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THE

CHURCHMAN

July, 1921

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

By the time these lines are published, the Parochial Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure, 1921, will, it is Church Councils. believed, have been approved by both Houses of Parliament, and possibly presented to His Majesty for Royal Assent. The Archbishop of Canterbury was to move the necessary resolution in the House of Lords on June 15. The House of Commons agreed to the resolution on June 8, and it is extremely interesting to us to know that it was moved by Mr. Inskip, who, it will be remembered, rendered such splendid service when the Measure was under discussion in the National Church Assembly. The motion did not come on in the House of Commons until just after midnight, and as a result only the bare announcement that it was carried appeared in the daily newspapers, but a reference to Hansard shows that a very interesting, if brief, debate took place. Mr. Inskip, in a singularly felicitous speech which would have completely silenced factious criticism if any had been intended, pointed out that the Measure had received the overwhelming support of the National Assembly, "which is a popularly elected body and truly represents the democracy of the Church of England." He gave an illuminating explanation of the purposes of the Measure and stated that the Ecclesiastical Committee of the Houses of Parliament, "a body composed of impartial members of all parties representing the different points of view of the different great interests in the country," had examined the Measure, reported to the House in its favour, and considered it expedient that it should pass. Dealing with the objection that the rights of the Vestry in the election of churchwardens are diminished, he said:-

The Assembly was careful to preserve the rights of the Vestry in this matter, and members of the Vestry, that is to say, the rate-

payers, reserve their right to join in the election of churchwardens as heretofore, but they are to be reinforced by members on the electoral roll, so that there may be co-operation or reinforcement. I think that is no serious derogation to the rights of the ratepayers. It is quite obvious that in a parish where the ratepayers take a strong view as to who is the proper person to be a churchwarden they might in a well-organized parish resort to the meeting to elect the churchwardens in sufficient numbers to make their power and influence felt. That merely gives to the electorate a new interest in the election of their responsible ministers.

Before closing his speech, which greatly impressed the House, he paid a tribute to the sympathetic attitude of Nonconformists:—

Members of the Church of England—I am sure I may say this—have cause to feel grateful to the Nonconformists for the general sympathy and interest with which they have followed the proceedings of the Church Assembly. The Church Assembly, on the other hand, have been sincerely anxious to avoid doing anything in this first and important Measure which might affront the political or religious conscience of any members of Nonconformist churches.

Then in a final passage he added:—"We have been actuated by the sincere desire to give the laity of the Church that place in the councils of the Church which will enable them to exercise their many and varied gifts to the widest service of humanity, and, we hope, to the greater glory of God." The peroration was as natural as it was simple, and Churchpeople will be thankful that in the House of Commons there should be a reference to "the greater glory of God" as the object of a Measure submitted for its approval.

In the brief discussion which followed, Sir R. The Election of Adkins, disclaiming any idea of hostility to the Measure pointed out the inconvenience of the Ecclesiastical Committee having no power to refer back part of a Measure, while approving the vast bulk of the proposals, and he expressed the view that it was a great pity that questions affecting the civic rights of parishioners had been raised in the Measure. He revealed also the interesting fact that when the question was before the Ecclesiastical Committee the motion to recommend it for the Royal Assent was adopted by thirteen to four. Major Barnes, who opposed the Enabling Bill, made the significant announcement that if that Bill were introduced now he would not pursue the same course, as he had come to regard it as a most

valuable example of functional devolution. The speech of Sir R. Adkins was plainly directed against the provisions relating to the election of Churchwardens, and on this point he was effectively answered by Lord Wolmer, who said the fears were groundless. His explanation of the position was so clear that it will be useful to quote his words:—

In the Measure now before the House the Church Assembly has done nothing to interfere with the citizen's rights except in so far as is absolutely necessary for the spiritual efficiency of religion in this country. The point which my hon, and learned Friend made about the ratepayers' right to elect churchwardens simply comes to this, that, in this Measure, the Churchpeople in the parish, whether they are ratepayers or not, shall have the right to co-operate with the ratepayers in the choice of churchwarden. When it is remembered that the churchwardens must necessarily be the executive officers of the Parochial Church Council, that they constitute, with the incumbent, the executive committee of the Parochial Church Council, surely it is only reasonable that the Churchpeople of the parish should, at any rate, have some voice in their election. We do not deprive our Nonconformist or Free Church friends who are parishioners of the right of voting for the churchwardens.

Sir R. Adkins: The point I took was not the right of Free Churchmen as such, but the right of those parishioners who do not come within the somewhat restricted franchise of the parochial councils.

Viscount Wolmer: Those parishioners who are neither Free Churchmen nor members of the Church of Eng'and can have a very small interest in the religious affairs of the parish, but they are not disfranchised by this Measure. They still have the same rights as before, except that the plural vote they had is abolished and all ratepayers have one vote, and one vote only. All that is done of importance in this instance is that Churchpeople who are not ratepayers and who would not otherwise have the franchise are allowed to join with the ratepayers in the choice of churchwardens. I submit that that is not a serious infringement of the rights of the citizens of this country. Surely, that is a legitimate right which Churchpeople may claim, and it does come within the scope of what was claimed for the Enabling Act, and give to the Church of England the chance of managing its own affairs.

A new There is a striking parallel between the present Renaissance and outlook and that of the Renaissance. The world has become smaller and its inter-relation much more perplexing. Mankind has become one in a fresh sense, and by so doing we find life so complex, that the imagination is baffled by any attempt to influence wisely the whole, as principles seem to

come into conflict. The unification of mankind has presented us with as great an intellectual problem as was brought before our forefathers by the Copernican system and the discovery of America. The world is at once smaller and greater, and we think with different measures of value than we did before the war. Then the awful perplexities that come before the mind when the application is made of moral and Christian principles to present-day conditions, lead men to wonder where they are. The influence of the individual never seemed smaller and the importance of personality was never greater. In the sixteenth century there was a return of men to the teaching of Holy Scripture from the dogmas and practices of the Church. To-day there are welcome signs that the chaotic results of New Testament criticism have become less confused, and that there is a return to traditional views on the authenticity and trustworthiness of the New Testament documents. Testament Background (1s. 6d.), by Dr. Sanday and Mr. C. W. Emmett, gives the opinions of two men considered to be advanced scholars, and they are much more conservative than would have been anticipated, although we strongly disagree with some of their conclusions. An excellent and well-balanced volume by the Rev. Maurice Jones on The Four Gospels (6s.) will do much to reassure minds that have been disturbed, and we believe that its sober and wellfounded conclusions will prove to be nearer the truth than the views so confidently held by a number of critics. Dr. Jones writes with full knowledge of Continental and American criticism, and his opinions are the fruit of deep study. We do not, however, think that his late date of the Lucan writings will stand, as no satisfactory reply has been made to Harnack's notable works on this question. But the most remarkable of recent developments is the return to the teaching of St. Paul. Dr. A. H. McNeile's St. Paul (10s.) is an excellent summary of the best thought on his doctrine and influence which are once more exerting themselves in the study and, we hope, in the pulpit. His great exposition of Christian faith is being tested and has been proved true. To quote the latest commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians (Dr. Burton, 35s.): "Faith is, for Paul, in its distinctively Christian expression, a committal of one's self to Christ, issuing in a vital fellowship with Him, by which Christ becomes the controlling force in the moral life of the believer." In spite of much that discourages there is ground for hope that we are on the eve of a return to New Testament Christianity.

The Church is faced by a crisis in man-power that Candidates for will have very serious influences on its future efficiency. The supply of war candidates has ceased, and it has failed to reach the numbers anticipated. While every profession has more than the pre-war numbers flocking for opportunity of entering its ranks, the ministry not only in our Church but in all the Churches has an insufficient supply of recruits. The outlook is more than serious, and there must be a cause or causes for the alarming deficiency. Economic conditions are partly to blame, and until the ministry ceases to be a sweated industry we cannot expect men to devote their lives to meeting financial anxieties, which hamper the usefulness of their work. But there are other causes. Many openings for public service are brought to the notice of young men in the Universities. The teaching profession has an improved status and better pay. There is also intellectual unrest which presses severely upon many of our more thoughtful young men, who believe they can serve God and their generation best as Christian laymen. It has always seemed strange to us that at a time when it is loudly proclaimed that Christian influences are stronger than they have ever been in our seats of learning, there should be such a decline in candidates for the ministry. popular teaching that Christianity is an adventure, that the Church is not an ambulance wagon but an advance guard, and that life, not belief, is all-important, has failed to win men to the side of those who put forward these contentions, as fellow-ministers of the Gospel. We wish that the authorities would appoint a sympathetic commission to inquire into the causes that operate at present in keeping men from volunteering for Holy Orders. Commission should not consist of Theological College authorities or prominent ecclesiastics. Three or four earnest laymen in touch with University life, and a similar number of the Clergy whose sons have turned away from the vocation of their fathers, will do far more to ascertain facts than a professional commission that sets to work with fixed ideals and finds in the facts grounds for the confirmation of their views. Something must be radically wrong when the highest privilege open to high-spirited and consecrated manhood fails to attract our best men. Never was the need of consecrated culture more evident, never was the claim on the best of our man-power for Christian service more imperative, and precisely at this time there is a general holding back that is most disquieting.

Mr. Arthur S. May, M.A., has written a most A Book valuable book on Marriage: to give it its full title, on Marriage. Marriage in Church, Chapel and Register Office (Longmans, 2s. 6d.). We congratulate him on having found a subject of great practical importance to a very large number of people on which there is not already a book available. The most recent was published many years ago and was, moreover, written rather from the point of view of the Register Office. Mr. May not only has a very creditable academic record, but is a practising barrister with large experience, especially in the matters with which this book is concerned, for he is Surrogate to the Ecclesiastical Courts in Doctors Commons and during the war had to deal with a large number of cases where every possible question was involved. His book, therefore, should have a large circulation, as it is the only compendious statement of the actual facts which relate to the process of getting married in the present day. Such questions as Consent of the Parties, Prohibited Degrees, Minors, Aliens, Banns, Licences, Informalities, and the innumerable pitfalls which beset the minister who has to perform the marriage ceremony are all lucidly and interestingly treated. It is, indeed, remarkable that so much solid information can be got into so small a space. The subject does not afford many openings for the personality of the author to manifest itself; but the preface shows that he has a vein of quiet sardonic humour, and here and there in the book, as for instance in the references to marriages in Register Offices, which are not recommended, there are indications of both gravity and human sympathy which must greatly add to the author's qualifications for an office whose responsibility is increased by the opportunities it frequently affords of giving personal counsel and advice. A copy of Mr. May's book should be in every Church Vestry for reference, and if the Incumbent does not provide it, the Churchwardens or Parish Council should make it their duty to do so.

The Bishop of Exeter, who possesses many excellent The Attack on Patronage. qualities, of which, however, moderation of statement does not happen to be one, made a violent attack on the patronage system of the Church at his Diocesan Conference last month. The patronage system is open to many objections, and the manner in which episcopal patronage is administered is not the least of them. Moreover, it was hardly wise for a prelate who was appointed by his father to the only living he ever held, Bishops Hatfield, at the age of twenty-five, to fulminate against the purchase of livings by people who wished to appoint their relatives. But the Bishop went on to attack with particular virulence the purchase of livings by party Trusts, the Secretaries of which he described as persons in whom "fanaticism had destroyed all sense of justice." The description is simply ludicrous to those who are acquainted with the Secretaries of Patronage Trusts, and destroys all respect for the judgment or fairness of any one who could give it. A Cecil, at least, might remember the maxim Noblesse oblige. Of course, in raising an outcry against the purchase of livings the Bishop could count upon the applause of his hearers, for no reasonable person defends in principle the practice; but we would remind him that there are many Bishops who have either made or encouraged such purchases to add to their own patronage. The Bishop of Exeter, moreover, conveniently left out of sight the fact that when livings are once purchased by a Trust they are removed for ever from the prospect of being re-sold. Trustees do not sell the living placed in their hands, and in most cases there is a provision in the Conveyance which definitely prohibits any future sale of the advowson. It is very easy, again, to get applause by denouncing parties or party spirit, and, with curious inconsistency, Bishops are very fond of raising cheers in this way, for there are few more flagrant examples of partisan administration than the records of episcopal patronage reveal; but Evangelical Churchmen, at any rate, can invite with confidence an inspection of the methods and results of the patronage of their various Trusts. Some of the best men and the hardest and most capable workers are to be found among the clergy who have been appointed by these Trusts, and few of them would ever have had any chance of an adequate sphere for their gifts if they had waited for preferment from their Bishops. If we may say so without disrespect, the Bishop of Exeter's speech seems to us to show how easy it is for fanaticism to destroy the sense of justice.

The Cheltenham Conference promises to be of Cheltenham exceptional interest. The date at which it is being held this year-June 27-29-precludes any report of the proceedings being given in this number, but in our next issue we hope to present a summary of the speeches and an "impression" of the Conference. A bold and striking experiment has been resolved upon, which is thus referred to in the Letter of Invitation:-"Recent efforts to secure the harmonious co-operation of different types of Churchmanship have attracted much attention, and it is our duty as Evangelicals to face the issues involved. We have to explore the possibilities, if any, of working with other schools, and for this purpose the Committee have invited two Liberal Churchmen and two Anglo-Catholics to put before the Conference their respective positions. The exposition of their aims will afford the opportunity of debating this question at a subsequent session." Thus the subject of "Relations between Evangelical Churchmen and High and Broad Churchmen" will be discussed. From the High Church side, the speakers will be the Rev. M. E. Atlay (Vicar of St. Matthew's, Westminster) and the Rev. G. H. Clayton (Vicar of St. Mary-the-Less, Cambridge); and, from the Broad Church side, the Rev. Canon Glazebrook (Canon of Ely) and the Rev. C. W. Emmet (Fellow and Chaplain University College, Oxford). The case from the Evangelical side will be undertaken by Canon Boughton (Vicar of Calverley), the Rev. T. W. Gilbert (Rector of Bradfield), the Rev. H. B. Gooding (Principal of Wycliffe Hall) and the Rev. G. F. Irwin (Vicar of Wallington). Whatever may be the ultimate outcome of the discussion, such a full, frank and free interchange of views as is here contemplated cannot be otherwise than useful and good. We shall get to know each other's position from first-hand information.

THE MORAL TEACHING OF CHRIST AND ITS MODERN CRITICS.

By the Rev. Horace Marriott, D.D., Eccleston Vicarage, St. Helens, Lancashire.

I T is a notable fact that the half-century or so before the outbreak of the War is marked by a widespread movement of reaction from Christian ethical ideals. It is not only Christian doctrines that are impugned to-day, but also the fundamental moral principles of Christianity. The movement has found many spokesmen, of whom Friedrich Nietzsche is the most vigorous and impassioned.

I, THE CAUSES OF THE REACTION AGAINST CHRISTIAN MORALS.

Now what has given rise to this dissatisfaction with the moral teaching of the New Testament? Doubtless there lie behind it various causes. But there is much ground for thinking that the wide acceptance of the theory of evolution has largely induced it. It is hardly without significance that the modern movement against Christian ethics dates from about the same time as evolutionary views began to gain currency, and that many of the leaders of the reaction have been deeply under the influence of the new ideas. Moreover, it is clear that the acceptance of the evolutionary theory raises difficulties in various directions in the way of continued acquiescence in the moral teaching of the New Testament, e.g.—

- (I) It reacts upon the idea of God. The evolutionary theory calls attention to the cruelty and wastage of life which prevail in the realm of nature. The laws of the great cosmic process which it formulates seem to reflect a supreme Being widely different in character from the God of the Christian revelation. Now to those who accept the Christian idea of God, the Christian ethic is natural. But to those who reject that idea, it ceases to be natural. Its foundation is gone.
- (2) The evolutionary theory also affects the Christian moral code more directly. The laws of the cosmic process stand in sharp contrast to the laws of human conduct embodied in the teaching of the New Testament. How can the divergence be explained? If the former reflect the nature and purpose of the Divine Being, can it be maintained that the latter do so likewise? It will be remem-

bered that Professor Huxley addressed himself to this difficulty in his famous Romanes Lecture, delivered in 1893.

- (3) Further, it appears to many that the Christian moral code is a stumblingblock in the way of the working out of the evolutionary process. Whereas the law of nature is that the weak and the diseased shall die off, and that the fittest alone of each species shall survive, and propagate its kind, the Christian ethic induces the protection and nurture of the unfit, and consequently, as it would seem, the propagation and multiplication of their unfitness. It was Nietzsche's conviction that the ethics of the Gospel tend to thwart the process of evolution and are a force on the side of the degeneration of our species, which chiefly aroused his animosity against the Christian religion.
- (4) Further, the evolutionary theory was early applied to the moral consciousness of man, and the moral sense itself, as we now know it, was viewed as the product of a long process of development from rudimentary beginnings. To many, the acceptance of the new view has appeared to dethrone conscience from its seat of authority. For if conscience has developed out of animal instincts, it can no longer, as it would seem, be accorded the respect and reverence which are rightly due to a faculty conceived as having been divinely implanted in an animal organism, from which it is entirely distinct. If, then, conscience is itself a thing evolved, and if the Christian ethic is viewed as purely the product of the developed human conscience, the question arises, What degree of authority can rightly be assigned to this ethic? And further, if the development of the moral sense has been continuous in human history down to the present day, is it reasonable to believe that the last word on ethics was uttered some 2,000 years ago, and that the moral sense of mankind to-day is incapable of making any advance upon it?
- (5) Another direction in which acceptance of the evolutionary theory entails difficulty is the following. The evolutionist finds no support in his researches for the Biblical doctrine of the Fall of primitive man. Now the Christian ethic presupposes the fallen and sinful nature of man. It traverses at many points the natural inclinations and desires of the human heart. Those who reject the doctrine of the Fall may yet, indeed, regard man's natural morality as exhibiting many imperfections. But to such the aspect of these is far different from that which they wear in the Christian way of

thinking. Characteristics which to the Christian are manifestations of a deep-seated corruption of man's pre-fallen state present themselves as mere imperfections, survivals from primitive states of savagery and barbarism. Thus, even if liberally disposed towards the Christian ethic, they cannot endorse its tone, nor yet all of its content. And they may well hold, with more or less of consistency, that human conduct is to be based upon nature as interpreted by biology and psychology, without reference to any higher principle whatever. This is, in fact, the line which many of the new moralists have taken.

(6) Once again, the evolutionary theory was widely hailed as a great intellectual discovery. It enhanced the reputation of the discursive intellect, of its powers and possibilities. Now it may, indeed, be well maintained that human reason is not contrary to religion. But an undue exaltation of the discursive intellect above the other powers of the mind always seems inimical to a due appreciation, either of Christian faith or of Christian morals.

The foregoing instances may suffice to support the view which has been advanced that the promulgation of the theory of evolution in the middle of the last century, and the consequent rapid spread of evolutionary ways of thinking, have been, directly or indirectly, a prime cause of the recent reaction against Christian ethical ideas and ideals.

II. THE STRENGTH OF THE APPEAL OF CHRISTIAN MORALS.

Is there then cause for alarm lest the teaching of Nietzsche, and other teachings inconsistent with those of the New Testament, should spread increasingly in Christian countries? We believe not. The spread of Nietzsche's ideas has indeed been great and rapid. But it is largely due to the fact that they have been used to subserve the interests of an overweening nationalism. The appeal of Christian morals rests on far deeper and more secure foundations. Let us endeavour briefly to enumerate some of the abiding elements of strength in the appeal which the Christian ethic in general makes to human nature.

(1) It commends itself to the moral consciousness enlightened by the Divine Spirit. It stands in close relation to the Jewish ethics which preceded it. It is the climax of a long and gradual growth of ethical discernment. The Christian teaching about man, sin, duty, etc., is what the moral consciousness of human nature delivered when fully illuminated by the Spirit of God. And as the teaching of the Jewish prophets appealed to the enlightened moral sense of their generation, so has the teaching of Christ appealed to the enlightened moral sense of every Christian age, and that in proportion to the measure of its enlightenment. Conscience is the unfailing ally of the Christian ethic. And although Nietzsche might teach that conscience is a useless piece of lumber, there seems little fear that mankind will ever stop its ears to a voice which speaks with such insistence and authority.

- (2) The Christian ethic is also sustained by august supernatural sanctions. Christ laid down His moral teaching in a tone of absolute authority. It is of faith that He was the Divine Son of God, that His Apostles spoke with the authority of inspiration, and of intimate personal companionship with Him during His sojourn among men. Moreover the Christian ethic appeals to rewards and punishments, not in this life only, but also in that beyond the grave. And it is upheld and taught by Christ's own Divine institution in the world, the Church.
- (3) Again, it is perfectly embodied in a personal life. agreement between Christ's example and His teaching is complete. Less perfectly indeed, yet markedly, the Christian ethic is manifested in the lives of St. Paul and the other Apostles. This historical embodiment of the teaching in human life greatly enhances its appeal to the mind of man, and facilitates its reproduction in human life. It provides a vivid illustration of the teaching, and exhibits it as carried into practice amid the varying circumstances Where moral teaching is presented in a set of precepts and statements alone, the mind can only master it by a synthetic intellectual process. But a personal example is in itself a synthesis of all the precepts, from which particular rules and principles may be drawn as called for by a process of analytic deduction. How often in Christian history has the first appeal of the Gospel ethic come to the individual through his enthusiasm and admiration for the character and the life of our Lord!
- (4) The Christian ethic also agrees perfectly with the Christian idea of God. What the Christian sees in Christ on earth, he likewise sees in God above. The motive set before him is that he should strive to attain to the moral perfection which is in God (Matt. v. 48).

(5) Once more, the spirit of the Christian ethic coincides with the spirit engendered in man by acceptance of the doctrine of forgiveness through the atoning blood of Christ. Take, e.g., the Matthaean Beatitudes. Every one of the qualities here enumerated must be present in the heart which has sincerely laid hold upon Christ as its personal Redeemer through His Cross and Passion. These last three concordances of the Christian ethic, viz., with the example of Christ, with the Christian doctrine of God, and with the Christian scheme of salvation, together constitute a threefold cord, not quickly broken, binding to it the heart and allegiance of man.

III. How can the Church best Defend Christian Morals against its Assailants?

We hold therefore that there is little danger of the Christian ethic ever being swamped by such revolutionary theories as have been put forward of recent years. Yet it is of great importance that the Church should combat these theories as wisely and effectively as possible. How can she do so?

Looking broadly at the matter, there appear to be three main lines along which the situation can be dealt with: (I) The new teachings can be attacked and criticized; (2) the Christian ethic can be vindicated and expounded; and (3) defects in the current presentation of Christian ethics can be remedied.

(r) In the first place, the new teachings can be attacked and criticized. Their mutual disagreements, and their individual inconsistencies and contradictions, can be exposed.

Although Nietzsche has deeply influenced many of the reactionary writers, they are yet far from agreement with each other in their positive ideals of conduct. John Davidson, e.g., denies everything which Nietzsche cherished most, as progress, the superman, and the future of the race. These, he maintains, are all otherworldly ideas borrowed from Christianity. Again, Mr. Bernard Shaw, while basing his ethics on much the same philosophical foundations as Nietzsche, is far more humane and benevolent in his outlook upon life. He upholds socialism in place of Nietzsche's individualism. To take another instance, whilst Mr. Shaw has taken over Nietzsche's superman theory, and advocates a national breeding organization, Mr. H. G. Wells has for the most part placed his faith in education.

Nor are these writers free from self-inconsistency. This is notably the case with Nietzsche himself: e.g., he teaches that the "Natural Man" (in the Pauline sense) can find in life happiness, worth, and possibility of progress; yet he depreciates human nature, and profoundly distrusts it. (Cf. Human, all too Human.) He assumes the purely "natural" in man to be self-contained and self-sufficient, and rejects the doctrine of the dualism of "flesh" and "spirit." Yet he recognizes internal turmoil, and in some passages his "Natural Man" closely approaches the moral being, in whom is waged the perpetual conflict of the Christian teaching.1 rejects the whole idea of morality as a bad dream, alien to nature and subversive of man's true welfare. Yet in a notable passage he points out the amount of good which the world has derived from the principles of moral discipline.² He adopts a strongly individualistic standpoint and glorifies the virtues of egoism. Yet he teaches that free-will is a superstition, and that nature has nothing to say to the individual. He is the Apostle of race progress. He looks for its achievement to individuals who shall sum up in themselves the advance of mankind. But it is difficult to see how the idea of such progress can be reconciled with his determinism. Moreover, in his doctrine of the Eternal Recurrence he denies the possibility of any abiding advance, and kills the very incentive to progress.

Deductions can be drawn from these inconsistencies and contradictions. It can be shown that every purely naturalistic scheme is radically unsatisfactory. Again, the misunderstandings and travesties of the Christian scheme which these writers exhibit can be laid bare. It can be shown, e.g., that Nietzsche completely misjudged Christianity, that he did not see the gigantic stature to which the spiritual man may grow, and that he was blind to the whole dynamic force of the Christian religion. The Rev. L. S. Thornton's *Conduct and the Supernatural* affords an admirable example of how this task may be temperately yet firmly achieved.

Another way in which the new schemes can be attacked is by the application to them of the pragmatic test. What sort of fruit have these new sowings yielded? If it could be demonstrated that they

¹ E.g. in Beyond Good and Evil, §§ 229, 230. Engl. transl. by Helen Zimmern.

Beyond Good and Evil, § 188. Engl. transl. by Helen Zimmern.

have largely contributed to the outbreak of the Great War, and to the manner in which it was waged by our enemies, this would be a most effective argument against them. A thorough and impartial investigation of the whole subject is a great desideratum. Before the war, Nietzsche was little known outside his native country. To-day even, the pernicious effects of his teaching are probably far from fully realized.

Again, a less direct method of attack is open to us. The true bearing upon the Christian ethic of the scientific or philosophical hypotheses behind the new teachings can be thoroughly examined. It has not infrequently happened that incompatibility with Christianity has been held without solid ground, through shallow thinking, or misunderstanding of the true teaching of Christianity. Let us illustrate our meaning. We have expressed the view that the rise of the reaction in morals took its departure in large degree from the Now this theory has in the past been held to theory of evolution. be inconsistent with Christianity in respects which, as we can now see, are not necessarily inconsistent with it. Take, e.g., the Christian doctrine of the Fall of Man. It has often been maintained that the evolutionary theory is wholly subversive of this doctrine. But it is now widely recognised that the two are not incompatible. This revised view is due to further thought upon the subject. On the one hand it has come to be seen that the scientific theory allows room for the Christian doctrine, and on the other we have learned to distinguish between the naked doctrine itself and the traditional accretions in which it has been clothed. There seems to be a real need for a more radical investigation of the whole subject of the compatibility of Christianity with modern evolutionary theories. We do not mean that the Church should accept these theories as certainly true, and identify herself with them. History suggests that this would be unwise. The storms of the sixteenth-century Reformation sprang largely out of the acceptance by the Church of a philosophical theory of matter which has long been obsolete. Generally accepted as is the evolutionary hypothesis to-day, it is no more than a "probable theory," even in the sphere of biology. What we do advance is that the Christian Church ought to have serious regard to views which are widely accepted by thoughtful people, and that she should address herself with thoroughness to an investigation of the question, On the assumption that these

views are true, is any part of Christianity necessarily disproved? And we venture to think that the result of such an inquiry in the case of the theory of evolution would be to show that none of the difficulties enumerated in the first section of this essay are incapable of solution, or at least of satisfactory explanation.

(2) The second line along which the Church can deal with the situation is that of exposition and apologetic. We cannot afford to treat this subject at length within the limits of this discussion. Let us therefore confine ourselves to a single illustration of the help which may be afforded along this line.

The ethic of the Gospel is often too much treated as a thing unique and apart, which purports to have come down from Heaven in the Person of Jesus Christ, and rests upon His authority alone. The ethics of Christ are indeed unique. At the same time they stand in organic connection with earlier Jewish ethical thought. This is to a large extent seen by a comparison of Christ's teaching with that contained in the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is more forcibly brought home to us by a study of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature. In the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, e.g., we read, "Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack. If ill-requitals befall you, return them not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return them for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgment, that there be no avenging here among men " (c. 1. 3, 4). This recalls Christ's precepts on non-resistance to evil and love to enemies in Matthew v. 38-48. Again, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs afford numerous parallels with New Testament ethics. The passage just referred to from the Sermon on the Mount and other Christian sayings are recalled by the Testament of Gad (vi. 3-7): "Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing and so thou sin doubly. Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for ofttimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent. And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved,

give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and fear and be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrongdoing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging." Again, the saying in Luke vi. 45 about good and evil issuing from the treasure of the heart finds a striking parallel in Asher i. 6-9: "Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth. For, having its thoughts set upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth the sin. But if it incline to the evil inclination, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good, he perverteth it to evil. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forceth the issue of the action into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit." There are numerous such parallels in the later Jewish literature. They show that the ethics of the Gospel are but the climax and the crown of progressive moral enlightenment among the Iews. There is a sense in which it is true to say that the least original part of the Christian religion is its morality. Thus those who attack the precepts of Christ have to reckon, not with Him alone, but also with the highest moral consciousness of the whole Jewish race.

(3) Lastly, the modern reaction in morals constitutes, as it seems to us, a call to the Ghurch to set right what is amiss in the current presentation of Christian ethics. We believe that the reactionists are in fundamental error. Nevertheless they may have something to teach us, and their teaching may contain some measure of truth. Is the Church herself entirely free from responsibility for the rise and spread of these views? Or does blame attach to her for exaggerations and one-sided presentations of her doctrines? Nietzsche, e.g., inveighs against the femininity of Christ's teaching. Have we given no occasion for his invective, or have we in fact overvalued the pity virtues, in comparison with the virile, and distorted the true character and teaching of our Lord?

We venture to think that there is a real need to-day for an authoritative systematization and presentation by the Church of the ethic which she upholds. It is true that it could be neither

perfect nor final. But it could always be revised and amended. The Church has systematized her theology in Creeds and Articles, her worship in the Liturgy, and her ministry in the Ordinal. Why should she be content to refer us back to the Decalogue alone for a succinct presentation of her ethics? Something more seems to be needed.

"But," it will be asked, "how could any human words, however good and well-chosen, equal those of Christ Himself and His Apostles?" We do not deny it. We do not suggest that a systematic statement should take the place of the *ipsissima verba* of the New Testament, any more than the Creeds have taken the place of the doctrinal passages of the New Testament upon which they are grounded. We only contend that a careful and comprehensive systematic enunciation of ethics would be a valuable supplement to the ethical matter which lies dispersed in the pages of the New Testament. And we submit that this presentation ought to include, amongst others, the following features, in order adequately to meet the needs of the present day:—

- (a) Its expression should be literal and modern. As in theology, so in ethics, ideas need to be translated into modern terminology. Christ's recorded sayings abound in hyperbole, which is apt to be misleading to the Western mind. They are also often figurative and poetical, and their true purport is frequently on this account obscure. Hence the need for a clear and precise enunciation, in modern terminology, of the literal purport of the ethics of the New Testament.
- (b) Secondly, the ethical principles of the New Testament need to be extended outwards from their primary reference to the individual so as to apply to all collective units of mankind. And here it may be noted that as soon as the individual application is left behind, systematization becomes the more necessary, because Christ's precepts are not reinforced to the same degree by His individual example, and by the atoning sacrifice of which each individual can lay hold. The Christian follows Christ's teaching, as we have already pointed out, in large measure because of the influence upon him of the pattern life of Christ, and also because He has accepted Christ as his personal Saviour from sin. There is, consequently, a warmth and fervour about the individual following of Christ's teaching which is absent from the ethic of corporate

units of society. And it follows that the latter need for their guidance, in a way which the single individual does not, a systematic code of Christian principles.

(c) Again, principles which are only implicitly contained in the New Testament need to be explicitly set forth. Let us take in illustration Nietzsche's charge against Christianity that it makes for physical deterioration and decadence. It must probably be admitted that there is some truth in the charge, as directed against the type of Christianity which largely prevails to-day. For this type exerts great moral pressure in favour of the care and preservation of unfit and diseased humanity, and but little pressure in restriction of the propagation by humanity of its disease and unfitness, whether physical, mental or moral. This is because the principles which are explicitly laid down in the New Testament have taken hold upon the conscience of humanity vastly more than such principles as can only be deduced from New Testament teaching. And this in turn is largely owing to the lack of an orderly and systematic presentation of the whole field of ethical ideals, in which each principle, whether explicit or not in the pages of the New Testament, finds its appropriate place, and the measure of importance which rightly belongs to it. There can easily be inferred from the New Testament—e.g., from all its teaching as to the duty of caring for the weak and the sick, from its precept of love to all men, and from its doctrine of the infinite worth of the individual soul-the principle that the procreation of human life is a high responsibility. Taken in conjunction with the ascertained laws of heredity, the Christian teaching on self-sacrifice demands from many individuals a voluntary abstention from bringing children into the world. If this were generally accepted by the Christian conscience, Nietzsche's charge would have little to substantiate it. His remedy for the existing state of things is that mankind should cast off the altruistic feelings which Christianity has engendered and fostered, and that it should freely allow all imperfect specimens of humanity to perish. The true Christian ethic on the other hand discloses a far more excellent way. It is that men should continue to show all loving care for all human life, however decadent the type may be; but that this Christian sense of the duty of caring for human life should be matched by a sense, equally strong, of the duty of procreating the most healthy and vigorous specimens, and of limiting procreation,

by the voluntary sacrifice of individual liberty—enforced, as may be necessary, by the collective action of society—to such specimens as are good and healthy, and free from serious blemish. In a word, the Christian conscience ought to be as strongly eugenic as it is altruistic.

The attempt to present in systematic form the whole field of Christian ethics is attended by certain difficulties the consideration and solution of which rightly appertains to the collective mind of the whole Church. One of these is the difficulty of determining how much can rightly be included. It will probably not be disputed that Christian ethics are wider and more inclusive than the ethics explicitly or implicitly contained within the covers of the New Testament. But how much can rightly be incorporated? Let us consider for a moment the Jewish literature, canonical and noncanonical. This contains a large amount of ethic. Much of it is at variance with the Christian standard. The question presses, "How much of this Jewish ethic can be extracted which ought to be incorporated within the Christian ethic?" The same question has to be faced with regard to the pagan ideals of antiquity. is not solely with regard to ancient ideas that the question presses. Many of the most characteristic features of our social life are of comparatively recent origin. The active virility of the Western races has produced many qualities upon the value of which it is the province of ethics to pronounce, and has raised many moral questions which it is the province of ethics to decide.

These questions bring us up against the following more radical question: How far must we regard the New Testament as providing a full-orbed presentation of Christian character, so that what is different from that presentation is necessarily inconsistent with the Christian ideal? In other words, how far should the ethics of the New Testament be held to have exclusive force? If we hold that they do not constitute the complete Christian ethic, but only present us with certain leading features of it, then there may be large room for the addition to them of other not incompatible features. Has the eschatological outlook of our Lord and His Apostles so coloured their ethical teaching that it is not wholly applicable to an age of which the eschatological outlook is different? In other words, is their ethic the normal Christian ethic, or is it abnormal, and is it the task of the Church to discover the normal ethic? John Stuart

Mill has expressed his belief that the sayings of Christ "contain, and were meant to contain, only a part of the truth; that many essential elements of the highest morality are among the things which are not provided for, nor intended to be provided for, in the recorded deliverances of the Founder of Christianity, and which have been entirely thrown aside in the system of ethics erected on the basis of those deliverances by the Christian Church. being so," he continues, "I think it a great error to persist in attempting to find in the Christian doctrine that complete rule for our guidance which its author intended it to sanction and enforce, but only partially to provide. I believe, too, that this narrow theory is becoming a grave practical evil, detracting greatly from the moral training and instruction which so many well-meaning persons are now at length exerting themselves to promote. I much fear that by attempting to form the mind and feelings on an exclusively religious type, and discarding those secular standards (as for want of a better name they may be called) which heretofore co-existed with and supplemented the Christian ethics, receiving some of its spirit, and infusing into it some of theirs, there will result, and is even now resulting, a low, abject, servile type of character which, submit itself as it may to what it deems the Supreme Will, is incapable of rising to or sympathizing in the conception of Supreme Goodness. I believe that other ethics than any which can be evolved from exclusively Christian sources must exist side by side with Christian ethics to produce the moral regeneration of mankind; and that the Christian system is no exception to the rule, that in an imperfect state of the human mind the interests of truth require a diversity of opinions. . . . It can do truth no service to blink the fact, known to all who have the most ordinary acquaintance with literary history, that a large portion of the noblest and most valuable moral teaching has been the work, not only of men who did not know, but of men who knew and rejected, the Christian faith." On the other hand, in the Report of the Committee appointed at the recent Lambeth Conference to consider the duty of the Church in relation to industrial and social questions, we read (in § 5 entitled "The Root of the Matter"): "By His (i.e. Christ's) Incarnation He gave us the complete revela-

On Liberty (People's Edition), pp. 29, 30.

tion of human duty." Which of the two views is the true one? The question is one for the collective Church to answer. She cannot answer it outright. But she can, relying upon the promise of the Spirit's guidance, gradually feel her way towards it. And she is not to-day wholly unmindful of her duty so to do. In proof of this we may quote a noble passage at the beginning of the Report of the Committee appointed at the Lambeth Conference to consider the position of women in the Councils and ministrations of the Church. It is as follows: "Sometimes it becomes our duty, faithfully retaining the lessons of the sacred past, in a very special sense to trust ourselves to His (i.e. the Spirit's) inspiration in that present which is our time of opportunity, in order that He may lead us into whatsoever fresh truth of thought or of action is in accordance with the will of God. For the Holy Spirit is with us and with our generation no whit less than He was with our elder brethren in Christ in the first days of the Gospel." 2

Every effort in this direction is worth while. The subject of ethics is of great importance to-day. The history of Germany during the last half-century is proof of the enormous influence which moral ideas can exert upon a whole people in a comparatively short time when they are clearly enunciated and assiduously pressed upon the minds of the young. If the reactionary ideas of a fanatical prophet have had such far-reaching consequences, how great might be the results for good of the ethics of the Christian Church, clearly set forth and energetically inculcated upon the whole population! It may be that the future peace of Europe, and of the world, hangs upon what the Christian Church does with her ethics in the coming years.

HORACE MARRIOTT.

¹ Report of Lambeth Conference, 1920, p. 77.

Report of Lambeth Conference, 1920, p. 95.

THE APOSTOLIC PREACHING OF IRENÆUS AND OUR CHURCH CATECHISM.

BY THE REV. F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, D.D., formerly Donellan Lecturer, University of Dublin.

T T seems to be the fate of the theological writings of Irenæus, Bishop of Lugdunum, to be preserved only in translations and quotations. We are, however, most grateful to those whose studies and work have preserved them in that manner and revived the Church's interest in them from time to time. The treatise Against the Heresies was, of course, his magnum opus. It is examined and reviewed at length in a work recently published by the Cambridge Press. The tract, which is addressed to Marcianus, was a comparatively slight work. It is mentioned by Eusebius. But it was for centuries an "unknown quantity" until an Armenian version of it was found in 1904 in the library of the Church of Erivan, by an Armenian clergyman, Dr. Karapet Ter-Mekerttshian, who, with the help of a colleague, edited it with a German translation in 1907. An Armenian version of Books IV and V of the Greek treatise was also found bound with it. The editors assign the Armenian to the seventh century. Dr. Conybeare, in the Expositor, 1907, assigned it to the fifth. It is possible it may be only a translation of a Syriac original. Dr. Conybeare, however, doubts this. We have now two English translations of this tract, one by the discoverer, Ter-Mekerttshian, with the assistance of Dr. S. G. Wilson, published in the Patrologia Orientalis last year. A French translation also accompanied it.

A second German translation was published by Dr. S. Weber in 1912. This year it has been rendered into English from the Armenian by the Dean of Wells. The Dean gratefully and gracefully acknowledges the help he received from the German translations. This version is without doubt most carefully and conscientiously made. The editor's notes on passages of theological importance, comparing corresponding passages in the treatise, are valuable. A considerable space is devoted to the many references to the writings of Justin Martyr in this tract, and the general influence of Justin upon his

teaching. This was set forth by the present writer in the Journal of Theological Studies (January, 1908). But Dean Robinson gives long sections from both writers, e.g., a portion of c. 44 f. appears to be based upon Justin's Dialogue (56). The latter's Second Apology (c. vi.) helps to elucidate certain points in c. 53 of this tract, and c. 57 has many touch points with the First Apology, c. 32. The explanation of Christ, as He through Whom the Father anointed all things, and of Jesus as *Healer* (as if connected with iasis), are both in the style of Justin. A long chapter is devoted to a consideration of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Justin and Irenæus. Needless to say, the subject is not treated with theological precision by the former, but at least he emphasized the work of the Spirit in connection with prophecy, "Who spake by the prophets," and he finds the Trinity, Father, Son and Spirit in Plato. The subject is treated with greater fulness in Irenæus, both in connection with the Creation, the Spirit as Wisdom co-operating with the Word—the "Hands" of the Father; and also in the Incarnation, in co-operation with the Word, 'Who,' is also represented as the Spirit who came upon the Virgin both in Justin (Dial. 100) and in this tract, c. 71, "being the Spirit of God, Christ became a suffering man." The expression "generated" ("sown") from God by the Holy Spirit is the nearest approach to "conceived of the Holy Ghost."

The light thrown by this tract on the great Father's doctrine of the Trinity, especially the relations of the Son and the Spirit to one another and the Creation and Incarnation, was discussed by the present writer in Hermathena, the Dublin University journal, of 1908. But the tract has not only value for theological students; it must profoundly interest all religious minds. It may be divided into five parts. Part I, which covers cc. 1-8 inclusive, forms a prologue, and contains a short summary or catechism of the rule of faith and life. The second part embraces cc. 9-29, and supplies an historical sketch of the providential dealing of God with His people, more particularly of His revelation and plan of salvation since the Creation to the Mosaic legislation. The third part (cc. 30-42) gives a summary of prophecies and promises made to Abraham and David fulfilled in and by Christ. Part IV. (cc. 43-85) may be regarded as the Christological section of the tract. It supplies a catena of prophetical passages bearing upon Christ, His Incarnation, Suffering, Death, Resurrection and Ascension. The fifth and concluding portion

(cc. 86—100) is perhaps the most modern in its spirit. Here we have the moral conclusions and spiritual reflections of the writer as he sums up his letter to his friend. Here we have revealed as in a mirror the depth, insight, and true religious fervour and spiritual idealism of the ancient saint who found in his faith in Christ the sheet-anchor of his life, and in his love for Christ the inspiration of his soul. It brings us closer to him than the treatise, which is sublime and unapproachable in many ways. Faith and love were welded together in his inner life as they were in his sentence, "Christ has through our faith in Him developed our love to God and our neighbour, by which we are made religious, righteous and good."

Its Greek title in Eusebius is εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος, " for a proof of the Apostolic Preaching" (eis epideixin toū Apostolikoū Kerugmatos). In Adv. Haer. II. 35, 4, Irenæus refers to "Apostolorum dictatio," among other branches of Catechetical instruction, such as "Domini magisterium," "prophetarum annuntiatio," and "legislationis ministratio." And in c. 46 of this tract Irenæus refers to the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, which might possibly be the well-known Didaché. This tract before us is saturated with the expressions and ideas of the treatise. In c. 47 we have a reference to "the economy of our redemption," and "the economy of the Incarnation" (c. 99), of which Irenæus had spoken in Adv. Haer. I. 10, 1. In c. 47, he says "the holy oil" of Psalm xlv. is "the Holy Spirit with whom Christ is anointed"; while in the Treatise III. 18, 3, he writes: "The Father anointing, the Son anointed, and the Spirit the Unction." "All the principal points of the religious teaching of the great treatise are to be found here," writes Dr. Harnack. "They were not theology, but religion to Irenæus. Echoes of the Gnostic controversy are heard now and again, but the chief object of the book is to point out how Judaism leads up and proves Christianity." The Jews are, indeed, the great proof of Christianity. "The Jews, sir." Marcianus seems to have been wavering between the two and inclined to Judaism. The tract itself throws no new light upon the life of the great Bishop, but it shows how systematic was his mind and how deep and kindly was his interest in his people. As Dr. Harnack says: "We learn from it how strong and living were the thoughts which he had developed in his work, Adversus Haereses." We have an allusion to the treatise in c. 99 of this tract, where he indicates the three groups

of heresies concerning God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. These, he says, he has exposed in "the Refutation and Detection of so-called science." The tract was, accordingly, written after the treatise. There is also a reference to the political situation and the state of the Church in c. 48, where he speaks of "kings who now hate Him and persecute His Name," an allusion to the persecution of Severus (199). The inference is that the tract was composed about that time.

The scriptural quotations of the tract are chiefly from the Old Testament. Some of these are after the version of Justin. Others follow the LXX, and others still show independence of both, and closer relation to the Hebrew. One fact of interest regarding the phrasing of the tract is its use of Justin's works. There are also many affinities, literary and spiritual, with the Church Catechism. Cf. the English Prayer Book.

The introduction contains the address to Marcianus, whose faith Irenæus desires to confirm, and accordingly sends him this little book, The Preaching of the Truth, to have by him as a concise account of all the articles of the faith, or as "all the members of the body of the truth." Marcianus may have had a tendency to lapse back into Judaism. Irenæus says rather pointedly in c. 95: "We dare not return to the first legislation"; and the whole trend of his argument is to prove that the promises to Abraham were fulfilled in Christ and inherited by the Gentiles. The prophecies, therefore, rather than the Gospels are laid under contribution. The Anti-Judaic character of the book may also reflect the style of the earliest catechisms of the Christian Church, and may be compared in this regard with Justin Martyr's Apologia. Prof. Rendel Harris would refer this instruction back to an original work against the Jews, entitled Testimonies Against the Jews.2

The aim of the tract is not merely to inculcate correct belief, but also right conduct. While the treatise is mainly concerned with the speculative aspect of religion, it has chiefly to do with its practical expression. The tract, however, throws an interesting light on Irenæus' doctrine of the "Trinity." That is the basis of the work (see c. 6), as it is of the Church Catechism. Like that Catechism,

¹ Journal of Theological Studies, Sep. 1907, "The Apostolic Preaching of Ireneus," by the present writer.

** Expositor, March, 1907. See also Testimonies, Part I. (Cambridge Press), 1917, by Rendel Harris, with Vacher Burch.

** Apostolic Preaching of Irenaus (Hermathena, 1907), by present writer.

it insists upon personal purity, as well as true belief (c. 2). Like that Catechism, it places Holy Baptism in the forefront of the instruction (c. 3). This chapter (3) is of remarkable interest. The second chapter having concluded with a description of the heretics, "They sit in the seat of the wicked and corrupt those who receive the poison of their teaching," he now proceeds: "Now, in order that we suffer not such (poison) we must hold the canon of the Faith steadfastly, and perform the commandments of God, believing in God, and fearing Him as He is Lord, and loving Him as our Father. Doing proceeds from believing. . . . And now, whereas the faith is the constant preserver of our salvation, it is necessary to pay much attention to it, that we may gain a true insight into the realities. It is the faith that gives us this, the faith as the Elders, the disciples of the apostles, have handed it down to us. First of all, it teaches us to remember that we have received Baptism for the forgiveness of sins in the Name of God the Father, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Who became incarnate and died and rose again, and in the Holy Spirit of God; and that this Baptism is the seal of everlasting life and regeneration into God; so that we are the children of the everlasting God, and that the Eternal and Constant One may be in us . . . and that God may be the Sovereign of all and that all may be of God." 2

"Therefore," he writes in c. 7, "the baptism of our regeneration proceeds through these three points, while God the Father graciously leads us by His Son, through the Holy Spirit, to our regeneration. For they who carry the Spirit of God in themselves are led to the Word, that is, to the Son, but the Son leads them to the Father, and the Father allows them to receive immortality."

With these words compare especially the answers in the first part of the Catechism: (I) "In my Baptism, wherein I was made the child of God"; (2) "that I should renounce the devil and all his works . . . and all the sinful lusts of the flesh . . . that I should believe all the articles of the Christian faith; that I should keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life"; (3) "I heartily thank our heavenly Father that He hath called me to this state of salvation, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. And I pray unto God to give me

 $^{^1}$ Cf. Adv. Haer., V. 36, 1. "The presbyters, the disciples of the Apostles." 2 Cf. "The Gospel of our adoption" (c. 81).

His grace that I may continue in the same unto my life's end."

Also notice that the Catechism bases right conduct upon right belief, and rehearses the Creed before the Commandments. Similarly, Irenæus, in cc. 4, 5, 6, gives a summary with explanations of the true faith in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. This, he says, is the "canon of our belief, the foundation of our building, and the security of our walk." Cf. our Catechism's words: "Walk in the same all the days of my life." And also the words of this tract (c. 1): "It behoves thee, and all who care for their salvation, stedfastly, staunch, and surely to finish the walk by faith."

The conclusion of the tract, cc. 87-100, which seems to be the most important portion of the work, is an expansion of the words of Matthew xxii. 37: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul and with all thy mind"; and the second is like unto it, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." These words are similarly developed in "My duty towards God" and "My duty towards my neighbour" in the Catechism.

"The love of God," Irenæus writes in c. 95, "is far from all sin, and love to one's neighbour works no ill to one's neighbour." Cf. the Greek Fragment (IV) of Irenæus: "In as far as one can do good to one's neighbour, and does it not, he must be considered a stranger to the love of God." This principle is applied to the Decalogue in c. 96, with the same searching inwardness, and love is shown to be the fulfilling of the law (c. 87). In this same chapter he combines the three leading ideas of our Catechism, faith, love, and duty, in one striking phrase: "He has through our faith in Him developed our love to God and to our neighbour, by which we become pious, and righteous, and good." The greater part of the tract is, however, taken up with the Old Testament prophecies relating to the Messiah as Son of God, as Pre-existent, as Incarnate, Crucified, Risen and Ascended, and as our future Judge. This seems to be an expansion of Adv. Haer. IV. 33, 9, et seq., written to prove that Christ fulfilled the words of the prophets. Irenæus explains our Lord's work in the light of the Old Testament as to a Catechumen, and the Scriptures are interpreted in the same allegorical manner of "seeking the type" which he had followed in the treatise. (iv. 31. 1.)

An interesting quotation from Baruch (3, 29-4, r) occurs in c. 97. The principal verse (3, 37), "Afterward did He show Himself upon earth and conversed (or walked) with men," is also cited in

the Treatise IV. 20, 3, and the same application is made in both places, namely, that "through Christ there is union and communion between God and man." Communion with God established through Christ; immortality conferred on man by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and the restoration in man of the image and likeness of God by both the Son and the Holy Spirit—these are the three points round which the mind of Irenæus revolves both in the treatise and the tract. The quotations are given for the most part in the same order and form as in Adv. Haer. IV. 33, 9-14.

The most remarkable statement in the Apostolic Preaching 1 is, that Pontius Pilate was the procurator of Claudius (A.D. 4I-54). This was evidently due to a desire to make the sentence under Pilate coincide with the date required by those who held that our Lord lived over forty years. See Adv. Haer. II. 22, 6: "He was not far from fifty years; and therefore they said unto Him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast Thou seen Abraham?'" (John viii. 57).

There are many echoes of Justin's Apologia and Dialogue, as well as of the treatise, Adversus Haereses, in this tract. We have the same parallels of Mary and Eve, of the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross; the "recapitulation," or summing-up of all things in Christ; the "prophetic Spirit"; the name Immanuel; the jealousy of the Devil; the "indescribable generation" of the Christ. Many of his own phrases slightly altered occur, e.g., "the rule of the truth" becomes "the rule of the faith." The Son is "the image of God" in the tract; in the treatise "the visible of the Father." The perfection of man, the resurrection of the body, its corruption (c. 32, and III. 21, 10, Adv. Haer.), the adoption in Christ, His Incarnation and Virgin Birth, the Church as the seed of Abraham, Adam and Eve in the Garden represented as boy and girl, innocent and virgin created from the virgin soil (Adv. Haer. III. 22, 3), the free-will and responsibility of man, and the founding of the Churches by the Apostles—these topics are treated in the same way in both treatise and tract.

It may be interesting to note that he has taken over from the Gnostics "the seven heavens," of which he writes in the treatise (1, v. 2) and in the tract (c. 9). He has, however, abandoned his old explanation of the name "Satan," which he interpreted as "Apostate" in Adv. Haer. V. 21, 2, but which he here (c. 16)

correctly explains as "adversary." This is doubtless the reason why we do not meet with the *apostasia*, which figures so largely in the treatise, e.g., V. I, I, and which represents in the system of Irenæus the rule of Satan.

An interesting coincidence in phrasing is found in the tract and the Collect for the Third Sunday after Trinity. The Collect is from the Sacramentary of Leo, Bishop of Rome (440), and it runs: "Grant unto all them that are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's religion, etc." In c. 47 of the tract we have: "His fellows are the prophets, the righteous ones, and the apostles, and all who have part in the fellowship of His Kingdom, that is, His disciples."

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK. D.D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ST. JOHN XIX. 11.

(To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN.)

DEAR SIR,—With you I regret the death of the Rev. Werner H. K. Soames since his strictures on my paper on "John xix. II" were written, but I claim the right of a respectful though firm reply thereto.

I. I submit that it is "scholarship" and not "common sense," which is frequently at variance with the evidence of the senses, as in the case of the words of Institution in the Lord's Supper, that can decide "the true meaning" of this passage. Anyway the eminent authorities I adduced in support of my contention were not of this opinion; neither (may I add in all modesty?) are they who have since testified to the conclusiveness of my arguments.

2. I did not disclaim Pilate's "power" as being "ordained by God," for I wrote distinctly (p. 41): "Of course, primarily and ultimately, the power to judge and condemn Christ, to whomsoever given, came from God by actual concession or passive permission—as it does in all exercise of power here below, i.e., directly or indirectly," but my point was, "Why should, and how does, the power given to Pilate directly by God to work out His purposes accentuate the guilt of the deliverer or deliverers?"

3. Mr. Soames further seems to exonerate Pilate from all blame when he asserts that "he could not well avoid 'trying' any one brought before him. Hence he was not to blame (was not sinful) for so doing." But I never held that the act of trial constituted

guilt on Pilate's part, but that the act of condemnation did. What I did write was: "Pilate's guilt lay in his conscious condemnation of an innocent man" (vv. 4, 6). Besides, and this Mr. Soames curiously ignored, the Lord's words themselves attach some degree of blame or sin to Pilate: "He that hath delivered Me unto thee, hath the greater sin." Clearly then a lesser sin was attributed to Pilate, and which, unless it be his unjust condemnation itself? Finally, Mr. Soames asked: "Where is there any difficulty, or anything lacking in such an interpretation?" The "difficulty" is coined by Mr. Soames himself, and what is "lacking" is his strange oversight of the difference between trial and condemnation and his repudiation of a lesser sin in Pilate. Yours very truly,

J. B. McGOVERN.

St. Stephen's Rectory, C.-on-M., Manchester.

QUAKERS AND SLAVERY.

(To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN.)

DEAR SIR,—Bishop Ingham, in his article on "How the Empire Came to Us," rightly says, referring to slavery, "If Quakers and Puritans were concerned with the overflow to America, no less were

they foremost in this matter (of slavery)."

He has, however, made a slip when he goes on to say how "Mr. Thomas Clarkson (a Quaker) happened to see on his College Notice Board at Cambridge that a prize essay was to be competed for on 'The Rights and Wrongs of Slavery.'" It is true that of the twelve individuals who composed the original Anti-Slavery Committee, nine were Quakers, but as a matter of fact, the two personages who came most publicly before the nation in this connection were Churchmen, Clarkson and Wilberforce. It was, however, an American Quaker, John Woolman, whose bi-centenary has just been celebrated, who may be looked upon as the man who first stirred men's consciences on the subject of slavery. He died in England when on a religious visit in this country in the year 1872, ten years before Clarkson wrote his essay at Cambridge.

Quakers, by the way, were of course, like all others who were not members of the Church of England, excluded from the older universities till little more than a generation ago. Yours faithfully,

HUBERT W. PEET.

140, BISHOPSGATE, LONDON, E.C.2.



THE ALLEGED GERMINATION OF MUMMY SEEDS.

By W. GUY JOHNSON.

I N an address on "The History of a Grain of Wheat from the Seed Bed to the Breakfast Table," which was given before the British Association at Cardiff last year, Sir Daniel Hall, F.R.S., chief scientific adviser to the Ministry of Agriculture, said: "When stored some grains of wheat will die within a year, many more in two years, and very few will survive for such a period as ten years. The idea that grains of wheat stored up with mummies in ancient tombs can be made to give a crop is a pure error." Although this has for many years been the practically unanimous opinion of scientific men upon the question, the belief that wheat and other seeds taken from mummy cases will, if planted under proper conditions, germinate, is still widely held. The supposed fact is sometimes used as an illustration of the resurrection, the analogy being obviously more striking in the case of a grain of wheat found in an ancient Egyptian tomb of possibly 5,000 years ago than when the grain of one year is planted the next season and grows in due course. But the fact that seeds do not ordinarily preserve their vitality for any considerable time raises a presumption against too ready an acceptance of alleged instances of the germination of mummy seeds, a presumption which has been greatly strengthened by the discovery of mistake, and in some cases fraud, where such statements have been made on apparently undeniable authority.

The length of time during which seeds can retain the power of growth varies considerably in different cases. The longest period which has been established beyond reasonable doubt is in the case of a Nelumbium water lily from a collection which Sir Hans Sloane deposited in the British Museum. This, according to the late Prof. Daubeny and Mr. W. Carruthers, F.R.S., germinated after having been in the boxes at the Museum for 150 years. But the embryo of the Nelumbium is protected by a very hard perisperm, which protects it against both the evaporation of the fluids of the seed and the destructive agency of the oxygen contained in

the air for a much longer time than is the case with seeds whose embryo, like that of wheat, has only a thin covering and is much nearer the outer surface of the seed.

A very interesting series of experiments upon the vitality of seeds was conducted by a Committee of the British Association from 1841-1856, and reports upon these were issued annually; the whole series, which ranged over a great variety of plants, was summarized in their final report, and can be seen in the Proceedings of the Association for 1857, pp. 43 sqq. The results varied considerably according to the different varieties, but the sudden drop in the vitality of most of them after the age of five or six years is very striking, wheat, in particular, being very short lived. The statement of Sir Daniel Hall that very few grains of wheat will normally survive for ten years is not disputed by any one. following instances selected at random from the eighteen closely printed columns of the report represent generally the results of the experiments, though in the case of some orders the life is longer, and in a few cases the results would suggest differences in the conditions under which the experiments were conducted.

Triticum æstivum		1842 1844 1844	Age. I year 3 yrs. 3 yrs.	No. sown. 300 300 150 ¹	No. grew. 180 163 115
		1844 1849 1857	3 yrs. 8 yrs. 16 yrs.	300² 300 150	140 nil nil
Heliophila araboides	•	1857 1844 1846 1851	16 yrs. 1 yr. 3 yrs. 8 yrs.	300 600 600 600	nil ² 75 165 nil

The order Leguminosæ is apparently better adapted for survival than most, since seeds of various species germinated after the ages of 26, 27, 42 and 43 years; but of the remaining orders, of which nearly two hundred species were experimented on, very few germinated after the eighth year.

The experiments above referred to relate of course only to seeds which have been preserved with due care under ordinary conditions. They do not, therefore, decide the question as to how long a seed will retain its germinating power if conditions specially

¹ In waxed cloth.

² In open jars.

adapted to preservation were to be found. For example, oxygen, though necessary to the exercise of vital function, is also a great cause of the wear and tear or waste of vital energy, and is the main factor in combustion: the rusting of iron being simply a result of the destructive agency of this gas. It may be possible that if seeds could be protected against the action of oxygen, or the effects of excessive moisture, or the evaporation of their vital fluids, or against other causes of decay, their life would be indefinitely prolonged, and it has been supposed that enclosure in a hermetically sealed sarcophagus afforded some such favourable conditions. But admitting that the tomb were so carefully sealed that no oxygen from outside could find entrance, the amount which would necessarily be enclosed, though not large, would, during a long period of years, produce the same result as a greater quantity does in a shorter time. Mr. W. Carruthers, in an article contributed to Nature Notes in January, 1895, said that an examination of the seeds and fruits taken from mummy cases showed that "not only has the embryo been dried up and killed, but the whole substance of the seed or fruit has been slowly oxidized, more or less burnt." The article from which the quotation is taken was entitled "The Germination of Mummy Wheat," and the conclusion of the writer was: "It would be no greater wonder to see the hardened and eviscerated mummy, under favourable treatment, rise up and walk, than to see the grains found in its cerements germinate." This is strongly put, and perhaps need not be taken au pied de la lettre, but the general conclusion derives some weight from the fact that the author is a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was at the time of writing Head of the Botanical Department, Natural History Museum, and President of the Linnean Society. It is clear that if the conditions presented by enclosure in a mummy case were proved to be favourable to the prolongation of the life of a seed, such extension of the lease of life is comparatively small, and does not support belief in germination after periods of from two to five thousand years.

We are not, however, left entirely to conjecture in the matter, for a number of experiments under proper conditions have been made upon the germinating power of seeds found in the tombs of ancient Egypt, and although these were not upon the scale of those carried out by the British Association, yet they have been sufficiently

numerous to leave no doubt in the minds of people accustomed to weigh evidence. Prof. P. E. Newberry, F.R.S., who, as a botanist, accompanied Dr. Flinders Petrie on some of his expeditions in Egypt, with a view to reporting on the vegetable remains found in the course of his discoveries, told the writer many years ago that it was important that an expert Egyptologist should be present at the opening of the mummy case in order to be assured that it had not been tampered with, and that the seeds should then be given to a botanical expert to be experimented upon by him. A great many experiments were made on seeds found at Hawara and elsewhere by Prof. Newberry, who is an authority on botany and Egyptology, in conjunction with Dr. Flinders Petrie, but in no case did germination take place. A reference will be found to these experiments on p. 53 of Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe, published by the British School of Archæology in Egypt. Dr. Flinders Petrie told me recently that he had himself made a number of similar experiments, but without result.

The following paragraph from the Standard of September 21,1894, gives a note of an experiment which was conducted with considerable care, and although it is hardly sufficient of itself to "decide" the question, it gave valuable confirmatory support to the negative opinion which had long been held.

"An experiment on Lord Winchilsea's 'Cable' farm has just decided the oft-mooted question whether or not the mummy wheat found in the Egyptian tombs really possesses the germ of life. A few months ago Lord Sheffield, on his return from Egypt, gave Lord Winchilsea a handful of wheat which he had himself taken from a sarcophagus containing a mummy. One hundred of these grains were carefully planted under a glass frame. The result was awaited with interest by those who knew of the experiment, but after some weeks the seeds were discovered to have rotted away."

The experiment was commented upon in an interesting leading article in the same issue of the *Standard* by a writer who was obviously acquainted with the subject, and his judgment was that there was no authenticated instance of the germination of mummy seeds. He said further: "Wonderful tales have been told of buried seeds springing up after being in the soil, it may have been, for ages. But the exact circumstances under which the seeds were found have never been so fully investigated as to render

the acceptance of such stories safe. On the other hand it is certain that wherever a well authenticated sample of ancient seed has been examined, the result has been invariably the same. It has not sprouted."

The subject has, however, been approached by a French naturalist, M. Edmond Gain, from another direction, that of microscopic examination and chemical analysis of the seeds, but with the same result. He contributed a paper entitled "Sur les embryons du blé et de l'orge pharaoniques" to the Académie des Sciences, Paris, which was published in the *Proceedings* of that body for 1900 (vol. 130, pp. 1,643-6). His conclusion was as follows:

"I. Les Céréales pharaoniques, malgré leur apparence extérieure de bonne conservation, ne possèdent plus une organisation cellulaire

compatible avec un réveil germinatif.

"2. Leurs réserves sont souvent chimiquement bien conservées et utilisables par un germe viable, mais l'embryon a subi une transformation chimique très accentuée et n'est plus viable. Cette altération chimique indique même que la vie ralentie du grain est abolie depuis très longtemps.

"La conclusion, en ce qui concerne le blé et l'orge pharaoniques, est donc contraire a ce qu'admettait Alphonse de Candolle,

et aprês lui quelques traités classiques."

It is true that the late Dr. John Lindley at one time expressed a belief in the possibility of seeds retaining their power of germination for an indefinite time, and as he was not only a botanist of great distinction, but also a member of the Committee of the British Association referred to above, his opinion cannot be dismissed lightly. It must, however, be said that he does not appear to have based it on any observations or experiments of his own, but upon statements the details of which he had not personally investigated, and that Prof. Daubeny and Prof. G. Henslow, both members of the same Committee, expressed a directly contrary opinion, and it would be difficult now to find a botanist of any eminence who shared his view. The late Sir Joseph D. Hooker wrote very definitely: "I am of opinion that there is no truth in the assertion that wheat taken from mummy cases in Egypt and 4,000 years [old] (or even 1,000) has germinated." Hugh Macmillan, the author of Bible Teachings in Nature, and of some other books of a semi-scientific kind, did, it is true, countenance the popular belief, and the wide circulation of his books gave additional currency to it; but in reply to an inquiry on the subject he wrote:

"I may state that my views regarding the statements about the germination of seeds in my books to which you allude have undergone considerable modification. Whatever countenance I may seem by my remarks to have given to the popular belief that mummy wheat has germinated, I should now entirely withdraw. I believe it has been proved beyond doubt that the originators of the idea were cheated by the crafty substitution unobserved of recent wheat for the grains of old wheat found in mummy cases. Arabs have sold to credulous travellers as coming out of the same tombs as this ancient wheat dahlia bulbs and maize grains—implying that the Pharaohs 3,000 years ago must have been in commercial relations with America, from which these bulbs and seeds came! Experiments made under proper conditions, by properly qualified scientific men, upon authentic seeds have in every case signally failed. They seem as dead as a door nail."

The words just quoted explain the growth of the popular belief. In some cases Arabs have sold to credulous travellers seeds and other things alleged to have been taken from ancient tombs. In others these have been placed there beforehand so that they might be taken out before the eyes of the purchaser. At least one instance is known of fraud on the part of the gardener in England to whom the seeds were entrusted for experiment (Journal of Botany, Jan., 1879). In another case, where no fraud is alleged, a find of wheat was discovered to have been stored in some common corn jars in Cairo, which might well have contained a few grains of the ordinary stock (Nature Notes, Aug. 15, 1890). There is in every case either direct proof of fraud, or some loophole for innocent mistake, or else a defect of evidence necessary to establish the fact beyond reasonable doubt.

For some further details as to how accident, mistake, or fraud has given rise to the popular view on this subject, reference should be made to the articles by Professor G. Henslow and Mr. Carruthers in *Nature Notes*, which have been quoted above; and also a brief but most interesting paper on the subject by Professor Flinders Petrie, F.R.S., in *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, part 2. In this paper Professor Petrie mentions the case of some unopened mummy coffins which were presented by Ismail Pasha to a great personage in England. When opened over here, grains of wheat were found in it, some of which grew. On inquiry being made it was found that the coffins had been stored in the stables in Egypt and had

been seen with the corn heap run over them. Any crack or warp in the lid would easily allow of the entrance of seeds, and these when taken out and planted would, naturally enough, germinate.

With regard to the statement on page 181 that plants of the order Leguminosae are better adapted for survival than most, there is, of course, no evidence or probability that their seeds will retain the power of germination for a period nearly as long as that considered in this paper. It is desirable to mention this, as mummy peas have been as much cited in this connection as mummy wheats. Mr. Arthur W. Sutton has informed me, since this paper was in print, that there is a well-known type of garden pea called the "Mummy," or Crown Flowered, Pea, botanically known as Pisum umbellatum. This pea, as its name implies, bears its flowers in a cluster or umbel at the top of a long flattened or fasciated stem. It has been grown for at least forty or fifty years in the Trial grounds at Reading, and every few years correspondents, hearing of so-called "mummy" peas, have sent samples with stories of the seeds having been taken out from Mummy cases, though the evidence breaks down on investigation.

I should like to express here my grateful appreciation of the unvarying kindness shown to me by those whom I have consulted at different times when looking up this question. The names of some have been mentioned above. To these should be added, Dr. A. B. Rendle, F.R.S., of the Natural History Museum; Miss Murray, of the British School of Egyptian Archæology; Mr. Watson, Curator, and Mr. Skan, Librarian, at Kew. To Mr. Skan I am especially indebted for directing me to M. Edmond Gain's paper in the Proceedings of the Académie des Sciences.

The matter is perhaps not of great practical importance, and it has been long settled so far as the botanical world is concerned; but, though perhaps at the cost of disturbing long-cherished beliefs, it is as well to correct unfounded impressions. If ostriches do not bury their heads in the sand on the approach of danger, and if mummy wheat will not grow, it is better not to draw on them for illustrations, even if speeches and sermons may lose something that is familiar and picturesque by the omission.

LINKS BETWEEN THE GOSPELS OF ST. JOHN AND ST. MARK.

By A. C. CURTIS-HAYWARD, B.A.

HE difficulty of reconciling the events recounted in the Gospel of St. John with those related by the other three Evangelists has most commonly been met by endeavours to fit the incidents recorded in the Fourth Gospel into gaps alleged to exist in the Synoptic narrative. It is the object of the present paper to suggest that a better solution may be found by reversing the process, and inquiring whether some of the incidents recorded by the Synoptics and presumed to have occurred in Galilee, the scene to which the greater part of their narrative seems to belong, did not in fact take place in or near Jerusalem, and should be fitted into the story of the Judæan ministry, which is the special province of the Fourth Gospel.

The first question to be considered is, whether the sequence of events in our Lord's ministry as depicted in the Synoptic Gospels justifies us in concluding that these occurred at the times and places which their proximity in the order of the narrative might seem to suggest. The verdict of modern New Testament scholars upon the composition of the three first Gospels concludes: That, broadly speaking, the events of our Lord's life, as distinguished from His teaching, and excepting some passages derived from special sources, are taken by the authors of the First and Third Gospels from the narrative supplied by St. Mark. The order of the latter is on the whole preserved in both the First and Third Gospels, though more carefully in St. Luke than St. Matthew. In both of these, but in St. Matthew especially, words have in some cases been added suggesting connexion between incidents as to time and place, not indicated in St. Mark. These seem to be due to considerations of literary style, a preference for a closely knit continuous story in place of the rather jerky effect of a series of loosely connected events, characteristic of some parts of St. Mark's narrative, and it appears very doubtful whether the authors of these two Gospels, who relied upon Mark for their facts, had any ground for making these comparatively trifling additions other

than a desire to cultivate smoothness of diction. We need not here speak of the various reasons which have led scholars to the conclusion that our First Gospel was not written by an Apostle or any other eye-witness. It is enough to point out how impossible it is to conceive that anyone who had been in close companionship with our Lord, and thus had first-hand knowledge of the events recorded, would have preferred to use the second-hand record of St. Mark rather than his own personal recollection. The author of St. Luke's Gospel admittedly was not an eye-witness. As to the composition of the Second Gospel the very early well-known tradition recorded by Papias is so important for the present purpose, that it will be useful to quote it here: "Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately-not, however, in order-as many as he remembered of the things spoken or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor attended on Him, but afterwards, as I said, attended on Peter, who used to give him instructions according to what was required, but not as giving an orderly exposition of the Lord's words. So that Mark made no mistake in writing down some things as he recalled them. For he paid heed to one point, namely, not to leave out any of the things he had heard, or to say anything false in regard to them." If this description is correct, and there is nothing to contradict it recorded elsewhere, it disposes of any idea that because two incidents are found to follow one another in St. Mark's Gospel we must necessarily conclude that they occurred at nearly the same time or place; and any links which have been added by other Evangelists who followed his narrative do not carry the matter any further. It is, therefore, open to us to conjecture with reasonable probability that events, which owing to their position in the Second Gospel, have been assumed to have occurred in Galilee, did in fact take place in Judæa, if there are other circumstances which lead to this conclusion. We now have to consider whether such circumstances exist.

In John ii. 13 it is said that Jesus went up to Jerusalem to the Passover. Nothing definite is recorded in this Gospel about His doings there, except the Cleansing of the Temple, and the Conversation with Nicodemus. There is, however, a general indication of an active ministry in verses 23–25, which tell us that "when he was in Jerusalem at the Passover during the Feast, many believed in His Name, beholding the signs which He did." Nicodemus also

refers to "these signs that Thou doest" in the next chapter, but no particulars are given. In Chapter iii. there is a section (verses 22-30) beginning: "After these things came Tesus and His disciples into the land of Judæa, and there He tarried with them and baptized." This section reads awkwardly where it stands, interrupting the Evangelist's reflections on the conversation with Nicodemus, of which verses 31-36 seem to be the continuation. It is noticeable that the word $\tilde{a}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ appears in the first sentence. "He that cometh from above," etc., which might be called the key-word of the conversation. It has been suggested that the section (22-30) has somehow got displaced. This and other supposed dislocations in St. John's Gospel are the subject of a book by Mr. F. Warburton Lewis, Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel," who proposes to insert the displaced section so as to come in before verse 13 of Chapter ii. If this transposition is made it places the commencement of our Lord's ministry—" in the land of Judæa "—earlier than the visit to Jerusalem for the Passover recorded in ii. 13, which would then occur as an incident in a general Judæan ministry, thus considerably extending the period of such ministry. But even taking the text as it stands without alteration this ministry must have covered a period of about eight months, elapsing between the Passover and the end of the year, because we read in Chapter iv. that on His way back to Galilee, when passing through Samaria, Jesus speaks of the time as being four months from the harvest, which shows that it was winter when he quitted Judæa. It seems, therefore, that this visit to Southern Palestine occupied a very considerable part, perhaps about one-fourth, of the whole period of His ministry on earth, and that as the result of it He attracted a number of adherents sufficiently large to be described, as we shall see later, as "a great multitude," and that these were collected, not only from Jerusalem and Judæa, but also from the district beyond Jordan and from Idumea. If this is true how are we to account for the silence of St. John as to the events of this period, and especially the absence of any particulars of "the signs" stated in ii. 23 to have produced so great an effect? This silence is the more remarkable seeing that the fourth Evangelist appears to be specially concerned with the Judæan ministry, and did not think it

¹ The subject of this book was discussed by Chancellor P. V. Smith in the Churchman for March, 1929.

necessary to repeat the events given in the earlier Gospels, and assumed to be Galilean? May not the answer be, that he omitted these particulars for the very same reason, namely, that he found them in the Markan record and repeated by the other Synoptists? Some recent commentators have testified to a growing opinion that most of the controversies between Jews and the Pharisees recorded by St. Mark occurred, not as has been supposed in Galilee, but at Jerusalem.

In particular Mr. Warburton Lewis has pointed to Mark ii. 18iii. 6, recording three incidents, which he says "smack of Judæa
and Jerusalem controversy." In this section there are no indications
as to the time and place proper to these incidents, beyond what has
been inferred from the order of their narration in the Gospel, which,
as has been before pointed out, cannot be treated as a reliable
criterion. There is also here no statement, as in some other passages
of the same Gospel, that the Pharisees concerned had "come from
Jerusalem." With regard to that phrase, where it occurs elsewhere,
it may be that we must allow for the possibility that a copyist
found in the text "Pharisees in Jerusalem", but being imbued
with the belief that the Markan record was peculiar to Galilee,
honestly thought he was correcting a mistake by substituting the
other phrase in his copy.

Let us now deal with the three incidents on the assumption that they occurred not in Galilee but in the South. First, there is the controversy with John's disciples and the Pharisees about fasting, which may have had some connexion with the discussion in John iii. about purifying. Second, the complaint of the Pharisees about Jesus' disciples plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath. And, Third, the healing on the Sabbath of the man with the withered hand. This last caused such a violent outburst of antagonism that we read "the Pharisees went out and straightway with the Herodians took counsel how they might destroy Him." It must be evident that from this moment the neighbourhood in which these Pharisees had influence was no longer a safe place for Jesus to remain in, and it would be natural to suppose He would leave it as soon as possible. That is what we find He in fact did, because in John iv. I we read: "When therefore the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John, he left Judæa, and departed into Galilee." This can hardly

be interpreted to mean anything else than that, owing to hostility of the Pharisees. Jesus felt constrained to quit Judæa and go to a place less under their influence, namely, Galilee, where He could rely on popular protection. If we are to believe that the incidents recorded in this section occurred in Galilee, and that the Pharisees had already taken the extraordinary step of allying themselves with the Herodians, their bitter enemies, obviously Galilee, within Herod's jurisdiction, could no longer be a place of refuge. It is, however, hardly imaginable that the Pharisees would have entered into such an alliance at the first stage of their proceedings, and the other Gospels do not mention it. It seems more probable that such a revolting expedient was only adopted as a last resource; that the Pharisees, finding that Jesus had escaped them, as related in John iv. 1, by retiring into Herod's jurisdiction, thought it necessary in order to carry out their plans to invoke the aid of The text of Mark iii. 6 may, therefore, be a Herod's adherents. conflation of two facts happening at different dates, namely the original determination to destroy Jesus, and a subsequent alliance with Herodians. This view of the sequence of events is quite in accordance with what took place later, after the unnatural alliance of Pharisees with Herodians had been consummated. It was not till after Herod's fears had been stirred up that the freedom of our Lord's movements in Galilee becomes restricted. After this He appears to evade observation by the authorities. First he goes into the desert, next to the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, thence to Cæsarea Philippi, and later to Decapolis, all outside Herod's jurisdiction. Subsequently, when He has to pass through Galilee, we read in Mark ix. 30: "He would not that any man should know it." All this is quite consistent, and gives a perfectly reasonable and connected story. The opposite view is not so consistent, as we will now endeavour to show.

Immediately following Mark iii. 6, recording the hostile determination of the Pharisees, we read in verse 7: "And Jesus with the disciples withdrew to the sea." The close connexion of these verses certainly conveys the impression that the withdrawal was necessitated by the hostile attitude of the Pharisees. This is more expressly stated in the parallel account of Matthew xii. 15: "And Jesus perceiving it (i.e., the Pharisees' counsel how they might destroy Him) withdrew from thence." But if we are to understand

that the miracle which evoked the Pharisaic wrath occurred in Galilee, and the alliance with the Herodians had already been formed, a withdrawal to such a public place as the Galilean lake would surely have been a futile resource.

The same verse 7, with the next two, go on to describe the composition of the crowd that accompanied Jesus; they were not only Galileans, but people from Southern and Eastern Palestine, and also from the regions of Tyre and Sidon. Here and also in Chapter iii. 1, there are slight differences of reading in the Greek text, which, although they may appear trifling, are worthy of notice because they may indicate the same tendency of copyists to remove St. Mark's ambiguity about locality. In verse I both Authorized and Revised Versions translate—" And He entered again into the Synagogue "—adopting the text which has the article $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu$. But this is not found in all texts, and its authenticity is so doubtful that Westcott and Hort and others have excluded it from their In St. John's Gospel the word "synagogue" occurs only twice (vi. 59 and xviii. 20), in both cases without the article, the omission implying that no particular synagogue is referred to, but merely that something happened "in synagague"—just as we should say "in church." A copyist, imbued with the idea that the Synagogue at Capernaum was meant in Mark iii. 1, would naturally add the article to fix the place as the synagogue which Jesus frequented. The other doubtful reading which occurs in verse 7 is again an article—oî. This is rejected by the R.V., but accepted, rightly, as we should contend, by the A.V. The statement that Jesus was followed by "a great multitude from Galilee and from Judæa and from Jerusalem and from Idumea and beyond Jordan" implies personal contact with Jesus by the inhabitants of all these districts, and that He had carried on an extensive ministry in Southern and Eastern Palestine. If the article oi be retained, a distinction will appear between those who followed Jesus from their own personal knowledge of His teaching and those who knew Him only from hearsay-namely, "they about Tyre and Sidon, a great multitude hearing what great things He did, came unto Him." This is the A.V. translation. The R.V., by omitting of links up the people who came from Tyre and Sidon with those who followed Jesus from Galilee and the South, as though they formed part of the same multitude, thus rendering the repetition of the words "a great multitude"

redundant, and ignoring the fact that the sentence has two verbs, "followed," which is applicable to personal adherents, Southerners being here in the same category with Galileans, and "came," which distinguishes a different class, namely, people from Tyre and Sidon, who had no previous experience of our Lord's teaching. The awkwardness of this construction, then, has to be relieved by inserting, quite gratuitously, a colon after the word "followed." The omission of oi in some MSS, here may have been due to the same cause as the addition of $\tau \hat{\eta} \nu$ in the earlier passage referred to, namely, a belief that Mark 1 had no record of an early Judæan ministry which would justify a distinction being drawn between friends made in the South and strangers from the North, who had no personal knowledge of the Master.

The conclusion here advocated is that there are a good many incidents in St. Mark's Gospel, possibly more than have been specially referred to above, which may with great probability be located in Jerusalem or Southern Palestine, without doing violence to the text, and that some apparent inconsistencies between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists will in that case be removed, and, in particular, the difficulty that the Synoptic record seems to allow for a ministry of one year only, while St. John requires a period of three years at least. We may think of St. Mark as having treasured up in his mind many things about our Lord which were told him by St. Peter, and that his attention was chiefly directed to faithful repetition of what had been related to him, possibly on many different occasions, and he may have had no means of arranging them with the strict accuracy as to time and place, which would only be possible for an eye-witness to do. A critical examination of the text seems fully to confirm what tradition has alleged about the manner in which his Gospel was composed.

A. C. CURTIS-HAYWARD.

¹ We may find another instance in Luke iv. 44, where the reading, "He was preaching in all the synagogues of Judæa"—found in most of the best MSS., has been altered in others to—"the synagogues of Galilee." Note also that the accusation before Pilate includes a charge: "He stirreth up the people throughout all Judæa" (Luke xxiii. 5).

EARLY CHRISTIANITY OF IRELAND.

II.

ST. COLUMBA-521-597.

BY THE REV. S. HARVEY GEM, M.A.

alleged to be A.D. 521. "Colum" meant a dove, in Latin, "Columba." "Columbal" in Gaelic signified "Columba of the Church." He was descended from royal races both on his father's and on his mother's side. His father's family were Neills, now represented by the O'Donnells. After studying in various parts of Ireland under some of the most learned teachers of the day, he was ordained priest. Returning to his native region, he founded a monastery at what is now Derry or Londonderry. The spot was called Daire Calguish, from an oak grove there, whence came the name of Derry. Some springs in the neighbourhood are still called St. Columb's Wells. Not very long after he founded another monastery, that of Durrow, also named from an oak grove. This was near the centre of Ireland. There again there is a well that commemorates Columba.

During the remaining years of his sojourn in Ireland he established several other monasteries, the most noted of which was Kells in Westmeath. Some sensational legends, which implicate the Saint in connection with an Irish battle, need not be repeated here, as they are not considered authentic by expert students, and can be read in modern accounts of his life.

When about the age of forty, he decided to go out as a missionary. He chose the South-West of North Britain to begin with, as there was already a settlement of his countrymen there in the region which is now Argyllshire. The Irish were then called Scoti, and from them, eventually, North Britain obtained the name of Scotland. That country was at this period known as Alba, or Alban, a Gaelic word.

He took twelve companions with him, and trusting themselves to an osier boat, covered with oxhide, and propelled by sail and

¹ The first article in this series, "Early Christianity of Ireland: St. Patrick—432-461," appeared in the Churchman for January.

oars, they landed on the south-west coast, and obtained from the chieftain or king the grant of the island of Iona. The spot where they went ashore on this, is still called "Port na Curaich," the bay of the coracle. An island was probably chosen as affording retirement after missionary excursions. Security it did not guarantee, for during the early monastic age, massacres of the brethren by the Danes are recorded on three occasions. The Irish called it "red martyrdom" to die for Christ and "white martyrdom" to live and endure bravely for Him."

The island of Iona was at first called Iou. Adamnan the eighth successor of Columba, who wrote his life, Latinized the name by adding an "a," making it Ioua, and mediaeval scribes mistaking the "u," changed this letter into "n," whence the later designation of "Iona." "It is a pleasant little island, three miles and a quarter long from north to south, and a mile across the middle. There are hill and dell, wet heathery upland and fertile plain, sea-cliff and silvery sand. Only a few small trees exist, and all near man's habitations. The arable land is a belt across the island." The monks were careful in observing the usual hours of prayer, which included a service at midnight, but were active in bodily labour, and besides their farming, they occupied themselves in fishing, boatbuilding, carpentry, and metal work. The copying of manuscripts was a constant task, and great skill in illuminating these in colours was attained. Designs of interlaced colours were characteristic of the Celtic books, and the so-called book of Kells, attributed to the eighth century, shows the continuance of this elaborate art. Thus Iona was by no means destitute of learning, and Adamnan, the biographer of Columba, was a wellread student.

In making his missionary start from the South-West, Columba was not altogether among heathen, and we ought to notice that two saintly men had reached Argyllshire before him: St. Kieran, who has been regarded as the patron saint of that shire, and St. Brendan. They do not appear, however, to have settled there permanently, but to have subsequently visited Columba. But

¹ This quotation is from a most interesting book, by the Rev. E. C. Trenholme, S.S.J.E., *The Story of Iona*. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1909. It has excellent photographs, taken by Miss Richmond, granddaughter of the well-known Evangelical Rector of Turvey, Legh Richmond, who had visited Iona, and won the regard of the islanders.

Columba's settlement in Iona was intended from the first to be permanent, a citadel from which his monks could go forth from age to age for their holy war. There, apart from the turmoil of earthly life, the brethren could prepare themselves by lonely prayer, and secret self-discipline, for their beneficent incursions into a world lying in wickedness. For of course they well knew that their future efficiency to help on others must be preceded by efforts after holiness in their own hearts and characters. In that solitude, broken only by the cry of the sea-gull and the roar of the waves, they might hope, after the example of St. John, to receive some visions of the heavenly world, and to hear from above the celestial message which they were to bear into far different scenes. Yet even there, the life of the brethren could not be entirely hidden. Their neighbours on the mainland soon began to ask what that life could be, what mysterious secret could lie behind it, which combined so successfully heavenly aspirations with earthly labour. and frequently loud cries were heard from the other side of the straits. These shouts were the signal for the monastery boat to put across and ferry the strangers over to the island, strangers coming with different motives, some to seek alms, or medicines for illness, others with the genuine desire to be taught to commune with spiritual things."

Though at first the companions of Columba consisted only of the twelve whom he had brought from Ireland, it was not long before they received numerous accessions from the British and even the Saxon tribes. Eventually it became necessary to send off colonies to the neighbouring isles, and to the mainland, to found monasteries and to build churches, and though these were chiefly of wooden construction, and therefore very simple, they were no less effective for spiritual uses, and all of them owned allegiance to the Abbot of Iona.

In all these good influences the Abbot Columba was an excellent leader. He was foremost alike in prayer and in work. He had many natural gifts which fitted him in an eminent degree for his enterprise. He was not less a man because called to be a saint. "Tall of stature, of a vigorous and athletic frame, of a ruddy and joyous countenance, he possessed an extraordinary power of winning the love of all with whom he came in contact. He was celebrated also for the strength of his voice, which could be heard at an amazing

distance. He could render aid in any emergency. He could guide the boat, grind the corn in the handmill, arrange the medicine for the sick, and overlook and share the farm work, just as well as he could exercise a refined delicacy in the copying of manuscripts."

After a while, a great opportunity occurred of bringing the sanctifying influences of religion to bear upon secular affairs. On the death of the King of South-Western Scotland, and the succession of a relative, the ceremony of consecration was performed by Columba himself in the monastery of Iona: an event which marks the beginning of a subsequent monarchy of Scotland. Later on, many of the Kings of Scotland were buried in the sacred soil of Iona.

But Caledonia was very far as yet from being under the rule of one predominant King, and the tribes which inhabited it were widely divided from each other. The intrepid Columba was not satisfied to labour only among the South-Western tribes that had come from his own beloved Ireland; he decided to penetrate into the northern regions of Britain. We are to recognize, however, says Bishop Stubbs, that his attempt to Christianize Northern Britain was only one attempt among others, but we must allow that it was the greatest. With a few companions Columba climbed the wild mountains of central Scotland, crossed Loch Ness in a frail skiff, and penetrated to Craig Phadrick near what is now Inverness, where the Northern chieftain-ruler of the fierce Picts held his court.

Receiving him somewhat unwillingly at first, the chieftain eventually permitted the exercise of his missionary labours, and defended him against the enmity of the Druids. Columba penetrated the wild defiles of the mountains, preaching the Word of God, sometimes with, sometimes without the aid of an interpreter. But even the dangers of North Britain were not sufficient for the energy of the Saint and his hardy companions. "Committing themselves to their boats of osier covered with skins, they braved the perils of the Northern Sea, and carried the message of the Cross as far as the Orkney Islands." In the island of Skye memorials of the visit of Columba exist to this day, in the names of the bay called Loch Columkill, and the islands called Gilean Columkill. Nor was this all; for according to traditions accepted by Dr. Maclear and others, the disciples of Columba learnt to despise the terrors of the open sea, and navigated their frail vessels to the Shetland and Faroe

¹ Maclear: Apostles of Mediæval Europe.

Islands. Besides their coracles, they used boats formed out of trees hollowed out.

The life written by Adamnan shows, among other points, the interest which Columba had learnt from the Gospel of Christ to take in the poor, and in working people who in those days were regarded as of small account. This appears an important point, as showing the leavening effect of Christianity.

"A certain blacksmith was living in the central portion of Ireland (then called Scotland), very intent on almsdeeds, and abounding in other acts of righteousness; when this man, surnamed Coilrigin, was come to his latter end in a good old age, in the same hour in which he was led forth from the body, St. Columba, then living in the island of Iona, thus spoke to some few seniors who were standing around: 'Coilrigin, the blacksmith, has not laboured in vain; for out of the labour of his own hands has he, a happy purchaser, obtained eternal rewards. For, behold, now is his soul carried by holy angels to the joys of the heavenly country. For whatever he was able to acquire by the business of his craft, he spent upon alms for the poor'' (p. 118).

In like manner, at another time, the holy man, while living in the island of Iona, one day, raising his eyes to heaven, spoke these words: "Happy woman, happy for thy holy life, whose soul even now the holy angels of God are carrying to Paradise!" Now there was a certain religious brother, an Englishman, and a baker, engaged in baker's work, who had heard this word proceeding from the mouth of the Saint. And on the same day of the month, at the end of that year, the Saint says to the same man, Genese the Saxon, "I see a wonderful thing. Behold, the woman I spoke of a year ago in thy presence is now meeting in the air the soul of a certain peasant, her husband, and together with holy angels is fighting for that soul against hostile powers; by their assistance, and the righteousness of the same poor man recommending him, his soul is snatched from the contentions of demons and led through to the place of eternal refreshment."

An incident in the last hours of Columba shows his tenderness to the inferior creatures, a tenderness which, in that rough and cruel age, he must have learnt from the sanctifying influences of Christianity. But in his previous life we find the following incident related by Adamnan. The prophetic part may be legendary, but

the kernel of the story sounds real, and it would be unlikely to be a mere invention.

"While the Saint was living in the island of Iona, he calls one of the brethren to him, and thus addresses him, on the third day from this that is breaking. Thou oughtest to sit on the sea-shore, and look out in the western part of the island; for from the northern part of Ireland, a certain guest, a crane to wit, beaten by the winds during long and circuitous aerial flights, will arrive after the ninth hour of the day, very weary and fatigued, and its strength being almost gone, it will fall down before thee, and lie on the beach. Thou wilt take care to lift it up tenderly, and carry it into some neighbouring house; and whilst it is there hospitably received, thou wilt diligently feed it, attending to it for three days and three nights, and then, unwilling to sojourn with us any longer, it will return with fully recovered strength to its former sweet home in Ireland, whence it came, and I so earnestly commend it to thee, because it comes from our Fatherland. The brother obeys—when it is come,—fallen, he lifts it from the beach; weak, he bears it to the hospice; hungry, he feeds it; and when he has returned to the monastery in the evening, the Saint says, 'God bless thee, my son, for that thou hast well attended to our stranger guest, which will not tarry long in its wanderings, but after three days will return to its native land.' And after being lodged three days, it first lifted itself up on high by flying from the earth in the presence of its ministering host; then after looking out its way in the air for a little while, it crossed the ocean wave and returned to Ireland in a straight course of flight on a calm day."

After thirty years' labour in Britain the holy Columba was anxious to pass away to his rest with the Lord. But for the sake of the churches, he was, as he says himself, delayed for four more years.

"He told his disciples that for many days he had been praying for his release, that he might go to his heavenly Fatherland. But, as he added, the prayers of many churches had gone up to God that he might stay longer with them, and four years were added to his life. At the completion of the four years his end was approaching. One day, in the month of May, the old man, now worn out with age, was drawn in a cart to visit the brethren at work in the western part of the island, about a mile from the monastery, and calling to them he began to say, 'During the Paschal solemnities in April,

with desire I desired to depart to the Lord Christ, as He had granted I should if I preferred it. But lest the festival of joy should be turned for you into mourning, I wished to put off for a while longer the day of my departure from the world'" (v. Bp. Dowden, pp. 112-20). And then, still seated in the cart, he turned his face to the east and blessed both the island and them that dwelt therein. When he had finished the words of blessing he was carried back to the monastery. (For these last days, see the Life of Columba, by Adamnan, edited by Dr. Fowler, from which some of these passages are quoted.)¹

And so the venerable man at the end of the same week, that is on the Sabbath day (Saturday), himself and his dutiful attendant Diormit, go to bless the granary, which was close at hand. On entering which, when he blessed both it and two heaps of corn that were stored therein, he uttered these words with giving of thanks, saying, "I greatly congratulate the monks of my household that this year also, if I should have to depart from you to any place, ye will have enough for the year." On hearing this saying, Diormit his attendant began to be sorrowful, and to speak thus: "In the course of this year, Father, thou art often making us sorrowful, because thou so frequently makest mention of thy departure." The venerable man in the next place thus speaks: "This day is in the sacred volumes called Sabbath, which is, being interpreted, Rest. And for me this day is a Sabbath indeed, because it is the last day of this my present laborious life, in which I take my rest after all the weariness of my labours. And in the middle of this most solemn night (eve) of the Lord's day that is now coming, according to the saying of the Scriptures, 'I shall go the way of my fathers.' For even now my Lord Jesus Christ deigneth to invite me, to Whom, I say, in the middle of this night, I shall depart, at His invitation. For thus it hath been revealed unto me by the Lord Himself." The attendant on hearing these sad words began to weep bitterly, but the Saint endeavoured to console him as well as he could.

After this, the Saint goes out of the granary, and, returning to the monastery, sits down at the half-way, in which place a cross, afterwards fixed in a millstone, and standing at this day, is to be seen on the side of the road. And while the Saint, feeble with age, as I said before, sat down for a little while and rested in that place,

¹ Adamni Vita S. Columbae, with translation; edited by Dr. Fowler, F.S.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

behold! there comes up to him the white horse, that faithful servant that used to carry the milk-pails between the cow-pasture (or byre?) and the monastery. This creature then coming up to the Saint, wonderful to say, putting its head in his bosom, knowing that his master would soon depart from him, and that he would see his face no more, began to utter plaintive moans, and, as if a man, to shed tears in abundance into the Saint's lap, and so to weep. Which when the attendant saw, he began to drive away that weeping mourner; but the Saint forbad him, saying, "Let him alone! As he loves me so, let him alone; that into this my bosom he may pour out the tears of his most bitter lamentation. Behold! thou, even seeing that thou art a man, and hast a rational soul, couldest in no way know anything about my departure, except what I myself have lately shown to thee; but to this brute animal, destitute of reason, in what way soever the Maker Himself hath willed, He hath revealed that his master is about to go away from him." And, so saying, he blessed his sorrowing servant the horse, then turning about to go away from him.

And going forth thence, he ascended the little hill that overlooks the monastery, and stood for a little while on the top of it, and, standing with both hands lifted up, he blessed the monastery, saying, "To this place, small and mean though it be, not only the Scotic kings (Irish and Dalriadic) with their peoples, but also the rulers of strange and foreign nations, with the people subject to them, shall bring great and extraordinary honour; by the Saints also of other churches shall no common reverence be shown."

The Saint then enters the church for the evening mass of the Lord's day (eve), and as soon as this is over he returns to his cell, where he had bare rock for his bedding, and a stone for his pillow, which at this day is standing by his grave as a kind of sepulchral monument; and he sits on the bed through the night. And so, there sitting, he gives his last commands to the brethren, in the hearing of his attendant only; saying, "These last words, O my children, I commend unto you; that ye have mutual and unfeigned charity among yourselves, with peace. And if, according to the example of the holy fathers, ye shall attend to this, God, the Comforter of good men, will help you; and I, abiding with Him, will intercede for you. And not only shall the necessaries of this present life be sufficiently supplied by Him, but He will also bestow those

rewards of eternal riches, which are laid up for them that keep His Divine laws." Thus far we have drawn up, recounted in a short paragraph, the last words of our venerable patron, spoken just as he was passing over from this weary pilgrimage unto the heavenly country.

After which, as his happy last hour gradually approached, the Saint was silent. Then, in the next place, in the middle of the night, at the sound of the ringing of the bell, he rises in haste and goes to the church; and, running more quickly than the rest, he enters alone, and on bended knees falls down in prayer beside the "altar." So Diormit, entering the church, keeps on asking, in a lamentable voice, "Where art thou, Father?" And, feeling his way through the darkness, the lights of the brethren not yet being brought in, he finds the Saint prostrate before the "altar"; and, lifting him up a little and sitting beside him, he placed the holy head in his bosom. And meanwhile, the congregation of monks running up with the lights, and seeing their father dying, began to weep. And, as we have learnt from some who were there present, the Saint, his soul not yet departing, with his eyes opened upward, looked about on either hand with a wonderful cheerfulness and joy of countenance; doubtless seeing the holy angels coming to meet him. Diormit lifts up the holy right hand of the Saint that he may bless the choir of monks. But also the venerable man himself, so far as he could, at the same time moved his hand, so that he might still be seen, while passing away, to bless the brethren by the motion of his hand, though he was not able to do so with his voice. And, after his holy benediction thus expressed, he immediately breathed "Which having left the tabernacle of the body, his out his spirit. face remained ruddy, and wonderfully gladdened by an angelic vision; so that it appeared not to be that of one dead, but of one living and sleeping. Meanwhile the whole church resounded with mournful lamentations."

Columba died in the very year in which the Roman Mission under Augustine landed in Kent. And we cannot pass on without referring, however briefly, to the share which the monks of Iona had in the conversion of our northern forefathers. One of the companions of Augustine, Paulinus, had spent six years in the attempt to evangelize Northumbria. But a terrible war overwhelmed his work and Paulinus retired. His companion James the Deacon

remained and worked on near York. But when the saintly Oswald became King, having in his exile taken refuge among the Irish in Scotland, he naturally turned to the monks of Iona and applied to them for help to Christianize his kingdom. This led to an offshoot of Iona being planted in a similar island of the eastern coast near Aidan, a Celt, became the missionary leader—and Oswald the king went about with him, interpreting his words to his English subjects. This was indeed, as I have heard Canon Bright say, Church and State in its fairest form. Oswald, says Bede, listened humbly and willingly to Aidan's admonitions in all things and took care with much diligence to build up and extend the Church of Christ in his kingdom; where the following most delightful sight was often seen: that while the prelate who had not perfectly learnt the tongue of the Angles was preaching the Gospel the King himself stood forth as an interpreter of the celestial word to his leaders and ministers, because forsooth he had already fully learnt the tongue of the Scots during the long period of his exile. From that time, more began to come daily to Britain from the region of the Scots (that means Irish missionaries from Iona and the region about), and with great earnestness and simplicity they laboured for the conversion of the Saxons, so that "the larger part of England was Christianized by their influence." To say this is no disparagement to the work of St. Augustine, who began the effort to convert the Saxons in Britain.

The following quotation is from *The Story of Iona* (p. 96), by the Rev. E. C. Trenholme:—

"Iona is a Presbyterian island, but its people will rightly expect some mention of an English clergyman whose name is handed down as a household word among them. Legh Richmond was Rector of Turvey in Bedfordshire, from 1805 to his death in 1827, and was widely known in the English religious world as the writer of a famous tale of piety, The Dairyman's Daughter. In 1820 and again in 1823 he visited Iona, where the regular religious ministrations were a quarterly visit from the minister in Mull, and a sermon read on Sundays by the worthy schoolmaster, Allen Maclean. Mr. Richmond gathered the people round him, and preached to them the Word of God sometimes in English to those who could understand, sometimes to all, with the schoolmaster interpreting into Gaelic sentence after sentence. 'A rock my pulpit,' he says in his diary, 'and

heaven my sounding-board; may the echo resound to their hearts.'

"By his kindness and goodness he won the love of all, and the Legh Richmond Library, which was founded through his exertions, remains as a memorial of him in Iona village. The books continue to be added to, and are now housed in a good building, the erection of which is due to the efforts of the Rev. Archibald Macmillan of Iona, and the generosity of that builder of libraries, Mr. Andrew Carnegie.

"About this time, a son of Iona, Charles Chapman MacArthur, revived the traditions of his birthplace by going forth as a missionary to distant Ceylon, after preparation at the English College of the Church Missionary Society."

Dr. Samuel Johnson's remarks on Iona are well worth being recalled (Journal of Tour to the Hebrides by Boswell). "We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of the senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the scale of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy, as may conduct us unmoved over any ground that has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

S. HARVEY GEM.

London Joint City and Midland Bank.—The striking development of the London Joint City and Midland Bank is well described in a new booklet which contains a reprint, with additional illustrations, of an article from the *Bankers' Magazine* for October 1920. The literary matter is of great interest, and the volume contains photographs of the late Chairman (Sir Edward Holden, Bart.), the present Chairman (the Right Hon. R. McKenna), and the joint managing directors (Messrs. S. B. Murray, F. Hyde, and E. W. Woolley). Other illustrations relate to some twenty-five or thirty of the 1,770 offices of the Bank.

TITUS.1

III.

THE DOCTRINES HE BELIEVED.

BY THE REV. W. B. RUSSELL CALEY, M.A.

THE facts, or doctrines, we believe affect our whole outlook on life, and also our whole conduct in it, for our character is moulded by what we believe, and conduct is the outcome of character. The Apostles and the Early Church thought most seriously of sound doctrine; the strange apathy which is popular now regarding matters of faith has no encouragement in the Epistles or history of the primitive Church. It is usual now to applaud sincerity rather than orthodoxy, and by orthodoxy we mean sound Biblical truth—"not every kind of doctrine after the wiles of error" (Eph. iv. 14. R.V.).

The word "doctrine" is used ten times in the Pastoral Epistles (I Tim. iv. 6, 13, 16; v. 17; vi. 1, 3; 2 Tim. iii. 16; iv. 2; Tit. i. 9; ii. 1, 7), and this doctrine or "teaching" (see R.V.) must be sound and healthful (Tit. i. 9; ii. 1), that is, only scriptural doctrines will produce healthy Christian lives; many believers are spiritual invalids, unhappy and useless, because they are feeding on unwholesome fancies and theories, which are either opposed to, or perversions of divine truth. Such persons must be sharply dealt with (Tit. i. 13; cp. 2 Cor. xiii. 10). Many of these sincere religious neurotics want more firm treatment—they need surgery (Heb. iv. 22) rather than sympathy. We need to pray most earnestly, in the words of the old Collect, "that by the wholesome medicines of the doctrines delivered "by the Apostles" the diseases of our souls may be healed," and this necessity for personal soundness in the faith rests on every individual believer (Tit. ii. 1, 7). When we hear strange doctrines, do we take the trouble to test them prayerfully by the infallible standard of the Divine Word? (See John xvi. 13; Luke xi. 13.)

The divine idea of the Church is a lightbearer. In Revelation i. 20, we are told "the seven lampstands" (R.V.) are the seven Churches." This thought used to find expression in an interesting

¹ The first article, "The Man and his Work," appeared in the January, and the second, "The People he mixed with," in the April number of The Churchman.

old colloquialism of East Anglia, where people walking round the parish church for a stroll used to be said to be "walking round the candlestick," most suggestively implying that the Church ought to give the light of truth to the parish, and we can only wish that now all places of worship did shed forth the clear light of scriptural truth. Let us consider what doctrines Paul, and through him, Titus, viewed as essential to healthful Christianity.

I. That Christ is Saviour. Salvation from sin is the foundation of all else, and it is noticeable that the word "Saviour" is used six times in the Epistle, three times of God the Father (Tit. i. 3; ii. 10; iii. 6), and three times of God the Son (Tit. i. 4; ii. 13; iii. 6). We must never lose sight of the fact that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world (I John iv. 14).

II. Salvation is solely of grace. (Tit. ii. II; iii. 7.) We have the same truth emphasized in 2 Timothy i. 9, and must never forget the foundation of salvation is free, sovereign grace. Wycliffe used to pray—"Lord save me gratis."

III. Faith must be evidenced by good works (Tit. ii. 12-14; iii. 8, 14; cp. i. 16). There is no contradiction between salvation by grace and the necessity of good works. Paul and James are in entire agreement, only they are viewing the same fact from opposite sides (Eph. ii. 8, 9; Jas. ii. 17, 26). "Good works are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit" (Article XII. C. of E.).

IV. The need for equal holiness by both sexes. (Chron. ii. 4-6.) God's grace is sufficient for all in every duty and circumstance. Woman is now seeking new social responsibilities and man more individual freedom, but these things can bring no blessing unless the divine command is obeyed—"Be ye holy, for I am holy" (I Pet. i. 15).

V. Church organization (Chron. i. 5, 7; iii., 5; cp. Acts xiv. 23; 2 Tim. ii. 2). The Ministry and the Sacraments (however differently we view them) were universally considered essential for a true Church. The Church of God is not to be anarchy but order (1 Cor. xiv. 33, 40), and this orderliness was to be enforced on every city or community, however small. Let us remember this fact in considering the vast problems of the mission field, and the growth and independence of the native churches.

VI. The personal return of Christ (Tit. ii. 13). All the Epistles abound with clear definite expectation that in God's good time this same Jesus which was taken up into heaven will return in true personality from heaven (Acts i. 11; I Thess. i. 10). It is the fashion now to talk of many comings of Christ in various crises of the world's history, but whether or not the Lord has drawn near at special momentous events, does not do away with the fact that He is coming again, personally, openly, majestically, and that this unshakable truth is to exercise a restraining, hallowing influence on every Christian in every Church.

We gather from the life and work of Titus and the letter Paul addressed to him that the doctrines a man believes have a profound influence on his life; that they are in fact the determining factor of everything, what he really believes regarding time and eternity govern his whole conduct. The Early Church saw this, far more clearly than we do-we look complacently at what people do, but in those far-away days they never overlooked the link between belief and action, for they knew the action would infallibly reveal the nature of the belief. Many errors early crept into the Church, and speedily led astray weak and ignorant disciples, but the Apostles did not speak "smooth things" about them-they denounced them in vigorous terms, and warned against them with ceaseless vehemence. To them sincerity was no excuse for unbelief or misbelief. The errors of the present day bear a striking resemblance to the Gnostic errors of primitive days, and the same vigilance and vigour is required in dealing with them. Titus was no "opportunist" -he had difficult tasks set before him, but he handled them with firmness as well as love; he felt, what we seem now not to feel, that to let people believe a lie, because they like it, is not kind—it is cruel.

But we can learn another very important lesson from the ministry of Titus, which is, that for a man to be enthusiastic for God he must have deep convictions. The Christian's path is no easy and comfortable one, and as Bunyan truly shows us, his compensations are elsewhere—not here. The Bible smiles for Christian workers and warriors do not portend a quiet time, but warfare, building, running, toiling, and it is only the man who has, like Titus, very strong beliefs who will attempt or accomplish great things.

We often deplore and wonder at the vehemence and bitterness

which has characterized Christian controversy, but it was the outcome of sincere conviction—it was because men felt deeply they strove earnestly. Life was then willingly laid down for dogmas believed to have eternal value, but how exceedingly few would even dream of dying for truth; but the Apostles and early and mediæval Christians gladly did so. We may well ask ourselves—what is the price I set upon my faith? Should I willingly die for the truth as it is in Jesus?

The Epistle of Paul to Titus throws a great light upon the opinions and methods of Christian leaders, while the tremendous energy of Pentecost still animated the Church.

They demanded clear definite beliefs in certain eternal truths, such as man's universal ruin through sin, salvation through the atoning Blood of Christ (Tit. ii. II, I4; iii. 5, 7), a holy consecrated life (Tit. iii. 8), an expectant faith (Tit. ii. I3), an orderly Church life (Tit. i. 5, 9), a holy home life (Tit. ii., 2, 7).

The membership of the Church was to be carefully guarded, in contrast to the extreme laxity now observable in every denomination; personal belief and personal conduct were to be diligently inquired into and rigidly controlled. The Church was intended to be "the salt of the earth," and this short Epistle shows us how it must preserve its savour.

Titus himself stands before us as the example of a bright, active, sympathetic, self-sacrificing Christian, sound in the faith and holy in life and conversation. He moved amid the world of men, radiating hope, inspiring faith, reviving love. Christ was to him a living Person; salvation a personal possession; holy living a ceaseless, duty; the discipline of the Church a vital necessity; the return of Christ a glorious certainty.

We may prayerfully ask ourselves: are these things so with us? and pray that God will by His Holy Spirit deepen all such convictions within. Let us thank God for Titus, his life, work and example, and pray that we may follow him in his virtuous and godly living.

He whose bright faith made feeble hearts grow stronger And sent fresh warriors to the great campaign, Bade the lone convert feel estranged no longer, And made the sundered to be one again.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A PEOPLE'S LIFE OF CHRIST.

A People's Life of Christ. By J. Paterson-Smyth, D.C.L., etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.

This is a book to thank God for. It is the common practice of writers on our Lord's earthly life to begin with His birth, as in an ordinary biography. Farrar begins with Bethlehem; Edersheim with Zacharias in the Temple; and it is the same with many others. Of Dr. Glover it is needless to speak. We need not doubt their belief in the Incarnation; but the effect on the reader is likely to be forgetfulness of the plain words of the Creed, "Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven." So when we open this new Life of Christ, and find the first chapter headed "Before the World Was," and that its first words are also in capitals, "In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," our impulse is to throw down the book, stand on our feet, and sing the Doxology!

And all the more because in this particular case we should scarcely have expected it. Dr. Paterson-Smyth, who is one of our most popular writers on Biblical subjects, is distinctly "modern" (though moderately so) in his general treatment of the Scriptures; and he has popularized, very effectively, what are called the accepted conclusions of critical scholarship. It is therefore all the more gratifying to find him starting in the way just indicated; and our thankfulness deepens as we read the half-dozen impressive pages of that first chapter, "Before the world was." We rejoice for the "People" who will, we are sure, in their thousands read this People's Life of Christ; and we are glad, as we go through the book page after page, to find that modern views of the Old Testament are not necessarily inconsistent with a most reverent and spiritual account of the earthly ministry of our Lord. For it is the same throughout. The Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the Ascension, are quite admirably treated, with a simplicity and common sense that will charm every believing Christian.

Let us briefly summarize the contents. There are six Books. Book I is entitled "In the Beginning," and after the first chapter, already referred to, come two others, "A World Preparing" and "A World Set Thinking." Book II, "When the Christ Came," has five chapters, the fifth being "The Carpenter." Book III, "The First Year," is chiefly on St. John's early chapters; and Dr. Paterson-Smyth has, we are glad to say, no hesitation in accepting him as the author of the Fourth Gospel, and that Gospel as real history. Book IV, "Capernaum," gives us the Galilean ministry, three of the chapter headings being "Two Dinner-Parties," "The Kingdom of God," and "On Holiday." Book V, "Memories of the Jerusalem Road," is particularly interesting.

The first chapter, "An Author Collecting Memories of the Road," introduces St. Luke as compiling a "Country Story" and St. John as supplementing it with a "Town Story," the two accounts being skilfully combined (though not quite as we ourselves should do it). Four chapters on "The Teachings of the Road" expound the Lord's utterances on the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, Responsibility, and the Great Assize. Finally, Book VI, "Jerusalem," takes us from Palm Sunday to Ascension Day.

In writing his book for "the People," Dr. Paterson-Smyth naturally uses a colloquial style; and very effective it is. Here and there, perhaps, an old Bible-reader may feel it a little overfamiliar; but for the most part such a feeling would be quite unwarranted, and assuredly the actuality of the scenes is greatly enhanced by the method. Take, for instance, the four chapters on the Lord's earliest ministry—"The First Disciples," "The Cana Wedding," "The Angry Christ," "Nicodemus"—and see how real it all is. We seem to be actually present, seeing and hearing all that is said and done. "The Angry Christ," in particular, describing our Lord driving the market folk out of the Temple area, is vividly realistic; and His "anger" is reverently and effectively vindicated.

It would not be fair to expect Dr. Paterson-Smyth to be entirely free from sharing the views of the critics; but we have only noticed one place where a doubt is expressed. He nowhere, we think, directly questions demoniacal possession, as so many do; but he speaks of "a double personality," uses the words "lunatic" and "madman," and, when he comes to the incident of the Gadarene swine, he says, after telling of the demoniac's cure, "One does not know how to take the rest of the story. . . . I prefer to be silent." But he adds, "The frightened Gadarenes besought Jesus to depart out of their borders; their swine were more important to them than their souls." On the other hand, would our readers like to know what is said of the Lord's cry of desolation on the Cross? Let us have the exact words:—

"Who are we that we should understand the deep secrets of the Almighty? We know that the Crucified One was the Eternal Son of God. If we reverently try to conjecture the meaning, we see but one key to the mystery: that He was the Divine Sin-bearer of the world's sin. We may not be able to pronounce exactly what that means. We may differ about our theories of Atonement. But we at least believe that God 'made Him to be sin for us, Who knew no sin,' that 'His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree,' that 'He was wounded for our transgressions . . . and by His stripes we are healed.'"

Are we wrong in thanking God for this *People's Life of Christ?*One chapter, a bold one, will be read with deep interest, and we hope and think with general approval. It follows "Calvary," and is entitled "A Lost Chapter in the Life of Christ." It is an

attempt to expound the meaning of the phrase "unfortunately retained as in our early Prayer-books" (says our author), "He descended into Hell." Where did He go? Dr. Paterson-Smyth replies that only the Lord Himself could answer that question; but he believes that He did tell the disciples, because the early Christian writers (whom he quotes) held that He went into "the World of the Dead" to carry His own glad tidings to those who could never have heard them. "Realize," he exclaims, "the wonder of this adventure of Jesus! In this world men lifting a dead body from the cross. In a world near by, men exulting in His coming to their great spirit-land across the border."

We do not agree with all Dr. Paterson-Smyth's views of the Gospel history. We regret that he thinks the Call of the Apostles in Matthew and Mark identical with that in Luke, when the latter is so natural as a second and final one; and we regret that he thinks the Talents and the Pounds different versions of the same parable, when the Talents is the natural (and in a sense necessary) supplement to the Pounds. But these are small matters; and so are a few unconscious slips here and there—for instance, the boast that "even the devils are subject unto us in Thy Name" was not uttered by the Twelve (p. 191) but by the Seventy; nor is the story of Jairus in Matthew and Mark only (p. 260), but in Luke also.

We expressed thankfulness for the beginning of the book; and so we do for the ending. The last three chapters, "An Old Man's Easter Memories," "The Training of the Forty Days," "Returning to the Father," are beautiful indeed, and we cannot imagine any one reading them and then harbouring the smallest doubt of the reality of the Resurrection and the Ascension.

EUGENE STOCK.

SACERDOTALISM IN THE FREE CHURCHES.

FROM CHAOS TO CATHOLICISM. By the Rev. W. G. Peck. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 8s. 6d. net.

Many will wish to know something of that new movement in Free Church circles which has come to be known as "The Free Catholic Movement."

The Society of Free Catholics had its genesis quite recently in a small band of ministers who were accustomed to go into periodical retreat. These were nearly all men who had usually been classified as Unitarians. The one to give first shape and impetus to the movement was the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas; but the Society received a great accession of strength when it was joined by Dr. W. E. Orchard. The first Conference really establishing the movement upon a definite basis was held in January, 1918. The Society claims to have united Catholics, Evangelicals and Modernists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and others, in a body of positive affirmations. Free Churchmen and Anglicans, and even Roman Catholics, have come to the Society with unfeigned interest.

This is not the first account of the movement which Mr. Peck, a Methodist minister, has written. He is already known as the author of *The Coming Free Catholicism*. This later volume is intended to give further illustration to the principles of the movement. A special chapter is devoted to "The Free Catholic Movement"; but it is to be taken as only a personal presentation, not as an official account. Two papers appear at the close—(I) "The Church's Priesthood," and (2) "Methodism in the New Age"—which were delivered in 1919 to Methodist audiences. "No riot," adds the author, "occurred upon either occasion."

This second book is entitled by Mr. Peck From Chaos to Catholicism. The idea is that the so-called "clumsy catastrophe" of the Reformation and the decadent tendencies of the last thirty years have left us in a state of chaos from which the new catholicism offers to save us. "There seems," says Mr. Peck, "to be no alternative between a renewed Catholicism and religious paralysis."

The kind of Catholicism advanced by Mr. Peck is sacerdotal. Whilst not committing himself to the teaching of transubstantiation, he finds nothing inherently absurd or superstitious in it. The consecrated elements are "the very vehicle and the embodiment" of Christ's actual presence; in a "mystical and yet perfectly definite and real sense they become the Body and Blood"; Christ is "conveyed to all who kneel at the Altar." Mr. Peck refers also to "priesthood, confession, the invocation of saints."

The importance of this volume lies in its forceful presentation of a certain line of thought now making its appearance. We do not like the way in which the author strives after verbal smartness and gives way to mere flippancy. From his own point of view, Mr. Peck tends to spoil himself with references to "the cult of another Virgin" being introduced by the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth, and to "the Union Jack being introduced, reserved, carried about, lifted up and worshipped." He seems to be quite unable to give any picture of the Reformation which has any approach to an historical representation. Despite all his confident assurance, Mr. Peck fails, and fails badly, in this volume.

W. D. S.

RECONSTRUCTION.

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE NEW DAY. By Cleland Boyd McAfee. New York: Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.

This book makes a plea for a Reconstruction of theology. It is not written for technical theologians, but for working ministers and thoughtful laymen. It suggests a few points where reconstruction is needed. The author, Cleland Boyd McAfee of the McCormick Theological Seminary, states definitely that the day of theology is not over; but he calls for a vital theology.

He takes three leading points—God, Salvation, and the Church—and on each he makes suggestive remarks. He asks that theology

shall recognize the democratic movement, and examine again all those points where it has rested on arbitrariness. He requires that theology shall hold steadily to the test of experience. He demands that theology shall furnish a working basis for the programme of the Kingdom of God on earth.

While readers may not be able to agree with all the suggestions advanced, they will find this small book exceedingly stimulative of thought upon modern questions. The work is interesting through-

out, and it goes directly to the points at issue.

A very interesting section is that which deals with Church unity. It asks that the theory of the Church be put in terms of vitality rather than of institution. "There are some," it states, "who identify the channel with the grace that came. Only that could justify the recent protest of Bishop Gore against any unity with non-conforming churches 'except on the ground of repentance, reconciliation, and absorption,' with refusal of pulpit exchange and withholding of the Lord's Supper from the non-confirmed unless they are in danger of death and express a desire for reconciliation with the Church! The honesty and frankness of the protest are admirable, but the revelation of a type of theology is obvious." The writer adds that we cannot go on pretending that the Church of Christ can be identified with any one form of organization.

We are rather surprised at the price charged for this book. It is only a very small volume.

W. D. S.

A STUDY OF THE TEMPTATION.

THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS: A Study. By the Rev. W. J. Foxell, M.A., Rector of St. Swithun's, London Stone, with St. Mary Bothaw, E.C. Biblical Studies. London: S.P.C.K. 6s. 6d. net.

This volume by a City Rector will undoubtedly prove stimulative of thought to students of Scripture. The author has in view the twofold interest of the Temptation—firstly, as an experience in our Lord's personal life; and secondly, in its relation to man's own conflict in his life.

The work aims at a more or less complete study. It begins with a careful and scholarly examination of the two accounts, together with the short summary that appears in St. Mark. It discusses the authority of the accounts, and raises the various questions of interpretation involved. Then, after considering (r) the Fact of the Temptation and (2) the Sinlessness of Jesus, it examines each Temptation in detail.

It follows the general lines of modern exposition. It treats the story as a real experience undergone by our Lord in the subjective arena of His mind, narrated in symbolic form. There was no objective change in place from the wilderness to the Temple or from the Temple to a high mountain. Yet Mr. Foxell holds closely to the real existence of such a personality as the great Spirit of Evil, though he avoids the supposition that the Tempter appeared in bodily form. With respect to the sinlessness of our Lord in the temptation, Mr. Foxell takes the position that the presence of the thought of evil in His mind, suggested from without, does in no way compromise the unsullied purity of His humanity. We notice that in a reference to the Second Epistle of St. Peter, Mr. Foxell refuses the genuineness of that epistle, ascribing it to the second century A.D.

Enough has been said to indicate the nature of this work. While not agreeing with all that the author advances, we are very glad to have such careful studies as these. The volume is one of the series of "Biblical Studies" published by the S.P.C.K.

W. D. S.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE WORLD RELIGIONS.

THE PLACE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GREATER RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD. By the Rev. D. A. Stewart, B.D., Rector of St. Peter's, March. London: S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. net.

It is very useful to have in one volume a brief account of the religions of the world, together with a study of the place among them which may fairly be accorded to Christianity. This is the author's idea. In successive chapters he gives careful accounts of Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Christianity; and then he estimates the place of Christianity among the other religions. He has not attempted an exhaustive account of each, but has well selected those aspects of belief and practice which are characteristic of each. He has ignored Shintoism, as having nothing of an ethical nature about it, and as numbering its professors among the Buddhists.

The work is very well done, though we would have liked a little more of historical account in parts. In comparing Christianity with the other religions, the author discusses in turn (1) the character of the God they set forth; (2) the conception of man; (3) the nature of the relations they profess to establish between man and God; and (4) their success in satisfying the purest and deepest needs and realizing the most perfect type of human nature. There is nothing really new in the volume, which, however, we heartily commend as a careful and valuable presentation of an important subject.

CONGREGATIONALISTS AND THE CHURCH.

THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH FROM THE CONGREGATIONAL POINT OF VIEW. By Principal A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D. London: The Faith Press. 3s. 6d. net.

One of the results of the Lambeth proposals will surely be that Free Churchmen will examine carefully fundamental principles. It is very doubtful, we think, if the average man who goes to Chapel

can really tell why he is what he is, though we are well aware that this sort of indefiniteness is by no means confined to Nonconformists. This little book is—as might be expected of anything from Dr. Garvie's pen—thoughtful, lucid and scholarly and contains a great deal with which Evangelical Christians of all denominations will be in agreement. If the author does not always convince us, he never gives offence. He confesses that he "would welcome an ordinance such as Confirmation." He admits that among some Nonconformists "ordination has been neglected," but he must not be angry with us if we repudiate his Congregational view that the ordinance is merely "a public recognition and confirmation of his own sense of vocation and of his qualifications by his gifts and education to fulfil that vocation." Notwithstanding these and a few other possible criticisms, we can say that we have read this book with pleasure and profit, and we feel that the more Free Churchmen realize the importance of having a clear-cut, definite theory of the Church, her sacraments and ministry, the more likely they are to come to a better understanding of the principles of our own Church. We put the book down with the feeling that the things that divide us are not of paramount importance and that consequently the obstacles in the way of re-union are not insurmountable. S. R. C.

VISITING JERUSALEM.

THE PILGRIM IN JERUSALEM. By the Rev. O. H. Parry, M.A. London: S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

The author, who is the artist of his own book, reproduces in literary form the talks he used to give to soldiers in Jerusalem during the year 1918. He had very special opportunities of making himself acquainted with the topography of the city, and of sketching famous sites. He has contrived to make an interesting book, which will, if we mistake not, shortly find its way into the hands of all intending visitors to Jerusalem. It is not only a valuable guide, but it also contains many helpful historical notes which official guides rarely possess. There is a full table of dates from 1000 B.C. to the year 1917; a plan of the city (with a "key" to the plan); a good index; and twenty-four pen-and-ink sketches, many of which are charming. Besides this the book is enriched with maps. Altogether we are most favourably impressed with Mr. Parry's little work.

SUCCESS OF CHINGLEPUT REFORMATORY.

THE MAKING OF MEN. By J. W. Coombes, B.A., A.M.S.T., Kaiser-i-Hind Medallist. London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.

To give a good start in life to those young unfortunates who for want of light and leading have taken wrong steps is a most noble work. We have in this volume some record of the excellent work

done at the Chingleput Reformatory in this direction. Mr. J. W. Coombes has laboured there for the past fifteen years, and now he puts on record the principles which have guided him in his work. He thinks that the time has arrived when such records should be made. Much valuable experience is otherwise being lost, and new workers who come to the scene have to be taught all the work over again. Hence, continuity of progress is unattainable; and he, therefore, calls for the appointment of an Inspector-General of Reformatories, or a central authority in India, who would discover the most effective methods of work.

The boys are sent to Chingleput, mostly on account of thieving, but many on account of darker crimes. Some of them are there for murder. It is the work of the place to fit them for decent, honest life. Chingleput Reformatory has been in existence for this purpose for some thirty years, and its work has stood the test of time. At first the percentage of re-convictions, after the boys had gone back to life, was as high as 45 per cent.; but now it has been for some years only I per cent. The system is that of military discipline. rudimentary education, a healthful mixture of work (to make a skilled craftsman), and games. It is most interesting to read of the organization—the weavers' house, the smithy, the metal workers' shop, the brick works, etc., and of the healthy rivalry between the various branches. The boys are treated in a human fashion; each boy is called by his name, rather than by the number given him on admission. The place is a school of education and reform, and is not a jail for punishment.

There is a twofold difficulty in such work. Firstly, the boys are removed from their homes and friends; but it is important to remove them from the influences of bad associates and surroundings. And secondly, there is the religious difficulty; but this is surmounted by allowing the teaching of all creeds. There is no "proselytizing"; the Hindu boys have their shrine, the Mohammedans their mosque, the Roman Catholics their oratory, the Protestants their place of worship.

This volume is invaluable. We heartily congratulate Mr. Coombes on his most excellent work, and would recommend all who seek the welfare of the young to read such an inspiring volume as this. The book is well got up, and is illustrated by some forty splendid photos.

A TWELFTH-CENTURY MISSIONARY.

THE LIFE OF OTTO, APOSTLE OF POMERANIA, 1060-1139, by Ebo and Herbordus. Translated by C. H. Robinson, D.D. Translations of Christian Literature, Series II.: Latin Texts. London: S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d. net.

To Dr. Robinson's labours in the field of history missionary study is becoming greatly indebted. It does not seem so long ago that we received from him his great volume, *The Conversion of* England; and we have now a translation which will let readers into the Life of Otto, the bishop who in the early part of the twelfth century sought the conversion of the pagan Pomeranians.

One value of such books as these is suggested by Dr. Robinson. "In view of the many and difficult problems that confront us to-day in the non-Christian lands where missionaries are now labouring, we cannot afford to neglect the light which can be obtained from the ideals, the methods and the experiences of the great missionaries of early and mediæval times, of whose work any detailed record has been preserved." Of course, in the "Life" of Otto there is much matter of the usual mediæval type, but yet there is much that is both interesting and instructive.

Otto's work in Pomerania was very successful in results, which fact is most remarkable considering that he had to rely upon the services of interpreters! He followed up the conquest of the country by the Polish Duke Boleslav III in II2I. He used to baptize converts without much instruction in the faith, a policy which, says Dr. Robinson, "the missionary experience of the Christian Church in all lands justifies us in condemning." Otto also failed to establish a National Church; but this can readily be understood when he failed to make any move towards the provision of native clergy.

What Dr. Robinson has done for us in this volume is to give a translation of Ebo's Life of Otto (Books II and III), a work written probably in 1151, some twelve years after the death of Otto. (He has omitted Book I, as throwing but little light on Ebo's life and character.) To this he has added in the text, in brackets, those portions of the Life by another contemporary, Herbordus, in which there is information not given by Ebo.

We are very glad to have this volume, and thank the translator and the S.P.C.K. for it.

THE FINAL RELIGION.

Is CHRISTIANITY THE FINAL RELIGION? By A. C. Bouquet, B.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d.

The sub-title of this book is "A Candid Inquiry, with the Materials for an Opinion." In the nature of the case, no demonstration can be forthcoming: the matter is not one for mathematical certainty. Nor would it, we think, be well for mankind if belief in God or in His revelation could be made the subject of demonstration: that would leave life untouched by faith. Yet the disciplinary value of faith is, in the religious sphere, incalculable; and all history attests this. Mr. Bouquet has no doubt that Christianity is the final religion—"the common world-religion of the future, for whose triumph and dominance we must all work"; and in asserting this he is publishing anew the great Biblical message, a message first uttered by the prophets of Israel (who caught from afar a faint but glorious image of the Messiah) and re-uttered by

Paul on Mars' Hill when he proclaimed the regeneration of the world.

Mr. Bouquet's book is largely dependent on German writers who have given more attention to the subject of Christianity as an Absolute religion than have English theologians. Chief of these is Troeltsch; and the many quotations from this thoughtful and earnest writer are most valuable, despite the fact that they are not by any means always easy to interpret. Mr. Bouquet himself is not an "easy" writer, but it is given to few to be able to write with the lucidity and charm of such men as Illingworth or John Caird, especially when dealing with a subject so profoundly deep as "absolutism" in religion. Yet there is much that is worth meditating upon in his book. He has given us materials for forming a considered judgment rather than a cut-and-dried judgment itself; and that is all to the good. But he leaves us in no doubt what his own view of the matter is; in proof of which we commend his final chapter to the consideration of our readers. It is cogent and clear. We are inclined to think that this book will be valued and discussed by all to whom the problem of Christianity, in this sifting-time of belief, is something that demands patient and honest-hearted consideration. E. H. B.

ST. LUKE'S WRITINGS.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN St. Luke's Writings. By Lt.-Col. G. Mackinlay. London: Marshall Brothers. 12s. 6d. net.

This book commands attention as the work of an earnest student of Scripture, and we are not surprised to learn that it embodies the results of ten years' patient research work. Col. Mackinlay claims to have "discovered" in the Lucan writings a system of triplications, and of course he sets out his argument with all the conviction of one who is fully persuaded in his own mind. But we have regretfully to confess that we are unconvinced, ingenious as the theory no doubt is. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that any such cryptical system was in the mind of St. Luke, nor can we see any reason for adopting it. The author has candidly published various criticisms and opinions offered by a variety of persons, a few of whom are competent scholars, and we observe that most of them hesitate to commit themselves one way or the other; and in some cases, where they are frankly critical, the Colonel, with soldierly courage, falls upon them-often, we are bound to admit, with sound argument (that is, assuming the truth, for the purposes of argument, of his contention). Fearful lest we meet with a similar fate, we venture, then, to offer no criticism. At the same time we commend the book to scholars as certainly deserving of attention. To dismiss in a few sentences work that has involved so much patient labour would be manifestly unfair, and since it offers a solution of problems that have long vexed the souls of eminent scholars, it may fairly claim the fullest consideration.

THE DIVINE SOCIETY.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE DIVINE SOCIETY. Essays by Four Parish Priests in the Diocese of Hereford. London: S.P.C.K. 5s. 6d. net.

In this collection of essays on the Divine Society the Rev. H. E. H. Probyn writes on "Its Lord"; the Rev. C. R. Norcock on "The Bases of Its Teaching"; the Rev. H. F. B. Compston on "Its Scriptures"; and the Rev. A. B. Wynne Willson on "Its Earliest Development." These studies are based on the first fifteen chapters of the Acts, and the authors claim that it is "an attempt to present the content of this early Christian record without reading into it the traditions of later date," and that they have made "tentative application of matters found therein to problems of modern times." As one of the writers observes, "the river is purer at its source. Nowhere in its later course are its waters so free from contamination." That will be sufficient to indicate that the viewpoint is one with which, in the main, we are in agreement. One writer (Mr. Compston) introduces and enlarges upon an interesting consideration. He asks: "May not our Lord have foreseen and intended a Literature of the Kingdom?"—and he refers to Matthew xxiii. 34: "I send unto you . . . scribes." Bishop Hensley Henson, who was Bishop of Hereford when the volume was in preparation, contributes a preface to this useful little volume.

S. R. C.

THE ADA LEIGH HOMES.

HOMELESS IN PARIS. By Mrs. Travers Lewis (Ada Leigh). London: S.P.C.K.

A splendid record of noble service! What Mrs. Travers Lewis has done for English girls in the French capital is well known, but we are grateful to her for giving us this story both of her own early life and of the beginnings of the work to which she has unselfishly devoted the greater part of her life. Hearing an English girl say in the street, "I don't care what becomes of me!" Miss Leigh (as she then was) in a moment had laid her hand on her shoulder, saying, "But I do." Needless to say she made friends with the girl, and was by her soon brought into touch with others. From that day to this the work has gone on, and considering its importance, it is not surprising to find commendatory letters from Queen Alexandra and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Some of the stories told by Mrs. Lewis are intensely pathetic, but they are best told, for they reveal the very real need that exists and make their own forcible appeal for the support of the work. The book is enriched by illustrations, including a portrait of the authoress and an interior view of Christ Church, Neuilly, which she was instrumental in building. Let us hope that this devoted lady will be cheered in the eventide of her life by finding an ever-increasing interest aroused S. R. C. in so Christlike an enterprise.

PREPARATION FOR COMMUNION.

THE MEMORIAL FEAST. Instruction, Preparation, and Devotions for the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion. By the Rev. W. Grylls Watson, M.A. London: S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net.

If any desire to obtain a small handbook of preparation for the Holy Communion, they could not do better than procure this volume published by the S.P.C.K. We have great pleasure in heartily commending it both for its truly devotional spirit and for its full loyalty to the teachings of Scripture and of our Church. It is an excellent manual, which we gladly recommend to all Churchpeople.

The author is the Rev. W. Grylls Watson, M.A., Rector of St. Margaret's with St. Andrew's and St. Mary Bredman's, Canterbury. The book is divided into two parts: Part I, which forms the communicants' manual and which has also been published separately; and Part II, which contains some excellent instruction

concerning the Holy Communion.

SHORT NOTICES.

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Oswald Chambers. London: S. W. Partridge & Co., Ltd.

This book, originally published in America, contains a suggestive series of Bible studies given by Mr. Chambers at the Bible Training College, North Side, Clapham Common, over which he presided until his death a few years ago. He was a disciple of Dr. Campbell Morgan, and cultivated his analytical, alliterative method with conspicuous success. These "preliminary studies," as they are called, deal with fundamentals in an illuminating fashion, and we heartily recommend the book to Bible readers and students. Each chapter is prefaced by an excellent synopsis or blackboard sketch.

A CASTAWAY IN KAVIRONDO. London: C.M.S. House. 2s. net.

Even in these difficult times the C.M.S. maintains its reputation for attractive Missionary literature, and reasonable attention is given to what will interest and instruct young people. The general get-up of this little book leaves nothing to be desired, with its etchings by A. M. Elverson on almost every page; while the statement that "everything in the story is true" will surely give it an added value. It gives a graphic picture of child-life in Central Africa, as well as an insight into the activities of the C.M.S. at Maseno.

CHURCH BOOK ROOM NOTES.

82 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.1.

Authority in the Church: Being an examination into the position and jurisdiction of Bishops in the Anglican Communion, by the Rev. T. C. Hammond,

M.A., (4s. 6d. net) will be found a most interesting and enlightening volume. The questions with which the author deals will become matters of controversy here in England—perhaps sooner than we think—and for this reason as well as for its intrinsic value the book deserves careful study. The writer has endeavoured to confine the inquiry to the single issue regarding the authority of an individual Bishop, and the various limitations upon it which are revealed in the course of history. He states that he has found it difficult to separate this question from related topics: but the effort has been made, and may serve to explain the reticence displayed on many important topics which have been touched upon incidentally. He has given considerable attention to the Reformation period, in order to exhibit with clearness the vital changes introduced into Church polity at that stirring epoch, and his reference to writings which are easily accessible makes the book particularly valuable. It will do much to clear the minds of Churchmen on the important subject with which it deals, and its bearing on the whole future of the National Church.

The Prodigal Son.

The Prodigal

Robert Law, D.D., of Knox College, Toronto, has written several books of great interest and value, and his latest, The Hope of our Calling, is a preeminently sane and convincing series of discourses on the The Hope life of the Christian hereafter. The author states that this of our volume, called forth by the tremendous revival of interest Calling. in immortality occasioned by the war, is one of the most satisfying treatments of the subject which has been given to the Christian world. The book is published in the United States of America, and can be obtained from the Church Book Room at the price of 6s. net. The author treats his subject under the following headings: The Hope of our Calling —The Hereafter in the Old Testament—Death, Blessing or Curse?—The Resurrection of Christ—The Spiritual Body—Judgment to come—The Heavenly World-The Heavenly Life-The Heavenly Society-Is Evil Eternal ?—Eternal Life.

The Report of the Conference held at Fulham Palace, 1901-2, on Confession and Absolution is now practically out of print. The small remainder has been purchased by the Church Book Room and is offered at 15. net. The Report, edited by the Dean of Canterbury, who was Chairman of the Conference, is a particularly valuable

one in view of the personnel of the Conference and the conclusions arrived at. In calling the Conference the Bishop of London asked the members to consider (1) The meaning of our Lord's words (in St. John xx. 22-23. St. Matt. xviii. 18) and their use in the Ordinal, as affecting the conception of the priesthood; (2) The Practice of the Church—(a) in primitive times: (b) in the Middle Ages; (3) The meaning of the Anglican Formularies, and the limits of doctrine and practice which they allow; and (4) Practical consideration—(a) The treatment of penitents; (b) the special training of the minister. It is important to note that the two special points of agreement which were arrived at at the Conference were in regard to our Lord's words in St. John's Gospel, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." It is stated these are not to be regarded as addressed only to the Apostles or to the clergy, but as a commission to the whole Church, and as conveying a summary of the message with which it is charged. It is, therefore, for the Church as a whole to discharge the commission, which she does by the ministration of God's Word and Sacraments, and by godly discipline. The members of the Conference also agreed that the discipline of private Confession and Absolution cannot be shown to have existed for some centuries after the foundation of the Church.

There is a constant need for books for presentation to Confirmees, and the following can be recommended for various classes: My First Communion, by the Rev. A. R. Runnels-Moss (is. 3d. and is. 6d. net), Confirmation is particularly suited to candidates from higher elementary or secondary schools. Bishop Knox contributes a preface, in which he describes the book as helpful to true devotion, and containing instruction true to the principles of the Communion Office in our Church without being controversial in tone. This book contains the Communion Service itself as an appendix. Another book of a different type is The Holy Communion: Its Institution, Purpose and Privilege, by the Rev. Canon Barnes-Lawrence (paper cover. is, 3d. net; cloth limp, is, 9d. net; cloth gilt, 2s. net). aim is to give positive teaching rather than controversial, but Canon Barnes-Lawrence has added a very valuable series of notes on the question of doctrine which he prints at the end. This book is specially helpful to young Christians of the more thoughtful and educated classes. The Bishop of Sodor and Man's manual. Holy Communion: Historical, Doctrinal and Devotional (1s. 6d. net), is a book of yet another kind. The Bishop opens with a series of introductory chapters dealing with the preparatory and yet all-important aspects of his subject, and gives an historic, devotional and practical explanation of the service itself. The book is written for the average intelligent and earnest communicant, who desires to know something of the history, more of the doctrine, and most of the true spirit of the Communion Service. Other books which may be mentioned are The Holy Communion, by "Fidelis" (9d. and 1s. 6d. net), a simple devotional manual which can be thoroughly recommended when a larger manual is not desired; The King's Table of Blessing; or, Thoughts for Communicants, by the Rev. A. Leedes-Hunt (is. and is. 6d. net), an excellent little volume, suggestive, not exhaustive, and decidedly successful in its aim of creating an intelligent interest in the Prayer Book, and in supplying food for thought and aids to devotion; Thoughts for Communicants, by Bishop Straton (9d. net), in which the Service of Holy Communion is given with notes for use at the service; Holy Communion, by the Rev. H. M. Lang, in the English Church Manuals Series, at 6d, net and is. net; and After Confirmation, What and How? by Archdeacon Joynt (2s. net), ought also to be mentioned, and are probably well known.