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I HAVE been asked why I call the criticism, the methods of which it is my object to call in question, German criticism, and I have been reminded that all German criticism is not of that type. I gladly admit the fact. Yet, so far as Germans follow the lines of the criticism of other nations, their criticism is not German, but cosmopolitan. But the particular criticism of which I speak had its origin in Germany so called, and is still more (P) closely identified with Germany than with any other country. I call it German criticism, not because all Germans adopt it, but because it is of German origin.

Perhaps the best way of making my readers understand the critical analysis of chapters xii.-xvi., in reference to the Priestly Code, to which my remarks chiefly apply, will be to transcribe the portions of the supposed priestly narrative contained in those chapters. It has already been stated that chap. xi. 10-27, 31, 32; xii. 4, 5, are said to be parts of that narrative. It brings “Abram” and Lot from Haran into Canaan, but, as we have seen, it makes no mention of the death of Lot’s father Haran. “And they (i.e., Abram and Lot) went forth,” it continues (xii. 5), “to go into the land of Canaan, and into the land of Canaan they came. And the land was not able to bear them that they might dwell together; for their substance was great (xiii. 6). And they separated themselves the one from the other; Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain (xiii. 11b, 12). And 1 Sarai, Abram’s wife, bare him no

1 The translation “now” of A.V. is a liberty with the original, which is simply “and.”
children (xvi. 1a). And Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her handmaid, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife (xvi. 3). And Hagar bare Abram a son, and Abram called the name of his son which Hagar bare, Ishmael. And Abram was fourscore and six years old when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram” (xvi. 15, 16). This brief abstract is immediately followed by chap. xvii., which is all attributed to the priestly historian; so that, in the place of the scraps of P, so meagrely inserted in the previous chapters into a narrative derived, as we are told, from very various sources, we get a consecutive passage of twenty-nine verses which entirely belongs to P. It has not been made quite clear why P, who has hitherto been so unreasonably curt in his account of the Father of the Faithful, should now suddenly launch out into considerable detail. Were we to give P, as disentangled by the critics, entirely by itself, the effect would be seen to be a little bizarre.

To chap. xvii. we shall presently return. But let us first recall a few facts and restate one or two principles. The criticism of the matter of the Old Testament, we must bear in mind, is what is termed the Higher, as opposed to the criticism of the text, which is called the Lower Criticism. Now, the narrative of the Priestly Code, or P, was first supposed to be the earliest narrative, which, like the Saxon Chronicle, was a mere skeleton or framework, afterwards amplified into the fuller details we find in our present books. The later, or “literary” criticism, has “proved” that instead of being the earliest, the meagre narrative of the priestly writer is the latest of the sources of the Pentateuch as we now have it. But if the criticism of this volume is to be of a “High” order—in fact, if it is to be seriously regarded as “Higher Criticism” at all—it must be ready to solve the problems its own conclusions suggest. It is not sufficient to tell us on any point that it is so: the Higher Criticism must face the problems why and how it is so. And if critics of the Wellhausen school are unable to do this—and as yet they have not even attempted to do it—the genuine Higher Criticism must reject their attempts at it as of a very low order indeed. The question, then, that a genuine critic will ask, before

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1 The curiously summary manner in which this “Priestly narrative” (the critics tell us this is the whole of it) tells the history of the first ten years of Abraham's sojourn in Palestine, must strike everyone. Professor Driver's explanation is that “his aim is to give a systematic view, from a priestly standpoint, of the origin and chief institutions of the Jewish Israelitish theocracy. For this purpose, an abstract of the history is sufficient.”
pronouncing a final conclusion to have been reached, is something of this kind. First of all, how came such a brief, unsatisfactory, dry, incomplete summary of Israelite history as the Priestly Code to have attracted any attention at all, in an age of inquiry and final selection of documents, when far superior histories were to be had? Surely the tendency of an age which was solicitous about the transmission of its history would have been to recur (1) to the best and (2) to the fullest and most picturesque statements of events, and not to trouble itself with dry summaries of a comparatively recent date. Next, the Priestly historian had presumably the histories of J and E, or at least the fused narrative of the two, before him. If so, (1) how do we know that his was an independent history at all, or that it was anything but an abbreviation of JE? and (2) if he did not abbreviate JE, or J and E, why did he not do so, and why did he follow other documents? Thirdly, why did the redactor, with the older and fuller narratives of J and E before him, suddenly leave them, and insert scraps of a slighter, a later, and a less trustworthy account? These questions have been asked before, but I must continually remind my readers that no historic or literary criticism can really be of a high type which does not grapple in a satisfactory fashion with such difficulties as these. The question before us is the sources of the present books. It is absurd to pretend that those sources have been correctly indicated until we have defined, not only the contents, but the aims, the processes, and the position of their authors. Especially do we need some guide to the personality, the methods, and the objects of the post-exilic redactor. If the redactor's aim was identical with that of P, why did he run the risk of utterly spoiling P's "systematic view" by insertions from JE? If not, what was he aiming at?

Next, the Priestly narrative, if, as is pretended, we have the 1 It is true that the redactor is credited with a desire to suppress all Israelite history but that which bore on the unique relations between Jehovah and the Jews. But if this were also P's design, why was it carried out in so unattractive a fashion? Professor Driver's explanation of this difficulty has been given. The institution of circumcision (ch. xvii.) may be, as Professor Driver contends, an "important epoch." But surely it could have been emphasized far better in P's usual style than by all the unnecessary biographical detail in that chapter. And why are important sacrificial details, illustrating Abraham's piety and the form of its expression, ascribed to JE rather than P? See, for instance, ch. xv. 9-18. At least, Professor Driver's theory in no way explains the redactor's insertion of scraps from P into the midst of another narrative. No doubt such insertions are frequent among historians when they find an interesting or picturesque detail in one of their sources which is absent from another. But our redactor's insertions are without either rhyme or reason.
whole of it, must have been a very extraordinary document, as far as form is concerned. If my readers will turn to what we are told is the narrative of P, as I have given it above, he will find the remarkable assertion that the land of Canaan was not large enough to maintain Abram and Lot! As the statement stands in our present narrative, it is intelligible enough, for the word "land" refers to the particular part of Canaan in which Abram and Lot attempted to settle. But in the previous verse of P (xii. 5), as well as in that which follows (xiii. 12), the word is used of the "land" of Canaan. And therefore in chap. xiii. 6 it must have the same meaning, unless we have not the whole of P here, which is contrary to the hypothesis. Besides, Abraham is said in chap. xiii. 12 to have selected the land of Canaan and Lot to have departed from it. Obviously, from the narrative of P as it stands, the land of Canaan was too small to contain Abraham and Lot. Here, then, once more, we have a statement which is perfectly natural and rational in its present context, but which becomes absolute nonsense when detached from it in accordance with the views of critics of the German school. Then the statement that "Sarai, Abram's wife, bare him no children," is rather oddly tacked on to the preceding verse, which tells us where Lot sojourned. The narrative here is singularly bald and abrupt, when compared with chaps. xvi. 15—xvii. 27, the whole of which is ascribed to P, but which displays no such abruptness and lack of form and finish as that which has been transcribed above. A competent literary critic, when comparing the account I have extracted from P with chaps. xvi. 15—xvii. 27, would have no hesitation, from the difference in style, in asserting the two to be by altogether different hands. There is nothing in common between the quaint, jerky fragment I have given above and the free and flowing, and in parts striking and picturesque account in chap. xvii. I do not despair of seeing the German school compelled to assign some parts at least of Gen. xvii. to JE. But whether destiny will drive them to this surrender or not, there is certainly a greater divergence in style between different parts of P than between that author and the rest of the Pentateuch.

We proceed to remark that the extract from P in chap. xvi. 1 is in close connection with the rest of this section (chaps. xv.—xxi.), which relates to Abram's childlessness, the giving of Hagar to him as a wife by Sarai, and the subsequent promise and birth of Isaac. A rational critic might see some

1 If Abraham's possessions and his servants were so many, as this implies, why should he have been unable, by the way, to defeat the five kings?

2 See vers. 17-19.

3 Chapters xviii.—xx. are a separate episode.
traces of literary art in the introduction of the subject in chap. xv. with Abram's lament that he is childless, and Eliezer of Damascus his only heir. If the analysis of the modern critical school is correct, we are indebted to the redactor for this dramatic and skillful use of his authorities. It is not quite in accordance with all we are told of him. But then the inconsistencies of the narrative are fully paralleled by the inconsistencies of the critics and the far greater inconsistencies of the results they have achieved. So we shall perhaps ultimately find that the redactor, though a mere compiler (who sometimes, however, re-wrote his authorities), was, in spite of his lapses and general clumsiness, an author of the most finished dramatic type. We may further observe that the narrative of chap. xv., though it is most exquisitely and picturesquely told, is the most comical mosaic ever seen in print. According to Kautzsch and Socin, verses 1-3 are from JE as fused, ver. 4 from J, ver. 5 from E, ver. 6 from J, verses 7, 8 by the redactor himself, verses 9-11 from J, verses 12-16 by the redactor, verses 17, 18 from J, and verses 19-21 by the redactor again, though these last verses are of a kind which are generally ascribed to P. The preternatural ingenuity which has faultlessly unravelled this extraordinary tangle of extracts is of course beyond all praise. And, once more, we have the redactor in an altogether new character. We have hitherto seen him, sometimes in his miraculously acute, and sometimes in his normally clumsy and inconsequent vein. Here, however, we have him posing before us as the incomparable artist who can so arrange the various minute pieces of his mosaic as to produce the most striking literary effects.

I proceed to a more detailed analysis of the language of P in chap. xvi. And we may first remark how the passages assigned to JE and P respectively fit into each other.\(^1\) For the first words of the passage assigned to JE, “and she had a handmaid,” requires some antecedent passage very similar to 1a (P). It is not, therefore, particularly clear, since no part of chap. xv. is supposed to be taken from P, why the redactor resorted to him here, when he must have had something precisely equivalent in the author whom he was previously and afterwards copying. We may also note in the original the way in which the words “maid” and “Egyptian” occur in the narratives ascribed to both authors, thus stamping them as being by the same, not by different, hands. We may also observe how naturally ver. 3 follows on ver. 2. Further, it may be noticed how the invariable expression in Genesis is “she

\(^1\) Vers. 1a, 3, 15a and 16 are here assigned to P.
conceived and bare a son." 1 But in ver. 15 (P) Hagar is simply said to "bear" a son. Her conception is only mentioned in JE, another indication that JE and P are by the same hand. Again הָיוּלִּי ("from bearing," ver. 2, JE) is an obvious continuation of the idea suggested by הָיוְלִי ("she bare," ver. 1, P). Another indication of unity of authorship. We may further remark that, although, according to JE, Hagar conceives, yet JE "knows nothing" of any birth in consequence. And if P tells us that the son who was born was called Ishmael, JE again knows nothing of that name. In chap. xxi. 9 (JE) the boy is simply "the son of Hagar the Egyptian." If anyone should think all this solemn trifling, we would assure him that we are in no wise bettering the instruction of our German or Germanizing preceptors in the matter of hair-splitting and wire-drawing, as a glance at Wellhausen on the composition of the Hexateuch or Professor Driver's "Introduction" will prove. Further, in chap. xxi. 9 (JE) we have, as anyone may see who compares it with chap. xvi. 15, a distinct quotation from P, which was written 400 years later. For JE never states that a son was born to Hagar at all, but in xxi. 9 assumes the statement already copied from P. And had it suited the destructive critics, we might further have heard a good deal about the silence of the subsequent narrative (chaps. xviii.-xx.) extracted from JE (with the exception of xxi. 9, which, of course, might as easily have been inserted from P as other passages are supposed to have been) about Hagar and her son. Neither of them is mentioned in chap. xvi., where Hagar might have been expected to have been in attendance on her mistress. But the keenness of the critics in building pyramids on their apex is apt occasionally to slumber. Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo. It is a pity, for otherwise we might arrive at sundry other interesting and ingenious, if not quite certain, details concerning the sources of the Pentateuch and their several contents. Another point which should not escape us is that P, which, as we have been told, 2 devotes itself exclusively to the promises to Israel, is as explicit about God's promises to Ishmael and their fulfilment (xvii. 20, xxv. 12) as is JE, a document, as we are led to suppose, of a far less exclusive character and tone (xvi. 10, xxi. 13-18). Of chap. xvii., the whole of which is attributed to P, I will speak in a subsequent paper.

1 See Gen. iv. 1; xxi. 2; xxv. 22; xxix. 32, 33, 34, 35; xxx. 5, 7, 17, 19, 23. In ch. xxx. 10, 12, 21, however, Zilpah and Leah are said to "bear" children without the previous "conceived." But these passages are from JE!

2 Driver, "Introduction," p. 121.
A lay friend, who has given much attention to these subjects, tells me of some points of great importance on which, in my last paper, I failed to touch. The first, and it is most weighty, is that the form Amraphel for Khammurabi must have been taken from some cuneiform script contemporary with Khammurabi, for only at that time were the two forms Ammu and Khammu used side by side. Next, the script itself must have been written after the time of Khammurabi's successful revolt against Kudur-lagamar. This, and this only, can explain the placing Amraphel first in the narrative of Gen. xiv., although it expressly mentions the suzerainty of the latter. The third is that the name Ur Casilim was only applied to Ur during "the time of the Khammurabi dynasty and of Abraham himself." Fourthly, when dealing with Paddan-Aram, I have passed over rather too lightly the fact that the region was not called Paddan-Aram until after the days of Abraham; so that the use of the word Paddan-Aram is not characteristic of JE, but simply a proof that the history of Abraham and Jacob, as it has come down to us, is derived from contemporaneous sources. The theory of some recent analytical critics that the post-exilic forgers of the Abrahamic history endeavoured to give local and historical colouring to their accounts by studying the Babylonian tablets of the period, shows how hardly archeological research is pressing on the subjective school. Besides, how could the Jewish and Israelite writers of "the eighth and ninth century B.C." employ themselves in hunting up the cuneiform inscriptions? For "Paddan-Aram" has been "proved" to be a characteristic of JE!

J. J. Lias.

1 Ammu-rapaltu.
3 Ibid., p. 213. It will be remembered (see No. 218, p. 58) that Ur Casilim is supposed by the latest subjective criticism to belong exclusively to the post-exilic author and redactor.
4 Ibid., p. 162. How extraordinarily clever and incapable at one and the same time were these remarkable historians!
ART. II.—THE TRUE READING AND IMPORT OF ACTS XV. 23.

176

The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia.—A.V.

Oι ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κυπρίων ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἐξ οὗ ἔθνων, χαίρειν.

The apostles and the elder brethren unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting.—R.V.

1. PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE INQUIRY.

THERE is a general agreement among English Churchmen that the time has come when their Church, without severing her connection with the State, ought to possess a certain legislative independence. It is felt that some Church assembly or assemblies should have power to make laws for regulating her affairs, subject only to the supremacy of the Crown and the veto of Parliament, if the proposed ecclesiastical measure would be detrimental to the interests of the nation at large. In view of the attempt which undoubtedly will soon be made to obtain for our Church this amount of autonomy, it is of importance to consider what should be the constitution of her legislature. Ought the laity to have a place in it? If so, ought they, as in the Church of Ireland, the self-governing Colonial Churches, and the Church of Japan, to have, as an order, an equal vote and veto with the Bench of Bishops and the clerical order in all matters, including those of discipline and doctrine? Or ought their legislative functions, if they are allowed any at all, to be strictly limited?

The proceedings of the first Council at Jerusalem, of which an account is given by St. Luke in Acts xv., have an important bearing on this question. It was summoned to decide upon a vital point of doctrine and discipline—the truth, namely, or the reverse, of the propositions enunciated by the Judaizing Christians in the infant Gentile Church at Antioch, and in Jerusalem itself, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved;" "It is needful to circumcise [the Gentile converts] and to charge them to keep the law of Moses." It is quite clear that the laity concurred in the decision which was arrived at upon the matter in dispute; for we are told in verse 22 that it pleased (or it seemed good to) the apostles and elders with the whole Church to choose Judas and Silas, and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas as the bearers of the decree of the Council. But were the laity actually named in the decree itself as parties to it? The answer to this question is, unfortunately, not free from doubt, and depends on the solution of the problem, What
is the true reading of ver. 23, the variants of which are given at the head of the present remarks.  

2. THE ADMITTED FACTS.

In order to form an opinion upon this disputed point, let us first examine the facts in connection with it as to which no doubt is raised.

The institution of the second order of the Christian ministry, the πρεσβύτεροι, or elders, is not, like that of the deacons, expressly mentioned. We are not informed when the first were ordained in Jerusalem. The earliest allusion to them is in Acts xi. 30, where we are told that the alms collected at Antioch for the relief of the Christians at Jerusalem was sent to the elders, and not, as we might have expected, to the deacons. The second mention of them is equally incidental, and occurs in chap. xiv. 23, where we learn that Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in the Churches of, apparently, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and the Pisidian Antioch. We then read that they sailed to Antioch in Syria, and there (chap. xv. 1) were confronted with the Judaizers already mentioned, who were teaching “the brethren” (τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς) their reactionary doctrine. Ver. 2: After much controversy, they (the brethren) determined that Paul and Barnabas, with some others of their body, should go up to Jerusalem to the apostles and elders (πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους) about this question. Ver. 3: The envoys were brought on their way by the Church (ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας), and passed through Phenicia and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles, and causing great joy to all the brethren (πάσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς). Ver. 4: And when they came to Jerusalem they were received by the Church, and the apostles, and elders (ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων), and declared what God had done with them. Ver. 5: But here, too, they were met by Judaizers, who insisted on the necessity of circumcising the Gentile converts, and enjoining observance of the law of Moses. Ver. 6: So the apostles and elders (ὁι ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι) came together to consider the matter. Vers. 7-11: And after much disputing, Peter rose and gave his voice for liberty in a speech beginning: “Men and brethren” (Ἀδερφεῖς ἀδελφοὶ). Ver. 12: And the whole multitude (πᾶν τῷ πλήθῳ) kept silence and listened to Paul and Barnabas declaring the signs and wonders which God had wrought by them among the Gentiles. Vers. 13-21: After this James gave his judgment against troubling the Gentile converts.

1 We need not consider the other reading of the verse, which omits ἀδελφοί, since the authority for it is insignificant.
Ver. 22: Then it seemed good to the apostles and elders, with
the whole Church (ἐδοξέ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὀλη ἡ ἐκκλησία) to choose out, and send men from them (ἐκλέξαμένους ἄνδρας εὗ αὐτῶν πέμψας) to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, namely, Judas and Silas, chief men among the brethren (ἄνδρας ἵγονυμένους εἷς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς). Ver. 23: Writing (γράψαντες) thus, by their hand—then follows the disputed heading of the decree, which proceeds: (ver. 24): “Forasmuch as we have heard that certain which went out from us (τινὲς εὗ ἡμῶν ἕκελθόντες) have troubled you,” etc. Ver. 25: “It seemed good to us, having come to one accord (ἐδοξέν ἡμῖν γενομένων ἁμαρτανόντων), to choose out and send to you men with our beloved Barnabas and Paul,” etc. And we are told in chap. xvi. 4, that as Paul and Silas went through the cities (Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, etc.) they delivered to them, to keep, the decrees adjudged by the apostles and elders at Jerusalem (πρὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλῆμ).

3. EVIDENCE OF THE MSS., VERSIONS AND FATHERS.

Having now before us the material circumstances in connection with the question, let us proceed to examine the external authorities upon the reading of the passage. The evidence of the MSS. and Versions may be thus tabulated:

**EARLY MSS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In favour of οἱ πρεσβ. καὶ οἱ ἀδ.</th>
<th>In favour of οἱ πρεσβ. ἀδ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A large preponderance of cursive MSS.</td>
<td>Cod. Londin., Tischendorf.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cod. Colbertin. (eleventh century).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VERSIONS.**

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philoxenian Syriac (fifth century).</td>
<td>Armenian (fifth century); Uscan’s edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Copt. (fourth century?)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Armenian (fifth century); Zohrab’s edition.</td>
<td>&quot; Ethiopian (fourth century); both editions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that while the testimony of the early extant MSS. is against the words καὶ οἱ having been written in the original of the Acts, the testimony of the early Versions, which must have been translated from yet earlier MSS., is in
their favour. The Patristic evidence which we possess on the subject is equally indecisive. In the Apostolic Constitutions καὶ οἱ is inserted in quoting ver. 23, and καὶ τῇ ἐπισκόπῳ ἱερὰβίῳ is inserted after ἐδοξεῖ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις in quoting ver. 22. But in the Latin translations which have come down to us of Irenæus (Contra Haeres., iii. 4) and of Athanasius (De Trinit. et Spir. Sanct., 21) the opening words of the decree are given as Apostoli et Presbyteri fratres. Similarly, Pacian (Pæren. ad Penitent., 4), at the close of the fifth century, mentions the decree as commencing with the same words. Origen's reference to it (Contra Cels., Lib. viii., p. 396) is too inaccurate to be of any real value in the inquiry. For he says: ἐδοξεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ συνα-χθείσιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πρεσβυτέρως καί, ὡς αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἄνωμασαν, τῷ ἄγῳ πνεύματι γράφατι, κ.τ.λ. Nor does Chrysostom throw any light on the point, since in his Homily on the passage he omits all reference to the presbyters as well as to the brethren. His words are: Τότε ἐδοξεῖ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, φησίν, ἄνδρας ἡγομένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πέμψαι.

4. INFERENT FROM THE ACTUAL WORDS.

In this conflict of external evidence we are driven to weigh carefully the internal evidence in favour of the alternative readings. There can be no doubt that if οἱ πρεσβῦτεροι is the true reading, it is a ἀποστόλοις, a very remarkable character. The word πρεσβύτερος is found in the New Testament sixty-six times, or, if we include the feminine form, sixty-seven times. In twenty-eight of these passages it clearly refers to a distinct order in the Jewish Church, and in sixteen (without counting the present passage) to the second order of the ministry in the Christian Church; while in the twelve passages in which it occurs in the Apocalypse it denotes a symbolical order of twenty-four individuals in the heavenly Church. In four other places it means the men of old time; and there are only six or (if we include the present passage) seven places in which the word can possibly have an adjectival sense; and even in some of these it is a question whether it is not used in its more common technical sense. Among the whole sixty-seven instances of its occurrence there is, apart from the present passage, only one in which it is used to qualify a substantive, namely, in the parable of the Prodigal Son where the father's other son is styled ὁ νιὼς ὁ πρεσβύτερος (Luke xv. 25). If we refer to the LXX. we find a similar usage. The word is mostly employed substantively; but where it is used merely as a qualifying adjective it is never once inserted between the article and the noun; but always,
as in Luke xv. 25, follows the noun, being preceded by a repetition of the article (compare Gen. xxiv. 2; xxvii. 1, 15, 42; Job i. 13, 18; Ezek. xvi. 45; xxiii. 4). If, therefore, καὶ οἱ was not in the original of the decree, we should have expected, from a grammatical point of view, οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὁ πρεσβύτεροι, and not οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ.

But the expression is equally strange when we consider it in reference to the word ἀδελφοὶ. That word is continually used in the Acts and Epistles in the sense of Christians, in accordance with our Lord’s own declaration, “All ye are brethren” (Matt. xxiii. 8). But it is nowhere else so used with a qualifying adjective to denote an official class or order of Christians. οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀδελφοὶ and, but for this one possible exception, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ, would be inconceivable forms of speech to denote the Christians of the apostolate and the Christians of the presbyterate. The words of the angel in Rev. xxii. 9, εἰμὶ... τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν τηρομένων τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, are not analogous; for the brotherhood there referred to is either that which exists between prophet and prophet, or that which subsists between all the servants of God, and is certainly not that between Christian man and Christian man. Similarly, when a clergyman nowadays talks of his clerical brethren or a layman of his lay brethren, it is not the common Christian brotherhood which is signified, but the relationship subsisting between men of the same order. Of course, too, the use of the words ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ, in addressing an audience, like our “gentlemen,” has no bearing on the point; they were employed in speaking to Jews as well as to Christians. Some have suggested that the commencement of the decree without καὶ οἱ, means “the apostles and the presbyters, brethren.” This, however, is clearly untenable, and if those two words had originally no place in the decree, we are driven to the conclusion that it contains an expression which has no parallel elsewhere in Christian literature, and had already become obsolete before St. Luke wrote the Acts. But, if this was so, we can hardly avoid the further conclusion that the expression represents a state of things which had also passed away before that time.

5. Inference from the Rest of the Decree.

The language of the rest of the decree appears to harmonize better with the assumption that the promulgators of it are

1 This assertion, of course, does not apply to such passages as Gen. xxiv. 1, καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πρεσβύτερος, where the word forms part of the predicate. Its use in these passages has no bearing upon the present discussion.
the whole Church than that it is put forth by the apostles and elders. "Certain men," the decree says, "have gone forth from us." It is nowhere hinted, and it is very unlikely, that the Judaizing teachers were either apostles or presbyters. The "us," therefore, is probably the whole Church. Again, "It seemed good unto us, having come to one accord, to choose out," etc. What the decree here states as having seemed good to the promulgators of it, is precisely what is stated by St. Luke a few verses before to have seemed good to the apostles and elders with the whole Church. Further, the decree mentions their having come to one accord (R.V.). Undoubtedly the accord in the matter was come to by the whole Church. If the apostles and elders alone promulgated the decree, so that the "we" in it did not include the whole Church, would they not have expressly mentioned the fact that the Church concurred with them in the decision?

6. Inference from the Context.

The context does not lead us to take a different view. No doubt St. Luke tells us that the Gentile Churches desired to obtain the opinion of the apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem upon the question which the Judaizers had raised, and in chap. xvi. 4 he refers to the decree as the judgment of those apostles and presbyters. But this does not negative the concurrence in it of the lay members of the Church. In fact, while in the verse just quoted the resolutions of the decree—the δόγματα—are ascribed to the apostles and presbyters, it is expressly stated in chap. xv. 22 that they were resolved by (ἐξοχέ) the apostles and presbyters, with the whole Church. It would be of supreme importance if we could determine to whom the Greek word in ver. 23, which we translate "and they wrote," refers. But it is an unattached participle, which cannot, in strict grammar, be connected with any of the foregoing nouns. It appears, however, on the whole, to be more natural to refer to it all the three, ἀπόστολοι, πρεσβύτεροι, and also ἐκκλησία. Those who would confine it to the first two must justify the limitation by some other consideration. Taken by itself, the form points to ἐκκλησία being included.

It is noticeable that in chap. xv. 6 it is only stated that the apostles and presbyters came together to consider the matter. That the laity, however, were present when the discussion took place is clear, not only from the concurrence of the whole Church in the resolutions arrived at (ver. 22), but also from the mention of the whole multitude (πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος)—see ver. 12). That this expression must refer to the whole Church, and cannot be confined to the whole body of the presbyters, is clear from its use elsewhere in the Acts.
The view that the laity at this time were consulted and took part in the formal proceedings of the Church is corroborated by other details which are recorded in the Acts and elsewhere. The whole Church (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν) was consulted as to the first appointment of deacons (chap. vi.). The whole Church (ὅδε ἀπόστολος καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί) deliberated upon St. Peter's conduct in baptizing and eating with the uncircumcised household of Cornelius (chap. xi. 1-18). It may be said that these instances occurred before any presbyters were appointed. But from chap. xxi. 18-24, it appears that long afterwards the general body of the laity, as distinguished from the elders, considered themselves entitled to call St. Paul to account for his conduct and teaching among the Gentiles whom he had visited in his missionary journeys. He first had an interview with St. James and "all the elders," but was distinctly told that this interview would not satisfy the many myriads of Jewish believers, who were all zealous for the law. According to some MSS. the multitude (πλῆθος) of these was certain to come together upon the question. But it is clear that the elders did not feel able of their own authority to pass upon St. Paul a sentence of acquittal and approval which would bind the entire Church.

The evidence of the Epistles points in the same direction. In 1 Cor. v. 3-5 St. Paul directs the whole Corinthian Church to inflict discipline on the incestuous person. Archbishop Benson in his posthumous work on Cyprian (pp. 427-431) has reminded us that this practice survived even into the third century. It is true that he treats the words καὶ οἱ as an early intrusion into Acts xv. 23; but he regards their interpolation as showing that, when they were added, it did not seem impossible that, as the laity had been clearly consulted even by apostles, so they should join with them and with the presbyters in a formal decree. He proceeds to mention a grave decision on the question of keeping Easter, written by Irenaeus in the name of the brethren over whom he presided in Gaul, and the formal condemnation of Montanism by "the faithful throughout Asia." And he adds that "Origen, in a passage which would not be conclusive if it stood alone, uses an expression which, side by side with others, hints that the consultation of the laity by the bishops, though disused in his day, had its place in the traditions of the past as well as in reason." Cyprian, therefore, was acting in accordance with ancient precedent when, in the earlier years of his episcopate, he consulted the laity on the terms of communion to be
imposed on those who had lapsed from Christianity to heathenism.  

8. Conclusion.

Our foregoing examination of the question may not enable us to arrive at an absolute decision as to the original wording of Acts xv. 23, but it will assist us to appreciate the grounds for adopting or rejecting the two alternatives, and to realize the small practical importance of the question which of them is in fact the true reading. We cannot expect to find in the infant Church, any more than in a primitive political community, a fully developed and completely organized legislative body. The assemblies of the Churches in Apostolic times, like the meetings, or motes, of the Teutonic tribes at the same period, were doubtless frequented by those who happened to be on the spot and were at leisure or disposed to be present; and their attendance was reckoned as that of the whole body. Nor need we wonder if it appeared a matter of indifference whether the resolutions of those ancient assemblies went forth in the name of the whole assembled body or of its president or more important members. The fact that some of our early Acts of Parliament purport to be issued by the authority of the King alone, or of the King and the Lords, is not inconsistent with their having been duly enacted with the consent of both Lords and Commons. As regards the case under consideration, we may assume that when St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles, he had in his hands a correct copy of the actual decree of the Council. With this copy before him, he tells us that Paul and Barnabas were sent to Jerusalem to consult the apostles and elders upon the subject on which it was made, and afterwards refers to the decree as that of the apostles and elders. But he also tells us that the decree was resolved on by them "with the whole Church." If, then, his copy contained the καί ὃι, it follows that (a) the wording of the decree itself accounts for St. Luke's statement that the whole Church assented to the decree; and (b) his subsequent allusion to it as the decree of the apostles and elders must be explained either by his considering them the important

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1 It is true that, subsequently, on the question of admitting to communion persons who had been schismatically baptized, Cyprian left the laity unconsulted. But, as the Archbishop points out, the alteration was not for the better. "'The contrast' (it is said) 'is very striking.' That is most true. Cyprian's first view disappeared from his mind. His early pledge was not redeemed. But when we look to the ennobling success of his former councils, and the collapse of the later ones, rescued only by the sweet grandeur of the man from creating wide disunion, we cannot but think the change disastrous. The course of history affirms this conclusion of Christian reason."
parties to it, or else by his having known aliunde that the Church at Antioch had in the first instance desired the opinion of the apostles and elders, and that the Gentile Churches treated the decree on receiving it as their opinion; and (c) the subsequent omission of καί οἱ in some MSS. must be ascribed to an accidental and pardonable error of a copyist, since no one could have deliberately altered an intelligible phrase into such an awkward and abnormal expression as οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοί.

If, on the other hand, the original decree had οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοί, then it follows that (a) St. Luke knew aliunde that the whole Church, though not named in the decree, had assented to it; and (b) οἱ πρ. ἄ. was, at the date of the Council, the accurate designation of the body of men who, by the time when St. Luke wrote the Acts (twelve or more years after the Council), had come to be called οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, and were then, or afterwards became, the second order in the Christian ministry; and (c) καί οἱ cannot afterwards have been inserted by accident, but must have been introduced deliberately, either to make the wording of the decree harmonize with the statement that the whole Church assented to it, or else to get rid of an expression which had become obsolete and unintelligible. If we accept the former hypothesis, the decree itself corroborates the conclusion which we draw from ver. 22, that at the date of the Council of Jerusalem the Church was considered as consisting, for legislative purposes, of three orders, and that the consent of the third order, that of the laity, was asked and given upon all subjects. If, on the other hand, we prefer the second hypothesis, the inference is forced upon us that, at the time when the Council was held, the presbyters had not crystallized into a separate order. But the statement in ver. 22 will remain unshaken, and will, of itself, prove that in the first recorded Council of the Church the opinion not only of the elder brethren, but of the whole body of the laity, was taken upon a solemn question of doctrine and discipline.

PHILIP VERNON SMITH.

ART. III.—MY OLD PARISH REGISTERS.

I ALMOST love my old registers, they seem to talk to one of such strange times and strange people. I often wonder how many sheep it has taken to make all the musty, dusty, greasy leaves of parchment which make up the aged books. And one wonders who dressed the old skins and tied
them all together in their thin, tattered, sheep-skin covers, with neat little knots of skin-strips, torn very narrow, and tied very tight, with small strings in between that might almost be sinews from their appearance.

The leaves are of many colours, with occasional round holes in them from defects in the skin; and the ink is of divers hues, from a slaty-grey to a deep-brown, while the handwriting varies from the neatest, most scholarly penmanship to the most illegible, sprawling, fly-away characters it is possible to imagine—some of the old writers evidently prided themselves on the clearness and carefulness of their entries, while others as plainly voted the whole thing "a nuisance," and considered anything would do as long as it was done.

The books begin in 1539, and the writing of the Tudor period is clear and strong, like many old monastic MSS., with very straight lines, and the letters carefully formed with a sharp pen. Some of the writing is really beautiful, and would do credit to any scribe. But as the years creep on a certain slovenliness becomes visible: there is a sort of attempt to combine the rigid characters of the old days with the "running" letters of later times, an attempt fatal both to appearance and utility, until, from 1680 to 1690, a lunatic spider dipped in ink and set walking up and down the pages could scarcely have made a more hopeless confusion. But in 1691 a marvellous improvement suddenly takes place, probably owing to the advent of a new vicar, and the dates of births, marriages, and deaths, instead of being muddled up with the names or written in "letters," are clearly put at the end of the line, and the names seem almost printed, they are of such startling distinctness. It is like coming out of a thick fog into a glorious sunshine.

Very different was the care bestowed in those times upon these important entries, and the rigid exactness required in these days of registrars of births, deaths, and marriages. Now, the ever lynx-eyed supervision of Somerset House detects the smallest inaccuracy, and calls the offending clergyman or registrar to instant account. Here there is no mention of parents' residence or occupation; no hint of age is given, the persons might be adults or infants, it is impossible to say. The very necessary precaution of inserting the officiating minister's name is entirely neglected, until in 1663 an apparently more business-like minister came to the parish, and he signed the registers of births and deaths at the end of each year—as a sort of guarantee, I suppose, that the statements were correct. But, strangely enough, what we should consider the most important entries of all—the marriages—are not signed at all, and no intimation is given as to
whether the parties spliced together were bachelors, spinsters, widowers or widows—nor whether they were of full age, or only foolish young lovers of tender years. In fact, there was evidently the most reprehensible carelessness in dealing with these momentous matters, for often the names are squeezed in between some others as an "after-thought," or written at the side of the page, or scrawled lengthways on strips of parchment let in between the leaves.

As we turn over the faded pages, we see some curious side-lights of English country life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is nothing very special in the notices of births and marriages; very prosaic, cursory, and commonplace are the entries regarding them; "the tale" of their years was not yet told: it was still a matter of uncertainty what the end of life's journey would see. But when the last step of the earthly pilgrimage has been taken, and the last tokens of respect and affection have been paid, then there comes the short but pregnant tribute of esteem to the friend and neighbour who has gone, and the character is immortalized in the parish records. At other times we have the monotonous statement over and over again that some dreadful disease is devastating the district, and claiming its victims on all hands, from all classes. Small-pox must have been really terrible in those days. It is not till we look into old registers of this sort that we begin to realize what a frightful scourge it was, and what an inestimable blessing to the community at large has been vaccination. The dismal notice comes before us many times: "Small-pox not out yet." Ah! how many was small-pox going to put out before it went out itself? The population of the parish then cannot have been many hundreds, yet small-pox broke out seemingly in the spring of 1712. It is first recorded under date February 18, and between then and November 10 in the same year out of 32 burials (a fearful mortality!) 24 are attributed to small-pox. What the condition of the village during these nine months was we can barely conjecture; with this proportion of deaths, what must have been the number of sick? A veritable plague, "a reign of terror," must have taken possession of the place. We may sometimes grumble at the inconveniences or occasional mishaps attendant on vaccination, but, thank God, we know nothing now of such dark and dreadful times.

But even when, in the older periods of the seventeenth century, there is no definite statement of the prevalence of any epidemic, we cannot escape the conclusion that such visitations were frequent and terrible; for while one year will record about half a dozen deaths, the next will chronicle 30 or 40. For instance, the year 1659 tells of 35 deaths, but
1660 speaks only of 5, 1661 of 3, and 1662 of 9; but 1663 runs up the record to 25 burials; so that probably some deadly pestilence swept over the place, and claimed as its victims the weakly, aged, and infirm, and then for a few years a more cheerful and healthful period succeeded.

But let us now look into the old books for some entries that throw light upon old times and ways. And thinking of this, it is strange that the first notice of the occupation of the deceased comes in 1679 with the curt announcement, "John Knowles, a soldier, was buried March 30th." This is all; and no further note of a person's employment appears again for years; but the national admiration for the military shines out of the page. One of the country's defenders is not to be forgotten; it is a more lasting tribute than the rattle of musketry or the roll of drums.

The next person whose laudable employment is thought worthy of remembrance is John Took, parish clerk, who died July, 1711. Ah, how much solemn grandeur and lofty dignity abode (and abides) in the country parish clerk! How useful was he in setting the tunes for the musical portions of Divine service, and reading out, correctly or incorrectly—probably very frequently the latter—the parish notices, and reminding the minister of his duty, if he forgot it! By the way, it is a strange thing, but parish clerks never seem to imagine they can fail in their duty; there is apparently no class which more strongly believes in its own infallibility. The children doubtless thought as they saw old Took lowered into his grave of the many times he had rapped their skulls for inattention and chattering in church; and the worthy minister who made the entry in the register would recall to mind with real regret the many times he and old Took had jogged each other's memories in parish matters and helped one another in mutual difficulties; while he would also remember the unpleasant fact that it now devolved on him to find a successor to the deceased clerk, and what a very worrying and unthankful office it would be to choose amongst the many applicants for the honourable and remunerative post.

But as we leave good old Took to his last long sleep, and turn over the crackling, crinkling parchment leaves, this notice attracts our attention, under date February 10, 1726: "Samuel Walker, Apothecary, an useful, kind, charitable man, was buryed." What a vista of reflections does this open up! The apothecary of those days was very different from the "chemist and druggist" of our day. He was the Æsculapius of the place. He was surgeon, physician, chemist, and druggist, absorbed into one imposing personality. At that time, in country places, the clergyman, the
village schoolmaster, and the apothecary formed the local triumvirate of learning. They embodied to the rural mind the theology, morality, literature, and science of the age. And how much warm and genial light does this short, yet eloquent, epitaph shed upon the past life of Mr. Samuel Walker! "Useful"—unquestionably, ready to extract a tooth or bind up an injured limb, his head and shop full of simple, yet probably powerful, remedies for all fleshly ills; to whom the domestic troubles of many families were retailed, with a hearty confidence, because it was felt they were securely locked up in his kind and manly heart, as safe from public inspection as the many secrets of noble families that Mr. Tulkinghorn kept buried in his bosom, as we read in "Bleak House." But the old apothecary was also "kind"—did things, I imagine, in a gentle way; knew not only how to do his duty—sometimes, doubtless, a very painful duty—but how to do it nicely, a secret not in the possession of many people. While he was attending to the maimed and injured body, he would pour the balm of sympathy into the wounded spirit. He could have said, in the words of Shakespeare: "I must be cruel, only to be kind."

And to these other virtues the departed friend of the village added that "charity" which is "the very bond of peace and of all virtues." Not, we may be sure, simply that he was "charitable" inasmuch as he was liberal; but from what goes before we may be certain the grace of charity was manifested in him in all the fullest, broadest, most catholic sense of the good old English word. Yet that he was liberal we may rest assured, and the needy sufferer and the weary wayfarer left his door oftentimes happier both in body and mind than when they came to it.

Now, as I see that the good old man had lost his worthy wife Bridget some fourteen years before (in 1712), I suspect many to whom he had shown kindly sympathy loved to return it, and his closing days were doubtless comfortable and peaceful ones, cheered by the sincere respect and genuine affection of his humble neighbours and friends.

It is almost with a sigh that we remember that the apothecary of the last century is absolutely extinct as a representative of the medical profession—that he is now just as much an object of antiquarian interest as the "dodo." The Medical Acts of 1858 and 1874 for ever consigned to oblivion the old-time apothecary, and called into being, under wise restrictions, the new and more cultured exponents of the healing art.

But kindliness and goodness were not confined to the race of apothecaries. The gentry of the place evidently delighted
in making a worthy use of their responsibilities and opportunities. For, allowing a large discount on the catalogue of virtues credited to them, as we must do, considering the fulsome adulation which is engraved on many tablets and tombs of that period, yet a solid substratum of truth must remain.

On August 24, 1713, was buried "Deborah, ye wife of Thomas Scot, Gent., who for her extraordinary Piety and most extensive charity was universally lamented." From this we gather she was an excellent example of that noble type of generous, godly, strict, yet kind old country ladies which were the glory and blessing of many rural districts, from the time of the Commonwealth down to the last century—somewhat Puritanical, rigidly orthodox, inflexibly just. And the partner of her life seems to have been as excellent a pattern of "My Lord" as she was of "My Lady," for when he is laid to rest under the trees of the old churchyard it is recorded of him in writing that seems to indicate real emotion: "May 13, 1729. Thomas Scot, Gentleman, an honest, just, good, charitable man, a great Benefactor both to ye church and Poor, to ye great loss and inexpressible lamentation, particularly of ye minister of ye parish and all ye Inhabitants, was buried." Those who look over the pages of the old "Town Book" can truly say "Amen" to this; for many, many years had Mr. Scott served the parish as churchwarden, and from his wise and judicious handling of parish matters endless benefits had resulted to the parish.

There rises before our minds the portrait of the real old country squire, magistrate and landowner, to whom his fellow-men looked up with respect and affection, and who looked down on his fellow-men with genuine regard. As we gaze on the broad tombstone on the church-floor by the font, and think of the words in the old register, we comfort ourselves anew with the reflection that "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

But as we continue our researches amongst the aged pages, we become conscious, not only that the life-work of some of these old country folk was of more than passing interest, but that we are brought into contact with a phase of English life when coroners and Poor Law Guardians were (according to our ideas) unknown. Very often does the sad announcement meet our eye, after the name of the deceased, "a stranger." How much is comprised in that simple expression! A wanderer on life's highway, wearied with the toils and misfortunes of humanity, had at last found a resting-place amongst strangers; yet, by that very fact, perhaps, calling forth some of the noblest and tenderest traits of the human
heart, winning for someone an "Inasmuch"; affording, maybe, some poor heart the blessed opportunity of "entertaining angels unawares"; carrying to the village community the possibility of claiming the Divine blessing, "I was a stranger, and ye took Me in."

Yet, besides the sentimental, we have instances of the tragic and the terrible—short but pithy notices of events which must have stirred by their awful suddenness and sadness the parish to its depth. On January 4, 1696, was buried "Peter Strangway, who lost his life by falling into a copper of boiling water at the Swan." We can only speculate in our own minds on the "whys" and "wherefores" of the tragedy; yet what a field for speculation!—his age, condition, occupation, all are matters for conjecture. Next, we read

"Feb. 19, 1697.—Francis Butcher, who dyed mad after two months being bit by a mad dog, was buried."

"June, 1708.—Mary Halsy, who having lost her sight in Jamaica, was sent from thence to this parish to be maintained, as she was between 20 and 30 years, was buried."

(N.B.—What an enormous way to send a pauper home, and how careful they were that each parish should maintain its own poor!)

"July 25, 1711.—Edmund Barker, a stranger who was killed by a cart, was buried."

And in 1720 we have the touching entry of a young mother buried in the same coffin with her little one.

These events would be the "nine-day wonders" of the place, and would naturally at that time be recorded in the parish annals.

Among the last but not least interesting features of these old registers is the witness they give to the strange old customs of burying the dead.

It is not generally known that in 1666 was passed a curious sumptuary law, by which all corpses were ordered to be buried in woollen. This Act of Parliament was re-enacted in 1667, and every clergyman was ordered to get a certificate that the law had been complied with, and anyone evading the law was to pay a penalty of "Five Pounds," of which sum half was to go to the informer and half to the poor. The law was, however, very negligently enforced, and although it fell more and more into desuetude, it was not finally repealed till 1814. The only bodies which were freed from this extraordinary statute were of those who died of the plague.

Pope has immortalized this remarkable legislative interference with the liberty of the subject in his lines on the death of Mrs. Oldfield, the distinguished actress—an awful example of how the spiritual nature seems to shrink and shrivel under
the influence of constant contact with worldliness. Let us beware!

Odious! in woollen! "Twould a saint provoke
(Were the last words that poor Narcessa spoke).
No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face;
One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead,
And, Betty, give the cheek a little red.

Now, my registers fully bear out all that is said elsewhere
regarding this curious custom. In fact, the second register
goes back and records over again the burials from 1678 to 1680
in order to add the words "buried in woollen" and "certificate received." It is evident the custom only slowly gained ground
or was enforced; for it is not till 1678 (twelve years after the
Act was passed) that we find it first noticed: "Register of the
Buryalls of Watton, made the first of August, 1678, after
Burying in Woollen." Then follows: "Eliz. Bowgen, buryed
1st August, and certificate rec'd for her buryal in woollen."
The expression "in woollen" is not always, or even generally,
added after this, though it is occasionally; but the "certificate
rec'd" is never omitted till 1686, when it is discontinued.

The success of the woollen manufacturer was the avowed
object of this Act of Parliament; but there were probably
other reasons as well, just as in the "Homilies" the only
express reason given for the practice of fasting was the
prosperity of the seafaring population, yet there were un-
questionably some secondary ideas in connection with it.

As is usually the case, there were some people who
deliberately ignored or defied the Parliamentary commands,
and therefore they had to pay the parish for the gratification
of their personal whims. Under date August 26, 1726, I find
"Hannah Jarvis, who dyed of the small-pox at Griston, was
buryed in this church [horrible idea!] she was buryed in
linnen, £5 [or 50s., it is very illegible] was payd to ye parish."
And, by the way, just below this entry my eye catches sight
of a most ominously suggestive remark, "M's Ann Fleming,
Patroness of the Living," is buried, and the marvellous
comment is added, "when single, a very good lady." It may
mean that the living was hers when single; but it may also
mean that matrimony in her case had not exercised its
mellowing and hallowing functions, that, in fact, "single
blessedness" was the greatest blessedness to her!

But we must close, and fold up the old books (for they do
fold up!) and replace them in their usual dark abode,
wondering how many glad faces and sad faces have looked
over them; how often old vicars and parish clerks have
chatted together, and concocted the various strange notices;
and yet, again, we can but conjecture, with a certain reverent awe, what will be the verdict of the last Great Day on those departed brothers and sisters of ours. Will the Divine judgments coincide with the human? How many of those inscribed in these earthly registers are written down in "the Lamb's Book of Life"?

W. B. RUSSELL-CALEY.

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ART. IV.—THE REFORMATION ILLUSTRATED BY THE PRAYER-BOOK.

THE student of the Reformation period of the Church of England will find himself grievously misled if he forms the conclusion that each step in that momentous change which came over the spirit of Church and State in this land was the result of a peaceful, deliberate policy, carried out after calm consideration. Had these been the conditions under which the Church freed herself from the errors of Rome, the ritual and doctrinal controversies of the present century would probably never have arisen.

Our Reformers, such, e.g., as Archbishops Warham, Cranmer, and Parker, and Bishops Latimer, Ridley, etc., were men who retained a devoted attachment to the catholicity of the Church, and merely desired the repudiation of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, and the return to primitive faith and practice. They were as strongly opposed to the revolutionary and destructive tendencies of the foreign Protestants as they were to the maintenance of the subservience to Rome. The idea of breaking away from the Apostolic continuity of the Anglican Church never entered their minds. At the same time, they needed all the support they could obtain in resisting the onslaught of the Papal See.

The result was that a compromise had to be arrived at, and, like most compromises, it pleased neither side. From the Anglican point of view, the independence and freedom which she secured were a sufficient compensation for the ritual and practices that, unfortunately, fell into temporary abeyance. The gain was in matters of principle and doctrine; the loss included a vast variety of questions, but none of them were vital to her position as a branch of the Catholic Church, being of the nature of details. She secured the universal opportunity of the study of Holy Scripture for all her members, and the privilege of common and public worship in the vernacular; she retained the threefold order of the Apostolic ministry, and the primitive administration of the two great
Sacraments; she retained in their original simplicity the creeds of the Universal Church; she lost—though, happily, she has regained much during recent years—a considerable number of ancient practices and ceremonies in the conduct of Divine worship, as well as certain doctrines which, while inferior in importance to the fundamental truths of Christianity, she would gladly have retained.

We may illustrate the character of the compromises which our Reformers were compelled to make by a retrospect of the vicissitudes of the Anglican Prayer-Book during the sixteenth century.

Its origin was as follows: When St. Augustine landed in Kent, he found various service-books in use in the Gallican and British Churches, which were probably based on the model of the Eastern liturgies, and differed considerably from the authorized Roman "use" in his time. In his desire for uniformity, he appealed to Gregory as to the advisability of enforcing the Roman ritual. The answer came that he should not, in preparing a liturgy for the Anglican Church, tie himself down to any others, but should select out of every Church what is pious, religious, and right; for "things are not to be valued on account of places, but places for the good things they contain." The variety of service thus caused was still further increased by the fact that Christianity was widely spread throughout the north and centre of England by native Celtic missionaries. Hence we find the existence of various "uses" throughout the country when England had become wholly Christianized. The most important of these was the Sarum use, drawn up by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1085 A.D., which really formed the basis of our present Prayer-Book.

The service-books, which were written in Latin, were several in number, and consequently were somewhat voluminous and inconvenient for the ordinary purposes of worship.

(a) There was the Breviary, called in England the Portiforium, which contained the "offices" for theCanonical Hours, consisting of prayers, psalms, hymns, canticles, with lessons taken from Scripture or the writings of the Fathers.

(b) The Missal, or "Order of the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist," with its own calendar, rubrics, and elaborate ritual directions, together with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the various seasons of the ecclesiastical year.

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1 Bede, "Eccl. Hist."
2 Also called Portfoir, Portean, Portuisse, or Portas.
3 Mattins, or Lauds, at daybreak; Prime at 6 a.m.; Terce at 9 a.m.; Sext at noon; None at 3 p.m.; Vespers at sunset; and Compline at bed-time.
(c) The Manual, comprising the Baptismal and other occasional services, which might be performed by a priest.

(d) The Pontifical, which includes such "offices" as could only be used by a Bishop—viz., the Ordination Services, Confirmation, Consecration of a Church or Burial-ground, etc. Besides these, there were issued from time to time what were called Prymers, which were vernacular books of private devotion for the people, including the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, with the addition of the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany, and other matter.

As early as the year 1516 A.D., a revised edition of the Sarum Breviary was issued; and in 1533 A.D. a somewhat similar revision was published of the Missal of the Use of Sarum, thus demonstrating the fact that there was an ever-growing tendency towards the demand for a service in which the people could join, and which they could understand and appreciate. For a long time prior to the sixteenth century there had been a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the part allotted to the laity in public worship, and a determination to claim for them a share in a distinct and intelligent service, wherein the Latin tongue, the use of which was fast dying out, should be superseded by the English language.

The Reformation in England, so far as it was purely a religious movement, had two great objects in view. These were the publication of an English Bible and the issue of an English Prayer-Book. The former was commenced in 1525 A.D., when the first edition of Tyndale's New Testament appeared. Ten years later Miles Coverdale produced his translation of the Bible into English. In 1537 A.D. Matthew's Bible was published, which was practically a reprint from Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions. This was followed, two years afterwards, by the "Great Bible," prepared by Cranmer and his fellow-commissioners, which was the first version issued by authority. A copy was ordered to be set up in every parish church, the proclamation to this effect being dated May 6, 1541 A.D.

The way was thus cleared for a similar treatment of the service-books. In 1542 A.D. Convocation appointed a committee to make a thorough revision of the Sarum Breviary, Missal, etc., and translate them into English, omitting all reference to the Bishop of Rome, and abolishing the memorials of mediæval saints. The work entrusted to this body of revisers was laborious, and the results did not appear until seven years later. We are, however, indebted to Cranmer for the interim publication of the first English Litany, which

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1 See "The Bible in the Church," pp. 281, et seq.
appeared in 1544 A.D., and, with the exception of three clauses invoking the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, of the angels, patriarchs, prophets, and of the Apostles, is practically identical with that which we now use.

The first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., issued in 1549 A.D., was the fruit of the labours of this committee, of which Archbishop Cranmer was the president, and the leading spirit throughout the deliberations. It was the first complete version in English of the service-books of the Anglican Church, and gives clear evidence of the Catholic spirit by which the Primate was prompted. As we have seen, he repudiated the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, but he had no desire to yield to the influence of those who were swayed by the foreign Protestants, by sweeping away those beliefs and practices which had been the heritage of Anglicanism from primitive times.

The desire of Cranmer and his coadjutors, as stated in the Preface, was:

(a) That the whole realm should now have but one "use" in Divine Service.

(b) That the rubrical directions should be simplified.

(c) That the Psalms should be repeated in their order, a certain number being said daily.

(d) That the Holy Scriptures should be publicly read in a continuous course.

(e) That legends, with a multitude of responds, anthems, and invitatories, should be omitted.

(f) That all should be in the English tongue.

The Act of Uniformity, enjoining the use of the Prayer-Book, was passed in 1549 A.D., and the volume immediately came into general use.

It is interesting to notice that, in the Communion Office, the Exhortation, the Confession, and the Comfortable Words, were borrowed from the Consultatio of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, which in its turn had been adapted by Bucer and Melancthon from the Nuremberg Office; but that, with this exception, the Prayer-Book now compiled for the use of the English Church owed nothing to the foreign Reformers, but was almost entirely based on the ancient service-books, which had closely followed the primitive liturgies. Such a book appearing by authority in those critical times may almost, without exaggeration, be said to have been the salvation of the Church of England.

The Prayer-Book gave great offence to the more violent Reformers, who wished for the entire abolition of Catholicity.

1 See Book of Common Prayer.
in the Church, and its appearance was made the pretext for disturbances in various parts of the country, the cause of which was, for the most part, purely political.

It very soon became evident that the Puritan faction, supported by the sympathy of the Protector and his Council, would do their utmost to prevent the Reformation from going forward on the lines laid down by Cranmer. The leader of the movement against the revised English Liturgy was John Hooper, who was in many respects the most remarkable figure of that generation. He was the stern, uncompromising, unsparing enthusiast. The altars were to him "altars of Baal." He had resided for seven or eight years abroad in the closest intimacy with Calvin and the Swiss Reformers, and nothing short of their views would satisfy him. He was appointed to preach a course of Lenten sermons before the young King in 1550 A.D., which he utilized for implanting in his hearer a stronger leaning than before towards Puritanism, and was shortly afterwards made Bishop of Gloucester. For some months he declined to wear vestments at his consecration, or to take the oath of supremacy. Two months' incarceration in the Fleet, however, convinced him of his error, and he was consecrated on March 8, 1551 A.D. His entrance into Convocation was coincident with the first formal complaints against the Liturgy and service-books. Some months later a committee was appointed to review the book, especially in regard to the Communion Office. In this it had followed somewhat closely the service of the Mass, and had utterly refused to lend itself to the Zwinglian notion of a commemorating feast. The attacks of the extreme reforming party, with the sympathy and support of the young King, were now directed against the whole service, but specially against its sacrificial character, and against the recognition of the Divine Presence.

The second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was produced in 1552 A.D., as a concession to the extreme party. The most important alterations are found in the Communion Office, the entire character of which was changed. The words in the title, "commonly called the Mass," were struck out; the ancient vestments and the introits were abolished; the prayer for the dead, the manual acts, the mixed chalice, the Agnus Dei, and other ritual observances, were discontinued. Above all, the words used at the reception of the sacred elements (the first half of those at present in use) were replaced by a new form taken from the Polish reformed liturgy of John à Lasco (the second part of the words of reception). This Prayer-Book had only been issued a few months, and had hardly begun to be circulated before the death of the young King in July, 1553 A.D.
The Reformation illustrated by the Prayer-Book.

The triumph of the thorough-going Reformers was complete. The moderate party had yielded to them for the sake of peace, and a new character was given for the moment to the worship of the Church of England. Like most concessions, however, it gave dire offence to the party to whose wishes the utmost deference had been paid. The foreign refugees abused the new Prayer-Book as virulently as they had abused that of 1549 A.D., Calvin speaking of it as "intolerable stuff."

The accession of Mary to the throne arrested the progress of the Reformation, although the ultimate effect of the persecutions during her reign did much to reconcile the nation to the rupture with Rome.

When Queen Elizabeth succeeded her sister, it was fully expected, by the more fanatical of the Puritans, that she would at once throw herself heart and soul into the fray, and give them the support of her influence. But she had no intention of compromising her position, or of endangering her throne by any partisan action. She realized that, if the State was to be preserved from danger, and the Church reinstated in its national position, she must proceed with the utmost caution. Her object was, if possible, to reconcile the great mass of the people to the principles of the Reformation, including those who desired to return to the state of things existing in the reign of Henry VIII. The Queen was a Catholic at heart, in the sense in which her father and Archbishop Cranmer were Catholics. She desired, while repudiating the Papal supremacy and the mediaeval dogmas of Rome, to retain the primitive practices and doctrines of the Anglican Church. Accordingly, a further revision of the Prayer-Book was made in 1559 A.D., based, not on the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. (which she herself is believed to have wished), but on that of 1552 A.D. The principal alterations at this revision were: (1) the royal title of "Head of the Church" was superseded by that of "Supreme Governor"; (2) the vestments of 1549 A.D. were provisionally restored; (3) the petition against the Pope\(^1\) was struck out of the Litany; (4) the "Declaration on kneeling\(^2\) (generally called the Black Rubric), was removed; (5) the words of administration in the Holy Communion were changed to their present form, combining the usage of the two previous books. When this Prayer-Book appeared in print, it contained a proviso which was not in accordance with the description of it (as being all but identical with that of 1552 A.D.) given in the Act of

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\(^1\) "From the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

\(^2\) Inserted in the Prayer-Book of 1552 A.D., and intended to deny any "real and essential presence of Christ in the Sacrament."
Uniformity\(^1\) enjoining its use. This proviso, generally called the Ornaments Rubric, which was accepted and authorized at the last revision in 1662 A.D., was probably inserted by Queen Elizabeth herself, a royal interference with the constitution of the Church which happily has not been regarded as a precedent.

A considerable amount of the ritual litigation of the present generation has centred round this apparently simple and unambiguous injunction, the vagueness of the phraseology having unfortunately allowed of a variety of interpretation by different schools of thought in the Church.

The Elizabethan Prayer-Book was gradually and almost universally accepted, and out of 9,400 clergy not more than 189 preferred to resign their benefices rather than use it. For the first ten years of the new reign men of all shades of opinion joined in the services in their parish churches "without contradiction or show of misliking." Moreover, there is evidence that Pope Pius IV. professed himself willing to accord it his sanction—which proves that the catholicity of the liturgy had not been destroyed—if only the Papal supremacy might be recognised and accepted in England.

During the reign of Elizabeth there grew up the great Puritan party—Puritan in ritual and discipline, Presbyterian in its views of Church government, and Calvinistic in doctrine. Step by step, through the exercise of a firm and temperate policy, which was largely due to the able and statesmanlike character of the Primate, Archbishop Parker, the Puritan resistance to the ritual and order established throughout the land was overcome. The result was the origination of Dissenting bodies. The first Puritan schism took place in 1573 A.D. In a few years several subdivisions among the sect occurred, such as the "Precisians" and the "Brownists."\(^2\) The latter were so-called after Robert Brown, who subsequently founded the Independents or Congregationalists.

The Romish schism in England dates from the year 1570 A.D., and took its rise within a few months of the publication of the Bull of Pope Pius V., excommunicating Queen Elizabeth, and commanding her subjects to violate their oaths of allegiance. The existing Roman hierarchy in England was only established in 1850 A.D.

It will be seen from the above sketch of the variations in the form and character of our Anglican liturgy, which were successively made during the twenty years between 1540 A.D. and 1560 A.D., that our Reformers were confronted

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1 Eliz., cap. 2.
2 See "Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England," Lecture 2.
with difficulties requiring the exercise of almost superhuman judgment to overcome. It would be impossible, within the limits of space allotted to me, to attempt to trace the influence of the opposing parties in the framing of the Articles, of Church legislation, etc., or on the progress of thought at the Universities and elsewhere. Nor must it be forgotten that both Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, while the general tendency of their policy gave an impetus to the efforts of the Reformers, constituted in many respects a grave hindrance to the accomplishment of the scheme on which the leaders of the Reformation had set their heart. Of Queen Elizabeth's religious views we have the following account by Burnet. "The Queen," he says, "had been bred up from her infancy with a hatred of the Papacy and a love for the Reformation; but yet, as her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained, so in her own nature she loved state and some magnificence in religion as in everything else. She thought that in her brother's reign they had stripped it too much of external ornaments, and made their doctrine too narrow on some points. She inclined to keep up images in churches, and to have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament left in some general words, that those who believed the corporal presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it."

Our Reformers desired, primarily, to set at rest the question of supremacy by repudiating the Papal jurisdiction. They then wished to purge the Church of mediaeval superstitions, which were unscriptural, and unknown in the primitive Church. They aimed at giving an English Bible to the nation, and causing the Church services to be rendered in English. Beyond this they had no wish to go. But the virulence of the Romanizing party, who displayed their sentiments during the reign of Queen Mary, when they obtained the upper hand for a few years, and the fanaticism of those who had imbibed the principles of the foreign Protestants, alternately rendered it hopeless for Archbishops Cranmer and Parker, and those who realized the importance of retaining the catholicity of the Anglican Church, while correcting abuses and errors, to act with the statesmanlike deliberation that was essential.

With the work of the Convocation of 1571 A.D., the Reformation of the Church of England was practically completed. Although much remained to be done in the way of discipline, and of consolidating her organization, the lines had been laid down, the framework constructed, and the way prepared for further progress.

Montague Fowler.
ART. V.—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN ITS RELATION TO NONCONFORMISTS.

ARTICLE I.—INTRODUCTION.

I.

I WILL prefix to my paper, and the series which is to follow it, the report on the subject adopted by the Lambeth Conference of 1897.

"The question of unity with Christian bodies, other than the Eastern and Roman Churches, is one which has awakened among the members of this Conference a deep and most affectionate interest, and has led them to consider once more on what basis such unity might be established.

At the Lambeth Conference of 1888 the following important resolution was passed on the subject:

That in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which approach may be, by God’s blessing, made towards Home Reunion—

(a) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as “containing all things necessary to Salvation,” and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(b) The Apostles’ Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(c) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ’s words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(d) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.

And now to-day we can only re-affirm this position as expressing all that we can formulate as a basis for conference. It may be well for us to state why we are unable to concede more.

We believe that we have been Providentially entrusted with our part of the Catholic and Apostolic inheritance bequeathed by our Lord, and that not only for ourselves, but for the millions who speak our language in every land—possibly for humanity at large. Nearly a century ago the Anglican Church might have seemed to many almost entirely insulated, an institution, in Lord Macaulay’s language, “almost as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas.” Yet at that time an eminent Roman Catholic (Count Joseph de Maistre) declared his con-
viction that the English Church was endowed with a quality analogous to that possessed by chemical intermedes of combining irreconcilable substances.

This quality of our Church we cannot forget and dare not annul. We feel we should not be justified in placing "new barriers between ourselves and the ancient historical Churches." Nor, in a different direction, do we believe in mere rhetorical calls to unity. Nor would we surrender in return for questionable benefits the very elements of the peculiar strength and attractiveness of our own system—its quiet adherence to truth, its abstinence from needless innovation, its backbone of historical continuity. We cannot barter away any part of our God-given trust, because we feel that such action would involve an amount of future loss and forfeiture which we cannot estimate at the moment.

For these and other reasons we cannot concede any part of our essential principles.

II.

Yet, if this, our inevitable attitude, seems discouraging to many loving hearts, those who are watching for the day of reunion to whiten upon the clouded sky are not without tokens of the coming dawn.

Let us glance for a moment at our four principles. We rejoice to see—1. The general and loving acceptance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to Salvation and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

2. It is cheering to find that not only the Apostles' Creed, but also the Nicene Creed, is received by so many holy and gifted minds among our separated brethren. In the Nicene Creed—that lasting safeguard against all forms of speculation which call in question either the perfect manhood or the true Godhead of our Blessed Lord—they acknowledge the essential Christianity necessary for eternal life, more particularly the full truth concerning the person of our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. As to the Two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself: many to whom the question has been referred not only assent to the necessity of the unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution and of the elements appointed by Him, but, in accordance with our Prayer-Book, see in the one ordinance the Sacrament of life, in the other the Sacrament of growth.

4. The historic Episcopate not unnaturally raises graver difficulties. Yet in America many of our Presbyterian brethren appear to have been not unwilling to remember that in England in 1660 their forefathers would have been prepared to accept episcopacy with such recognition of the laity as now
exists in the United States and in the Irish and in many of the colonial Churches. We naturally turn to the Established Church of Scotland, which approached us at the beginning of the present Conference with a greeting so gracious and so tender. That body has amongst its sons not a few who are deeply studying the question of the three Orders in their due and proper relation.

III.

As we approach the conclusion of our task, we wish to advert to two subjects which should stand out high and clear above all else: (1) The Divine purpose of unity; (2) the existence of conditions in the Church and spiritual world. The first as our authority for working, the second our encouragement to work.

1. We are thankful that the subject of Christian unity is gaining an increasing hold upon the thoughts, and, we believe, upon the prayers, of Christian people. The day is past in which men could speak of the Church of God as if it were an aggregate of trading establishments, as if our divisions promoted a generous rivalry, and saved us from apathy and indolence. Men of all schools of thought are realizing the grievous injury which has been done to Christianity by the separations which part holy men and women of various Christian bodies from each other.

2. We find an ever-growing hope of reconciliation in the historical phenomenon of circumstances generating a condition in the world of thought.

Such condition-crises sometimes occur. Their history is this: For a long period two strains of thought, two currents of opinion, two sets of ideas, exist in a community. Of these, one at the outset is greatly in excess of the other; but that other has in it the true principle of growth, and so at last the two elements stand in equilibrium. Then the balance turns irresistibly, and the hopeless minority of one century becomes the triumphant majority of another. At the present time we are led to believe that this principle may be applied to "Home Reunion."

Circumstances, which are but God's preparation, produce the condition which is God's advance. We look forward in faith and hope to the sure coming of a time when this condition will arise by the anti-sectarian and conciliating work of God the Holy Ghost in the life of Christendom.

The circumstances of our Christendom are rapidly producing the condition which is antagonistic to separation. The circumstances to which we refer are such as these: Larger
and more liberal views of the interpretation of Scripture; movements which enlarge and correct men's knowledge of Church history; the overthrow of metaphysical systems which deprave and discolour the attributes of God; belief in and love of the living, ascended Christ, giving earnestness and beauty to Christian worship; thought critical, ethical, aesthetic—these things are bringing about the condition in which union will be as natural as disunion has been for some centuries.

In this renewed spirit of unity we trust that our beloved Church will have a large share. We speak as brothers to these Christian brothers who are separated from us. We can assure them that we fail not in love and respect for them. We acknowledge with a full heart the fruits of the Holy Ghost produced by their lives and labours. We remember the fact, so glorious for them, that in evil days they kept up the standard at once of family virtue, and of the life hidden with Christ in God. We can never forget that lessons of holiness and love have been written upon undying pages by members of their communions, and that the lips of many of their teachers have been touched with heavenly fire. We desire to know them better—to join with them in works of charity. We are more than willing to help to prevent needless collisions, or unwise duplication of labour. We know that many among them are praying, like many of ourselves, that the time may be near for the fulfilment of our Master's prayer that "they all may be one." Surely in the unseen world there is a pulsation of joy among the redeemed; some mysterious word has gone forth among them that Christ's army still on earth, long broken into fragments by bitter dissensions, is stirred by a Divine impulse to regain the loving brotherhood of the Church's youth. May we labour on in the deathless hope that, while in the past unity without truth has been destructive, and truth without unity feeble, now in our day truth and unity combined may be strong enough to subdue the world to Christ; and the muse of the Church's history may no longer be hate, but love! May He grant us (in Bishop Jeremy Taylor's words) "uniting principles, reconciled hearts, and an external communion in His own good season"!

Time ripens, thought softens, love has a tender subtlety of interpretation. Controversy in the past has been too much the grave of Charity. We have much to confess and not a little to learn.

IV.

When we come to consider the practical steps which are to be taken towards reunion, we feel bound to express our con-
viction as to the magnitude and difficulty of the work which lies before us; a work which can only be accomplished by earnest, and, so far as possible, united, prayer to our Heavenly Father for the help of the Holy Spirit that we may be delivered from all hatred and prejudice, from everything that can hinder us from seeing His holy will, or prevent us from accomplishing His divine purpose.

The Lambeth Conference of 1888 adopted the following resolution:

"That this Conference earnestly request the constituted authorities of the various branches of our Communion, acting, so far as may be, in concert with one another, to make it known that they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference (such as that which has already been proposed by the Church in the United States of America) with the representatives of other Christian Communions in the English-speaking races, in order to consider what steps can be taken, either towards corporate reunion, or towards such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic unity hereafter."

We consider, however, that the time has now arrived in which the constituted authorities of the various branches of our Communion should not merely make it known that they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference with representatives of other Christian communities in the English-speaking races, but should themselves originate such conferences and especially arrange for representative meetings for united humiliation and intercession.

It was hoped at the time of the Reformation that the National Church would satisfy the consciences of all the inhabitants of the country, and would unite every English subject in the common Christian faith and organization. This, however, after the great upheaval of the Reformation, was impossible. The Reformation, although the Reformers did not realize it themselves at first, meant the full recognition of the principle of liberty of conscience and liberty of worship. And there were two facts that were the sure presage of future divergence. One was that the Reformation had not affected the Roman Catholic Church in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries. The other was, that this great movement had taken a different form from that which it took in England in almost all the other countries where it was welcomed. In Switzerland, Germany, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Scotland, hardly a single Bishop had joined in the general desire for renovation. In these countries the
Reformers had unfortunately to break away from the old system of things altogether. In each of these countries they wished to set up the Episcopal form of government, but they could get no Bishops. Switzerland, Holland, and Scotland modelled their churches after the type set up by Calvin. The Huguenots in France followed the same example. Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway received their new ecclesiastical organization under the influence of Luther. It is thought that Sweden has a true historical succession of episcopal authority; but that point is not yet quite determined. England alone, guided by the strong arm of Henry VIII., Edward VI.'s council, and Elizabeth, maintained her old institutions, received episcopal authority from one generation to another, and cleansed herself from the superstitions and corruptions of Rome by a wholesome renovation instead of a complete revolution.

Now, from these two facts, the existence of the Roman Church in neighbouring countries in increased and consolidated power after the Council of Trent, and the different course of the Reformation in Europe and in Scotland, it was absolutely certain that the Roman type and the Calvinistic type would reappear in England.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

(To be continued.)

THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

FROM time to time the readers of the CHURCHMAN have been informed of the progress of the Old Catholic movement—that endeavour on the part of certain Continental Catholics to recur to the principles of primitive doctrine and order on which our glorious Reformation in England was based. The Old Catholics do not precisely correspond to any of our religious parties at home, which is no doubt the reason why so little is known or heard of them. But as a revolt against Rome, the influence of which, at first infinitesimal, is steadily increasing, the movement is worthy of the careful attention of English Churchmen, to whatever school of thought they may belong.

Since November 21, 1897, the Old Catholics have had a sixth bishop. Up to that date there were but five: three in Holland, presiding over a body which broke off relations with Rome some two centuries ago, one in Germany and one in Switzerland. There are, moreover, two bishops-elect, one waiting for consecration till sufficient funds can be collected.
for their maintenance, one in Austria and one in Italy. The sixth bishop just mentioned will superintend the "Independent Church of the Poles" in the United States of America.

The origin of this body is as follows. People in America generally become a little independent. And, as everybody knows, the Poles are by no means the most patient of races. There are about 200,000 of them in the United States. When they found that their places of worship, which they had built with their own money, were vested absolutely in the hands of a bishop, who was sometimes an Irishman, and that they were allowed no voice in the selection of their clergy, the bishop claiming to appoint whomsoever he pleased, some of them became restive, and after many ineffectual protests and temporary rebellions, they resolved to form an independent church, and finally elected Herr Anton Kozlowski their bishop. Herr Kozlowski is a man of character and experience. He was at one time rector of the seminary at Tarentum, in Italy, but finally passed over to the United States, where he served several churches with credit. Negotiations were set on foot with the European Old Catholic bishops, and after some discussion they agreed to consecrate Herr Kozlowski. He was consecrated in the Old Catholic cathedral at Berne by Bishop Herzog, assisted by Archbishop Gul, of Utrecht, and Bishop Weber, of the German Old Catholic Church. Thus the Old Catholic movement, instead of having died out, as its enemies have persistently asserted, has now extended to the North American Continent. It should be added that Herr Kozlowski's flock have been quite willing to make sacrifices for their cause. When their pastor was excommunicated and turned out of his church, his flock at once set to work, built a church, parsonage, and schools, raised a fund for their rector and for two Polish priests who were willing to assist him, as well as teachers for their school. There are seven congregations, and the number of adherents is estimated to be about 30,000.

The work of Count Campello, the bishop-elect of the Old Catholics of Italy, is at present exposed to serious dangers, unless English Churchpeople speedily come to his help. Archbishop Plunket, the president of the association formed in the British Isles for the furtherance of Count Campello's work, is no more, and the association is still without a head. From a variety of causes, the funds of the association are now at a very low ebb, and unless a strong effort is made, the whole work is in danger of a collapse. The movement in Italy is chiefly among the artisans, and it makes way only very gradually among a people accustomed for about twelve centuries at least to ecclesiastical slavery. Yet it continues
to progress in a very remarkable manner, but the workers will be reduced to something very like starvation if English help is withdrawn. Will our wealthy English Churchmen quietly maintain an attitude of non-intervention, and allow a bold and effective protest against the errors and corruptions of Rome to be crushed out?

Old Catholicism in Italy has obtained another adherent. Professor Miraglia, of Piacenza, who has been for years the victim of incessant intrigues and persecutions from men who were jealous of his abilities and hated his independence, at last determined on resistance, and refused to obey a sentence of excommunication pronounced against him. With the help of some Italians returned from the United States, where they had fallen under the influence of our Church, he has opened a church of his own at Piacenza, where he had previously been working under the Roman bishop. As invariably happens in the case of any priest who leaves the Church of Rome, the grossest insinuations have been made against his character; but his opponents dared not meet his challenge to appear against him in the law courts. When libelling failed, assassination was attempted. That also failed. The next resource was intrigues with the State. The first visit the Archbishop of Milan ever paid to the King was followed by a Government order to close Miraglia's church to the public. Admission to his services is now only permissible by ticket to members of his congregation, which numbers over 1,000. The Italian Government promised "not to forget" him—a rather indefinite promise—if he would leave Piacenza. His reply, "I will never leave Piacenza," was a remarkable one, if he be the immoral man his enemies strive to represent him. And he has kept his word. He maintains his services and also publishes a weekly newspaper called *Gerolamo Savonarola*, without any external help whatsoever. At the invitation of that sturdy Swiss Old Catholic layman, Dr. Weibel, Miraglia went to the Old Catholic Congress at Vienna last September, and made a great sensation there by his eloquent and learned Latin speech. In November he and his congregation definitely decided to join the Old Catholic body, but at present there are no formal relations between him and Count Campanello. As an instance of Roman Catholic methods of controversy, it is amusing to find that his opponents in Piacenza declared that Miraglia had never been to Vienna, and that there was no such person as Dr. Weibel! It may be sufficient to say that Dr. Weibel has been well and intimately known to the writer of these lines for more than fifteen years, and that until very recently he was a member of the Swiss Federal Parliament. Dr. Weibel has the fullest confidence in Miraglia,
and Englishmen will surely sympathize with the brave resistance to insult and persecution made by this able and, as there is the fullest reason to believe, basely calumniated man.

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THE LIKENESS GOD MADE OF HIMSELF.

The romance of life is to have a grand, entrancing personality; one of the rarest, most valuable qualities is a large, sober, reflective judgment, just, always true. Such a friend is invaluable, whose opinion when we are in difficulty can always be adopted, his advice never doubted, but ever followed. He is a miniature picture of the Holy, the Good, the Wise.

Live up to the highest and best that is in you, then your gain will be great; yield to the lower, and your loss will be terrible. It is not much good wishing apart from the doing. Bad as Balaam was, he wished, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." Alas! he made gain his god, and lost everything.

The inmost spirit, penetrating, inspiring, pervading all our thought, motive, action, should be holiness. In the history of a man holiness is the revelation of the Almighty in him, and God's handwriting on him. There was one perfectly like God, and His Spirit is with us now. For nineteen centuries He has been before the world as best and greatest of mankind; no one has found Him in error; He is the God-man, Christ Jesus; Of Him in especial we may say: "God created Him in His own image; in the image of God created He Him." And yet this God-man, the Lord Jesus, was that Holy Word, the Creator, the Emmanuel. He was made one of us by taking our nature, we are made one with Him by faith; then God remakes us in His own likeness. He was made sin, who knew no sin, that we, the sinful, might be made the righteousness of God in Him.

Faith, sympathy, imagination, are Divine gifts. They deal with facts—the facts of creation, redemption from sin, eternal life. They are that stirring, sweet, spiritual music which awakens our emotions, making even dead souls to listen to conscience—"the voice of Jesus whispering in our hearts." This voice has a Divine, a spirit power; sets free from sin, and makes us holy, thus giving a wonderful renewal and most loving confirmation of the ancient fact that God made man in His own image and likeness. God now is not far from any of us. He is not merely a work of imagination, a picture painted by pious genius: He is the great, saving, energetic
Reality, working in us both to will and to do—to will and to do perfectly. Do every work in the best way you can, and God's way, too. He does the best, and makes you like Him.

PREBENDARY REYNOLDS.

Hymn for the New Year, 1898.

SON OF GOD, whose life divine
Thro' endless ages onward rolls,
Around whose living memory twine
The thoughts that burn, and stir our souls
With aspirations high and sweet—
O Lord, we kneel before Thy feet.

Before Thy feet, O Christ, we kneel,
And lay our humble offerings down,
Such tribute as we know and feel
Thou deemest nobler than a crown—
The offering of a loyal heart,
The choosing of "that better part."

Lo, past are nineteen hundred years,
With all their follies, noise, and sin;
Thy Truth, eternal as the spheres,
Is still our secret light within—
A light to shine, a light to bless,
The witness of Thy faithfulness.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Review.

GIFFORD LECTURES.


These two volumes, though they widely differ both in method and merit, may conveniently be bracketed together, as they afford a good example of the now notable lectures yearly delivered under the late Lord Gifford's will. The series began with Dr. J. H. Stirling's "Philosophy and Theology," some ten years ago; and perhaps those first lectures are,
taken all in all, the most valuable yet published. They exemplify, in a
marvellous degree, the profound thought, the robust common-sense, the
masculine style, and the astonishing metaphysical grip of the author of
the "Secret of Hegel"—a book, I rejoice to note, made once again attain-
able by such readers as are seriously interested in philosophy, through
the revised second edition which has just appeared.

Next came the present Master of Balliol, and his lectures, on the
"Evolution of Religion," are a subtle and finely discriminating piece of
work, couched in a style as exquisite as it is rare. Max Müller's four
volumes on "Natural, Psychological, Physical, and Anthropological
Religion," delivered on the same foundation, restated, with all the
Professor's charm and skill, his own peculiar views as to the origins of
the world-religions; and, later still, Pfleiderer discussed the philosophy
and development of religion in two clever but unsatisfying volumes.
And we yet await Principal Caird's lectures, which will assuredly be
marked by all the informing grace of utterance, depth of insight, and
spiritual hold upon eternal verities which we are accustomed to find in
the published writings of the author of "An Introduction to the
Philosophy of Religion."

Professor A. B. Bruce's work, though the second on our list, may
conveniently be considered first. It is a clever, but somewhat shallow,
presentment of popular philosophy as viewed in the light of the doctrine
of Evolution; but there is a lack of depth of thought through the entire
work which is in no wise counterbalanced by the breadth of treatment
which the subject receives. In Professor Bruce's opinion, the point that
needs emphasizing to-day is not that man is like God, but that God is
like man (p. 74)—a very remarkable statement, which agnostic readers
of the book will doubtless appreciate, and which may (not imply) be com-
pared with Mr. William Watson's new poems ("The Hope of the World,
p. 1-22) on the particular question of man's conception of deity. This
seems to me like a veritable return of the "aufklärung"; and, indeed,
the Professor's lectures breathe a sublimated spirit of the new "enlighten-
ment" which I venture to believe is neither very true nor very new. Of
course, Dr. Bruce is right in his main contention that God is imminent in
all creation—right, that is, fundamentally; but his argument is confused.
And why all this vague fear of admitting the obvious fact (for so we
hold it to be) that God does interfere with the course of phenomenal
law? Interference there must have been somewhere in the chain of
natural sequences, otherwise you must postulate an eternity for matter,
which leads into no end of difficulties. And all this talk about Evolution
—what meaning is conveyed by the word (the "sounding watchword,"
as Tennyson calls it), unless we perceive that it implies, as its necessary
corollary, an actual involution? What "rolling-out" can there be, unless
there be also some positive "rolling-in"?

The fact is (to cut matters short), we are afraid Dr. Bruce's book is
not likely to be any real or lasting help to serious thinkers: it is too
vague, too surface-touching, too easy. Nor ought we to be much sur-
prised. Dr. Bruce is a very prolific writer, and writes too often to think
really profoundly. At the same time, his book may prove useful to that
average reader, who finds fit intellectual stimulus in such brochures as
"The Natural Law in the Spiritual World," and works of a kindred
order.

Very different in scope and capacity is Professor Tiele's contribution to
the natural history of religion. With the writer's main purpose—which
is to attach a purely phenomenal importance to the original and develop-
ment of religions, and so eliminate every trace of the supernatural (we
use this much-abused word with a due sense of its inner signification) by
the simple process of ignoring the possibility of any positive revelation of
God otherwise than by that self-manifestation of God in and through the conscious reason—we are wholly out of sympathy. But the brilliance of the book, its admirable temper, the valuable side-lights it reflects upon certain stages in the secular development of the world-religions, and its abundant learning, are everywhere manifest. Professor Tiele is a master of his subject; he has a first-hand as well as intimate acquaintance with the documentary evidence upon which he bases his hypotheses, and he does not try to wriggle out of difficulties which beset his (i.e., the naturalistic) theory. Hence one welcomes his book, while one takes the liberty to doubt and question all along the line.

One remark may, perhaps, be usefully hazarded here. Christianity differs not in form, but in principle, from all ethnic faiths; for in it alone are the presence of sin in the cosmos fully insisted on, a systematic and consistent explanation of this strange and dreadful fact duly contrived, and the remedy pointed out. If this were better realized by certain evolutionary critics, our histories of religion would be more satisfactory than they are at present, and juster notions prevail as to the exact position of the Christian faith in particular.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

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Short Notices.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.

**Battledown Boys.** By E. EVERETT GREEN. Price 2s. 6d. Pp. 239. Sunday-School Union.

A capital story of farmhouse life; full of exciting incidents, and troubles that all come right in the end.


A vivid and trustworthy biography of the intrepid Reformer who shook all Europe.


A pleasant illustration of a girl's influence over rough town boys; suitable for reading at mothers' meetings, and in the interests of temperance.


A story for young children of an orphan girl who, in spite of faults and difficulties, became in the end comforting and useful to her father.

**Miss Merivale's Mistake.** By Mrs. HENRY CLARKE. Price 1s. 6d. Pp. 155. Sunday-School Union.

A pleasant tale of quiet home-life: a well-meant blunder happily cleared up.

**Beside the Guns.** By MARY E. SHIPLEY. Price 1s. 6d. Pp. 153. S.P.C.K.

An inspiring account of the early struggles of a brother and sister, ending in the martyrdom of the former as a missionary in East Africa.


A capital poaching story, illustrating country manners and life, and concluding with the clearing up of an unwarranted suspicion.
A thrilling narrative of a swindle, and the way it affected certain good village folk of various degrees; well told, wholesome, and useful.

A pretty story for little boys, showing close observation of the ways and thoughts of children.

A little gipsy girl goes through many amusing adventures, is adopted by a good lady in a village, and marries a virtuous soldier, who has enlisted from the same place. The various characters are well drawn, and the interest sustained.

The exciting incidents of Riel's Red Indian revolt in 1885 are skilfully woven into a well-conceived narrative. The facts about the colonists at Fort Pitt are historical, but the names and circumstances changed.

This is an ably-written story of home life in a Northern manufacturing town, and adventures in Canada and the United States. It is for young men, and may well encourage them to persevere, even in the severest times of difficulty and doubt.

A tale of good works, reconciliation, restoration, and ultimate happiness.

A charming sketch of mutual influence between the families of squire and parson.

The writer narrates how a brave and loving wife, aided by various striking incidents, rescues her husband from his tendency to drink: a well-merited tribute to woman's influence.

An agreeable story of the Shetland Islands. The authoress has successfully studied the locality and the people.

An autobiography, giving an account of a capable girl and her doings in the complex varieties of modern life.

This welcome instalment of wholesome religious literature shows no falling off from its predecessors. It is full of interest and variety, illustrations, poetry, biography, and thought. The picture of the Queen in the dress of June 22 is particularly good.

Contains much pleasant, bright, informing reading.
Short Notices.


A most useful and important publication for all senior Sunday-school scholars and those of the same age of a different class who are taught at home.


The companion volume for all Sunday-school teachers, teachers of classes, and the like. The chief features are fifty-two lessons on the Creed by the Rev. R. Resker, and the Notes and Comments. The volume forms a handbook of great value.

Children. Pp. 100. George Stoneman, 39, Warwick Lane, E.C.

This "Annual for Little Folks" is well suited to its purpose: short stories in simple words, short poems, intelligible illustrations.


The interest and encouragement of these records increase yearly.

Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. 1897.

A yearly comment on the text "So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed."


A hopeful and gratifying account of a year's steady work.


This is the third volume of a series contemplated by the author. Each sermon is on a text from the Scriptures appointed for the Sunday morning. They are the sermons of a scholar, a thinker, a good man, and one who knows the people. They contain much wholesome, practical advice, dear thought, and liberal sympathies.


This little book contains a wonderful collection of true stories of women's bravery, and will prove interesting to girls and young women.


This book can be recommended for its general tone and good moral. The plot is perhaps not very natural.


Much of earnestness and reality may be learned from this comparison of experiences.

Thirty-first Annual Report of Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

This excellent Lay Reader of the Church of England is as full of resource and ingenuity as he is of courage, faith, and perseverance. It is to be hoped that his health will not suffer from any want of growth in funds proportional to the constant growth of work and responsibility.


All Church people will be interested in the account of the proceedings of this invaluable handmaid of the Church.


Once more a hopeful and inspiring record.


It is difficult now to understand how the Church carried on its work previously to the establishment of this adjunct.
Short Notices.

The income of this Association is close on £5,000, and its circulation of Bibles, Testaments, and portions amounts to 81,290.

Clergymen and Church Workers' Visiting List for 1898. Hazell, Watson and Viney.

A most useful and well-thought companion and pocket-book.


It is very important in these days to know something of the best characters in the Church before the time of the Reformation. Mr. Cowan has contributed pleasant papers on Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln; Thomas a Kempis; Henry Suso, the Minnesinger; John Ruysbroeck; Archbishop Fitzralph and the Mendicant Orders; Reuchlin and the Humanists; and John Staupitz, the teacher of Martin Luther. All these represent important phases of Christian life in the Middle Ages, and contributed in the end to the Reformation. The biographer's work is done with care and sympathy.


This is "an inquiry into what Holy Scripture reveals and suggests of the glories of the Father's house." The titles of a few of the chapters will show the author's views on certain deeply interesting points: "Heaven a Place," "Diversity in Glory," "Variety of Pursuit," "Recognition in Heaven."


This book contains a series of lectures delivered at Cambridge as the Pastoral Lectures. It is primarily intended for those who mean to devote themselves to missionary work abroad, but will be found to be full of interest for those who are filled with the missionary spirit, but can only help the great cause at home.


These lessons for senior classes for each Sunday of the ecclesiastical year will be found useful by many teachers who lack time or skill adequately to prepare for their classes. The system adopted is excellent, that of questions and answers evoking explanation, doctrinal teaching, and practical lessons.


This is an interesting, original, and excellent book, which we recommend our readers to make themselves further acquainted with. We feel sure that the author's earnest hope that it may be the means of raising those of its readers who may be "dead" from death unto life will be abundantly realized.


This little work gives an attractive picture of what a Christian home ought to be. Written primarily for Nonconformists, there is much that will appeal to a larger public. Some clergymen's wives, for instance, might lay to heart that their "home duties are always the first and most urgent." It is bright and wholesome.


This book contains explanatory chapters or lessons on one hundred incidents in our Lord's life, with a brief application to each. They are well adapted for home or school teaching.
This little volume contains a series of practical addresses to women, delivered originally in St. Andrew's, Wells Street.

The Church Catechism, with Notes, by E. M. Illustrated. Pp. 56. S.P.C.K.
A plain orthodox exposition of the Church Catechism, prettily got up.

Mary or Madonna? By W. MARSHALL. Pp. 96. Wycliffe House, Great Queen Street.
A new edition of a pamphlet against the worship of the Virgin.

This little book well shows that God has a distinct purpose for every life; that it is our business to find it out and fulfil it.

The present volume seems as excellent as its predecessors. The subjects are: The Litany and Ante-Communion Service, by the Principal of Tottenham Training College, and Old and New Testament Lessons, by the Rev. J. Wagstaff.

There can be no doubt that the influence and blessing of the Holy Spirit are not as much thought of as they ought to be by many professing Christians. This little work is intended "to present this truth in its general and practical bearings upon Christian experience." This is its fourth edition.

The Evangelist's Bible Digging. By HENRY THORNE. Pp. 64. Holness, Paternoster Row.
A useful little collection of notes on the Gospel of St. Matthew.

Short, simple, practical comments on the parables.

This contains some very useful hints as to Sunday-school teaching by the Principal of Tottenham Training College.

A helpful little work for those who combat unbelief in themselves or in others.

The success and use of Jewish missions is often questioned; the Secretary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews here gives us in answer a handbook of reasons, facts, and figures.

The Mission Call. By the REV. WILLIAM WALSH, B.A. Pp. 86. Price 1s. cloth, 6d. paper.
Some valuable statistics for preachers and speakers.

A devout attempt to collect everything that can be learnt about prayer, as taught us in the life and words of our Lord.
Short Notices.


We recommend this little book, which gives admirable suggestions on such subjects as Home-making, Motherhood, Children, Servants, etc.


This book is full of descriptive touches, showing that the writer is well acquainted with the appearance of the Holy Land, and also with the customs of its inhabitants in the days of our Lord. It would be of use to the Sunday-school teacher, the cottage-lecturer, and also to the general reader. It contains a map and illustrations.


A work of much research, in which the learned author proves how futile were the attempts of the Pope to secure a succession of his own in the Archiepiscopal Sees of Ireland during Elizabeth's reign.


With Welsh Disestablishment still threatened, it is well that Mr. Herbert's interesting little book should be widely circulated.


We cordially welcome this fresh work by the author of "Bedside Reading." It deals with progressive religion as taught in Rom. v. 1-11.

Hows and Eyes, or Little Helps to Little Folks. By the Rev. F. Langbridge. Pp. 128. R.T.S.

Likely to be popular with both mothers and children.


We recommend these simple candid journal letters by a lady missionary: they are most interesting, and full of a true missionary spirit.


The Briton's Birthright alluded to by the author is his interest in the Established Church, which Church, he points out, is losing its Protestant character. The writer urges as a remedy that she may be not disestablished, but "cleansed and defended."


These are interesting essays on Soul and Body—a new departure, we should think, on the part of a working-men's literary club.


This book contains in convenient form a good deal of useful information, historical, contemporary, and religious, and is designed, of course, to throw light on the sacred narrative.


A loyal little effusion, putting in concise form the debt of gratitude which we owe to our Queen.


In the brief space of eighty-two pages, Mr. Kernahan gives us a brief but striking example of what (we may well believe) a "Christless" world would be. That the book will do good we feel assured, though there is a
slight vagueness in its close, which is, perhaps, the least satisfactory part of it.

A well-told story, illustrating the manners and customs of Palestine.

*In the Beginning: Lessons on Great Subjects.* By Mary E. Bellars. S.P.C.K.

This book, evidently the result of much care on the writer's part, is perhaps more suited for the guidance of adults who have the teaching of young children in their hands than for actual reading to the children themselves. The sequence of subjects in the chapters is well arranged, and we wish the book success.

*Helps to make Ideals Real.* By Mrs. A. R. Simpson. Oliphant Anderson.

The dainty exterior of this little book is in keeping with its refined style. It will no doubt be appreciated by a certain class of readers.


This tiny volume is an earnest and helpful exposition of the argument of Isaiah liii. It should have a wide circulation.


The foster-parent in this case is the schoolmaster in all his grades—don, public school, private school, and elementary. The observations are a series of essays on educational subjects, with a very wide range. They are marked by much genial common-sense, and often lit up with flashes of kindly humour. Some possess considerable learning put in an almost conversational style, e.g., the one on "Reading and Writing." We do not find ourselves always able to accept the conclusions drawn by the author—as, for instance, in the essay on the Voluntary School question. But as a whole the book is very well worth reading by both parents and pedagogues, because the author, himself a well-known master, writes with full knowledge of his subjects, and considerable sympathy for the object of all our educational experiments—the Boy.

*Some Thoughts on the Third Order of St. Francis.* By an Anglican.

London: Skeffington and Sons.

Those who have read the life of St. Francis of Assisi, in either Mrs. Oliphant's fascinating sketch or Canon Knox-Little's recent book, will remember the celerity with which his "Third Order" spread itself amongst, for a time, all classes of people. Putting it roughly, the Order would embrace all Christians pledged to any definite work other than that of the full ministry. This circulation of charity and good works amongst all believers is an idea which would be of incalculable benefit if it were found possible to work it; the practical difficulties in our times are so very great as to seem almost insurmountable. This little book, however, discusses the question in an earnest and devout manner, and contains at least many hints profitable to parish clergy.


A collection of essays on Bible-reading, worthy of all praise as regards their earnestness, but containing little that is not trite and self-evident.


Like all the publications of the Institute, this is clear and workmanlike. Attention to practical detail is most conspicuous. The lessons are from both Old and New Testament, and cannot fail to be helpful to those who undertake what is really the most difficult task of all—teaching infants.
Short Notices.

How to Sing the People's Part. By R. W. Genge, M.A. London: Elliot Stock.
Careful and accurate, and likely to be of use to congregations possessing a fully musical service.

Kindly talks to girls, enlivened with many apposite anecdotes, and instinct with the simplicity of the Gospel.

Many will welcome these selections from the devotions of the saintly Bishop, which rank with the "Imitation of Christ" and Spurgeon's "Morning by Morning."

These addresses are deeply reverent, and evidently the result of wide reading, which has enriched them with many valuable quotations.

While we think that Miss Cusack occasionally runs a risk of overstating her case, we are in complete concord with a great deal of her argument, which is concerned with the comparative validity of Roman and Anglican orders.

There is perhaps sufficient convenience in having these services at hand for ordinations to justify their temporary exparation from the Book of Common Prayer.

We need not expect to find ourselves in agreement with all the statements in every volume of sermons. The term "up-to-date" treatment indicates the view of the author.

Dr. Pulsford's style is clear and limpid; there is a fastidious accuracy in the choice of words that reminds us of Robert Louis Stevenson. The thoughts of the essays are mystical; there is a marked absence of any sectional or party spirit. The volume should prove very acceptable to many for quiet reading and meditation.

Mr. Bullock's little book is well known and esteemed, and we are glad to see it in the third edition.

Quiet yet searching remarks on some of the old-fashioned Christian observances which, alas! are apt to be forgotten in the modern whirl; e.g., almsgiving, private prayer, family worship. They are full of reasonable remonstrance, lovingly conveyed. The author in one chapter pleads strongly for a Book of Common Prayer for the Scottish Church.

We are glad we are able to speak favourably of "Jennifred and Other Verses," by Septimus G. Green. The poem which gives its title to the
Short Notices.

book runs to about six hundred lines, and tells the pathetic story of the end of the de Wichehalse family with simple directness and a pleasant freedom from affectation. Mr. Green has something to say and a faculty for saying it. "Jennifred," "The Old Year's Death," and "The Lover's Defence," are fair specimens of his skill in different keys and measures, and in "The Poet's Apology" he earns our commendation by his recognition of his limitations and his humility with regard to his attainments.

"Be this my task—to give my best,
And leave to Time's sure touch the rest."

In those words Mr. Green addresses his critic, and we have no hesitation in saying that his best is very good.


Christina Rossetti presents to the student of human nature a more interesting psychological study than probably any woman since Sappho, and, therefore, any portrait of her is valuable that is drawn by one who knew her personally. The influence which she exercised upon everybody with whom she came in contact is extraordinary. Her strong devotional instinct, her beautiful affection for her mother, sister, and brothers, her poetical genius and picturesque imagination, her gentleness, cheerfulness, and patience in great suffering, all combine to make up a remarkable personality. The best criticism that can be passed upon this tiny volume is that made by Wm. M. Rossetti, one of the foremost of living critics, in his brief Prefatory note. "The following pages," he says, "have been carefully perused by me. I find them to present a pleasant and interesting little portrait of my sister, and a true one."

All who are interested in the extraordinary spectacle offered by the genius of Maria Francesca, Gabriel Dante, William Michael, and Christina Georgina Rossetti should possess this little book.


Did Shakespeare before writing a play sit down and select a text upon which to write it? Upon our answer to that question must rest our estimate of the actual value of Louis H. Victory's thoughtful little work "The Higher Teaching of Shakespeare." We know that novelists nowadays deliberately choose what in modern jargon is called la donnée psychologique, and find their plot in the evolution of that underlying idea. But we are not quite prepared to agree with Mr. Victory that that was Shakespeare's method. To give some practical illustrations we may say that Mr. Victory regards "Macbeth" as a revelation of conscience, "King Lear" as a declaration of truth, limited subsequently to the particular truth that the helplessness of earthly life will prove too strong for all philosophy; "The Merchant of Venice" as a revelation of chance; "Romeo and Juliet" as an exposition of the text that "out of evil cometh good," and so on. Whatever our view of Shakespeare's primary motive may be, whether it was to point a moral or only to adorn a tale, we are bound to confess that in almost every instance Mr. Victory makes out a good case for himself. We submit, however, that the best special pleader does not necessarily know the most law, and we also venture to think that in his inquiry into the "soul" which animates the "form" of Shakespeare's plays, Mr. Victory is not quite the pioneer his preface suggests. None the less, he knows his Shakespeare well, and his book should help others to know it too. And that is good service.
The consecration of Canon Crozier as Bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin took place on November 30, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. The new bishop is a man of tried energy, ability, and decision of character, and much is expected of him in his new position.

In the Consistorial Court of London, on December 7, Chancellor Tristram gave judgment in two consolidated suits, "The People's Warden and others v. Rev. C. J. Fuller," and the Rev. C. J. Fuller and his Churchwarden's application for a confirmatory faculty in the case of St. Mark's, Marylebone Road. The case was one of ritual innovation; and the Chancellor, in giving judgment, while granting a confirmatory faculty for the new Communion Table, ordered that the Crucifixes and the stations of the Cross should be removed within a month as being illegal.

In view of certain unjust and unkind aspersions recently made in the columns of a Church paper upon the work of the Bishop of Liverpool, Archdeacon Madden very properly reminds the bishop's critics and censors that during his episcopate Dr. Ryle has seen forty-one new churches built in his Diocese, at a cost of over half a million sterling. The number of curates has been nearly doubled, and confirmation candidates have risen from 4,000 to 8,000. There are now 202 mission halls or mission churches in the diocese, and very large sums have been spent on day-schools, and it is because of their confidence in their bishop that the laity of Liverpool have given to Church work so liberally.

The Archdeacon of Essex, Masonic Grand Chaplain, 1896-97, has arranged to act as Chaplain to a special party of Freemasons, who will visit Palestine and Egypt in Mr. Woolrych Perowne's yacht, the s.s. *Midnight Sun*, at the end of January. The Archdeacon hopes that permission may be obtained from the Grand Lodge for a Lodge to be held in Solomon's Quarries, outside the Damascus Gate at Jerusalem.

The late Vicar of Holy Trinity, Marylebone, the Rev. A. J. Robinson, has been the recipient of a handsome testimonial from his old parishioners on his leaving London for his new appointment as Vicar of St. Martin's, at Birmingham. This consisted of a beautifully illuminated address and a purse for 250 guineas. In the address sympathetic allusion was made to his indefatigable labours during his ministry at Holy Trinity, and to the new parochial hall and Church house, which are due to his initiative, though not as yet completed.

A grant of one hundred guineas has just been received by the National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children, 164, Shaftesbury Avenue, from the Corporation of the City of London. This makes £1,445 contributed by the Corporation to these Refuges during the past twenty-one years. The grant benefits also the popular training ships *Arethusa* and *Chichester*, which are important branches of the society.

The Rev. G. C. Bowring, Chaplain of Oxford Prison, speaking recently at a public meeting in Oxford, said the "Church Army Labour Home
there was of incalculable benefit to prisoners leaving the gaol. He said unhesitatingly it would be a deplorable thing—it was not too strong language to use—if there were not such a home to which they could send the discharged prisoners who really wished to start better."

A special Masonic service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral on Thursday, December 2nd, to commemorate the bi-centenary of its opening, after reconstruction by Sir C. Wren on December 2, 1697, in thanksgiving for the Peace of Ryswick. Every part of the cathedral was thronged. The Bishop of London preached the sermon, taking for his text, "The house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all countries." The collection, which amounted to £1,102, will be devoted towards the raising of £100,000 required for the completion of Wren's work by mosaics. The service concluded with the singing of "God save the Queen."

All the religious newspapers comment at length on the recent result of the School Board election, and the divergence of opinion is remarkable. The Guardian takes up an attitude of dignified resignation, and says, "The overthrow is even more complete upon a close inspection of the polls than it seemed to be at first sight," and then proceeds to pay a tribute to Mr. Diggle. The moral drawn is that "no good end can be served by reviving the religious question upon the present Board." The Record says: "A body of Churchmen, probably numbering hundreds of thousands, abstained from going to the poll. Some, no doubt, stayed at home because they were told to, but a very much larger number kept away from the poll in sheer disgust. Their attitude was wrong, but no one can feel surprised at it. . . . The real moral of this election is therefore obvious. The polls have disclosed in the most striking way the utter impotence of the aggressive High Church party when an appeal is made to the main body of the people."

The Rev. George Frederick Head, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Hampstead, has withdrawn his previous refusal, and has now accepted the Vicarage of Clifton.

The trustees of Warley, Essex, have presented the living to the Rev. A. H. Tredennick, for several years past Curate of Christ Church, Clifton. He was trained for the ministry at Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

An honorary canonry in Peterborough Cathedral, vacant by the death of Canon Cartmell, has been conferred upon the Rev. C. T. Cruttwell, Rector of Kibworth, Leicestershire, who is an accomplished scholar, and the author of several works dealing with classical antiquities. His "Literary History of Early Christianity," in two large volumes, is a mine of valuable information.

The Rev. W. H. Hornby Steer, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, Senior Curate of St. Jude's Church, South Kensington, has been appointed Vicar of St. Philip's, Lambeth, a parish with a population of nearly 12,000. He was ordained by the late Archbishop Benson in 1886, and was licensed to the Curacy of Christ Church, Tunbridge Wells, where he remained until 1892. He then came as Senior Curate to St. Jude's Church, South Kensington, at the time when the Rev. Prebendary Eardley-Wilmot entered upon his duties there as Vicar. The Rev. W. H. Hornby Steer is a lecturer of the London Diocesan Church Reading Union, and is on the committees of several Church societies.
The Rev. H. J. R. Marston, Rector of Icomb, Gloucestershire, has been offered and has accepted the incumbency of Bolgrave Chapel, in succession to the late Rev. Marcus Rainsford. Mr. Marston is a valued contributor to the pages of The Churchman.

The Evangelical Alliance has again issued its invitation for the Week of Universal Prayer at the commencement of the year (January 2-9, 1898). This annual observance is growingly appreciated in all parts of the world; and it is worthy of note that in the week commencing with the first Sunday in each new year the Christian Churches of the world unite in prayer for the many common objects agreed upon beforehand.

The Queen Victoria Clergy Fund.—The Queen has been graciously pleased to approve the draft of a charter of incorporation for the Queen Victoria Clergy Fund. This fund, which was constituted on June 26, 1896, was known until recently as "the Clergy Sustentation Fund" for the two provinces of Canterbury and York.

On November 29, Alderman Sir George Faudel Phillips, the late Lord Mayor, as Treasurer of the Mansion House Relief Fund, made a final remittance of £2,553 to the Central Committee of the Indian Famine Fund, at Calcutta. Thus, the total sum sent to India from the Mansion House amounts to £543,366. The fund, which is now closed, has been in existence nearly eleven months.

The consecration of the Rev. Arthur Foley Winnington Ingram, as Bishop of Stepney, took place at St. Paul's Cathedral on November 30. The Archbishop of Canterbury officiated, assisted by the Bishops of London, Lichfield, Rochester, St. Albans, Bristol, Marlborough, Southwark, and Colchester. A large congregation was present at the ceremony, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Prebendary Sandford, Rector of Stoke Newington.

United Boards of Missions.

A meeting of the United Boards of Missions of the Provinces of Canterbury and York has been held at the Church House under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury. There were also present the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Newcastle, the Bishop of Reading, the Bishop of Southwark, Bishop Royston, Lord Nelson, Lord Stanmore, Sir John H. Kennaway, M.P., Mr. S. Gedge, M.P., Chancellor P. V. Smith, and others. Bishop Selwyn, Secretary of the Canterbury Board, was absent in consequence of serious illness. The meeting had under consideration the "scheme for foreign service" agreed upon by the bishops at their last episcopal meeting. After discussion, the following resolutions were agreed to:

"1. That it is desirable that a council of experienced persons be formed with a view of enrolling in an association a body of clergy men who are willing to serve abroad, if duly invited to do so, and who have in each case the consent of the Bishop of the diocese in which they are beneficed or licensed."

"2. That the council be appointed by the United Boards of Missions of Canterbury and York."

"3. That the request for men who belong to the association to work in any diocese abroad must come from the Bishop of such diocese, and be made to the council, who, before inviting any member of the association to undertake work in a diocese abroad, must communicate with his Bishop in England."
“4. That when any man is so selected and appointed to serve abroad, in order that he may be still in touch with the home diocese, it is advisable that his name be printed in the calendar of that diocese as on service abroad.”

“5. That the presidents of the two Boards be requested and empowered to nominate a council, consisting of as many men as they think fit, and that such members shall retain their seats for one year.”

“6. That the committee of the United Boards be requested to frame and submit to the Board at their next meeting a scheme for the future regulation of the council.”

SOME BOOKS OF THE MONTH.


Life and Letters of Dean Butler (of Lincoln). Macmillan. Price 12s. 6d. net.


The Ideal Life, and other unpublished addresses. By the late Henry Drummond. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 6s.

IN MEMORIAM.—CHARLES WELLAND EDMONSTONE.

“Do you know the one man whose ministry I would attend now if I were a layman?” said the writer a few weeks ago, and the answer was, ‘The Rev. C. W. Edmonstone.’ And now he is gone, that old man of eighty-six, and his death leaves a void which can never be filled up.

“Mr. Edmonstone was Vicar of Christ Church, Crouch End, for twenty-five years. Before that he was Vicar of St. John’s, Upper Holloway. Was he a famous preacher? Scarcely. He never filled a church. In his Holloway days men spoke of Mackenzie at St. James’s, but not of Edmonstone at St. John’s. And yet there are those who could never care for any preaching but his. Those sermons, all written, delivered in a nervous, hesitating style, full of a deep spirituality, had a unique fascination for those who could appreciate them. After delivering a series of addresses on the book of Job, he was begged to deliver them over again. Like Robertson of Brighton, he seldom preached away. Indeed, of oratory he had none. An extempore address was torture to the preacher and hearers. What were his strong points then,—his hold on the affections of those to whom he was ever ‘the Apostle,’ a term always playfully used of him in the writer’s family.

“They were three—reverence, earnestness, and humility.

“1. Reverence.—St. John’s, when Mr. Edmonstone was Vicar, was far behind even those times in point of ritual or other attractions. The black gown prevailed. The mixed choir did terrible execution in the way of ‘services,’ such as Jackson’s Te Deum, etc. On the occasion of the organ being reopened after repairs, the choir of the Chapel Royal came to sing the Psalms; they also treated us to an anthem, which was so utterly out of course that a dear old lady did her conscientious best to
join in the music, for was it not a hymn after all? But in spite of black gown and other peculiarities, St. John's was pervaded by a sense of reverence. That apostolic figure in the desk, in the pulpit, or at the Holy Table made flippancy impossible. St. John's was to all of us a very gate of heaven. Years after Mr. Edmonstone had left, the writer, then in Orders, helped him at Crouch End at an evening communion. It was like ministering in the temple at Jerusalem. A sense of awe pervaded one, and with an almost trembling hand the cup was administered. 'Surely God is in this place.' It was the same outside the church. Reverence was the tribute paid to this man. The children instinctively capped him. A well-known dissenter said it was a privilege to bow down to him. 'Mr. Edmonstone,' said a French refugee nobleman during a discussion of clergy generally, 'he was a gentleman'—and the emphasis meant volumes.

"2. Earnestness.—It was this that formed the climax of his sermons. No doubt the scholarly delivery, the undertone of perfect good breeding, the simple conviction of the truth of God's Word, the culture which was so perfectly free from cant and so delightful at the same time to the exquisite critical faculty which sits in judgment on Anglican divines, all this made up much of the charm of his discourses; but earnestness was the climax. After service the impulse was to rush from the church and get away alone, just to think, or to let the thrill of that earnestness possess your soul. How one resented the banality of the church porch greeting, and inwardly groaned at coming down in this wise from the Mount of Transfiguration! The writer attended Christ Church for the last time in 1892. It was ten years since he had heard Mr. Edmonstone preach, and report said that age was doing its work. The sermon was on Advent (it was Advent Sunday), so simple, so scholarly, and more earnest than ever. 'How can you still preach like that?' was the greeting in the vestry, in a voice which doubtless betrayed its emotion.

"3. Humility.—We were proud of our 'Apostle.' Had he not been to Oxford with Tait and Gladstone; was he not known as the greatest scholar in Islington? And yet it never seemed strange that he remained a simple Vicar and in very unimportant posts. To us he was like St. John the Divine: he had none of the stern stuff needed to make an Apostle of the Gentiles. He never spoke about himself, he never paraded his learning; but his opinion (rarely given) was valued beyond all others, and his pastoral visits were accepted as acts of most unquestionable value. What were his opinions on questions which have shaken the Church of England during the whole of his lifetime? No one could tell; no one would like to say. He gave offence to some by calling on Dr. Linklater when the latter's induction to Stroud Green seemed like a blow aimed at Protestant principles; he astonished others by talking in the most kindly fashion of some local dissenting minister whose up-to-date preaching had helped to empty the churches near. In the purest, holiest, most anti-polemical meaning of the word, he was an Evangelical. Many have marvelled that his sense of reverence and beauty did not lead him in an 'upward' direction. But no. During his sixty-two years' ministry he never altered. No intonation, no gesture, betrayed any tendency to modern Churchmanship. Equally at home in the black gown at St. John's and in the surplice at Crouch End, equally devout whether assisted by a mixed choir, great in 'services,' or by boys and men who preceded him from the vestry, he was in his day and generation (and is still to some extent now that he has gone home) a rare example of those three qualities which are among the most needed in the Christian ministry—reverence, earnestness, and humility.—E. J. S."—From the Record of November 19, 1897.