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THE CHURCHMAN.

NOVEMBER, 1908.

The Month.

Irreconcilable.

THE paper read by the Rev. Darwell Stone, Librarian of the Pusey House, at the Church Congress naturally created great interest through its perfect frankness. Mr. Stone expressed the view that there is no essential difference between the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Churches on the subject of the presence of our Lord in the Holy Communion; that the importance of the Vestments lay in the fact that they bore witness to this identity of view, and that, therefore, so far from Vestments meaning very little, in reality they mean very much. We are glad to have so unequivocal a statement of the extreme Anglican position, because it helps us to understand more clearly the issues at stake. As the Dean of Canterbury rightly said during the discussion, it will surely be impossible now for any Bishops to say that the Vestments have no doctrinal meaning. Mr. Stone's paper will have another salutary effect if it helps to remove the impression created in some quarters that the Pan-Anglican Congress was going to bring us all into a delightful unity. The idea of unity among Churchmen was a dream of unduly optimistic souls who failed to see what the Dean of Canterbury so plainly stated at Manchester—that the differences between those whom Mr. Stone represents and the main body of English Churchmen are irreconcilable. For our part we welcome all such plain-speaking, because it will prevent us from continuing to foster the illusion, or rather delusion, that unity is possible between men holding such diverse views. This is no difference between High Church and Low Church; it is a question of what constitutes the Anglican position. If there is no essential difference on the Holy Communion between Rome, the Greek Church, and our-

selves, we naturally ask why Cranmer and Ridley died. Yet it is a simple fact that they did die, and that the views for which they laid down their lives are now enshrined in our Prayer-Book and Articles. If, too, there is no essential difference between the three Churches, how is it that no well-informed Roman Catholic or member of the Greek Church will accept the statements of our Prayer-Book and Articles as identical or sufficiently in harmony with their own? Unless, therefore, we are prepared to deny the history of the last 350 years, Mr. Darwell Stone's position is an entire impossibility, and the sooner the question is faced by Churchmen, the better it will be for all concerned.

Biblical Criticism.

The utterances of Professor Burkitt at the Church Congress are a fresh reminder of the impossibility of stopping short with the criticism of the Old Testament while leaving the New Testament intact. The Professor showed that St. Paul's teaching is based on Genesis, and as modern criticism has set aside Genesis it naturally sets aside St. Paul also. Professor Burkitt was quite frank in his repudiation of the Apostle's view of sin and death, and we have no doubt that other views of the Apostle will be similarly criticized and rejected. And yet there still remains the question of St. Paul's authority as an exponent of the Divine will, in the light of his claim to be God's special messenger and mouthpiece. There arises, too, the problem of the relation of the Church of England to Apostolic teaching, for our Prayer-Book and Articles are confessedly based on the Apostle's view of the origin and fall of man. It will thus be seen how grave are the issues which have been raised by Professor Burkitt's words, and we are not surprised to learn that Mr. Watts-Ditchfield, in dealing with secularism, told the Congress that such utterances would do more harm in his work in the East End than all the views of Mr. Blatchford and other sceptics. But here again good will undoubtedly result from this frank statement of the critical position. Professor Burkitt has the logic and courage of his convictions. We much prefer a bold, outspoken statement

like his to any halting, balanced opinion by men who have accepted the critical position, but who are afraid to draw the obvious conclusions. A writer, referring to another paper read at the same meeting, said that the speaker "in his more subtle way implied all that Professor Burkitt stated, but his position was so draped in words that the Congress did not seem to realize it." Whether this view is correct or not, we are certainly coming as quickly as possible to the parting of the ways on Biblical criticism, and men will soon have to declare where they stand and what are the limits of criticism for Christian people. It is impossible to halt much longer between two opinions.

Reunion.

The long correspondence in the *Times* has now been brought to an end for the present, and all who value truth are indebted to Dr. Rashdall and Canon Henson for their trenchant and unanswerable letters on the subject. Notwithstanding the studied and significant moderation of the letters of "A Principal of a Theological College," his position leaves us just where we were before, with no approach whatever on the part of Churchmen to Nonconformists, and, of course, no possibility of any approach of Nonconformity to ourselves. And, as the *Times* very truly said, in its leading article summing up the correspondence, we are left face to face not merely with the letters of "Principal," but also with the same opinion expressed in the cruder form preferred by popular manuals—that "there never has been a Church without a Bishop, and there never can be." The matter cannot possibly rest here. We must go forward, and investigate what is essential and what is not essential in the ministry, however ancient, honoured, and universal the latter may be. We commend the following comment of the *Times'* article as summing up the truth on this important question:

"Those who would make the Apostolical Succession the sole channel of ministerial grace and power cannot affect to be surprised if it is urged that the "dogma" appears to break down at the start. Our Lord's gift to His followers was not a ready-made constitution and a carefully-graded hierarchy, but a Spirit of guidance. We lay no stress on the fact that the only recorded consecration to the Apostolate took place before the full out-pouring of the

Spirit, but it is at least worth notice that no similarly formal consecration is recorded in the case of St. Paul. His ordination as a missionary is clear, but his position as the equal of St. Peter and 'those who were reputed to be somewhat' was won in the teeth of those others. He received the right hand of fellowship only when they saw the grace that was given to him, and, if they had withheld it, the Apostle must have gone to his work all the same. There are many to whom it seems that, after this, the mists which enshroud the post-Apostolic development of Church government are not to be marvelled at, though it is the obvious duty of the investigator to scatter them if he can."

Meanwhile, we would again call attention to the distinction between an invalid and an irregular ministry, and would urge with the *Church Quarterly Review*, already quoted in these pages, that it is time for us to cease to consider the question of validity as entirely beyond our investigation, and to concentrate attention on the problem of regularity. We shall then be occupying the only true position from which to face the problem of Reunion.

The Central Consultative Committee.

One of the results of the recent Lambeth Conference has been the appointment of a Consultative Committee of experts to co-operate with the Archbishop of Canterbury. This committee, it would seem, is to fulfil the functions of an Advisory Board on questions submitted to it from the various parts of the Anglican Communion. Beyond this there is a dream indulged in by not a few Churchmen of a virtual Patriarchate of Canterbury, with large opportunities of giving counsel and pronouncing decisions of policy. Already our contemporary, the *Churchman* of New York, has sounded the warning note, and will have none of this Consultative Committee, which it regards as either an impossibility, or, if a possibility, likely to encroach upon the liberty of particular branches of the Anglican Communion. Here are the words of the article :

"The principle involved is not dependent upon what the Consultative Body is to do. The object of its organization is control. History, ecclesiastical or otherwise, justifies us in saying it would be safer that any authority committed to it should have the authority of law, rather than that of advice. We know what law is, and can deal with it, but the dominion of advice is

unknown and irresponsible. That the American Church for itself will ever consent to such conditions no man of sane mind will imagine. That it will desire to have any of its Bishops, on their own responsibility, accept office on such a body no reasonable person would admit."

We observe that the *Canadian Churchman* takes the same general line of strenuous opposition, and urges that such a consultative body would be detrimental to the interests of an autonomous Church like that of Canada. It is impossible to doubt that consultation in such a case will mean virtual control, and we are not surprised to find American and Canadian Churchmen opposing the project. We should not be surprised if this attitude of opposition would be more than sufficient to prevent the Consultative Committee from being anything but of the slightest practical service, unless it be between the Church of England and the Anglican Church in the Colonies. The conditions of distance and the differences of race and circumstances are likely to prevent such a project from being fully realized, to say nothing of the deeper considerations involved in such a departure from the position of national Churches, which many feel to be the most serious objection. In the meantime the further developments of the project will be watched with keen interest in all parts of the Anglican Communion, and we should not be at all surprised to find that the present project comes as far short of realization as the earlier proposals emanating from the Lambeth Conference of 1897 have been. And if so, no harm will be done.

Vestments. A valuable contribution to the discussion of this important subject appeared in the *Times* of September 10, in a review of the well-known book by Father Braun, S.J. The reviewer's words are so important that we make no apology for quoting them at length. Speaking of the recent Report of the five Bishops to the Southern Convention, the writer said:

"In this report the Bishops arrive at a general conclusion as creditable to their scholarship as to their episcopal discretion. 'As regards the ornaments of the minister,' they write, 'we believe that the evidence here

collected indicates that they cannot rightly be regarded as expressive of doctrine, but that their use is a matter of reverent and seemly order.' From the liturgical standpoint this conclusion is strictly accurate; from the point of view of practical Church politics it had the advantage of enabling the Bishops to avoid a pronouncement which would inevitably have offended one or other of the warring schools into which their flocks are divided. It is for this latter reason that the 'conclusion' may perhaps be suspected of just a touch of well-intentioned disingenuousness. If Vestments are not 'expressive of doctrine,' why were the reformers so careful to reject some and to retain others? And why, after they had passed out of 'the reverent and seemly order' of the Church for nigh on 300 years, did the rejected Vestments reappear in connection with the revival of the very doctrines which had been cast off with them at the Reformation? The truth is that, while it is strictly accurate to say that (with two or three possible exceptions) the liturgical Vestments are not, and never have been, symbolical of any particular doctrine, they have been from time immemorial so closely associated with acts of worship implying distinctive teaching (such as the Sacrifice of the Mass) as to justify a strong presumption that where they are deliberately introduced they are intended as the outward sign of the maintenance of that teaching. This, indeed, would be admitted by High Churchmen as readily as it is maintained by members of the Church Association. The chasuble, in itself the most innocuous, if not the most beautiful, of garments, is loved or loathed as the 'Mass vestment' *par excellence;* and it is beside the mark to explain that it was once worn 'at all times of their ministration,' as well as in ordinary life, by the clergy of all degrees, and that earlier still it was no more than the everyday cloak of common folk and slaves."

These considerations will be of real service in the forthcoming discussion in Convocation. Read together with Mr. Darwell Stone's paper at Manchester they show the utter impossibility of dissociating Vestments to-day from doctrinal teaching. It is astonishing that this simple fact is not allowed to have weight with those who are striving for peace by evacuating the chasuble of all the meaning that its users insist on associating with it.

Roman Catholicism.

Echoes of the Eucharistic Congress have been heard during the month, and we are glad to observe that the vast majority of sober-minded Englishmen have welcomed the intervention of the Government as saving us from a situation which could only have led to irreparable trouble and disaster. The Congress has naturally been the occasion of calling renewed attention to the essential position of

the Roman Church, and for this reason we wish to call attention to some words of the *Nation*:

"Catholicism, though a survival on a vast scale, is a survival; its disappearance or transformation is a matter of time; the Reformation was the turning-point. The evolution of religion pursued its way; nothing could arrest or deflect it. But 'the other disciple outran Peter': the Churches of the Reformation took over the birthright which Rome definitely, and once for all, declined. Since then, the jetsam of the tide, she has remained unmoved in the movement of humanity; the stream of life has flowed in other channels and into other seas. The progressive elements in the system—and there are such—are not those that appear on the surface. This, imposing as it is, is the mask of dissolution; it has the name of being alive, but is dead."

We commend this to those who dream of reunion with Rome. As the writer truly says, Rome as it is to-day must either disappear or become transformed. In the latter case it would no longer be what we now know as Roman Catholicism. We are not unmindful of all the elements of truth and goodness in Romanism, and we would not for a moment forget all that it has done for individual lives and for the world; but at the same time we do not hesitate to say that as a system Roman Catholicism is not Christianity.

The Unemployed.

It has been evident for several weeks that the problem of unemployment will be very acute this winter, and indeed it is already acute. For this reason the statement made by the Prime Minister outlining the Government proposals for dealing with the problem has received a very general welcome. It goes far to remove concern, and it fully recognizes the seriousness of the situation. The carrying out of the plans outlined ought to lessen a good deal of the sufferings of this winter, as well as to bring to a large number of the unemployed the assurance of relief which will be at once fairly adequate, and not humiliating. Of course, these measures are only palliative, and do not touch the root of the difficulty. Until, however, the underlying causes of unemployment can be dealt with, there seems to be no other step possible except the provision of temporary work by public authorities. The problem itself is to be faced next session, and will call for the earnest and

prolonged attention of the entire community. It is the bounden duty of the country to do its utmost to seek for permanent remedies. After all, it is not doles, but work, that men need and should have. In the meantime it is possible to accomplish a good deal by private and local effort on behalf of the unemployed in particular neighbourhoods. By careful thought and combined effort, individuals, Churches, and municipalities can do much to relieve pressure this winter, and at the same time, by obtaining experience, to prepare in the best possible way for attacking the gigantic general problem which undoubtedly is at the very foundation of our nation's welfare.

English Church Manuals.

We desire to call the special attention of our readers to a new series of English Church manuals which has just been commenced. They are intended to provide Churchpeople with trustworthy information and clear guidance on the many questions now affecting Church life. Four manuals have just been published: "The Church and Social Subjects," by the Rev. Henry Lewis; "Family Prayers," by the Rev. A. F. Thornhill; "The Vocation of Women," by Georgina A. Gollock; "Hard Words in the Prayer-Book," by the Rev. Canon Girdlestone. It will be seen that they deal with a variety of subjects, and the treatment will be found clear and telling. Clergymen and Church-workers should make a point of obtaining these manuals and circulating them in their parishes. There is a constant call on the part of Evangelical Churchmen for suitable manuals for instruction and information. Here the need is supplied in an admirable way. The price, one penny, brings them within the reach of all; they are in the capable editorial hands of Canon Wright, Dr. Dawson Walker, and the Rev. J. E. Watts-Ditchfield; and they are published in the attractive form which we have long learned to associate with Messrs. Longmans. We bespeak for these capital manuals the attention and circulation they deserve. We understand that a large number more are in active preparation, and altogether they will provide the Church with an armoury of teaching and inspiration.

The Limits of Biblical Criticism.[1]

By the Very Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D.

THE question I am asked to discuss is that of "The Limits of Biblical Criticism," and the first observation to be made is that in one sense there can be no limits to Biblical criticism. Criticism is simply the application of reason to alleged facts or statements. That is a process which is an imperative duty in relation to all subjects; and the more important the subject, the more imperative is it that this duty should be discharged. The Bible and the Christian revelation are the most momentous of all subjects, and the welfare of mankind, here and hereafter, is more dependent upon a true judgment in respect to them than upon any other matter in the world; and consequently it was inevitable and right that, from the very commencement of the Christian Church, they should have been subjected, both by believers and by unbelievers, to an unsparing and unremitting criticism. There never has been any time in the history of the Church, except perhaps the two or three centuries of confusion after the barbarian invasions, when this was not done. Criticism of the faith was, for instance, never more severe and penetrating than in the Middle Ages, though its results were then controlled by authority; and the Reformation, of course, was not only due to the fresh study of the Bible, but to the unreserved criticism which men like Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin exercised both upon the Bible itself and upon the teaching of the Church. It seems necessary to insist upon this point, at the outset, in order to obviate the prejudice, too often raised by the advocates of modern critical views, that those who oppose them shrink from criticism, or from such results as may have been really established by it. The sort of superior virtue which some spokesmen of modern criticism assume, as though they were representing the cause of truth and freedom against opponents who shrink

[1] A Paper read at the Manchester Church Congress, October, 1908.

from light, is as irrelevant as it is impertinent. The issue in this branch of learning lies between scholars who are alike eager to recognize truth when they see it, and equally forward to use all the resources of reason and criticism in ascertaining it.

In what sense, then, can there be limits to Biblical criticism? I suppose what was intended was that there are limits within which its methods and conclusions must be comprised, if they are to be compatible with the position of Christian men or Christian ministers or Christian professors; and the question is, At what point or boundary, if any, do the critical contentions we hear around us come into conflict with settled principles of Christian truth? If that be the question, it is one which it behoves us to be extremely cautious in answering; for the history of theology shows examples, in age after age, of hasty assumptions that some new view was inconsistent with Christianity which has subsequently been found to be perfectly in harmony with it. Accordingly it is not without the gravest reluctance that I feel forced to the conviction that there are critical conclusions urged upon us at the present day, and urged as settled results in centres of authority, which are in themselves quite incompatible with a continued belief in the Christian revelation, as it has been held by the Church from the Apostles to our own time. I beg it may not be supposed to be for a moment implied in this statement that any particular persons who hold such conclusions are not themselves earnest believers in the Christian faith. As someone has said that no plummet has ever touched the bottom of human gullibility, so it is a happy truth that no measure has ever yet gauged the possibilities of human inconsistency; and life would be impossible were it not for the fortunate capacity of all classes of mankind—divines, scholars, professors, politicians, and women, for instance—for being cheerfully and confidently illogical. But, none the less, logic remains, and asserts itself in the long run; and though individuals may be capable of an assured conviction that white is not incompatible with black, the common sense of mankind sooner or later corrects the

illusion. It is, therefore, in an entirely impersonal sense that I feel bound to urge that there are limits beyond which critical processes and conclusions cannot be pushed without undermining the indispensable foundations of the Christian faith.

Of course, the question of the supernatural birth of our Lord is one instance in point; and the proposal which has been made, that men should be admitted to the Christian ministry who do not cordially accept that truth, seems to me incompatible with elementary fidelity to the trust confided to those who are the guardians of the faith. But though this error is to a large extent founded on Biblical criticism, it is probably not, in the main, to such particular questions as these that the subject before us was intended to refer, and the chief point on which I would insist relates to the current controversy respecting the Old Testament. That point is, that critical conclusions which allege that the account given in the Bible of the history of the Jewish people and of the course of the Divine revelation is radically erroneous, is inadmissible on Christian principles, and incompatible with the maintenance of the Christian faith. It has now become imperative for us to recognize that this is the broad—and, as the Americans say, "square"—issue which is raised by what I fear must be called, at present, the dominant school of criticism—especially, alas! at our Universities, and under which the minds of the ablest of our younger clergy are trained. It was stated, for instance, without reserve in the papers which were read at the Pan-Anglican Congress. The general character of these new views was sufficiently expressed in Dr. Burney's Pan-Anglican paper on "The Writers of the Old Testament." It is the view, he says, "that, broadly speaking, the prophetic period of Israel's religious development is anterior to the legalistic period"; and accordingly the Book of Deuteronomy is taken "as representing the stage next subsequent to the work of the eighth-century prophets, since its promulgation took place in 621 B.C., though as to the precise date of its composition we have no information." Now, "broadly speaking," this is evidently in

direct contradiction with the view expressed in the Jewish Scriptures, and in the Book of Deuteronomy itself. That Book alleges throughout, in the most positive and reiterated expressions, that it represents the stage of Divine revelation to the Jews in the days of Moses, as that revelation proceeded from the mouth of Moses himself. Let it be observed that this broad contradiction is quite independent of questions respecting the authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy. To maintain that the Book as it stands did not proceed from the hand of Moses himself is one thing; and no one doubts that the close of it, at all events, is from a later hand. It would involve no contradiction to the broad representation of Israel's religious life, which it contains, to regard it as the summary recapitulation, by a later hand, of the substance of the teaching of Moses. That would leave its substantial truth unaffected. But the contention which is involved in the current theory is inconsistent with its substantial truth. The teaching of the Book of Deuteronomy is, according to this view, wrongly assigned to the Mosaic age. Moses is allowed—actually allowed—at least by Dr. Burney—for he is a rather retrograde critic in this particular—to have "invested his presentation of the Deity with certain definite moral characteristics"; but it is maintained that it was not till after the eighth-century prophets that the stage represented by Deuteronomy as a whole could have been reached. I have quoted one writer for the sake of definiteness; but the contrast and contradiction on which I am insisting have been notorious since the publication, some twelve years ago, of the masterly and unanswered book of Professor James Robertson, of Glasgow—the book of which no less a critic than Dillmann said that it hit the nail on the head—contrasting the representation of the religious history of Israel by modern critics on the one hand, and by the Scriptural writers on the other. According to later critics, the Pentateuch projects erroneously into the past the views of a later age; and similarly the latest commentator on the Book of Genesis in this country tells us that it gives us very little which can be regarded as historically true respecting Moses and Aaron, but throws

invaluable light upon the views of those who wrote it many centuries later.

It is to be observed, in fact, that since the time of Wellhausen Biblical criticism has altered its character, and an imaginary historical criticism has superseded purely literary criticism. Previously criticism was mainly concerned with questions of authorship and composition; and the greater part of this, even if exaggerated and sometimes mischievous, did not touch the main truth of the Scriptures. Whether P and J and E and D, or a score of P's and J's and E's and D's, and one or two or half a dozen of redactors, combined to make the Pentateuch what it is, is a question quite independent of its substantial historical truth. As the Bishop of Bristol has observed, the fact that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a compilation of successive generations which has been much modified in the course of time, does not materially impair its substantial trustworthiness. The question whether the second part of the Book of Isaiah is to be assigned not to him, but to an unknown Exilic prophet, does not exclude an admission of its having prophetic character and authority. Whatever view we may take of such questions, they are as legitimate as critical inquiries respecting the authorship of the last verses of St. Mark or of the Second Epistle of St. Peter. But Wellhausen succeeded in the attempt—which had been ineffectually made by Reuss Graf, and others before him—to subordinate this purely literary criticism to a constructive historic criticism, which, in Dillmann's expressive phrase, turned everything topsy-turvy (*Alles auf den Kopf stellte*). The Scriptures make the revelation of God in Deuteronomy the beginning of Israel's religious life as a nation; the new critical school places it near the end. In other words, they charge the authors of the Scripture with a false representation of the facts.

Now before pressing this consideration home to its last stage I must venture to say that we might at least be spared the unreality—I had almost said the mockery—of attempting to treat as inspired the books which thus misled both the Jewish and the Christian world for 2,000 years. If there is one attribute

above any other ascribed to the Spirit of God by our Lord and His Apostles, it is that He is the Spirit of Truth; and books which are not true in their broad meaning, which convey, and were intended to convey, and which have succeeded for more than 2,000 years in conveying, alike to those for whom they were written and to successive generations, a false conception of the order of God's education of His people, books which deliberately laid a false foundation for the religion of the Jews—the religion in which our Lord and His Apostles lived and worshipped—such books must, indeed, have been inspired by some extraordinary genius, but certainly not by the Spirit of Truth. Scholars in their studies may satisfy themselves with fancies about varying standards of "literary integrity," as the phrase goes; but if the clergy have to tell the common people that the books of the Pentateuch are not to be trusted for a substantially true account of the Mosaic age, can you expect them to accept those Scriptures as the Word of God? If your missionaries have to meet the Mohammedans with the admission at the outset that the statements of the Scriptural historians cannot be treated as generally historical, can you expect them to accept them as superior to the Koran, which they believe to be true? For the common sense of mankind in general, you would have cut the ground from under the inspiration of the Scriptures, and consequently from under the authority of the Christian revelation, when you have proclaimed that, "broadly speaking," the account they give of God's ways, and God's government and education of His people, is an erroneous one.

But it is necessary to go farther, and to bear in mind that beyond question the Scriptural representations of the course of Divine revelation to the Jewish people were held without modification by the Apostles themselves and by our Lord. I am not now quoting either Him or them on a mere question of authorship; but one passage alone in the New Testament—St. Stephen's speech—is enough to show that the Scriptural representation of the Jewish history was unanimously accepted in his day by men full of the Holy Spirit, like him and the

Apostles, as well as by the Jews at large. But if so, and if, as it necessarily follows, the Apostles were under an illusion as to God's actions and words to the fathers of their nation, do you think it will long be possible to maintain their authority as inspired teachers respecting His present methods and His future purposes? Some scholars and theologians, by that strange inconsistency of which I have spoken, may contrive to hold simultaneously, in distinct compartments of thought, the two conceptions. But to the world at large, when you have destroyed the trustworthiness of the Scriptures to which the Saviour and His Apostles appealed, and on which they relied, their authority as inspired teachers will be gone. I am thankful to feel that such views are as incompatible with sound historical criticism as with theological truth, and that they are opposed, in Germany as well as in this country, by Oriental scholars of the highest authority. Views cannot be regarded as scientifically established which have been, and are, rejected by such scholars as Dillmann, Kittel, Hommel, and Robertson. It is to be borne in mind that the Pentateuch, even if written in the time of Ezra, unless a deliberate fraud, is at least a witness to what the most learned class in the Jewish nation believed respecting the history of their forefathers, and that its statements were accepted without demur by their contemporaries. We are required, therefore, by this new view, to believe that the whole Jewish nation were deluded respecting the history of their forefathers at a period not much further removed from them, in the year 444, than the Norman Conquest from our own time. I say, with a new emphasis, *Credat Judæus.* No; let us welcome criticism and prosecute it to the utmost. Let us be indulgent to it, even in its extravagances—mischievous though they may to some extent be—for the sake of the supreme advantage of maintaining the utmost freedom of discussion. Let the imagination of critics run riot, if they please, in contradicting their own maxim of treating the Bible as any other book—let them, if they please, treat it as no other book ever has been treated, or ever will be treated—so long as the treatment is confined to matters of form

and authorship. But when it comes to denying the substantial truth of the Scripture record—then, for Christians at all events, the time has come for exclaiming: "Hitherto shalt thou go, but no farther; and here shall thy proud words be stayed."

Revival Memories: The Early Days of Church Missions.

By the Rev. Canon W. HAY M. H. AITKEN, M.A.

THE Mission Movement in the Church of England was no doubt greatly stimulated by the visit of the American Evangelists in 1873, but it is well to bear in mind that it had been inaugurated some four years earlier by the great "Twelve Days' Mission" in London. Indeed, though that was the first united effort to which the name "mission" was given, it was far from being the first thing of the kind ever attempted in connection with our Church. The student of the history of the Evangelical school in the Church of England can hardly fail to be surprised at the fact that, while the teaching of Wesley and Whitfield was reproduced during the nineteenth century in many churches throughout the land, the evangelizing methods which Wesley had used with such effect, and which had done so much for Wesleyan Methodism, do not seem to have been adopted. The "penitent meeting," which always followed the sermon of the Methodist revivalist, does not seem to have been made use of by the Evangelical leaders who did such good work in the first fifty years of last century.

These good men seem to have trusted mainly to their preaching of the Gospel on the Sundays, and probably to house-to-house visitation, with which they, no doubt, followed up the impressions made in the pulpit, for the results which so abundantly accompanied their ministry. Perhaps it was their Calvinistic bias that inclined them to imitate the methods of Whitfield rather than those of Wesley. No doubt many of the

most earnest amongst them were jealous of anything that might seem like an attempt to supersede the direct personal action of the Holy Ghost upon the awakened heart. In the early days of the mission movement I have myself, at our clerical gatherings during a general mission, every now and then heard words of warning uttered that were based on this apprehension.

But this habit of leaving results to God (to employ a phrase that used to be very common in those days) had, before the first half of the century had run its course, produced a very unsatisfactory state of things in the great majority of Evangelical churches. Justification by faith was indeed preached, and sometimes with a reiteration of its doctrinal aspects that to-day would be regarded as tedious; yet it was not preached in a way that led people to seek to become justified. A flat and lifeless Evangelicism is, perhaps, the least satisfactory of any form of religious teaching. There is just enough truth in it to harden, but not enough power to save. My early memories of the condition of our Church lead me to believe that ministries of this sort were the rule rather than the exception in the middle of the nineteenth century, and it is my firm conviction that it was the absence of aggressive conversion work in Evangelical churches that paved the way for the progress of the Tractarian Movement.

The man whom God raised up to bring about a great and salutary change in this respect was, I believe, Robert Aitken, of Pendeen. The very definite experience in his own early days of a great spiritual change, when he had already been five years in Holy Orders, led to his giving up the best years of his life to continuous evangelizing efforts. And because he could at that time find no countenance or sympathy in the Church, he felt constrained to break with Church order, and for many years worked as a "revivalist" amongst the Wesleyans, and subsequently in large buildings which he himself purchased or erected in various towns in England. About the time that I was born he submitted himself once more to Episcopal control, and ultimately, by a strange combination of circumstances, found

himself the incumbent of a mining district in the remotest part of Cornwall. Here it might have been supposed that his influence would be confined within narrow local limits, but it was not to be so. From this lonely Patmos of the far west call after call reached him from various parts of England from clergymen of different schools of thought who were longing for more spiritual life amongst their people; and the wonderful results that followed these early efforts excited much notice, and sometimes not a little opposition. William Haslam in Cornwall, John Knott in Leeds, Richard Twigg at Wednesbury, George Herbert of St. Peter's, Vauxhall, and many other clergymen whose names are less known, but whose influence extended widely, all owed their spiritual enlightenment to his teaching, and others who never came into direct contact with him were indirectly influenced by him, through those whom he had led into a clearer light.

These revival services, as they were usually called in those days, the name of missions not having been as yet suggested, were something so utterly new within the Church that they produced a great sensation. The churches in which they were held were crowded, one might almost say, to suffocation. In a certain town in the Potteries an indignant parson exclaimed: "I hear this man Aitken preaches for fifty minutes; I am going to hear him, and if he goes beyond thirty-five minutes, or at most forty, I shall get up and walk out of church as an act of protest." With this laudable intention he entered the church, and found himself seated well in front, while already the huge building was fast filling with an "eager, anxious throng." It continued to fill until all the seats were taken, and then until all standing room was occupied, all the aisles blocked, and every possibility of egress removed; and thus, wedged into his seat, the unfortunate man had to endure a sermon that lasted for nearly two hours; for the preacher's heart was very full, and the eagerness of his audience led him on, forgetful of the flight of time. So the indignant protester had perforce to forego his protest.

The after-meetings, as we should now call them, in those early days were always held in the schoolrooms ; it would have been thought almost a profanation to have them in church. They were generally spoken of as prayer-meetings, and no doubt there was usually a great deal of noise and excitement. My father had learnt his methods of evangelizing work amongst the Methodists, and, having found them useful in his earlier labours in connection with that body, it is hardly to be wondered at that he continued to adhere to them in these pioneer efforts within the Church. Quieter and more church-like forms of procedure came in with missions properly so-called.

Amongst those who were indirectly influenced by my father's evangelizing efforts was one who was destined to contribute, perhaps, more than anyone else, to the bringing of mission-work into general acceptance in the Church—George Howard Wilkinson, late Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. He was, I suppose, the first man to hold what was definitely called a mission in his parish, and he did it under the very eyes of Bishop Baring, of Durham, who was not a man to sympathize with such innovations, whether they seemed to savour of Romanism on the one side, or of Methodism on the other. The good Bishop, failing altogether to grasp the true character of the movement, made things very difficult for the Vicar ; but Wilkinson was not a man to be daunted, and God's blessing vindicated the wisdom of this new agency. The Auckland Mission stands first, so far as I know, in that long list of Church missions, which has never been made out in this world, but is no doubt preserved in that world where " there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth."

I am careful to say " so far as I know," for it was about that time that missions of a somewhat different type began to be held by the " Cowley Fathers," and it is possible that some of these may have occurred at an earlier date. There is no doubt that Wilkinson and his close friend, the present Archbishop of York, were influenced by Cowley as well as by Pendeen in their proposal of the first great united effort in London, the

"Twelve Days' Mission" of 1869. I suppose it was from Cowley that the suggestion of the term "mission" came, and no doubt the Cowley Fathers borrowed it from the Roman Catholics, with whom missions have long been a recognized institution.

"What is there in a name?" people sometimes ask. But my own observation of men and manners would lead me to reply, "A very great deal." There can be no doubt that the name in this case was a most important factor in the great results that followed. True, it had its drawbacks. It excited no small amount of suspicion amongst the Evangelicals of the time, and I well remember how, when my dear Vicar, William Pennefather, had cordially consented to my taking part in the effort, he was subsequently inundated with expostulations from his friends. This was supposed to be the last move of the Romanizing party, and the most astute that they had as yet made. And to think that the name of the curate of St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, should be the very first on the list of mission preachers!

No doubt there was some cause for this strong feeling. It had been carefully insisted upon that this was not to be a party movement in any sense of the word, and on that understanding I asked my Vicar's leave to join in it. Yet the posters that subsequently appeared all over London, and which contained a list of the preachers joining, in alphabetical order, were headed by a huge black cross, and were dated from All Saints', Margaret Street, while the fact that one of the Cowley Fathers was the secretary gave additional ground for suspicion.

On the other hand, the use of the word proved almost talismanic in other quarters. If, a few years later, I had risen in the Ruridecanal Chapter at Liverpool to propose that we should all join in holding revival meetings in our parishes, I doubt whether I should have found half a dozen supporters. But when I proposed that we should hold a general mission throughout the town, the thing was carried enthusiastically *nem. con.*; so that, after all, I conclude there was a good deal

in that name. Possibly its efficacy may now be somewhat impaired; and the Welsh Revival seemed at one time likely to bring the old word "revival" back again into favour; but during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the word "mission" has certainly done good service to the cause of the Gospel in our Church.

Was the Twelve Days' Mission a great success? Measured by its direct results, so far as I was able to judge, I should be inclined to say No. I do not remember hearing of any church being inconveniently crowded, nor can I recall any report of large spiritual results of a definite character reaching me. Certainly, in the churches in which I myself worked, the apparent results seemed comparatively small, and it fell to my lot to work both for Wilkinson and Archbishop Maclagan (who was then at Kennington)—two men who were the recognized leaders of the movement. I do not say for a moment that there were no apparent conversions, but that the number of those who professed to be thus blessed was small as compared with the magnitude of the effort and the great notoriety that it gained.

But its indirect results were amazing. Everyone seemed interested in this new departure in the Church of England. The secular press, from the *Times* downwards, had leaders on the subject, and during the mission fairly extensive notices of the services appeared. But it was perhaps the clergy, more than any other class, that were stirred by the tidings of this great crusade. Numbers of them felt that it was just some such spiritual impulse as this that their parishes needed, and possibly they themselves not less than their people. Hence the London Mission did more than set a fashion (though certainly it did that); it met a need that numbers of earnest men were conscious of, and many even who were not earnest felt that here was a possibility of becoming so.

Hence the great effort had hardly concluded before invitations from all quarters began to pour in upon the little handful of clergymen who possessed any capacity for, or acquaintance

with, this kind of work. The venerable "Patriarch of Pendeen," as his friends used to love to call him, who was now in his seventieth year, found himself in great request, and the last years of his life were brightened by participation in the spiritual harvest that ensued. Perhaps the most remarkable of the missions in which he himself took part was that at St. Paul's, Newport, where for weeks together a marvellous ingathering of souls took place. His first visit resulted in a great blessing to the soul of the Vicar, the late Mr. Wrenford, and this led to so great a stir in the place that my father was persuaded to return for a second visit, in which the results were even larger than in the first. Night after night that big church, which at that time would hold, when crowded, some 1,800 people, was thronged to the doors; and when the sermon was ended the missioner and the Vicar would retire within the Communion-rails, inviting those who were seeking for pardon and peace to come up and kneel at the rails, where they would offer them personal assistance and direction. Often the rails would be filled four or five times over in the course of a single night, and probably hundreds, if not thousands, were won for Christ during that eventful season. The memory of that wonderful time of blessing is fresh in Newport to-day, and there still remain, after the lapse of nearly forty years, not a few who look back upon it as the turning-point in their lives.

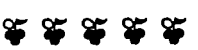
It was in the following year that the General Mission in St. Pancras took place, and my father was invited by the late Bishop Thorold, who was then Vicar of that large parish, to preach the closing sermon of the mission at the parish church at a united morning gathering. I was not present, but I have heard that sermon, on the words "Jesus Christ our Lord," again and again referred to as one of the most striking that he ever preached. At its close he retired for a moment into the vestry along with the late Bishop Magee, who was to celebrate at the Communion Service that followed. After thanking him very cordially for his sermon, the Bishop asked: "Now, do tell me, Mr. Aitken, are the spiritual results of these evangelizing

efforts really permanent so far as you have been able to form an opinion; or, when the heated emotional excitement passes away, does not all collapse?" Just at this moment there was a loud knocking at the vestry-door, and, on its being opened, a small crowd of people pressed eagerly forward to grasp the hand of the preacher. Returning to the Bishop after a most affectionate leave-taking, he replied: "You have your answer there, my lord. It is more than thirty years since I closed my evangelizing career in London, and here are these dear people crowding round me to-day, full of gratitude to God and man for the blessing that they received all those long years ago."

I was present at a meeting of the clergy held in St. Pancras Schoolroom on the last Saturday of that mission, and I always look back upon my father's speech on that occasion as the utterance of a sort of *Nunc Dimittis*. "You can better imagine," he remarked, "than I can describe what my feelings are in addressing you to-day. For many a long year I have been endeavouring to bear my witness to the importance—nay, the necessity—of this kind of work, but I have stood almost alone; and now I have lived to see it taken up by the leaders of the Church, and, I may almost say, by the Church at large. My heart is very full, and I can hardly trust myself to speak, but I do thank God that I have been spared to see this day."

Only another year, and the sudden call came, and God's servant did indeed depart in peace, for his eyes had seen a wondrous manifestation of God's salvation.

In a concluding paper next month I hope to give some reminiscences of missions in which I have myself taken part.



The Book of Exodus.

By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B.

A GOOD modern English commentary on Exodus has long been a desideratum; and there are probably many who have anxiously waited for the appearance of such a volume. The first of the various works which have been understood to be in preparation has now appeared, but those who have waited will, I fear, have to wait yet longer, for much that we have needed will not be found in the volume[1] which Mr. McNeile has contributed to the Westminster Commentaries.

As the book calls for serious, and perhaps severe, treatment on its critical, historical, legal, and exegetical sides, I wish to begin by calling attention to the main purpose of Mr. McNeile's book. His interest, evidently, is in the main theological and homiletical. He is a theologian first and other things afterwards, and it must always be remembered that in any complete estimate of the book account must be taken of that wherein lies its writer's chief strength. Moreover, the nature of his devotion to theology and homiletics tends to warp Mr. McNeile's capacity to handle other topics. There is a time for everything, and the ascertainment of historical or literary facts should not be made subservient to the desire to point morals. An illustration will make my meaning clear. Exod. vi. 3—the revelation of the Tetragrammaton to Moses—is a verse of supreme critical importance; but it is textually doubtful. For נוֹדַעְתִּי ("I was known") the Septuagint appears to have read הוֹדַעְתִּי ("I made known"). Mr. McNeile notes this fact (though he appears to be ignorant of the support given to the Septuagint by other versions,[2] and a tenth-century Karaite MS., which originally had this text, but has been brought into conformity with the Massoretic tradition[3]), and apparently

[1] "The Book of Exodus," with Introduction and Notes by A. H. McNeile, B.D. Methuen and Co.

[2] See Kittel, "Biblia Hebraica," *ad loc.*

[3] R. Hoerning, Karaite MSS., in the British Museum, p. 17.

prefers this reading to that of the Massoretic text; but he does not go further into the matter. Instead, he writes: "A signal instance of the gradual way in which God leads His people into a fuller understanding of His word is afforded by the fact that it is only in the last 150 years that the attention of students has been arrested by these verses," and proceeds to speak of the documentary theory. It would have been more to the point if he had proceeded to add that the readings of the Septuagint, Syriac, and Samaritan, in the earlier portions of the Pentateuch, by no means agree with those of the Massoretic text as regards the appellations of the Deity, so that if the principle of textual criticism be once conceded, the ground is largely cut away from under the feet of the documentary theorists. There is, of course, nothing more praiseworthy than a proper homiletical treatment of the Bible; but in this, as in other fields, so much depends on the method adopted. It is conceived that the homiletical interest is likely to prove a snare where it leads a man to preach on the basis of incomplete or insufficiently ascertained facts.

A second extenuating circumstance may be found in the enormous range of topics embraced in Exodus. There is much to be said for the view that the next large commentary on the book ought to be the work, not of an individual, but of a syndicate of scholars. It would be unreasonable to expect any man to deal adequately with all the varying interests that claim consideration in a commentary on the Pentateuch. To some extent Mr. McNeile has recognized this fact. Thus, in his discussion of the relation of Hammurabi and the laws of Exodus, he makes no attempt to deal with the literature or to express any independent views. He simply summarizes the article by Mr. C. H. W. Johns in the extra volume of Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible." If it be asked what independent acquaintance Mr. McNeile has with the Hammurabi literature, what his qualifications are for dealing with the subject, or what work he has devoted to it, the answer must in each case be "None." But he is perfectly honest about the matter, and the

course he has adopted is the second best that was open to him. A wiser alternative would have been to seek the aid of some lawyer in dealing with the question. Among the members of the Cambridge law faculty he could have found jurists whose learning and ability fit them for handling the topic, if only their interest could be attracted to it.

Yet, even when allowances have been made, the fact remains that the book is not merely unsatisfactory, but unnecessarily and gratuitously so, and for several different reasons.

Almost at the very beginning Mr. McNeile prints a list of "books useful for the study of Exodus." Some interesting information can be gleaned from its perusal. First, I note that while Dr. Kent's egregious volume on "Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents" finds a place in the list, Dr. Orr's "Problem of the Old Testament" and Van Hoonacker's important monographs are not noticed. In reading the introduction and commentary I failed to observe any references to either of these authors, so that it may perhaps be inferred that their work has not been utilized. Again, that Mr. McNeile, whose preface is dated Lent, 1908, should be unacquainted with the second edition of Benzinger's "Hebrew Archæology," which appeared before the end of 1907, is certainly unfortunate; but I should not have been prepared to attach much weight to this were it the only indication that he is not up to date. Unhappily, even when allowance is made for his unwillingness to read modern work on Pentateuchal criticism by those who do not accept the main Wellhausen theories, we are still left with evidence that our author is not fully abreast of the times. Thus Kittel's "Biblia Hebraica" is never mentioned, and from the notes on some of the passages where it might reasonably have been consulted, it is clear that Mr. McNeile has either not used the book, or else has not used it properly. I have already drawn attention to one point on Exod. vi. 3. Here is another on the same verse. On p. 40 Mr. McNeile is desirous of eliminating the word *Shaddai* (rendered "Almighty" in the Revised Version) from the text of Gen. xliii. 14, and points out that

the Septuagint has ὁ θεός μου. This shows that he does not know that in this very verse the Septuagint has θεὸς ὢν αὐτῶν, and that it uniformly follows this method of treating the word in Genesis and Exodus. Again, it is probable that we should have been spared the note on Exod. iii. 1, explaining that "the mountain of God" "denotes a mountain which was conceived to be God's habitual dwelling-place," and the assertion on p. cxiii of the Introduction that "the God of the Israelites had, before Moses' time, been conceived of as dwelling on the sacred mountain," if Mr. McNeile had noted that Codices A and B (*i.e.*, the Alexandrian and the Vatican),[1] omit the word "God."

The archæology, too, is not up to date. The higher critics are fond of protesting that archæology has not established anything which they were not prepared to concede, so that this is of some importance. In his note on "four hundred and thirty years," in Exod. xii. 40, Mr. McNeile argues, on the basis of Dr. Driver's remarks (Gen. xxviii. *et seq.*), that if Hammurabi is the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. 1, and if, further, the rôle assigned to Abraham in that chapter is, at least substantially, historical, Abraham's date is fixed at *circa* 2250 B.C.

"It is impossible, therefore, to uphold both the Biblical chronology and the identity of Amraphel and Hammurabi. Many scholars, however, doubt this identity. But although there are no exact data by which to fix the time when Abraham came to Canaan, P's chronology is discredited partly by the great length of life which he ascribes to the patriarchs, and partly by the fact that his dates appear to be arrived at by an artificial system of computation."

It will be observed that Mr. McNeile, without consulting the most recent authority on the subject, commits himself to the statement that it is impossible to uphold both the Biblical chronology and the identity of Amraphel and Hammurabi, and speaks of "P's" chronology as discredited. Had he studied Mr. King's recent book, which was published some months before the date of his own preface, he might have discovered that the discredit had been shifted from "P" to the higher critics, as will be seen from the following extracts:

[1] Also Codex F, but this does not appear from Kittel.

"Our new information enables us to accept unconditionally the identification of Amraphel with Hammurabi, and at the same time it shows that the chronological system of the Priestly Writer, however artificial, was calculated from data more accurate than has hitherto been supposed" (L. W. King, "Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings," vol. i., p. 22).

"Upon grounds of general probability the Pharaoh of the oppression has been identified with Ramses II. . . . His successor, Merenptaḥ, is thus generally held to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus. . . . But our new estimate of Hammurabi's date would separate him from Merenptaḥ by little more than 700 years. It will be noted that there is no great discrepancy between this period and the 645 years, which, in the Hebrew text, separated the Exodus from the call of Abraham" (*op. cit.*, pp. 24 *et seq.*).

In this connection, some sentences may be quoted from the *Expository Times:*

"Now, Mr. King is no apologist for the Old Testament. If he fixes the date of Abraham, and finds the chronology of the Priestly Writer reliable, it will be safe for us to follow him, though it may not always be pleasant. . . . Mr. King is evidently astonished that he can take any date from the Hebrew Text at all" (October, 1907, pp. 6, 7).

It would be difficult for anybody to reveal bias more clearly than Dr. Hastings does in these sentences. I draw special attention to this because the higher critics always wish it to be believed that they are impartial scholars. We now know from their most prominent English organ that it is not pleasant for them to find that a Biblical statement is accurate.

In respect of bias, Mr. McNeile's standpoint is exactly the same. Thus, in his note on Exod. viii. 19 (pp. 47 *et seq.*), he writes: "Earthenware vessels are not mentioned; and several writers note that it is only in earthenware that the discoloured Nile waters can be made and kept clear. But it is improbable that this intentional accuracy is to be ascribed to P," etc. This bias should be carefully noted by all who read higher critical books. If they think a Biblical author is inaccurate, the critics carefully dwell on the supposed fact; if they find him accurate, they deem it matter for regret, and do their best to explain it away.

But there is worse to follow. Since reading Dr. C. F. Kent's "Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents," I by no means assume that writers of this school have necessarily themselves

given careful study to the books which they recommend to other people. In this instance I was desirous of testing Mr. McNeile's work. Now, in his list of books "useful for the study of Exodus" there are, excluding the Expositor's Bible, the names of eight (or seven) commentaries on the book. In xxxiii. 7 the Revised Version has a mistranslation which is extraordinarily important for the purposes of Wellhausenism. The Hebrew has, "And Moses used to take the (*or* a) tent and pitch (it) לו *for himself*." The Revised Version quietly omits the לו, and Mr. McNeile offers no comment. Looking at the books in question, I find that Kalisch and Strack translate the לו correctly; Baentsch not merely renders it by "sich," but draws attention to it in his note; Holzinger (whose volume contains no translation) discusses the word, though he obviously cannot understand its force; Dillmann is in the same position; while Keil and the Speaker's commentary do not notice it.[1] It thus appears that in this instance Mr. McNeile has not consulted a single commentary that has appeared within the last thirty years, and has not looked at five at least of his selected commentaries and editions. (Moreover, Strack in this passage renders "*a* tent," not "*the* tent," and writes a note, a perusal of which must have prevented Mr. McNeile from writing as he has done of the Hebrew article, not merely in the present passage, but also on xvi. 13, p. 97.) The eighth commentary is entered as follows: "Lange, J. P. Engl. transl., Edinburgh, 1868." It occurs under the heading "Commentaries on the Pentateuch." No English translation of J. P. Lange's commentary on Exodus, which "was not published till 1874,"[2] appeared in the year 1868. But in that year an English translation of his commentary on Genesis (not Exodus or the Pentateuch) was

[1] I have explained the bearing of this mistranslation on the Wellhausen position in a paper which appeared in the October number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, to which reference may be made for a refutation of the Wellhausen position as to the tent of meeting.

[2] See preface to "A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures . . ." by John Peter Lange, D.D. . . . translated, enlarged and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. Vol. II. . . . of the Old Testament, Exodus and Leviticus. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark (no date on title-page; preface dated April 28, 1876).

published. Whether Mr. McNeile means to include Exodus, or whether his intention is to refer only to that volume which is indicated by his date, is not clear. It is remarkable that in other cases, where he has gone far enough into a commentary to be acquainted with the authorship, he carefully explains what writers are responsible for each book of the Pentateuch, while in this instance he does not notice that the commentary on Deuteronomy is by W. J. Schröder, not J. P. Lange. Combined with the strangeness of the title, the date given, and the fact that he has not used at least five of his authorities on Exod. xxxiii. 7, this makes it doubtful whether he, as the compiler of this list of "books useful for the study of Exodus," has himself made use of the work in question.

Another interesting illustration of Mr. McNeile's methods is afforded by his argument respecting Sinai and Horeb. On p. cii he writes: "The statement of Dillmann has been generally accepted, that 'there is no distinction in the Bible between Sinai and Ḥoreb; they are different names for the same locality,'" etc. And then he proceeds to argue that they are in fact different places, some eleven days distant from each other. I subjoin some remarks on the merit of this theory.[1]

[1] Mr. McNeile locates Sinai near Kadesh-barnea, while Horeb is placed in Arabia, south of the Gulf of Akaba. A few of the more patent absurdities of this scheme may be pointed out:

1. As the testimony of the post-exilic P is invoked, it follows that the localities must have been clearly known down to his time. Therefore the redactor of J and E must be supposed to have taken two narratives dealing with places eleven days' journey apart—for that is Mr. McNeile's theory—torn them into shreds, and combined these shreds, or some of them, in such a way as to make obvious nonsense. Thus, in xxxiii. 6 the Israelites are in Horeb; but a few verses later (xxxiv. 2) Moses is commanded to come up in the morning unto Mount Sinai—on this theory eleven days' journey off—and duly does so. It takes a higher critic to believe that any sane human being ever composed a narrative on these principles, or that his readers would have accepted it if he had done so.

2. The next point requires us to glance at one of the arguments for the documentary theory. It is urged that duplicate narratives imply diversity of authorship. Now, there is a Meribah-Massah incident related in Exod. xvii., and a Meribah incident in Num. xx. Therefore the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses, but a compilation from documents. If, now, we provisionally accept this reasoning, and turn to the documentary theorists for the remedy, we obtain some amusing results. Moses may not tell two stories of the production of water from rocks, but there is obviously nothing to prevent J or E from doing so. Accordingly, the result of the higher critical

Here I desire to point to the fact that on pp. 61 and 64 of Professor H. P. Smith's "Old Testament History" (included in Mr. McNeile's bibliography) it is urged that the two names refer to different places. One would have expected Mr. McNeile to mention this fact had he been aware of it.

Mr. McNeile's book contains no statement that he has read the works in his bibliography (or, at any rate, those portions of them which bear on Exodus), and it is of course quite open to any writer to print a list of books which he has not studied as

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endeavours to halve the two Meribah narratives is to give us either five, or perhaps six, such stories. J and E had two each. "J's traditions," writes Mr. Carpenter on Exod. xvii. 1*b*, "attached parallel incidents to two names, Massah and Meribah. E appears also to have contained explanations of both designations." The only question is what number P may be supposed to have had. He tells a story in Num. xx. which is located at Kadesh; but as in Num. xxxiii. 14 he speaks of "Rephidim, where was no water for the people to drink," it seems probable that he also recognized two incidents. But I do not like to make the statement positively, because, so far as I know, the higher critics have never considered the point, and it is by no means certain that they would let P enjoy the same licence in this matter as J or E. Be that as it may, it is perfectly certain that the early sources recognize two incidents in which water is obtained from the rock. Now, Mr. McNeile has never realized this. Possibly he is under the influence of some antiquated, pre-critical, arithmetical superstition which made the half of two, not five or six, or even two, but one. If so, he should learn that there is no place for such absurd views in the Wellhausen theory. Anyhow, though he prints the divisions of the text in Exodus which necessitate the attribution of two stories each to E and J, he speaks of "*the* place where Moses brought water from the rock" (p. cii, my italics), and throughout argues on the basis that there is only one such place, and his inferences inevitably fall with his premiss.

3. On p. ciii he writes: "P appears to identify Ẓin and Paran . . . Paran is closely associated with Sinai. In Num. x. 12 (P) it is the first stopping-place after the wilderness of Sinai." Mr. McNeile has surely omitted to take dates into consideration. In P the Israelites leave Sinai "in the second year, in the second month, on the twentieth day of the month" (Num. x. 11). If Paran is identical with Zin, and was also the next stopping-place, they must have marched without a halt for over ten months, for they arrived in Zin in the first month (Num. xx. 1—P). The year is not given, but it may be assumed in Mr. McNeile's favour that it was the very next year. If it was any subsequent year, then the length of their "non-stop" march must be correspondingly increased.

4. It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that if, as Mr. McNeile believes, El-Paran is equivalent to Elath (p. ciii), the desert of Paran must have stretched such a distance as to make it impossible to argue that places that were in or near this wilderness must *ipso facto* have been near to one another. Moreover, the borders of Edom were a line, not a point, so that the argument, "Sinai is very closely associated with Zin, Kadesh, and Paran, and all are at the borders of Edom," seems a trifle inconclusive.

giving materials for further work by anybody who may desire them; but it will be felt that the facts set out above are far from satisfactory. It is not too much to ask that a man who undertakes to produce a bulky edition of a canonical book should himself study that book seriously with the aid of the best works on the subject; and it ought to be the recognized duty of every commentator to go through the book he is editing verse by verse and word by word with a reasonably representative selection of the best preceding commentaries. A man who pursues the line of conduct adopted by Mr. McNeile inevitably lays himself open to the question, Why did you not study Exodus with the help of the books which you have publicly declared to be useful for that purpose before publishing a commentary on it? It is difficult to conceive what satisfactory answer he could possibly give.

Reference has already been made to Mr. McNeile's treatment of modern conservative work. A natural and inevitable result is that he repeats a large number of statements which he would have seen to be false if he had taken the trouble to study the publications of those who are not followers of Wellhausen. It will not be expected that I should once more expose the old familiar higher critical blunders, of which my readers are probably as weary as I am. Suffice it to say that Mr. McNeile does not fail to bore the slave's ear (Exod. xxi. 2 *et seq.*) to the door or doorpost of an altar called a sanctuary and mistaken for a house (pp. lxv and 127); to allege in the teeth of Gen. xviii. 7, xxvii. 9-14, xliii. 16, Exod. xxi. 37 (xxii. 1), 1 Sam. xxv. 11, xxviii. 24, etc., that in early times (*i.e.*, before the date to which Mr. McNeile assigns Deuteronomy) all slaughter was for the purpose of sacrifice (p. 70); to assert in the face of such passages as 1 Sam. vii. 17, xx. 6 (David's clan sacrifice, which must have been performed at an altar), 1 Kings i. 9, 2 Kings v. 17, that Exod. xx. 24 applies to every place where God caused His Name to be remembered "by some visitation or token" (p. 125); and to repeat other statements that have been demonstrated to be untrue. It should further be remarked in passing that the explanation of such an

assertion as that of p. 107, "The elaborate organization suggested by Jethro is an ideal never reached in any nation," must be sought in its author's curious forgetfulness of history. There is apparently also something to seek in regard to Mr. McNeile's arithmetic. He alleges (p. 126) that the judgments in Exod. xxi. *et seq.* "fall into pentades, or groups of five." His third pentade is only obtained by arbitrarily expelling xxi. 17 from the text (p. 128). His fourth pentade (xxi. 18-27, p. 129), when counted on the same principle as his first two, contains seven members. A subsequent pentade (xxi. 33 *et seq.*, 35, 36, xxii. 1, 3*b*, 4, p. 131; vers. 2, 3*a*, being removed, partly because they interrupt the pentadic arrangement, partly because Mr. McNeile apparently cannot understand them) contains six members. Next come two verses (xxi. 5, 6, p. 132) which admittedly do not constitute a "pentade," though our author says they are "perhaps fragments of an original pentade." But if his arithmetic is faulty, it must not be supposed that he attaches any definite meaning to the English legal and vernacular terms he uses in connection with his pentades. Thus, xxii. 14-17 is called a pentade on loans, though two of its members deal with seduction; and when Mr. McNeile speaks of 7-13 as a "pentade on trusts," it is difficult to see what conception he has of the word "trust." The truth is that the alleged pentadic arrangement is not merely arithmetically and textually erroneous; it has pernicious effects in another direction by obscuring the order of thought. Exod. xxii. 7-15 deal with kindred topics—deposit, gratuitous loan, loan for hire—which are naturally treated together, as in many other ancient and modern systems; but Mr. McNeile's imaginary pentades effectually destroy the relation between them, just as they make seduction a "loan." Before passing away from this portion of his work I may also draw attention to another feature. In his preface Mr. McNeile writes: "The time has gone by when an apology would have been needed for showing that the origin of laws, customs, and religious ceremonies can often be detected in primitive ideas of a remote past"; and on p. ii of his introduction he prints some beautiful sentiments on

the aim of history in the case of an ancient nation. It is a pity that he has made no attempt to realize these ideals in commenting on the judgments.

In other directions, too, Mr. McNeile's want of consistency is striking. Thus, on pp. 62-64 he puts forward a wonderful theory of the history of the Passover—too long to be discussed here in detail—and argues (p. 64) that "in P (Exod. xii. 1-13, 43-49) is reached the final stage in the elaboration of the festival, where it again becomes a home celebration." Yet on p. 77, in commenting on "Let him come near" (xii. 48), he writes: "The priestly writer here betrays himself. The expression must mean that the worshipper is to come near to the Temple at Jerusalem," etc. But then, what becomes of the "home celebration" of p. 64? And why, in discussing "the final stage in the elaboration of the festival," does Mr. McNeile forget that in Num. ix. 7, 13, the "priestly writer" again uses language which proves that after the Passover in Egypt the festival was intended to be celebrated, and was in fact celebrated at the religious capital?

It is not possible, in the available space, to attempt anything like an answer to this book, and this is the less to be regretted because I am dealing with very many of the points raised in a series of "Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism," which are at present passing through the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Many of these points carry with them most elaborate superstructures. For example, Mr. McNeile's elaborate discussions of the priesthood, the Levites, and Aaron fall to the ground when examined in the light of passages he has forgotten, such as Deut. xxxiii. 8-10 (from a poem, said to be older than "E," and inserted in it), and the portions of "J" and "E" contained in Joshua. I therefore conclude with an instance of the way in which the usual higher critical theories affect geography.

The critics allege that in "P" the cloud[1] does not appear before Sinai. That is refuted by Exod. xvi. Therefore they

[1] The supposed discrepancies in the narratives relating to the cloud are examined at length in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* paper, to which reference has already been made.

have to alter ver. 10, which represents the Israelites as looking toward the wilderness (the proper position for the cloud in pre-Sinaitic days—Exod. xiii.), and seeing the glory of the Lord appear in the pillar. Accordingly, Mr. McNeile wishes to substitute "dwelling" for "wilderness," charging a redactor or a scribe with having made the alteration because the dwelling did not exist in pre-Sinaitic days. Then he writes of the manna incident on p. xcix, that "P, who states that it was in the 'Wilderness of Sin' (Exod. xvi. 1), clearly places the incident after the stay at Sinai." With my present knowledge of the higher critical methods, I never regard a reference to a verse as raising any presumption that the higher critic who refers to it has examined that verse. In this instance xvi. 1 gives a date—"on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt." According to the same source—"P"—the Israelites did not reach the wilderness of Sinai till the third month (xix. 1). It is therefore obvious that he does not place the incident in question after the stay at Sinai, and Mr. McNeile's geographical theory on the point falls to the ground.

St. Paul and Christianity.

By the Rev. I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., (Hon.) LL.D.

IT has been said that St. Paul invented Christianity; or, at least, that he remoulded it. In the case of philosophies and institutions, when once the first impulse has been given, someone often arises to guide the movement into new channels. So, it is alleged, Paul of Tarsus, by his world-wide influence, transformed the Gospel from its first shape into something else. The Apostle himself would have recoiled from such a thought. "Were ye baptized into the name of Paul?" And it is confuted by the remarkable coincidences in substance, between the

teaching which comes directly from the lips of Christ and that which comes through the foremost of His messengers.[1]

As always, there is the inevitable grain of truth in the assertion that St. Paul made the Gospel what it is. For he was emphatically an originator, as well as organizer—one of the very few who, instead of reiterating a parrot-cry, dare to probe the depths, and, what is still more rare, can do it. Versed in the subtleties of the Jewish law, and to some extent in the wider literature of Greece, with intellect of keenest edge, with the emotional aspirations which set the mind at work, with the tenacity of will which surmounts all obstacles, and, above all, with a passionate longing for holiness, he was the very man to open out in every direction the manifold potentialities of the glad tidings, to explore the hidden riches of the new life, and to apply them to the ever-varying temperaments and environments of men. A "Hebrew of the Hebrews," but a free-born citizen of the Roman Empire, willing even to be "accursed" for his own people, yet making himself "all things to all men," he was the very man, as Professor Ramsay has said,[2] to anticipate the "imperial" idea of Christianity. The good news, whispered into the ears of the chosen Twelve, must be trumpeted on the house-top throughout the world. The message is the same. The music is the same as before Paul laid hand on the chords, only the harmony is more complex. The germ of all that he says and writes is in his Master's words, only the details are more explicit.

This Pauline development is never accretive, never imports new elements; always—a criterion of legitimate development—observes the law of proportion in the relative value of the component parts. In opening the door to all the world, in putting other nations on a level with the nation which boasted that God's favour was their peculiar property, in insisting that the

[1] Questions as to the dates of the Pauline Epistles and of the Four Gospels are irrelevant to this point. Of course there were records, oral and written, of Christ's teaching, before the Gospels appeared in their present form.

[2] "Pauline and Other Studies." Hodder and Stoughton.

Hebrew Church had served its purpose and must fade away into the world-kingdom of the Messiah, he may seem revolutionary. But all this is evolved from the teaching of Him who said, "I will draw all men to Me." Christ commended the man who was "an Israelite *indeed*"; so the Apostle writes, "He is a Jew who is one *inwardly*." Not once nor twice only our Lord in His parables held up the despised Samaritan as a model to the Jews. He offended their prejudices by having to do with Samaritans. Once, at least, if not more often, He stepped over the boundaries of Palestine. And though, with the tenderness of a true patriot, He gave the first offer of blessing to His own people, His parting charge to the Apostles was, "Go into all the world."

One might go through St. Paul's teachings one by one and show how the germ of them may be traced to Christ Himself. But I must confine myself to the three great fundamental thoughts specially characteristic of St. Paul.

Predestination is one. The controversy between Fate and Free Will did not begin with Augustine and Pelagius; did not end with Calvin and Arminius. Will it ever cease? Because St. Paul asserts uncompromisingly God's omnipotence and man's powerlessness without God, he has been claimed as an ally by ultra-predestinarians. But he asserts quite as uncompromisingly man's freedom to choose good or evil, and the responsibility which choice brings with it. For at one time he is reproving the self-confidence which leaves God out of men's lives, at another he is reproving the supineness which excuses its own faults by the plea of an irresistible necessity. He never stops to pare down the truth which he is enforcing, nor tries to dovetail the apparently conflicting statements. It is the old story of the two sides of the shield; the mental eye cannot take in both sides at once. Christ taught, "Not a bird can fall to the ground" without the fiat of omnipotence; and yet men are to "strive" if they would attain; are to "watch and pray"; must "endure to the end"; must all "give account of their doings." Thus the Christian idea of predestination is not the fatalism

which shuts out hope and effort by stolid apathy : it is the conservation of energy by steadying and tranquillizing the man. This is the Evangelic, this is the Pauline teaching.

Obviously connected with the question of Fate and Free Will is the question of "faith and works." Here, too, the controversy seems endless; here, too, St. Paul is claimed as the champion of one side against the other; here, too, it is the old story of the two sides of the shield. For real faith is neither a mere orthodoxy nor a mere ebullition of emotional fervour, but the surrender of self to God. Real trust in God and the morality which grows out of it are as truly one as the root and the fruit of the tree. Thus when St. Paul insists on the paramount necessity of believing in Christ, he is strictly in unison with Him who said again and again to those who came to be healed, "Only believe," "If thou believest," "All things are possible to him who believeth."[1] No stress which the Apostle lays on faith can go beyond these words of the Saviour.

The synthesis of the seeming opposition of faith and works is in this self-renouncement, which is the keynote of the Gospel, the very essence of the message. A full and free surrender of self to the Healer there must be for a full and free forgiveness. And this self-renouncing must not be for any (selfish) aim; else the surrender of self is not real. In the words of Xavier, it must not be in order to win heaven, to escape hell; it must not be in order to attain the self-completeness of the stoic, the repose of Nirvana. "He that loveth his life shall lose it," is the word of Christ, exemplified in His life and death for men. So the Apostle places unselfish love even above faith and hope. "I have overcome the world" is Christ's word. So the Apostle says that Christians are to be "more than conquerors" through Christ; and though this holocaust of self is only to be found in Christ, yet the man who abandoned a splendid worldly career, and counted all things as "dross" and "dirt," in order to follow Christ, is treading at a distance in his Master's footsteps.

[1] Even His will to help was straitened, unless there was faith in those who needed help. "He could do no miracle there because of their unbelief."

In the teaching both of Christ and His Apostle holiness is the basis of the edifice. "They that do the will of God, they shall know," is the word of Christ; "a tree is known by its fruits"; the faithful servant, the dutiful son, is he who obeys. Similarly, if St. Paul teaches that we are nothing, that Christ is everything in the conflict with evil, so Christ has said, "Without Me ye can do nothing"; so Christ is portrayed by Evangelists as "the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world." Indeed as in word the Apostle echoes his Master's teaching on faith and works. St. Paul's rules of conduct, which in almost every letter follow his exposition of doctrine, run parallel to the precepts of Christ on the Mount. St. Paul's glowing words on charity find their counterpart only in Christ Jesus. St. Paul seems at times to disparage law; not merely the old ceremonial law, but even the law of morality.[1] But the context shows invariably that what he decries is a merely formal compliance with law from a selfish motive. A compulsory mechanical obedience is nothing; obedience for fear of loss or for hope of gain is not obedience; the motive must be love, even as the blessing comes from love. To rely on one's own performance, even when acting from unselfish motives, is selfishness in disguise—the selfishness of conceit. Law in itself, St. Paul says, is "good." It is the slave who leads the child to the school where perfect love is taught. So Christ said, "I come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil"; so Christ, reproving Pharisaic pride, taught that every moral precept goes far below the literal fulfilment into the motive, where the hidden springs of action lie. If the Apostle says, "The strength of sin is the law," because without law there can be no law-breaking, so in the teaching of Christ the consciousness of having broken the everlasting law of right and wrong underlies real repentance. "I have sinned against Heaven," the penitent cries in the parable, when he would set his face homeward. When St. Paul bids the Galatians "stand fast in the liberty wherein Christ has made

[1] In the *Romans* St. Paul evidently means by *νόμος* not the Hebrew code only.

them free," because they are emancipated not only from the bondage of the Mosaic ritual, but from the *slavish* spirit generally, he echoes the word of Him who said, "The truth shall make you free," and who, in the very forefront of His ministry, chose for Himself the motto, "I come to set the captive free." When St. Paul says, "Love is the fulfilment of the law," and "All the commandments are comprehended in that word," he is announcing the same great principle as came from the lips of Christ, who, in the act of forgiving and of blessing, laid a special emphasis on the greatness of love in the recipient. Neither the Apostle nor his Master disparages law. Both reprove pride in the observance of it.

It is, most of all, on the great question of "At-one-ment" that St. Paul is said to have "invented" Christianity, and he is accused of teaching that justice is satisfied if innocence suffers, while guilt goes unscathed. But this is to overlook what is the foundation of all the Pauline teaching, the identification[1] of the Saviour with the saved. The Incarnation is the key to the Atonement. The Sinless One in pity condescends to make Himself really and truly one with man, taking on Himself not the suffering only, but the sin which lies under it. This complete oneness is proclaimed alike by Christ and His messenger. "I am the Vine: ye are the branches." "Abide in Me," as "I in you." So Paul said to his converts, "Christ in you, the hope of glory"; and, "No longer I, but Christ, that dwelleth in me." This identification of God with man is the very thing which the Jews could not—would not—see when they heard the Man who had "not where to lay His head" saying, "I and the Father are one." Thus St. Paul in the same breath speaks of Christ as Highest God, and yet made "a thing accursed"[2] for men. Christ in the upper room on the eve of His Passion, laying aside "the glory which He had with the Father before the foundation of the world," stooped down and washed the feet of His betrayer. The Apostle says that Christ, being God,

[1] "Why persecutest thou Me?"
[2] κατάρα.

"took on Himself the form of a servant." Christ had said, "I am among you as He that serveth."

Medieval schoolmen, imbued with ideas borrowed from the legal system of imperial Rome, were apt to speak of the Atonement as a forensic transaction. To the Christians of an earlier age the conception of what God the Son came to do for man was something far more real. In the struggle for life against the powers of darkness, man lay prostrate, helpless, till his Deliverer came to rescue him. This, and not competition with his fellows, is the "battle of life" for man. St. Paul teaches that man has to withstand the assaults of subtle, implacable foes, rebels against God, permitted for a time to do their worst. "Fight the good fight," he cries; "we wrestle not against flesh and blood." This thought of conflict with evil runs through all that he says of Christ and Christians. It is the probation, without which virtue is meaningless. Under all his daily, hourly conflict with the plottings of the Sanhedrin and the iron repression of Rome, Paul realized that he was contending with a deadlier foe—the "principalities and powers of evil." So Christ warns the world against the "enemy who sows the tares," the enemy "whose name is legion." So He speaks of Himself as coming "to bind the strong man," who would keep down mankind in thraldom. So, as the end draws near, Christ hears the closer onset of the Evil One approaching. "The Prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in Me." This conflict runs through the older Scriptures. The Deliverer is to come to scotch (not yet to kill outright) the Serpent, and Himself to be sore wounded in the fight. "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?" "He shall lead captivity captive." This is the lesson to be learned from the wars and fightings of the Old Testaments; this is surely the right way to understand the imprecatory psalms. In this sense St. Paul exhorts Christians "to put on the panoply of God," and to fight "manfully" under the banner of the Captain of our Salvation." Like his Master, St. Paul never tries to explain the mystery of the existence of evil; like his Master,

he teaches that "in the end" all things shall be subservient to good.

It would not be difficult to trace on other points the complete accordance of the Pauline teaching with the words of Christ. For instance, the mediatorial regency of God the Son is indicated alike by "The Father hath committed all judgment to the Son," and by the words familiar to Christian mourners, "Till He shall have delivered up the kingdom to the Father"; it would be easy to refute the allegation that St. Paul "invented Trinitarianism," or to show that Christ and His messenger alike understand the older Scriptures spiritually. Perhaps some younger student of these great subjects will do more adequately what I have attempted in outline only.[1]

The Cities of the Seven Churches.

SOME PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS.

By the Rev. M. LINTON SMITH, M.A.

II. Pergamum, Sardis, and Philadelphia.

PERGAMUM at the present day is the least accessible of the cities with which we are dealing, for it lies thirty miles from rail-head at Soma. The roads runs first down the valley of a tributary stream to the Caicus, as green and as well watered as any English countryside. On the far side of the main valley runs a line of rocky hills, on a spur of which the Acropolis of Pergamum is built. The Caicus itself is split into many shallow streams as it makes its way through the broad valley, and on the mud-flats countless tortoises sun themselves, and buffaloes wallow and sink to escape the heat and the torture of the flies. Presently the features of the further hills become more distinct,

[1] See Professor Buckham's thoughtful words on the notion, that Christianity "is the echo of one man, Paul, only."—*Expository Times*, July, 1908, p. 476.

and the flank of one spur is marked with a light-coloured scar, the mass of rubbish removed in the excavations of Dr. Humann; and a little later, as its top climbs above the sky-line, you see that it is crowned with walls and towers. The road winds round its foot, and soon the horses' hoofs are clattering over the cobbles of the steep ascent into the little Greek town of Bergamo. At the entrance lie the stately remains of some Roman baths, brick-built, with binding courses of stone. Along the top of the walls storks build their nests, and clatter or meditate beyond reach of disturbance. Behind the baths is a double tunnel over the Selinus, the little stream which runs through the city, built to extend the space in the heart of the town; further up, again, the stream is crossed by a fine bridge of double span. But the chief remains are to be found on the Acropolis, which towers 900 feet above the town—a long and weary climb, now along the remains of the carefully engineered road of ancient times, now straight up steep slopes of thinly-covered rock or rubble. Soon after the last houses of the town have been left, you pass through a gate in the Roman wall, and then a sharp scramble brings you to a broad terrace facing south, on which lie the ruins of the great gymnasium—a mass of broken columns and cornices from the colonnades which once surrounded it. The marble pavement is largely in position, and its careful system of gutters and drains bears witness to the severity of the winter rains, and to the skill of the designing engineers in dealing with the problems set by the sudden floods. Another terrace on the south face of the hill bears the massive masonry core of the great Altar of Zeus, the frieze of which is one of the finest possessions of the Berlin Museum. The next level brings you to the Acropolis itself, and the worst of the climb is over. You are standing on a plateau still rising slightly to the north, and bounded on that side by the remains of the Palace buildings and a stretch of the outer wall which towers up on the crest of the hill, visible on every hand. All round you lie temples, porticoes, churches, heaped in what seems to be inextricable confusion; but the eye gradually becomes accustomed to the scene, and

begins to trace out lines of foundation, the bases of a colonnade here, the steps of a stylobate there, till the confusion has sorted itself into something like order. Here is the Temple of Athene, with a Christian church built across it; there is the Library, occupying almost the highest level, as was fitting in a place like Pergamum, the literary character of which is attested by our word "parchment" (= *pergament*). But slightly below the Library, on the opposite (western) side of the plateau, are three or four broken columns still standing on a raised platform. Look at them well, for they bring us face to face with the very circumstances which called forth from St. John the "Revelation." The whole book rings with the echoes of the beginnings of that great contest between Church and Empire, and the columns before you are the remains of the first temple of Rome and Augustus established in Asia, the centre for the province of that emperor-worship which was the occasion of the inevitable struggle and the infallible touchstone of loyalty in the great alternative—Cæsar or Christ. No wonder that the Apostle spoke of this centre of active opposition and deadly persecution as "Satan's seat," and of the place which contained it as the place "where Satan dwelleth." Walk across to the site, which is on the western edge of the plateau. Immediately below you lies the great Theatre, with its curving tiers of seats cut in the slope of the hill. From the terrace behind the stage the hill falls steeply again to the bed of the Selinus. Follow with your eye the stream to a point at which a small tributary joins it, and in the ravine down which that stream runs, cut off from the town by a high green ridge crowned with a cemetery, you will see traces of excavation and building, which you soon detect to be the ruins of an amphitheatre, doubtless the place where "Antipas, my faithful witness, was slain." As you stand on the site of the temple and look across to the scene of the martyrdom, you will have eyes for little else; the remnants of the splendid palace of the Attalids and the beauty of the surrounding country, the forest-clad hills to the north, the verdant valley of the Caicus to the south, and the sea and its islands to the west, all fade

before you, and your mind is fixed on that single figure of the man who for conscience' sake defied the might of Rome, and took his place in the front rank of that noble army of martyrs who by their sufferings won the victory of the cause for which they died.

Let us retrace our steps by road and rail to Manisa, and there join the train which runs up the Hermus Valley. As it crawls under the slopes of Mount Sipylus, there appears on a cliff-face high up on the mountain-side that strange rock-cut figure, so old even in the days of Homer that its origin had been forgotten, and it had become the subject of the legend of Niobe. Now, as then, it seems to keep watch and ward over the fertile valley at its feet. But soon the high ridge drops downward, and at Choban Isa ("Shepherd Jesus"—strange enough name for a Turkish village!) it has sunk into the plain.

By this time the burying-place of the Lydian kings has come into sight on the northern side of the valley—a long green ridge crowned with gigantic tumuli; while on the right hand the foothills of Tmolus have taken the place of the rocky range of Sipylus. With jagged peaks, sharp ridges, and sheer sides, their ruddy masses present a most formidable appearance, but a closer inspection proves them to be of such soft material as to change their shape with every winter storm. They are seamed and scored with gullies, and what is one day an inaccessible summit may the next be a slope of *débris* easily scaled. The train draws down a little towards the river, clatters across a bridge, and stops at the isolated station of Sart. The stream you have just crossed is the Pactolus, and, looking up its course, you see on the eastern side of the glen which it has formed in the foothills a spur with precipitous sides, isolated both from the rest of its own formation and from the mass of Tmolus, which rises, snow-streaked, behind. That spur is the remains of the citadel of ancient Sardis, the ruins of the town being buried, for the most part, under the tons of *débris* washed down from the crumbling cliffs beneath which it nestled for protection. The road to the site passes first through fields irrigated from the

streams hard by; then it leads up over waste land, from which rise the badly-built walls and slovenly masonry of the Byzantine city. The ascent grows steeper over grass-grown mounds, and soon becomes a stiff climb across a narrow neck between sheer descents on either hand, while the upper cliffs still tower above. The path winds ever upward between these, passing the fragment of a gate-tower, undercut, and ready to fall at any moment, as it appears, into the gulf below. But at last the highest cliff lies beneath, and the path issues on a narrow plateau, from which there rises on one side a sharp peak honeycombed with passages scooped in the soft rock; these, and a fragment of Byzantine wall of older masonry at the southern end of the plateau, are the only signs of man's occupation in the citadel of Sardis, once the capital of the kingdom of Lydia, the home of Crœsus, and the representative to the early Greeks of all the luxury that material resources could bestow. No other site tells its story as does that of Sardis. Perched up above the line of the Royal Road, its rulers could take toll of the rich traffic which passed along the valley beneath; and, surrounded on all sides save the south by sheer precipices, its inhabitants felt a security which combined with luxury to sap their energies. But the very cliffs which seemed to promise safety proved their destruction: every winter changed their shape, and what was once an unscalable rock-face might become seamed with crannies and ledges which would tempt the daring climber. Twice in the history of the city, in the sieges by Cyrus and Antiochus, did mountaineer soldiers of the besieging army gain the plateau at a point unguarded by the garrison, who looked upon their fortress as inaccessible from that side, and the enemy entered "as a thief in the night." And these cliffs endangered the city that trusted in them not only by their unnoticed changes; gradually the area of the plateau was reduced by constant falls, which buried parts of the city which lay below, and with its strength its fortunes declined, till in the first century A.D. it was living upon its past—"having a name to live, it was dead." Its decline was never checked: at the present day a theatre on the

north-east slopes, and two columns of the magnificent Temple of Cybele in the glen of the Pactolus, are the chief relics of its ancient glories, while the site is deserted save for two hamlets of miserable mud hovels.

From Sardis to Philadelphia is a journey of some twenty-eight miles. The line leaves the broad vale of the Hermus, and runs in a south-easterly direction up the narrower valley of the Cogamus, hugging the lower slopes of Mount Tmolus, which are torn with the tracks of winter torrents, down which in summer trickles a mere runnel of water. On a long knoll cut out from the lowest terrace by two such torrents lies Ala-sheher (Philadelphia), a busy, thriving town, a marked contrast to the desolation of its neighbour, Sardis. It is this contrast which has drawn from Gibbon, in his description of the loss of the Asiatic provinces by the Eastern Empire, a well-deserved eulogy, accompanied by a characteristic sneer: "Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy or courage . . . a pleasing example that the paths of honour and of safety may sometimes be the same." Broken walls of the medieval fortifications stand on the low ground between the town and the station, and crown the crest of the hill, and a line of broken arches seems to mark the site of a Christian church. The breaches bear silent testimony to the frequency of the earthquakes from which Philadelphia has so often suffered—an experience which made the more appropriate the promise of stability and permanence with which the Lord sought to inspire the infant Church, just as the suddenness of the catastrophe would heighten the effect of His warning of a sudden coming. But not only within the city itself is one reminded of the Divine message. As soon as the railway leaves the place, it turns northward and begins a long and wearisome climb of 2,000 feet up to the plateau of the interior—the only line directly connecting the coast with the highlands of Eastern Phrygia and the regions beyond. Philadelphia is at the present day the gate of central Anatolia, and it was to the Church of this city that the Master sent the message: "Behold, I have set before thee an open door."

Rome and Religious Liberty.

By the Rev. T. J. PULVERTAFT, M.A.

THE British Empire, on the authority of the Pope, is "rightly famed for the liberty it extends to its citizens, and to whose authority and laws so many millions of Catholics render faithful and due obedience." Coming from the Vatican, this testimony to the value of religious liberty has made a great impression upon the public mind, and it is advisable that those interested in the subject should know how the Church of Rome to-day carries into practice the principles praised by Pius X. Facts are facts, and they cannot be gainsaid. Lip-service of great principles is the cheapest kind of adulation, and to form a true conception of policy profession must always be checked by performance.

The long reign of Pope Pius IX. was remarkable for the publication of the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope. It also witnessed the issue of the famous "Syllabus, containing the chief errors of our time [1864] which are censured in the consistorial letters, allocutions, in the encyclicals, and in other Apostolical letters of our most holy Lord, Pius IX." This document is an *ex cathedra* utterance of the Papacy, for subsequent declarations of Pius IX. and Leo XIII. have removed any doubts on this point. It is the authoritative pronouncement of Rome on the subject, and is of living force in that Church. In the words of Dr. Döllinger, the Syllabus "condemns the whole existing views of the rights of conscience and religious faith and profession: it is a wicked error to admit Protestants to equal political rights with Catholics, or to allow Protestant immigrants the free use of their worship; on the contrary, to coerce and suppress them is a sacred duty, when it has become possible, as the Jesuit Fathers and their adherents teach. Till then, Schneeman says, the Church will, of course, act with the greatest prudence in the use of her temporal and physical power, according to altered circumstances,

and will not, therefore, at present adopt her entire medieval policy."

It is impracticable for the Roman Church to put its will into force in the modern world, and to see what it desires we have to observe its policy in that portion of the world where its hold is strongest. One of the most influential of the visitors to the Eucharistic Congress was Cardinal Sancha, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain. We have seen the Cardinal in Toledo, a personally kindly gentleman, who received almost royal honours from those he met. His position is recognized as a Prince of the Church, and, without exception, he is acknowledged to be the first subject of the Crown. In Spain, according to the Concordat, "The Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, which, with the exclusion of every other form of worship, continues to be the only religion of the Spanish nation, will be always preserved in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty with all the rights and privileges which it ought to enjoy according to the law of God and the disposition of the sacred Canons." This is still a fundamental law of the State, and governs the secular State as far as possible, for Spain has passed since 1851 through the throes of revolution, and necessity forced certain modifications to be made in its national policy.

During the absence of the hereditary Monarchy, from 1868 to 1874, religious liberty reigned, and no one was interfered with in the free exercise of his convictions. This naturally caused great indignation among the Ultramontanes. In a catechism published in 1869 by Cardinal Cuesta, Archbishop of Santiago, the following statement is made: "It is not certain that in all countries religious liberty prevails. Not to speak of others, in Denmark and Sweden the Catholic religion is not tolerated; and as far as Rome is concerned, you ought to know that the Jews are only tolerated with due restrictions—among others, they have to live by themselves in a separate district; they are permitted to live there by the side of the Universal Pastor of the Church, for they have been established there of old, and are a living proof of the fulfilment of the prophecies

and of the authenticity of our sacred books. With reference to the many Protestants, principally English, who go every day to admire the marvels of Rome, I shall tell you that they are not molested, provided they do not become propagandists, and even if they meet in a suburban house to read the Bible on Sundays this is overlooked. The Protestants exploited the captivity of the Pope by France to hold their worship in a suburban house, and diplomatic pressure has made it impossible to prevent them. That is all. But even if it were certain that in all countries—which it is not—with the exception of Spain, there was religious liberty, this is no reason why it should be established among us; as if the cholera were everywhere it would be no reason to desire it and to bring it here also to our Spain. Truth has the right to reign alone. Error has no right to be seated by its side. Liberty of error is not liberty, but an abuse of liberty."

The Cardinal, in these pointed sentences, simply expresses the mind of the framer of the Syllabus. On the return of the Monarchy the pressure of the Papacy became greater. Religious liberty became religious tolerance, and the Constitution of Spain, made in 1876, contains the famous Article XI.:

"The Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion is that of the State. The nation is obliged to maintain its worship and its ministers. Nobody shall be molested in Spanish territory for his religious opinions as for the exercise of his own worship, saving the respect due to Christian morals. Nevertheless, no ceremonies or public manifestations will be permitted other than those of the State religion."

The Pope was indignant at the promulgation of this Article, for he saw that it involved the negation of his Syllabus, and accordingly he wrote to the then Archbishop of Toledo: "We declare that the eleventh Article completely violates the rights of Catholic Truth and of religion, and, contrary to all right, the Concordat of this Holy See with Spain is abrogated in its principal and most precious part." Feeling ran high, and the Prime Minister gave an authoritative interpretation of the

Article by declaring that all public manifestations of worships or sects dissenting from Rome are prohibited outside buildings or cemeteries, and extended the interpretation of public manifestations to include placards or announcements by bills. This is the law in force to-day. In the city of Seville the handsome little church used by the English colony has its entrance in a side street. It is forbidden to put up any notice pointing the way to the church, or to place the words "English Church" in English outside the building. When the church in the Calle Beneficencia, Madrid, was erected, the plans approved by the Town Council provided for the words CHRISTUS REDEMPTOR ÆTERNUS to be sculptured on the façade. The Central Government ordered them to be removed before the church was permitted to be opened. It did so, acting on the appeal of the Ultramontane party.

In 1905 the English colony in Barcelona arranged to have their church in that city opened. In ignorance of the prohibition of the Constitution, some plain crosses were placed on the exterior, and these crosses were on the plans submitted to and passed by the Barcelona Town Council. The Roman Catholic Professor of Canon Law in the University of Barcelona, in an article in the *Diario* of that city, called the church a monument of infamy, and wrote: "All those who work and live and breathe for Christ in this city should work without rest or truce until they secure that in this land, watered by the blood of martyrs and vivified by the devotion of our saints, we may not have to look upon a temple which defies God, completely denying to Him what He values most—the worship He values most—the worship which He demands from men." He goes on to say that Barcelona is a cesspool of the foulest vices, but the opening of the church would bring it face to face with heresy which is worse than vice. Cardinal Casañas himself, in a long Pastoral, declared liberty of worship to be impious and absurd. In spite of these protests, and a numerously signed petition, the church was opened, but the crosses had to be removed. In Spain to-day one piece of Protestant property has a cross over its

gate—the cemetery of Malaga. When this was allowed to be erected—out of gratitude to the Consul, who had spent his substance and risked his person freely during a cholera epidemic—the inhabitants remarked with wonder: "Do these Jews honour the Cross?"

Cardinal Casañas simply expressed the mind of his Church, for in 1899, in Burgos, a Congress of Spanish Bishops was held, presided over by Cardinal Sancha, who was in England last September. This assembly declared that Perdition is the "daughter of that liberalism which, by its application to Spain, causes such grave sins." The capital error of liberalism is substituting private judgment for the authority of the Church. Among the resolutions passed was one urging the confinement of religious toleration to the narrowest limits. Two Cardinals and twenty-six Bishops, in an address to the Queen Regent, presented on the conclusion of the Congress, complain of the impudence and audacity of the Protestantism which builds its schools and opens its temples in the capital, and classes this action with the horrible blasphemies heard in the streets and public places and the repugnant exhibition of indecent pictures. On reading the resolutions of the Congress a Roman Catholic writer recalled the saying of a Spanish Bishop at the Council of Trent: "If the Church of Spain needs a Reformation, the most illustrious Bishops themselves need a more illustrious one." Leo XIII. was a far-seeing diplomatist, and even he declared: "One thing remains perpetually true—that liberty accorded for its own sake to all, and for all, is not desirable, since it is repugnant to reason that what is false should enjoy the same rights as that which is true."

These are the principles that actuate Roman Catholic policy in Spain, but happily the State does not support them. The Pope was defeated in his efforts to stamp out religious liberty in every form in 1876. Against his will, toleration instead of repression took the place of liberty. Although the front door of the Madrid Church was kept illegally closed for more than ten years, the agitation concerning the Barcelona Church led to its being

opened. The colporteurs of the Bible Society receive protection where a few years ago they would have been illegally imprisoned, and the modern State is not inclined to accept Vatican domination. The ecclesiastics are angry, but are powerless in the presence of the will of the people.

The local tyranny of priests and their followers still continues. The writer was once fired at because he dared to visit a village to attend a Reformed Service; friends of his have been imprisoned because they sold Bibles; Evangelicals have had false charges brought against them of disrespect to the State religion, and, although the evidence against them was well manufactured, just judges and juries have acquitted them. One of the favourite charges is to allege disrespect to the Host carried in procession. Evangelical Spaniards know that to refuse to kneel or raise their hats is an offence against the law, and as their consciences will not permit them to do this, they invariably absent themselves from the processional route. Their inability to see the procession through rows of houses does not present any insuperable objection to the framing of allegations against them. Nevertheless in Spain to-day large numbers of men and many women refuse to show obeisance when the Host passes. Last year in Burgos the writer was amazed to see a considerable number of Spaniards refuse to kneel as the Host was carried through the cathedral in procession by the Archbishop. Even in the central church of the district the people refused to reverence the Host.

This narrative ought not to incite Churchmen to intolerance. It is a piteous travesty of liberty which is ready to tolerate everything except the intolerant. Those who know the truth have no fear for its holding its own in the presence of error. Provocative demonstrations are, however, to be deprecated, and even the Roman Catholic Irish Archbishop Murray and Bishop Doyle, at the time of the Catholic Emancipation discussions, protested against processions with the Host. To carry the Host through the streets of a population mixed in its religious views is to invite from those who witness it acts which must of necessity be

considered either irreverent or idolatrous by opposing sections. It is as offensive to a Protestant mind as the parading of a Consecrated Wafer as the "God of Roman Catholics" is to Roman Catholics. Both actions are improper and unchristian. Those who condemn the one would deplore the other as wrong and outrageous. Liberty is the natural fruit of the truth which makes men free, and history teaches that repression never yet permanently suppressed honestly held convictions. It is the duty of those of us who protest against Roman intolerance to be always ready to extend to Roman Catholics the liberty we claim for ourselves.

Literary Notes.

MR. SWINBURNE'S "The Age of Shakespeare" was issued the other day. Able as it is from the standpoint of literary criticism, one cannot help detecting underneath all this undoubted literary brilliance a substratum of disbelief in, if not contempt for, orthodox Christianity. Of course, Mr. Swinburne is a great literary critic and a greater poet, but to the orthodox Christian and to the devout believer there will always come a shudder at his hedonism. Even in his "Age of Shakespeare" I find many subtle and superior scoffs at what is dear to the Christian. In a dedicatory epistle which precedes one of the editions of his poems he says that he "finds nothing that he could wish to cancel, to alter, or to unsay, in any page he has ever laid before his reader." The same flippancy and lightness—I regret to use the words in connection with such poetic genius—may be found in "Atalanta in Calydon," probably one of his greatest works. Says Mr. More, who is himself one of our most brilliant of literary critics, in connection with this particular work: "And yet in the end it is itself light, and not grave." And to quote again from Mr. More in support of what I have said relative to the trend of the whole of Mr. Swinburne's writings: "There is a lack of emotional breeding, almost an indecency, in Swinburne's easy familiarity with these great things of the spirit." It would have been more than a deep pleasure for the disciple of Christianity to acclaim the writings of Mr. Swinburne, but his distinctive heterodoxy—nay, even the fervent hedonism which so emphatically permeates his work—forbid it. Let me, in closing this paragraph, quote a well-known Churchman whose business it has been of late to sift the propaganda of the secularist movement: "He (Mr. Swinburne) has prostituted his great gifts to the service of unblushing paganism. I know his sentiments have been less reprehensible in recent years, but for at least half his poetical career he was an avowed hedonist."

Dr. James Gairdner's "Lollardy and the Reformation," which has just been issued, is a very important work, and provides a more complete elucidation of various subjects than, from considerations of space, could be fully treated in his work on "The English Church in the Sixteenth Century." This earlier work really aimed at a true story of the Church from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the death of Queen Mary, but no more reference was made to causation and subsequent development than was actually necessary. In this new work, which is in two volumes, the author has endeavoured to apply these principles in tracing "the ancestry and growth of ideas" connected with Lollardy and the Reformation in England. The second volume concludes with the death of Henry VII., and Dr. Gairdner hopes that subsequently he may be able to carry the work on to the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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We are to have in the near future an important historical work entitled "A History of Babylonia and Assyria," from the earliest times until the Persian conquest. The author is Mr. Leonard W. King, M.A., F.S.A., who is assistant in the Department of Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum. It is to be in three volumes, and each will contain all necessary maps, plans, and a full index, besides which there will be a goodly number of illustrations after all the principal monuments of the period from the British Museum and elsewhere. Volume i. will deal with "A History of Sumer and Akkad," being an account of the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia from the earliest times to about 2000 B.C.; volume ii., "A History of Babylon," from the period of the First Dynasty until the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, 539 B.C.; and volume iii. will give us "A History of Syria," from the earliest period until the fall of Nineveh before the Medes. Mr. King is an authority on early Assyrian history. He has already published much in this connection, and this work is based upon materials collected during many years of research, largely among the ruins of ancient Assyria.

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"The Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum Petropolitanum" is an important publication coming from the Oxford University Press. Among the many discoveries of Biblical manuscripts it is observed that nothing has been found of so much definite value and of so much lasting importance during the nineteenth century, whether for the study of paleography or for the more momentous history of the text, than that of the great Codex of the fourth century which Constantine Tischendorf discovered in 1844 in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. This valuable manuscript was ultimately presented to the Emperor of Russia in 1862. Seven years later it passed, as a matter of sequence, into the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg. It was the earnest desire, as well of the Tsar as of Tischendorf, to issue a photographic facsimile of the great Codex, but at that time the photographic art had not reached that estimable state of efficiency it can lay claim to at the present time. However, Professor and Mrs. Kirsopp Lake, of Leiden, have taken a set of full-size negatives of the New Testament portion of the Codex. These are to be published next year by the collotype process.

Professor Lake will also furnish an introduction, in which will be found a consideration of the paleographical problems; while an appendix, on the chronology of the correctors, will be supplied by Professor Papadopoulo Kerameus, who is the chief of the section of theology in the Imperial Library. The New Testament part of the manuscript, including the Epistle of Barnabas and the remaining leaves of the Shepherd of Hermas, will occupy 296 pages. The work will be a tremendously interesting production, and will be looked forward to most eagerly by a large number of people, although, of course, the price—six guineas to subscribers—will make it prohibitive to many readers.

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"The Greek and Eastern Churches," by Principal Adeney, is announced for early publication by Messrs. T. and T. Clark. They also hope to have ready in the near future "A Dictionary of the Bible," complete in one volume, edited by Dr. Hastings. Dr. Paton, who is Professor of Hebrew at Hartford Theological Seminary, U.S.A., has also written a volume entitled "The Book of Esther" for the same publishers' "International Critical Library"; while Dr. James Heron, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Belfast, has just issued through them "A Short History of Puritanism."

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Miss Margaret Benson, in a new and thoughtful work, to be published by Messrs. Macmillan, on "The Venture of Rational Faith," aims to show "the reason of faith—not necessarily to find out a new reason, but to make clear, if possible, an implicit reason. And those to whom it is addressed are neither the experts on one side, nor on the other those who live by instinct, but average people of educated intelligence." Here we have an attitude which seems to the writer of these notes attuned to the special environment in which a large number of doubting souls are to-day placed. Miss Benson has not tried to solve the problem, "for the solution of a difficulty is the matter for an expert"; but while setting down the many troubles and difficulties, she examines also the basis on which belief actually rests, or may rest, in order to find what reason is implied in it. Having reached this point in her examination, Miss Benson proceeds to discover "what proportion, in view of the reason for faith, the reasons for doubt seem to have assumed." The scheme is a little ambitious, but very laudable; but there is no reason why Miss Benson, with all the peculiar experience which may have been hers, should not effectively secure a satisfactory result.

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There is an exhaustive work on "The New History of Methodism" in the new list of Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton. It is edited by Dr. W. J. Townsend, Dr. H. B. Workman, and Mr. George Eayrs. It seems there has been some need for a history of this character which should embody the results of recent study upon the origins of the Methodist Churches, and to emphasize their oneness, "which all feel increasingly, and set forth world-wide Methodism as a branch of the Church Catholic with its own notes and an essential unity underlying its several forms in many lands." So reads the description. The work is in two volumes, and it should prove a very readable publication.

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"Peace and Happiness" is the pleasant title of a new book by Lord Avebury, than whom, I should think, there is no one better fitted to prepare such a work. It is to be issued through Messrs. Macmillan. The same publishers also have on their list a study of the Prehistoric, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Medieval "Earthwork of England," by A. Hadrian Allcroft, and which is to be illustrated with over 220 plans, sections, etc. His object is to stimulate a more general interest in "the most neglected branch of British Archæology." Then there is Professor Fotheringham's "Monuments of Christian Rome," in which the author traces the development of Christian art to the close of the Middle Ages; a biography of "William Haig Brown, some time Master of Charterhouse," by some of his pupils, edited by Harold E. Haig Brown; a new volume on "William Morris," by Mr. Noyes, in the "English Men of Letters"; a work on "Early Church History (to A.D. 313)," by Henry Melvill Gwatkin, Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge; and Dr. E. Westermark's "Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas," volume ii.

Messrs. Longmans are issuing a new edition of "English Church Teaching," by the Bishops of Durham and Sodor and Man, and Canon Girdlestone. It has done good service already, and will do still greater in its new form.

An illustrated volume on the disused places of worship, by L. E. Beedham, is being issued by Mr. Elliot Stock, entitled "Ruined and Deserted Churches." Mr. Stock is also publishing "The Oxford Reformers," by the late George Fox Bridges. The work has been revised and rewritten by the author's nephew, the Rev. W. G. Bridges.

St. Bernard's treatise on "Consideration," the greatest of his literary efforts, has been translated by the Rev. George Lewis. This is the first English version published, and the book appears in the Oxford Library of Translations.

"Companions of the Way" is the title of a book by Mrs. Waterhouse, well known as the compiler of "The Little Book of Life and Death."

It is good news to hear of yet another book from the pen of the late Dr. Matheson. Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton are to publish his "Lectures on Preaching," which are sure to be full of characteristic thought and suggestion.

M. C.

Notices of Books.

THE RELIGIOUS TEACHERS OF GREECE. By the late James Adam. Edinburgh: *T. and T. Clark.* Price 10s. 6d.

Death has been busy of late in the ranks of English classical scholarship. Jebb, Blaydes, Headlam, Adam, Monro, have all passed away during the last three years, and the world of letters is poorer by their loss. Adam was not the least distinguished of the many able scholars who have risen to high place in their University. A Scotsman, born in a humble rank of life, he quickly won golden opinions at Cambridge both as a finished scholar and a devoted and able teacher. His edition of Plato's "Republic" is a worthy record of his erudition; and the present (posthumous) volume, edited by his wife, will make his name known to a wider circle of students than any of his previous works. These "Gifford Lectures" (for of such is the book composed) were delivered by Adam a few months before his death in 1906. They are admirable alike in their clearness, their ease, and their cogency. They cannot rank, of course, with such a masterpiece as Edward Caird's volumes on the Theology of the Greek Philosophers; but they are calculated to touch a larger audience, inasmuch as they strike a less strictly philosophic note. It is no easy task to display to a mixed audience the main principles that animated the evolution of religious thought in Ancient Greece; but this task Adam achieved to a surprisingly successful degree. The least successful of his chapters is that devoted to *Orphic* religious thought; it is too scanty, and we could well have spared—especially in view of Prof. Burnet's invaluable work on early Greek Philosophy—some of the pages devoted to the Ionians, for a larger and more illuminating treatment of Orphic doctrine. This doctrine lay at the root of all Greek mysticism; and that there were mystics, even in Greece, is not to be doubted. If a fresh edition of this work should ever be required, we would suggest that an appendix be added giving the original Greek of the many interesting passages chosen by the lecturer for citation. English students will be glad to have the English renderings; but scholars would be not less glad to have the Greek for purposes of comparison.

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES. By G. A. Barton. Edinburgh: *T. and T. Clark.* Price 8s. 6d.

New issues of the International Critical Commentary are always welcome, for, in spite of difference and inequality of treatment among the volumes, the series is one of the most important of modern contributions to the study of Holy Scripture. The author modestly describes his work as "a plain Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes," but it is of course based upon a thorough study of the Hebrew text and the Greek and other versions, and is written in full knowledge of all earlier Commentaries. It is rightly said that of recent years we have had too much advocacy of new and startling theories of this perplexing book. Questions of Introduction occupy the first sixty-five pages. It is interesting to observe that Dr. Barton favours on the whole the theory of unity. It is true that he pleads for the interpolation of certain editorial words and sentences, but he leans mainly to the side of those who,

like Cornill and Genung, uphold the unity of the book. We cannot say that we are altogether impressed by Dr. Barton's theory of interpolations; they appear to us unduly subjective. The date of the book is ascribed to the Greek period, about 200 B.C., though it is denied that there are any Greek influences in it. The author considers it represents an original development of Hebrew thought, Semitic in its point of view (p. 43). The real test of any Commentary on Ecclesiastes is as to what is supposed to be the writer's main thought and purpose. Dr. Barton's view is that, when the interpolations are removed, the book teaches the inscrutableness of God and the vanity of seeking to understand His works. All that we can know is that God holds man in an iron vice of fate, though notwithstanding this the book preaches a gospel of work and an enjoyment of life which are to be realized while the facts of life are being bravely faced. But we may fairly question whether on such an interpretation the book would ever have obtained entrance into the Canon. The old view seems to us far truer and more practical. While Proverbs teaches that piety is blessedness, Job and Ecclesiastes afford two apparent exceptions to this principle, the former by exhibiting a case of piety without prosperity, and the latter an instance of prosperity without piety. To prove that the principle laid down in Proverbs is not false is the real purpose of this book. Only on some such very definite religious basis can we find a true justification of its inclusion in the Canon of sacred Scripture. But quite apart from Dr. Barton's main positions as to date and purpose, his Commentary cannot fail to be of real service to all serious students of Qoheleth.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS. By James Orr, D.D. London: *Hodder and Stoughton*. Price 6s.

Dr. Orr rightly says that it is not so long ago when the Resurrection of our Lord was regarded as an immovable corner-stone of Christianity. But the subject has been reopened quite recently, and is being approached from new sides, with new presuppositions, and with new critical methods and apparatus, and as a consequence the believer is anew put on his defence (p. 13). With characteristic clearness and refreshing plainness Dr. Orr goes to the root of the matter by saying that the consideration of the Resurrection cannot be dissociated from the view taken of the facts which make up the Gospel history as a whole. Everything depends upon the estimate we form of Jesus Christ. This is the presupposition which dominates the situation (p. 14). Consequently the one question that lies at the bottom of the whole investigation is "the admissibility of the supernatural." It is the repugnance to miracle which is so marked a feature of the modern attitude to Christianity that constitutes the most serious and difficult element in the situation. The predominant aspect of recent criticism is the attempt to show that the idea of our Lord's Resurrection can be conserved, while the belief in the bodily rising from the tomb is surrendered (p. 23). The appearances are explained as those of the spiritually risen Christ, as manifestations of One whose body was still sleeping in the tomb. This theory, which is at least as old as Keim, has received fresh support in connection with the investigations of the Society of Psychical Research (p. 28). Dr. Orr points out that on any view this theory is not one of "Resurrection" in the New

Testament sense of that word. Whether the theory really represents the reality which lies behind the narratives in the Gospels is the main subject of Dr. Orr's book. It will be seen from this that the treatment is thoroughly up to date, and it is marked by all the really marvellous knowledge of modern literature which the author's former books have shown to be one of the characteristic features of his work. In a series of chapters the whole question is discussed with remarkable fulness, fairness, and force. Among the topics of discussion we have the miraculous nature of the Resurrection, the Gospel narratives, the credibility of the witness, the post-Resurrection appearances, and the Apostolic Church. On all these Dr. Orr has much to say that is suggestive and incisive, as well as convincing to those who are willing to give attention to all sides of the problem. A chapter of special importance deals with "Neo-Babylonian Theories" which are now being put forth to account for the Resurrection by those who have found all previous attempts to explain it on natural grounds inadequate. A concluding chapter discusses the doctrinal bearings of the Resurrection in which Dr. Orr shows the utter impossibility of any half-way position which compromises our attitude to the great supernatural facts on which Christianity rests (p. 266). We are glad and thankful that the issues are thus faced so squarely, for it is impossible to discover any true *via media* between the acceptance of our Lord's supernatural Person and Work and the position which regards Him only as a good Man. "If Christ be not raised, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." Dr. Orr has once more made us his debtor by this fine piece of work. It should be studied and mastered by all who would know the latest and best results of Christian scholarship on one of the most important and vital subjects that can occupy attention.

REDEEMING VISION. By Rev. J. Stuart Holden. London: *Robert Scott.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

The twenty-six chapters of which this book consists were first delivered as sermons to the author's own congregation, and were afterwards reproduced in an abridged form in a monthly magazine. They are here presented as they appeared in serial issue. Those to whom Mr. Holden's devotional teaching is familiar will be glad to welcome this new volume, while those who have yet to make his acquaintance could not do so in a better way than by means of it. It is marked by genuine spirituality, clearness of expression, definiteness of personal application, together with not a little apt poetic illustration. The titles of the chapters are often truly suggestive of thought and meditation, and there are several examples of quite telling use of Bible texts. The fact that they first appeared in a monthly magazine probably accounts for the absence of any sequence of teaching, but as meditations on the Christian life these brief and pointed chapters will do fruitful service.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS AND THE CORINTHIANS. By the late W. G. Rutherford. London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

Dr. Rutherford's profound scholarship is here brought to bear on three of St. Paul's Epistles. Like his translation of Romans, it is full of felicitous

renderings, which cannot but be helpful to all students as a contribution to a fresh interpretation of St. Paul. Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, in his preface, shows only too clearly what we have lost by the early decease of one of our greatest Greek scholars. Here and there, perhaps, the translation tends a little too much in the direction of paraphrase, but taken as a whole it cannot help being productive of thought to all who study these writings.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. By the late William Kelly. Edited, with additions, by E. E. Whitfield. London: *Elliot Stock.* Price 7s. 6d.

This is a new edition of a work issued ten years ago. Besides the critical apparatus provided in the former edition, the editor has included the evidence of the Sinaitic Syriac version and the readings of Weiss and Blass. There is also an editorial appendix of notes, in which current critical theories affecting this Gospel are examined from the point of view of the exposition, with special reference to recent German literature. We welcome with great heartiness this new edition of Mr. Kelly's work. He was a giant in mind and heart and "mighty in the Scriptures." While we often disagree with his peculiar views, we scarcely ever consult him in vain. Together with a profound submission to the authority of Holy Scripture, he always endeavours to seek out the plain meaning of a passage, and to apply it with keenness and force to heart and life. We are glad to know there is a prospect of new editions of his expositions on St. Matthew and St. Luke. When these are published students will have a valuable addition to the available expository works on the Gospels.

THE PATMOS LETTERS. By the Rev. J. L. Campbell, D.D. London: *Morgan and Scott.* Price 4s. 6d. net.

A spiritual and practical exposition of the Messages to the Seven Churches. Each study is prefaced by a well-produced photograph of the particular locality. The treatment is clear, scholarly, and truly devotional, and is written with constant reference to practical every-day life. Those who know Dr. Campbell Morgan's exposition of this section of the Apocalypse will easily recognize the author's indebtedness to that valuable little work; but the writer has his own message, and is able to deliver it well. As a piece of expository preaching and teaching it will prove eminently useful to those who are called upon to deal with this passage.

CHURCH SONG AND PRAYER. London: *James Nisbet and Co., Ltd.* Price 1s. net.

This valuable little volume is a compilation drawn up in connection with the recent Liverpool Diocesan Convention and the forthcoming Church Mission in that city. The section on Prayer provides a Century of Collects in a ten days' prayer cycle, and will be found a very useful help in private devotion as well as for prayer-meetings. The musical portion consists of 100 hymns for special services. The hymns and tunes have been drawn from all quarters, and include both familiar and less-known ones. For parochial gatherings of all sorts this collection of hymns will be most serviceable and welcome. Altogether this little book is quite admirable. It can be obtained complete, or the two sections can be had separately. We notice that it is inscribed "To the greater glory of God." Why "greater"? There can be nothing "greater" than the Divine glory.

GIFT-BOOKS.

THE SUNNY SIDE OF THE HILL. By Rosa N. Carey. London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.* Price 6s.

A pleasant story, as the title suggests. The authoress shows her usual skill in the wonderful touches depicting home life. There is a delightful fragrance in the Aunt Margaret of the story, who has her romance as well as the younger people in the book. While this book is superior from a literary standpoint to some of Miss Carey's earlier books, yet we miss the more definite religious fervour. Not that the religious atmosphere is lacking, but rather that it is of a different kind from that to which we have been accustomed from her. But the book will find many admirers, and should prove welcome as a Christmas gift-book.

ROMANCE OF EARLY BRITISH LIFE. By G. F. Scott Elliott. London: *Seeley and Co.* Price 5s.

History coloured by imagination is here presented in a most attractive form from before the Ice Age to King Alfred. An admirable gift-book for a young, intelligent boy or girl, and one likely to invest their early ideas of British life with an altogether new light and fresh interest. The "Library of Romance" is doing a good work, and Professor Scott Elliott has already given us the "Romance of Savage Life" and the "Romance of Plant Life." The volumes are profusely illustrated, and are most attractive.

COVERLEIGH RECTORY. By Mary D'Aguilar. London: *Robert Scott.* Price 3s. 6d.

A story calculated to stir up missionary zeal and to make young people see what can be done if two or three are in earnest and use their influence for God.

GLEANINGS FROM THE FIELDS OF NATURE. By Edward T. Connold. London: *The Religious Tract Society.* Price 3s. 6d.

The author truly says that many people interested in natural history are prevented from pursuing the study or making research for themselves. The book is offered in the hope that it will in some measure compensate for inability of personal research. Here we have studies of the spider, the ant, the whelk, the dragon-fly, the wasp, the dog-fish, the star-fish, the primrose, the bee, the crab, the viper, and several other natural history objects. Dr. Anderson-Berry writes an interesting preface, and well-executed photographs add to the interest of one of the most enjoyable natural history books we have ever seen. Every effort has been made to avoid technicalities, and we could not wish for a more delightful introduction to the study of natural history, whether for old or for young.

COMRADES UNDER CANVAS. By F. P. Gibbon. London: *The Religious Tract Society.* Price 3s. 6d.

An excellent story of a week under canvas with the Boys' Brigade. It is full of humour, adventure, common-sense, and genuine religion. It is well written, thoroughly interesting, and should be in every boys' library.

RAY AND FAIRY. By L. E. Tiddeman. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 1s.

A pretty children's story, and specially, though not exclusively, suitable for better-class children. It should serve to teach them the great lesson of "lend a hand."

A BIT OF A BOUNDER. By Robert Leighton. London: *Sunday-School Union.* Price 1s.

A school story illustrating the danger of the baleful cigarette. We hope it may be widely read by boys, and widely followed in its good advice.

PERIODICALS AND PAMPHLETS.

TRUST ACCOUNTS. By P. W. Ardran. London: *P. W. Ardran and Co.* Price 1s.

A booklet giving examples and explanatory notes written for the use of executors, trustees, and others. A very practical and useful compilation.

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE YEAR-BOOK, 1908. Leyton: *Livingstone College.* Price 6d.

An account of the work done at Livingstone College, and by its former students, in all parts of the world, with a review of the recent progress in tropical medicine. Together with the report is issued a lecture delivered at the college by Sir Patrick Manson on "Tropical Research in its Relation to the Missionary Enterprise." Those who are interested in medical missionary work will find much valuable information in these pages.

SERVITE DOMINO IN LÆTITIA. London: *National Church League.*

A new edition of forms of morning and evening prayer for a week, intended for colleges and schools. Originally drawn up by the late Chancellor Bernard, this little volume has been re-edited, and now affords a very useful combination of Prayer-Book prayers and other forms of devotion. It seems admirably suited for the special purpose for which it is intended.

OLD BELIEFS AND NEW KNOWLEDGE. By the Rev. C. L. Drawbridge. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 6d. net.

A new and cheaper edition of a work reviewed in these columns last year. We like its sympathy with doubters and its fresh outlook on the truth; but, as we have already pointed out, it is far too concessive on what seem to us to be vital points to make it altogether acceptable.

QUESTIONS FOR THE YOUNG. By S. Selley. London: *Elliot Stock.* Price 2d.

A small booklet compiled for the use of parents. The answers are given in the very words of Scripture.

FRIENDLY GREETINGS. London: *The Religious Tract Society.* Price 2s. 6d.

The new half-yearly volume of an old and welcome friend. There is nothing quite like it for general distribution among working people. It is full of interest, and, still better, full of the Gospel.

THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW. October, 1908. London: *Spottiswoode and Co., Ltd.* Price 3s.

The most important articles are the first and second, on the Lambeth Conference, which is presumably by the editor, and on "Eucharistic Doctrine and the Canon of the Roman Mass," by the Rev. Darwell Stone. The former is at once appreciative and critical, and is a useful contribution to the discussions arising out of the problems dealt with at the Conference. Mr. Darwell Stone's main view is that the essential doctrine of the Canon of the Roman Mass is such that neither Eastern Christians nor English Churchmen need repudiate. This is a well-known position of his; but while he has convinced himself of its tenableness, there are very few others who will be able to endorse his conclusions. No one ever arrives at truth by omitting essential factors in a problem as Mr. Stone so often does. The Reviews of Books are not so strong a feature as we should like to see them.

LONDON UNIVERSITY GUIDE. London: *University Correspondence College.*

The annual volume issued by the University Correspondence College, which contains full information concerning the regulations for examinations in 1909 and 1910.

MATRICULATION DIRECTORY. Cambridge: *Burlington House.* Price 1s.

This includes articles on text-books necessary for the London University Examinations.

THE UPWARD WAY. Edited by E. C. Gregory. London: *H. R. Allenson, Ltd.* Price 6d. net.

A very welcome selection from the letters of the saintly Rutherford, comprising readings for a month. A choice treasure for our hours of devotion.

THE RHYTHM OF BERNARD DE MORLAIX. With Translations by J. M. Neale. London: *H. R. Allenson, Ltd.* Price 1s. net.

A fresh edition of Bernard's wonderful hymn, together with the lesser-known hymn by Cardinal Damiani. A preface deals helpfully and discriminatingly with the authors and their works.

THE MURDERESS OF THE UNSEEN. By Rev. S. Hemphill, D.D. London: *Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Ltd.* Price 1s. net.

A tract on "Race-Suicide." A solemn and searching warning on a matter of the profoundest moment to our country and race. If wisely circulated, it must do great good.

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE: WHAT IS IT? By J. T. Tomlinson. London: *Elliot Stock.* Price 4d.

A new and revised edition of a well-known and very able pamphlet which is a distinct contribution to its subject, and should be carefully studied by all who would know the truth. We are particularly glad to welcome this reissue.

NEW TESTAMENT PROPHECY: ITS SOURCE, SUBSTANCE, AND SIGNS. By Rev. Hubert Brooke. Brighton: *T. A. Smith.* Price 3d. net.

This is most welcome and refreshing, for it deals with a subject which is far too much overlooked in the present day. Those who wish to have a simple introduction to the study of New Testament prophecy could not do better than take Mr. Brooke as their guide.

A LAYMAN'S NOTES ON OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM. By P. J. Heawood, M.A. London: *Elliot Stock.* Price 1s. net.

A reprint from our own pages which will be particularly useful in this convenient form. Mr. Heawood shows how modern criticism strikes the mind of an educated layman who is not encumbered with theological and critical presuppositions.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM. By E. C. Gregory. London: *H. R. Allenson, Ltd.* Price 6d. net.

We are often asked for something to guide in the study of Christian mysticism. This is the very thing. It will provide everything that is required for an introduction to one of the most important of subjects.

THE CHURCH MUSIC SOCIETY'S CHOIR-BOOK. London: *Henry Frowde.* Price 1s. net.

This contains Ferial and Festival Responses and Litany, together with Amens, *Kyries*, *Gloria* and *Gratias*, Athanasian Creed, and *Benedicite*, compiled from the original and authentic sources. Organists and choir-masters will be glad to have this book for study and use. The editorial work is well done.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND PENNY MANUALS. No. 9. GLEANINGS FROM CHURCH HISTORY. By M. E. Ames. No. 10. SOCIALISM OR SOCIAL REFORM? By the Rev. R. C. Burt. No. 11. ARCHBISHOP CRANMER. By Rev. Canon McCormick, D.D. No. 12. THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. By the Right Rev. Bishop J. C. Ryle, D.D. London: *Charles J. Thynne.*

The latest additions to this series.

HARMONY OF SCIENCE WITH GENESIS. By Captain Alexander McNeile. London: *Charles J. Thynne.* Price 1d.

A discussion of the Creation story of Genesis in the light of modern science.

A KALENDAR OF HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN. Compiled by Robert S. Genge. London: *Henry Frowde.* Price 2d. net.

Convenient and useful for those who use the hymn-book.

REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S MEETINGS HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE PAN-ANGLICAN CONGRESS OF 1908. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 6d.

All who are interested in work by and among women will find a fund of useful information in these pages.

RESPONSIBILITY. An Address to Girls. By Rev. E. E. Holmes. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 1d. net.

A new edition, full of suggestive teaching, but decidedly lacking at a vital point. It does not tell the girls anything about the dynamic of the Christian life.

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APOCRYPHA. October, 1908. London: *International Society of the Apocrypha.* Price 6d.

The main articles of this number are "A Study of Ecclesiasticus," by Principal Estlin Carpenter; a second article on "The Bible Canon of the Reformation," by Sir Henry Howarth; together with several smaller contributions on various aspects of the Apocrypha.

THE LADDER. A Week's Prayers. London: *Charles J. Thynne.* Price 6d. net.

We have received from *Messrs. Raphael Tuck and Sons* specimens of a new series of Scripture Motto Cards for the New Year. There are sixteen different varieties in a smaller size (1d. each), and eight different varieties in a larger size (2d. each). The Biblical quotations seem to have been selected with great care. The printing is, of course, of the very best, and the landscape views are most attractive. The name of the firm is a sufficient guarantee of excellence, and we have no doubt that the cards will be in very great demand during the forthcoming season. It is difficult to see how they could be improved upon.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge send us a packet of twelve Scripture Picture Cards dealing with New Testament scenes in colours (1s. 4d. per packet), and also two Motto Cards for the New Year, with New Testament scenes, a Scripture text, and a verse of poetry. These will be found useful for general distribution, especially in Sunday-schools.