



ART. VII.—THE MONTH.

THE most important event of last month in the ecclesiastical world is the judgment of the House of Lords in the appeal of the remnant of the Free Church of Scotland against the decisions of the Scottish Court of Sessions, affirming the right of the United Free Church to the endowments of the old Free Church. Perhaps the most lucid statement of the precise point at issue was made by Lord Robertson, whose position, as the only Scottish judge among the Lords of Appeal, lends a peculiar value to his judgment. "The question is," he said, "to whom does certain property now belong which was given to the denomination of Christians which called itself the Free Church of Scotland? That body was founded in 1843. It consisted of ministers and laity who seceded from the Established Church of Scotland on certain questions of Church polity, but who professed to carry with them all the doctrine and system of the Established Church, only freeing themselves, by secession, from what they regarded as intolerable encroachments by the Law Courts upon the Church's spiritual functions. Rightly or wrongly, the theory of the Free Church was that they, and not the Established Church, were the Church of Scotland. The Church thus set up was endowed, by the liberality of its members, with the property now in dispute. Two competitors now claim it. Of the respondents [the United Free Church], the first remark to be made goes to the very root of their claim. They are not, either in name or composition, the Free Church of Scotland. They are not even the majority of the Free Church, but the assignees of the majority of the Free Church; they are a body formed in 1900 by the fusion of the majority of the Free Church with another body of Presbyterian Dissenters, the United Presbyterian Church. The property of the Free Church is claimed by this composite body, which, to the extent of a third or some large proportion, . . . is composed of United Presbyterians. Of this new body, it may be affirmed nearly as truly that it is United Presbyterian as that it is Free Church, and its name, the 'United Free Church,' suggests the fact. . . ." "On October 30, 1900, the General Assembly of the Free Church made over the whole property of the Free Church to the United Free Church. On the following day, October 31, the General Assembly of the new Church proceeded to set up a new formulary for the admission of their preachers, which had been preconcerted and made matter of treaty. Whereas a probationer of the Free Church used to be required to affirm his belief that 'the whole doctrine of the Confession of Faith'

is 'the truths of God,' the United Free Church probationer requires to affirm his belief in 'the doctrine of this Church' (*i.e.*, the United Free Church) 'set forth in the Confession of Faith.' . . ." "While such is the name and such the composition of the respondents' body, the position of the other competitor, the appellants, is very much simpler. They are those ministers and laity of the Free Church who did not concur in the union of 1900, but protested against it. They have done nothing but remain where they were, holding to the letter all the doctrines of the Free Church, adhering to it as an institute, and continuing their existence according to the measure of their powers. They say that in the event which has happened they are the Free Church, their brethren having left them for this new Church, just as those brethren might have left them for the Establishment or for the Episcopalians. They have, however, been declared by the respondents no longer to be of their communion, and their manse and churches have been formally claimed by the respondents for their own exclusive use. The adherents of the appellants are numerically few—some few thousands—but it has not been suggested that this introduces any legal difference from the situation, as it would have been had they been more numerous. Since the days of Cyrus, it has been held that justice is done by giving people, not what fits them, but what belongs to them."

It seemed worth while to place before our readers this luminous statement by a Scottish Lord of Appeal of the issue at stake, and of the circumstances which occasioned it. In Lord Robertson's opinion, these facts put it upon the respondents—the United Free Church—"to prove their identity with the original beneficiaries," and in his own judgment, as in those of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Davey, Lord James of Hereford, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, they failed to establish this claim. On the other hand, Lord Macnaghten—not, be it remembered, a Scottish, but an English, lawyer—and Lord Lindley held that they had succeeded. The result, of course, is decided by the majority of five against two, and it cannot but be regarded as an important element in the moral weight of the decision that Lord Robertson, the only Scottish lawyer, was in the majority. The main points on which the decision turned were two: It was alleged that the United Free Church had abandoned at least two elements of fundamental importance in the constitution of the original Free Church—one, "the principle of establishment"; the other, a cardinal doctrine of the Westminster Confession, that of Predestination. As to the first, there could be no question that the founders of the Free Church were resolutely devoted to the principle

of Establishment. They had distinctly and earnestly declared in 1853 "that this Church maintains unaltered and uncompromised the principles set forth in the claim, declaration, and protest of 1842; and the protest of 1843, relative to the lawfulness and obligation of a scriptural alliance between the Church of Christ and the State." "The Voluntaries," said Dr. Chalmers as Moderator, "mistake us if they conceive us to be Voluntaries. . . . To express it otherwise, we are the advocates for a national recognition and a national support of religion, and we are not Voluntaries." But the United Presbyterians, with whom the majority of the old Free Church have joined, are nothing if not Voluntaries. Their principle is, "that it is not competent to the civil magistrate to give legislative sanction to any creed in the way of setting up a Civil Establishment of religion."

There would seem to be a direct contradiction between the principles thus asserted by the Free Church on the one hand and the United Presbyterian Church on the other. This, in fact, is so clear that the two Lords of Appeal, who differed from the majority, based their judgments on a principle which was stated in its strongest form by one of the Judges of the Court of Session from whom the appeal was made. "Be it," said Lord Traynor in that Court, "that the Establishment principle had been explicitly declared in 1843 to be an essential principle of the Free Church, I think the Church had the power to abandon that principle and to that extent alter the original constitution." Similarly, Lord Macnaghten stated the issue as follows: "Was the Church thus purified—the Free Church—so bound and tied by the tenets of the Church of Scotland prevailing at the time of the Disruption, that departure from these tenets in any matter of substance would be a violation of that profession or testimony which may be called the unwritten charter of her foundation, and so necessarily involve a breach of trust in the administration of funds contributed for no other purpose but the support of the Free Church, the Church of the Disruption? Was the Free Church, by the very condition of her existence, forced to cling to her subordinate standards with so desperate a grip that she has lost hold and touch of the supreme standard of her faith? Was she from birth incapable of all growth and development? Was she, in a word, a dead branch and not a living Church? This, I think, is the real and only question." Lord Lindley, however, in urging the same question, introduces a qualification which seems to us to indicate where the crucial difficulty arises. He said: "I cannot agree with those who contend that the powers of the General Assembly . . . are unlimited; but I am not able myself to define the limits of its authority

more accurately than above stated. It is probably impossible to draw a sharp line clearly dividing all acts of a General Assembly which are within its power from all Acts which are beyond it. . . . Great as the powers are, they are limited by what can be found in the Scriptures. The Church must be a Christian Church and a reformed Protestant Church. So far all is plain. I should, myself, think that it must be a Presbyterian Church." So that there are necessarily limits to the general liberty which Lord Macnaghten so earnestly claims for the Free Church; and if so, there does not seem any vital difference in legal principle between the five Lords of Appeal and the other two. The final question is simply whether "The Establishment principle" is or is not fundamental to the constitution of the original Free Church. Lord Lindley "cannot come to the conclusion that the view taken in 1843 on the duty of the State was a fundamental doctrine admitting of no explanation or modification." The Lord Chancellor, Lord Robertson, and the three other Lords who agreed with them, are, on the contrary, of opinion that it was a fundamental doctrine, not admitting, at all events, of such "explanation or modification" as amounted practically to abandonment. To that simple question the argument ultimately comes.

The other question, relating to the treatment by the new Church of the Westminster Confession of Faith, has not received any such decisive treatment by the Lords of Appeal. Three, at least, of the majority excused themselves from a final judgment upon that question on the ground that the question of the Establishment principle was sufficient to decide the issue. One of the majority, moreover, Lord Alverstone, distinctly said that, though he did not wish to express a final opinion, yet "had this been the only ground on which exception could be taken to the action of the Assembly of the Free Church, I am not at present satisfied that it has acted in excess of its powers. . . . The argument of the Dean of Faculty and Mr. Haldane satisfied me that there are passages in the Westminster Confession and in other Standards of the Church which might require such explanation and exposition as would fairly come within the words used in the Barrier Act—'alteration in doctrine.'" To most persons this will seem a far more important question than the principle of Establishment; and it is of great importance, in estimating the effect of the decision, to bear in mind that it is not decisive of the question whether some "explanation or exposition," or, in Lord Lindley's words, "explanation or modification," be not admissible by the authority of the General Assembly of the Free Kirk—and if so, then surely of the Established Kirk—on so

characteristic, if not vital, a doctrine as that of Predestination as stated in the Westminster Confession. All that appears really decided is that a free Church forfeits the property held in trust for it if it adopts changes in such principles as are fundamental elements of its original constitution, and that the principle of Establishment is such an element in the case of the Free Church of Scotland. We are content for the present simply to estimate the exact nature and purport of the decision, and we reserve for the present comments on its general bearing. But it would seem from this analysis that its practical consequences to the Scottish Churches, which are very grave, are of more importance than its bearing on the position of other Churches. In the latter respect, it does not seem to have established any material extension of principles of law already recognised.



Notices of Books.

Studies in the Religion of Israel. By the Rev. L. A. POOLER, B.D., Rector of Down, Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, etc. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xiii+374. 6s.

It would be difficult to say what useful purpose is served by the publication of these studies. How and when Almighty God revealed Himself to Israel, or whether any direct revelation was given to Israel at all, are questions evaded by the author, and we shall do him no injustice if we say that he appears to disbelieve in the fact of a revelation. Supposing his chapters to be intended for novices, by way of an introduction to the new criticism, they labour under the serious defects of extreme meagreness and the absence of evidence for the assertions made. On the other hand, persons more or less acquainted with the subject will find nothing new, beyond a few additional guesses, in a book which merely retails what has been said before by abler writers, and Canon Pooler's style is not attractive. His most original remark is one about Ezekiel, whose "public ministry" is oddly said to have "corresponded more closely to that of a parochial clergyman than that of a prophet." Yet, half a dozen pages further on, this prototype of a parochial clergyman "prescribed laws," we are told, that formed the basis of post-exilic Judaism. The reader is further informed that the received text "cannot be right" in Zech. vi. 11, and "a later scribe in the period of the priest-kings must have written Jeshua for Zerubbabel, which is the name clearly required by the context." Upon this is built a theory that the Jews were ready to acclaim Zerubbabel as the Messiah, by a mistake that is "one of the most pathetic things in history." The earlier period of the

national life of Israel is treated in the same fashion, but there is no need to give more than one example of the kind of argument employed. In connection with Judg. x. 4, Canon Pooler adduces as an authority the Polychrome Bible, observing that "the colours direct our attention" to such and such a "fact." Facts are the last things indicated by the "colours." We are sorry to see Dr. H. P. Smith's "Old Testament History"—a sad misnomer—recommended in the preface. Altogether, considering the price at which it is published and the quality of its contents, this volume must be considered an expensive work. It is far from being a successful contribution to the theological literature of the Irish Church.

Horæ Biblicæ: Short Studies in the Old and New Testaments. By ARTHUR CARR, M.A., Vicar of Addington, Surrey; late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xv + 226. 6s.

Good work of an uncontroversial character like this is apt to meet with scant attention in these days, but we should be sorry if the book failed to secure the recognition it deserves. Mr. Carr, who was formerly one of Archbishop Benson's colleagues at Wellington, reprints here a number of scholarly and thoughtful papers, most of which were contributed to the *Expositor*. Though the proverbial fly in the ointment is not altogether absent, it only spoils the first chapter and one or two pages of another, while the rest of the contents are comparatively unaffected by it. "The Exclusion of Chance from the Bible," as contrasted with the prevalence in the ancient world of the worship of Fortune, is an out-of-the-way subject admirably treated by Mr. Carr. He observes that "there is, perhaps, no point more impressively dwelt upon by the Hebrew prophets in their interpretation of history or of human life than the exclusion of chance as an element to be taken into account. The teaching of a Divine purpose in all things is given in clear and even in remarkable terms." Illustrations from the life and literature of pagan civilization are adduced, and we would only say that the evidence shows how very possible it was for Jewish apostates to practise the form of idolatry mentioned in Isa. lxv. 11 long before the period of the Exile. The wide extent of the cult of Fortune proves that the passage need not be assigned to a late date. Another paper discusses the testimonies rendered to our Lord by hostile witnesses during His passion and after His death and resurrection. The confessions of Pilate, the Jewish priests and people, and the Roman soldiers are minutely examined, with the result that several striking circumstances are brought prominently to view. Under the headings of "St. Paul's Attitude towards Greek Philosophy" and "The Use of Pagan Ethical Terms in the New Testament" we have a couple of thoroughly good essays, full of suggestive notes on Pauline words and on other expressions in current use in the philosophical systems of the day. We may record the remark that "peace (*εἰρήνη*) takes the place in Christian terminology of *ἀραπαξία* and *ἀπάθεια*. It covers the same ground, but goes

further and deeper," signifying more than a state of calm security and happiness, and including the idea of reconciliation with God, together with the consequent condition of peaceful assurance. Mr. Carr's explanation of 1 Cor. xv. 29, and his view of the reason for supposing a vicarious baptism for the dead to be alluded to, are unconvincing, but interesting. There is also a full discussion of St. John vii. 52. If we do not always agree with Mr. Carr's conclusions, we think highly of the manner in which he brings together the materials on which a judgment must be formed, and commend his pages to the attention of our readers with pleasure.

The Common Hope: Firstfruits of Ministerial Experience of Thought and Life. Edited by the Rev. ROSSLYN BRUCE, M.A., St. Anne's, Soho. With an Introduction by the Bishop of Stepney. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. xv + 207. 3s. 6d.

The contributors to the above volume, excepting the author of a short chapter on Church Army methods, belong to the ranks of the junior clergy. The motive of their joint work was to make some declaration, based on actual experience, of their conviction that the ministry of the Church of England affords "an opportunity of unparalleled service to our day and generation," and a career in which responsibility and trial, privilege and happiness, are mingled. In his brief preface the Bishop of Stepney disclaims approval of every opinion expressed, or of every mode of expression. One or two of the writers appear to be under the delusion that little worth speaking of was attempted previously to the close of the nineteenth century. The chapter on "The Joy of Ministry" is a curious production, while that on "Preaching" does not so much as mention the Bible, and to say that "we are more aware than our predecessors of the humble poor that we are called to feed" strikes a reader as an exceedingly bold and cool assertion. Two excellent contributions by Mr. A. R. Whateley and Mr. Arthur Magee constitute the redeeming feature of the volume. Mr. Magee writes on "Convictions," and emphasizes the necessity of dogmatic belief in view of the fact that we are face to face with the spectacle of a world that denies the claims of Christ, yet embodies in its life and action parts of His teaching. Mr. Whateley, who takes for his subject "The Church and her Testimony," points out that the pressing need of the age is a right sense of the guilt of sin and man's want of a Saviour. To awaken this consciousness by setting forth "the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" must be the Church's mission to the age. The two papers are well worth reading. They come first in the series, and their grave earnestness contrasts strangely with suggestions made in subsequent essays for a "frank" recognition of golf and outdoor games on Sunday afternoons, and the delivery on Sunday nights of sermons on Shelley and Walt Whitman. *Desinit in piscem* would not be an inappropriate motto for the title-page.

Thekla, and Other Poems. By STEPHEN HUGHES-GAMES. London : Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. viii + 119. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Hughes-Games has given us a volume of verse in much of which the ring of true poetry may be detected. He is not too recondite for ordinary readers, and happily abstains from "speaking in mysteries," the subjects of his muse being simply treated. Of the longer pieces, that which gives its title to the book is far the best. It is based on the well-known legend of St. Paul and Thekla, describing the effect on Thekla's mind of the Apostle's preaching at Iconium. "Ruth" gained the triennial prize for a Sacred Poem at Oxford in 1893, but the author has advanced in the cultivation of his art since that date. Several of the short poems are full of life and fire, such as "The Good Shepherd in Norway," "A Procession at Intra," "All Things New," and "The Poet's Rhymes." Those who appreciate simplicity of expression in poetry will not regret making acquaintance with this volume.

The Categories. By J. H. STIRLING, LL.D. Edinburgh. Oliver and Boyd. Price 4s.

This little book—less than 200 pages—by the author of the "Secret of Hegel," will be welcomed by every lover of philosophy. Our debt to Dr. Stirling is already a considerable one, perhaps even more considerable than is generally realised or admitted. A pioneer of philosophical studies in Great Britain, Dr. Stirling, by his great work, the "Secret," laid the foundations of a really adequate knowledge of that great idealistic movement in Germany which reached its culmination in the labours of Hegel. Hegel is, in some sort, the *θρυγκός*—the coping-stone—of the philosophic edifice, the basis and substructure of which was laid so nobly 2,000 years ago by Aristotle. During the past forty years—*i.e.*, ever since Dr. Stirling first undertook to explain to us the inner significance of Hegel and his work—there has been scarcely any valuable contribution to the science of metaphysics that has not owed much, directly or indirectly, to Dr. Stirling's initiative. The debt has not always been scrupulously admitted; but the debt remains. A fresh work by this veteran thinker, therefore, is not likely to be other than instructive; and that is precisely what we find this volume on the "Categories" to be. A very illuminating little work, it forms a fitting pendant to the same author's "What *is* Thought?" published in 1900.

We can but express a hope that the reception that this work receives will induce Dr. Stirling to issue a collected edition of his essays, literary and philosophical.

