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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

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THE
CHURCHMAN

JANUARY, 1902.

ART. I.—CHINA: SOME CHARACTERISTICS AND
THEIR IMPORT.

CHINA is quieting down for a while—God grant that it may be for a long while—like the great ocean sighing and murmuring after the roar of the tempest just passed over. In so vast a territory, and with a people “numerous as the ocean sands,” many of them living far remote, prejudiced, and ill-informed, local disturbances and upheavals may occur; but with the signing of the agreement with the Western Powers, and the withdrawal to a great extent of coercion from Peking, the great Empire is free once more for wise or unwise action in the sight of the rest of the world.

The lull, or the lasting fair weather, enables us to turn our thoughts from possible war, and from the horrors and solemn sadness of massacre and truculent persecution, to the consideration of some of the characteristics of the Chinese, and their need of the Gospel of the grace of God, of Christianity in its essence and Divine efficacy, not merely in its accessories and accompanying philanthropic blessing.

I venture to draw attention in a few words—though after forty years' acquaintance with the people I ought to have many words wherewith to draw such attention—to two or three main features in Chinese character and thought; side by side they remain in many a heart and life, divorced too often, independent, and apart, yet still near to one another, and in the light and life and sacred energy of God's grace, capable of being blended together and made one to His glory.

The spiritual and the material, the sublunary and the heaven-soaring, the philosophic, the theoretic, with the practical, are found, if I mistake not, together in Chinese thought and life.

I am aware that the attempt to define and unfold the
VOL. XVI. 13

characteristics of a person or of a people is a somewhat perilous undertaking. There is a fascination about it, a temptation to imagine everyone peculiar except your own self or your own country. There is a strong tendency towards inventive imagination and excited exaggeration; a list towards clever but hasty generalizations from insufficient and isolated data. And I desire, therefore, to abjure all pretence to dogmatism. I think, nevertheless, that the features of character which I describe, though not wholly peculiar to the Chinese race, are yet strongly exhibited in Chinese life and thought.

I cannot do better than transcribe the apparently genuine, possibly apocryphal, utterances of the present Emperor of China in a letter to his brother; and that brother (Prince Chun's) reflections, extracted from his journal written when at Berlin. They are delightfully Chinese: grotesque and yet sublime, contemplative and yet practically to the point, almost in the same breath, and in the same paragraph. Prince Chun moralizes thus in his diary: "Fine rain is falling; and the wind blows cold and strong. There is no eternal happiness on earth. Everything is determined in Heaven. Why should we trouble? Let us wait what Heaven decrees. And then, what beautiful watches there are in Switzerland!" The Emperor, with reform and conservatism struggling together in his mind, and casting about for some reconciliation, writes thus to his brother the Prince, to whom he is said to be closely attached in affection and sympathy: "Our soldiers must be good in Mongolia [Manchuria], so they will be able to protect us from the foreigners and Boxers. China must not go backward any more. China must go forward. Therefore the soldiers must exercise well! This is very important—very!"

In these two extracts we have a threefold revelation of Chinese character and thought.

First, the *careful observation of natural phenomena*. The driving rain from German skies, the keen, strong wind of the waning Western summer, are recorded. Chinese observation and description of nature differ very widely, for the most part, from the vague, generally selfish and subjective, oftentimes very incorrect weather sentence which so often sets *our* sluggish conversation going for a time. It is interesting to notice that in ancient Chinese annals this careful and minute record of natural phenomena appears. In the Chinese Book of Odes, which, as ancient literature in his ancient day—560 B.C.—received the unbounded love and admiration of Confucius; of which odes he was, in a sense, the Musical Editor; and which owe to his imprimatur probably their continued preservation; in one of these, nearly 3,000 years old, we read such careful notes as these:

“ The wind blows, and is fierce ;
He looks at me and smiles ”—

but with a false passing smile, sweeping past and leaving me chilled and parched, for

“ The wind blows with clouds of dust.”

In another ode we read :

“ Cold are the wind and rain ”—

the same under those ancient skies as now from modern European clouds

“ Ye withered leaves, how the wind
Is blowing you away !”

“ There stands a fox solitary and suspicious ” on those old Chinese hills, ages before the hue and halloo of the modern chase. And again :

“ The heavens overhead are one arch of clouds
Snowing in innumerable flakes,
Then comes the driving rain ”—

the same as that which fell from German skies a few weeks ago on Prince Chun's face.

And later down in Chinese annals we have these two minute observations of natural phenomena : “ In the Duke's sixteenth year, in the first month, it rained and the trees became incrustated in ice ” (a phenomenon not unknown in East and West, but unusual). And again : “ In the sixth moon, the first day of the moon the sun was eclipsed ”—an eclipse verified by modern astronomers, and occurring in the year 574 B.C. And further back in history we read : “ In his third year, in spring, the King's second month, the sun was eclipsed.” This occurred on February 14, 729 B.C., the most ancient recorded and verified eclipse.

Then, secondly, Prince Chun in his diary *lifts up his thoughts from this passing sublunary world*, and moralizes on the evanescent and uncertain nature of earthly happiness ; and with fatalism, but yet not atheistic fatalism, he dismisses care by the thought that Heaven decrees all, and that all must happen according to Heaven's behest.

We find such thoughts, only loftier sometimes and nobler, in ancient Chinese literature. In an ode 2,700 years old Heaven is invoked and looked up to as “ Our Mother, Heaven.” And in another poem of the same date “ Distant and azure Heaven ” is appealed to in time of trouble.

In the year 620 B.C. an ode, recording the death of some great and eminent men, and the consequent loss to the country, in passionate appeal ascribes this calamity to the will and act of Heaven.

“Thou azure Heaven, Thou art destroying our good men.”

And more presumptuous, an ode of the eighth century B.C. speaks in time of calamity of “Great unpitying Heaven.” And thus again in humbler tones :

“O Heaven, who gave us birth !

O vast and distant Heaven, who art called our Parent !”

How high soaring again and again is the moral tone of the utterances of China's sages and leaders of thought : Lao-tsee, Confucius, Mencius, and later from Ceylon and India Buddhist teaching. “I love life,” said Mencius (371-288 B.C.), “and I also love righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness.”

“They who accord with Heaven are preserved,” he says, again, of rulers ; “they who rebel against Heaven perish.” And Confucius himself lifts his thoughts heavenwards, expressing implicit trust in its decrees, but falling short of that which I shall notice immediately, personal trust in God. “If my doctrine is to prevail,” he says, “it is so ordered. If it is to fall to the ground, it is so fixed.” “I do not murmur against Heaven.” “There is Heaven, that knows me.” Noble, up-soaring words ! but all impersonal and distant is the object of his trust.

Notice also that the reform and renovation of the Empire and people which, whenever he can make himself heard, is known to be before the young Emperor's mind (“China must not go back any more ; she must go forward”), the same thought and ideal—the renovation of the people, the reform of Government and of morals—formed the great objects of the lives of China's ancient sages. In the ancient classic, “The Great Learning,” ascribed by some Chinese writers to Confucius himself in part, by others to his grandson, as embodying the sentiments of the great sage, we read in the first page that the “renovation of the people” was one of the great objects in the composition of this book. And further on we read of an ancient worthy named K'ang, who was called to assist the Emperor in *making the people new*.

But here, too, reform and the eradication of evil strive with the conservatism of the forms in the past ; and profound reverence for antiquity and old custom struggle together with innovations and improvement and renewal, not so much (I think) for the mastery as for some possible union and amalgamation.

The mind of ancient China was thus exercised ; and young China's awaking is but the awaking of the old, though it was then more spasmodic perhaps and individual than now. “The country must not go back,” says the Emperor, “but forwards.”

And this is, in his opinion (wrongly ascribed to him one would trust, but Chinese all the same), one method of reform and advance: that "the soldiers exercise well." It will not surprise us to know that this good exercise means, as has actually taken place in one city known to the writer, the going back from European drill and the use of arms of precision to antiquated bows and arrows and shields and ancient drill and discipline.

And they seem to have no power to rise even in thought and imagination to the better reform, when they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. As though war was a necessity, and that distant method of Chinese ancient reform must be followed: "Let the people be educated for seven years; then also they *may be employed in war.*"

The true conservatism (not the mechanical survival of the fittest, but the preservation and the use of the good and noble in the past); the true Radicalism, the uprooting of all that is pernicious and unworthy in both ancient and more modern political and social life;—these two are not incompatible; they meet in Chinese aspiration. How are they to become harmonious?

Then thirdly, all of a sudden we *come back to earth again*, and from observing Nature's courses of grandeur and beauty, and from soaring heavenwards in faith however imperfect, and desire however feeble, we suddenly, with Prince Chung, are lost in admiration of "*Swiss watches*"! Beautiful pieces of mechanism some of them are; and the same may be said of watches made in other lands and by other firms. But is *this* the bourn of the contemplative philosopher and the reforming patriot?

In ancient times it was somewhat the same. The "Superior Man," Confucius himself, the model of excellence in Chinese eyes, "liked to have his rice finely cleaned, and his mincemeat cut up small"; (and here we seem able to follow the sage). "He was never without ginger when he ate. He did not eat much. When in bed he did not speak" (and here some of us must confess that we are "inferior," not "superior," individuals). "If his mat was not straight, he did not sit upon it. On a sudden clap of thunder or wind, he would change countenance." Confucius was not a petty character, but nobly the reverse; yet formality and pettiness follow largely in his wake.

And how can these three characteristics be harmonized and utilized and glorified: delight in the observation of natural phenomena; the spiritual turning to the unseen but real Power in the real spirit world, away from the vanity and evanescence of things visible; and the apparent bathos of precise and petty and prosaic details of daily life?

Surely thus, and thus alone: by the knowledge of the One True God and of Jesus Christ whom He has sent. In the case of this great and intellectual people (ancient, educated, civilized, enlightened to a great extent before light had dawned at all on England), for the Chinese, and for the most ignorant and degraded nations alike, the salvation of God through His dear Son, and by His Holy Spirit's grace, is not one out of many methods; it is the only effective method for salvation and renewal. It will be found that Christian Missions are not merely philanthropic enterprises, they are the very essence of the only true and worthy philanthropy.

But in order thus to influence the Chinese, and to bring to them this Saving Health of the Gospel, we must not go to them with the blustering air of self-satisfied superiority. "The superior man," says Confucius, to quote Dr. Legge's translation, "is distressed at his want of ability." "Yet he has dignified ease," conscious of his pursuit of the truth, "but without pride." "He wishes to be slow in his words, and earnest in his conduct." "In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors."

To boast of our own scientific attainments and superior intelligence, with sneer and ridicule (scarcely suppressed), and levelled at Chinese ignorance, is one thing, and a very foolish and ignorant method indeed. To place our resources of scientific and ethical knowledge at their disposal, with the noble humility and courtesy of true wisdom, is another thing, and one worthy of Christian civilization and of a Christian heart:

"Knowledge is proud that she has learned so much;
Wisdom is humble that she knows no more."

And so recognising gladly Chinese guesses at truth, we shall be more ready to direct them to God's truth, and they the more willing to listen.

The careful observation and recording of natural phenomena will by such teaching and with such learners be more ready to rise higher, even to the Creator and Author of all, than in the case of ignorant and unobservant minds.

"The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein" (Ps. cxi. 2).

So with all boldness as the ministers of the Gospel of the grace of God and as ambassadors for Christ, yet with quick sympathy with the sighs and aspirations of the Chinese after that which they have not of themselves or in their old faiths, the more powerfully shall we be able to present to the people the glad promise of pardon and renewal and eternal life through Jesus Christ and by the Holy Spirit of God. No

fatalistic sigh over the lack of lasting happiness on earth, but the joyful assurance of a "hope laid up in heaven." The decrees of Heaven will be no longer to them merely the exhibition of the working of impersonal inflexible law, but the fruit of Divine wisdom, justice, and love, guided and enforced by Divine power and care. Now "vast and distant Heaven" will not seem any longer to soar further and further from them, but to be bending down as their Father's home; and the Great Supreme Ruler will be no longer inaccessible in the depths of eternity or of boundless space, unobservant, out of reach, but access to Him with confidence will be found through His dear Son, who has died to bring us back to God, and, by the gracious power of the Spirit of our God, our Father in Heaven, with a Mother's love and comfort, our Divine, all-glorious Parent, filling heaven and earth and our poor hearts as well. So the more readily shall teachers teach and scholars learn, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, to do all to the glory of God"; and that time spent thus to God, redeemed for Him, and for the highest good of man, will bear the fruit of blessing now—reform, improvement, renewal—and will pass into the timeless perfection of the life of eternity.

We were reminded by the Bishop of Ripon at the anniversary of the Church Missionary Society last May, that our ideas of some non-Christian nations have been much modified of later years. Instead of gross ignorance and savage manners, we meet with intellectual peoples like the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Japanese, with high-toned codes of morality in some cases, with law and order in noble theory at any rate, and with some ancient civilization and education and literature which excite our admiration. This is literally true; but on the one hand it by no means implies that dense ignorance and savagery and misery have vanished from the earth; and on the other hand the further knowledge of human kind in no sense modifies our persuasion that all nations and all individuals need absolutely and imperatively the *Gospel*. It cannot be too often repeated that what man needs, and has needed for 6,000 years, is not so much the knowledge of duty to God and man (though here, too, the light of nature is all too dim), but rather the knowledge of salvation from the sin of neglected duty and of the infraction of the laws of conscience and of Heaven—salvation from the power of sin, not by human effort and resolution and merit, but by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the sanctifying, regenerating power of the Holy Ghost. Not human exhortation to "propriety"; not even Divine enunciation of law and its penalties and rewards, save men; but that to which God's law in mercy leads us, the Divine strength of salvation, the life of God brought back once more in His dear Son and

by the Spirit of Life to our fast failing pulses. So yielding to God's grace, China and all lands will find true enlightenment, permanent and beneficent reform; the soldiers need "exercise" no longer, but under the eternal rule of the Prince of Peace "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." "Oh! people of Sinim, loved and longed for, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord."

A. E. MOULE.



ART. II.—THE WESTERN TEXT OF ST. LUKE.

OF the many questions in New Testament criticism which occupy the minds of scholars at the present day, one of the most interesting and important is that of the origin and history of what is called the Western text.

An examination of the MSS. quoted in cases where various readings occur, shows that in the main two leading groups may be distinguished, one of which centres round the Sinaitic and Vatican Codices \aleph and B, and the other round Codex Bezae, or D as it is called. When in the eighteenth century Griesbach (1745-1812) was classifying the evidence then known for the New Testament, he gave the name Western to the latter group, and assigned to it Codex Bezae and other Greek MSS. which contained a Latin translation, the Old Latin and the Vulgate Versions, and the Latin Fathers.

This title is still retained as a convenient designation, though it is much too narrow if taken in a geographical sense, for it is now found that this "Western" form of text is also attested by witnesses from the East. In fact, Westcott and Hort say¹ that "the text of all writers not connected with Alexandria, who have left considerable remains, is substantially Western"; and in view of this admission, Dr. Salmon suggests that non-Alexandrian would be a more suitable name.

The last twenty years have seen a vast change in the way in which the Western text is regarded; we may find in this partly a reaction from the contempt with which WH treated it, but it is also partly owing to the amount of fresh evidence which has lately been discovered for this form of text. Sixty years ago many of the best Western witnesses were inaccessible. Western readings were practically those of D only, supported by a few Latin versions (*a*, *b*, *c*) and quotations in Tertullian and Cyprian; the African Latin was unknown, except when it happened to be quoted by Cyprian and Tertullian, and the

¹ Introduction to Greek Text, p. 113. (For convenience Westcott and Hort are referred to as WH in this paper.)

existence of an old Syriac version, such as the Curetonian or that discovered by Mrs. Lewis, was only a conjecture.¹

Consequently, D was looked on rather as a freak among MSS. Beza, when presenting it to the University of Cambridge in 1581, said that he had discovered such great discrepancy, especially in St. Luke's Gospel, between it and other MSS. that he thought it ought to be stored up rather than published, for the sake of avoiding offence. The prevailing opinion was of a similar kind until recent years. The copyists of D and its allies were supposed to be cursed with a double dose of the original sin of transcribers. Wherever these differed from other MSS. they were set aside as hopelessly wrong. Carelessness on the part of the scribes, a licentious love of change, and an unscrupulous readiness to insert anything they heard or read elsewhere, were supposed to furnish a complete explanation of these variations. "Quis enim sanæ mentis homo Codicem Bezae sequatur?" was the contemptuous question of Matthæi. In the estimation of WH the Western text sank to the lowest point. Their fixed principle was to follow \aleph B in all cases where these documents agreed, and B where they differed. If a reading had only Western support it was at once rejected as having no claim to a place in the original text. If, as sometimes happened, the Western gave the most suitable sense, they only set it down to a lucky guess of the scribe. The only cases where they attach any weight to this form of text are what they call "Western non-interpolations"—that is, certain places, especially towards the end of St. Luke's Gospel, where D and its allies omit sentences and clauses found in \aleph B. In these cases WH follow the Western text because of their Canon that a transcriber is much more likely to add to the text than to omit. Elsewhere with them a Western reading stands self-condemned. In short, their opinion of the Western witnesses, and that which generally prevailed until recent times, cannot be better summed up than is done in the apt illustration of Dr. Salmon. He says it is like the character given by one Irish witness of another—"that he never told the truth in his life unless when he thought it was a lie."²

If this had been a complete account of the matter, scholars would hardly have devoted so much time to its consideration as has lately been given. But it is felt that there must be a limit somewhere to the audacity even of Western scribes, and that carelessness and corruption will not explain everything. It is admitted that documents of this class are marked by all

¹ Cf. Clement of Alexandria's *Biblical Text*, Introduction, p. xviii. (Burkitt).

² Article in "*Hermathena*," vol. ix. on Blass's "*Commentary on Acts*."

the common blunders of copyists, such as the insertion or omission of words, errors caused by mistaking what was written in the MS. from which they were copying, or by not catching correctly what was dictated to them, and the interchange of words of similar meaning. They were probably the produce of ordinary commercial manufacture, and cannot be compared in point of accuracy with such MSS. as **N** and **B**, which were carefully corrected for Church use.

But granting this, there seems no reason to suppose that Western scribes were wilfully less careful than those of Alexandria and the East. Irenæus, who was Bishop of Lyons about 180 A.D., used a text which was distinctively Western, and in his book against Heresies¹ he employs an argument which throws some light on the way in which he regarded the sacred writings. He gives a reading in St. Matt. i. 18, which is only found elsewhere in Latin versions and the Curetonian Syriac—"But the birth of *Christ* was on this wise"—he is arguing against those Gnostics who said Jesus was a mere man, and that Christ descended on Him from above, and says Matthew might have said: "The birth of *Jesus* was on this wise"; but the Holy Spirit, foreseeing the depravers of the truth and guarding against their fraud, says by Matthew: "The birth of *Christ* was on this wise," showing that Jesus and Christ were one and the same Person. We cannot suppose Irenæus was alone among his Western contemporaries in believing in verbal inspiration, and how can we imagine that men with such a belief were wilfully careless in copying the text which they received?

A very remarkable fact bearing on this question has lately been pointed out in Codex Bezaë, which tends to show that the copyist of that MS. was scrupulously careful in his work. It is this: There are two ways of spelling the Greek equivalent of John—*Ἰωάνης* and *Ἰωάννης*. Now, in SS. Matthew, John, and Mark D has *νν* sixty-five times and *ν* only eleven times, while in St. Luke and Acts it has *νν* only three times and *ν* forty-eight times.

The order of the books in Codex Bezaë is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, Acts—so we see the copyist used *νν* in Matthew and John, changed to *ν* in Luke, returned to *νν* in Mark, and once more changed to *ν* in Acts. Blass,² then, seems to be quite correct in his inference that any blunders in D must be referred back to its archetype.

The importance of all this is more clearly seen when we turn to St. Luke's writings, with which this paper is particularly concerned. The variants which the Western text presents here are much more serious than those in other

¹ Book III., xvi. 2.

² "Philology of the Gospels," pp. 75, 76.

parts of the New Testament, and cannot be explained by any ordinary amount of carelessness and mistakes on the part of the scribe. Long passages are added, especially in the Acts; additional facts are given, and accurate notes of time and place are inserted; in certain places while the substance remains unchanged, the whole cast of the sentence is so altered that few of the words used are identical with those of the text of \aleph B; in other places the Western text resembles the ordinary text "only as a loose and explanatory paraphrase recalls the original from which it sprung."¹ If mere carelessness and licence were sufficient to account for these we would expect to find the same phenomena in the Western β -text of the Gospel. But there the state of the case is in many respects different; the Western witnesses are even more frequently marked by omissions than by additions; whole phrases are left out which are given by Alexandrian MSS. Can we imagine a number of scribes leaving out through carelessness, for example, the bulk of our Lord's well-known words to Martha, and giving as the Western text does, only "Martha, Martha, Mary hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from her"? Or, take the form in which the words of the rich fool are given by D and the Latin version: "And I will say to my soul: Thou hast much goods, be merry"; why should any scribe mutilate this fine passage, supposing that the MS. which he was copying gave the fuller form which we find in our Bibles?

One other instance of omission must suffice here. The note in the margin of the Revised Version on St. Luke xxiv. 52 tells us that some ancient authorities omit, in the account of Christ's parting with the disciples, the clauses—"and was carried up into heaven" and "they worshipped Him." The "ancient authorities" are those for the Western text, which thus has no mention at all of the Ascension, and gives no reason why "the disciples returned to Jerusalem with great joy." Is it likely that any copyist would deliberately make such an omission as this?

We see, then, that we are face to face with a strange phenomenon—a text of the writings of St. Luke which differs very widely from that of \aleph B, and which at first sight certainly seems entitled to more respect. If the famous dictum of Vincent of Lerins ("quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus") could be used for deciding between conflicting types of text, certainly the Western text more nearly satisfies it, and would take the higher place. It is admitted, even by WH, its bitter opponents, to be the form in which St. Luke's writings were read far and wide in the second

¹ Scrivener, Bezae Codex, p. liv.

and third centuries, two hundred years before \aleph and B were written, and they acknowledge that the earliest quotations which we can fix chronologically belong to it.¹ Scrivener says that it is the text largely received by the holiest men in the best ages of the Primitive Church. Irenæus in France, Cyprian in Africa use this form. The two Syriac versions of the Gospels discovered by Cureton and Mrs. Lewis within the last sixty years are very markedly Western in type. And Mr. Burkitt has shown in his examination of Clement of Alexandria's Biblical Text that even this Father, who might have been expected to be the faithful ally of \aleph B, is not so, but rather sides with D and the Old Latin. In his words:² "The result is that the only channel by which we might have thought to connect the non-Western text as an organic whole with Apostolic times is cut off. With Clement's evidence before us we must recognise that the earliest texts of the Gospels are fundamentally Western in every country of which we have knowledge, even in Egypt."

And yet, if it were a question of choosing between the Western and non-Western texts, we could have no hesitation in taking the non-Western—at least, in Acts, where, as a finished piece of literary work, it is much superior to the other.

Can any satisfactory explanation, then, be given of this strange phenomenon? How can such early and widespread acceptance of this form of text be accounted for if it did not come from St. Luke himself?

One main test must be laid down and applied to any explanation offered; it must be comprehensive enough to cover all the ground. We have seen that the Gospel and the Acts go together; therefore if a theory is to be satisfactory it must be applicable to both. Again, it is not enough to form a theory which will explain peculiarities of Codex Bezae or its archetype. It must also explain the variants in the Old Latin text used by Cyprian, which Corsen has shown to be independent of Codex Bezae, and probably a more ancient witness to the Western text. It must also account for the Syriac evidence.

The limits of this paper will not permit an examination of the various explanations which were put forward before that of Blass. Some of them only apply to Codex Bezae or its archetype, and so fail to satisfy the test mentioned. Others are faulty in other respects, and have obtained no wide acceptance. A bare enumeration of them must now suffice.

Resch tries to account for the variants in D by saying that the persons who collected the Gospels, Acts, and Catholic Epistles into one volume, shortened and interpolated St. Luke's

¹ Introduction, p. 120.

² P. xvii.

works with the greatest audacity, using a secondary translation of the original Hebrew Gospel, which he imagines to have existed before St. Mark and St. Luke.

Chase's theory is that all the variants in the Western text can be explained as the result of assimilation to a Syriac text, which was much given to filling up the narrative by means of fragments culled from other parts of the Bible.

Ramsay confines his attention to Codex Bezae, and thinks it is the work of a second century reviser, who was a person of some authority and evidently a native of Asia Minor, since his variants show an accurate knowledge of the geography and traditions of that country.

Corsen believes he can prove that the Western text was the work of a Montanist reviser, and therefore later than the rise of that heresy.

Dobschutz's theory is that the Western text represents the original which was much corrupted and interpolated by the licence of scribes. He supposes that it was taken in hand by men of authority, who revised it and reduced it to the form which we find in \aleph B.

Lastly, Rendel Harris at one time thought that all the Western evidence could be resolved into one single primitive Western bilingual which was the remote ancestor of Codex Bezae and was probably written before the time of Tatian (c. 160) who is supposed to have brought the Gospels and Acts to Syria from Rome. Harris's opinion was that the additions and changes all originated in the Latin of this primitive bilingual. But he has now laid aside this theory, and is very favourably inclined to that of Blass, which he says "is much easier than that of any reviser, since it throws back at all events a part of the textual changes upon the author and his sources. And the theory demands the more consideration inasmuch as it is now practically certain that the so-called Cyprianic Latin text cannot be later than the second century, so that any texts or versions which lie behind this must not be very remote from the actual sources."¹

We pass, therefore, to the theory of Blass which at present holds the field, and of which Professor Ramsay says that it finds a growing number of adherents, and the list of scholars who support it becomes steadily "more imposing alike for numbers and high standing in the world of scholarship."

It has been pointed out by Goethe how much the knowledge of particular subjects is indebted to intelligent amateurs. For example, modern Old Testament criticism largely sprung from a suggestion of Astruc, a physician, who noticed the use of different Hebrew words for God in

¹ Four Lectures on the Western Text, p. 65.

Genesis, and inferred that this fact might indicate different sources of the narrative. The present theory is a case in point. Dr. Blass had long been known as a writer on classical philology as well as by his work on the Attic Orators. When he removed to Halle, a University where theological students predominate, he undertook to write a commentary on the Book of Acts, and while doing so he was led to form his theory about the Western text. Blass leads a conservative reaction in Germany; he comes to his task just as if he were about to edit a Greek classic. He has no preconceived notion that he is dealing with the product of a second century compiler. He assumes as a thing about which there can be no reasonable doubt, that St. Luke was the author, and that the traditional dates and places of composition are correct as regards both his works.

His theory in a few words is this: That St. Luke wrote the Gospel and the Acts twice, that both copies in each case got into circulation, and that thus all the striking peculiarities of the Western text may be accounted for.

This theory, as Blass himself points out, is not by any means new. It was first started by Johannes Clericus (or Jean le Clerc), who was born in Geneva in 1657 and lived in Holland. Little notice, however, seems to have been taken of it for over a century and a half. Scrivener approached somewhat nearly to it in his Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament.¹ Speaking of certain Western readings, he says: "It may be reasonably thought that a portion of these variants, and those among the most considerable, had their origin in the . . . changes gradually introduced after publication by the authors themselves into the various copies yet within their reach. These copies would circulate independently of those issued previously and now beyond the writer's control, and thus, becoming the parents of a new family of copies, would originate and keep up divergencies from the first edition without any fault on the part of the transcribers."

WH mentioned, when treating of the Western non-interpolations, the idea of two editions as one which would suit the purely documentary phenomena. But they set it aside, as they thought none of these Western non-interpolations would internally justify such a claim to originality.

Another great English scholar, Bishop Lightfoot, almost enunciated the theory in his "Fresh Revision of the English New Testament."² He is speaking of three notable additions in the Western text of the Gospel, all of which are found in the Authorized Version. The first is in St. Luke ix. 55, 56,

¹ P. 18, 3rd ed.

² P. 29.

where James and John asked our Lord if He wished them to command fire to come down from heaven. Here the words "Even as Elias did," and "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them," are only found in Western and Syriac witnesses. Another Western addition was the well-known passage describing our Lord's Agony and Bloody Sweat, and the coming of an angel to strengthen Him. And the third was one of the seven words from the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Speaking of these, Bishop Lightfoot said: "It seems impossible to believe that these incidents are other than authentic, and the solution will suggest itself that the Evangelist himself may have issued two separate editions. This conjecture will be confirmed by observing that in the second treatise of St. Luke similar traces of two editions are seen, where the passages omitted in many MSS. texts, bear equal evidence of authenticity, and are entirely free from suspicion on the ground that they were inserted to serve any purpose, doctrinal or devotional."

Blass, then, was only following out an idea which had already commended itself to some great scholars. At first he applied the theory only to the Book of Acts, on which he was writing a commentary, but afterwards he extended it to the Gospel also, when critics pointed out that the two works should not be separated.

His theory, as now stated in full, is as follows:¹ When St. Luke came to Palestine with St. Paul, about 54 A.D., he found that all the Apostles had left Jerusalem, and instead of their *vivâ voce* teaching there were *writings* which contained what they had been accustomed to relate in the assemblies of Christians. Compare the prologue to the Gospel: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us." By "us" St. Luke means the inhabitants of Palestine, where he had been living for two years. St. Luke wished that Theophilus (and his friends) might enjoy the same benefit as the Judæan Christians. *He* had only been *instructed* (*κατηχήθης*), while *to them* eye-witnesses had *delivered* (*παρέδοσαν*) what they had seen and heard. Therefore he wrote his Gospel, that Theophilus might have the same certainty (*ἀσφάλειαν*). Theophilus being a man of some importance, St. Luke would make a fair copy, probably on vellum, for him with his own hand, and would keep the original rough draft. Some time

¹ It is found in his "Acta Apostolorum" and "Evangelium secundum Lucam, secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam." See also his "Philology of the Gospels."

afterwards he went with St. Paul to Rome, and the Christians there, hearing that he had written a Life of Christ, and wishing to possess such a precious book, would ask him for a copy. This he also made from the rough draft, and introduced such changes as seemed good to him, omitting some things as unnecessary, and adding others which he had passed over when making the copy for Theophilus.

In the meantime he had formed the idea of writing a further account of the spread of Christianity; perhaps he had obtained a document telling of the early events in Judæa after the day of Pentecost; perhaps he had collected material during St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea: possibly both these suppositions are true.

So he wrote the Book of Acts as it is found in the Western form for the Romans also, and in order to make it fit on to his former work he made certain changes in the end of his new copy of the Gospel; he cut out all mention of the Ascension of our Lord, because he was about to relate it in a much fuller form in the beginning of Acts.

Then, wishing that Theophilus should have all the information possible, he made a second copy of Acts also, and sent it to him in the East, where it became the parent of the MSS. which give the non-Western text.

Now, if this account be correct, one would expect to find that the first copy in each case is more prolix, and the second more concise and polished, since an author is at perfect liberty, in rewriting his work, to amend, add, condense, and generally improve his book. One would also expect to find that the language of the variants would show unmistakable signs of St. Luke's style. For both these points Blass has made out a very strong case. He has shown by a most minute examination that the words of the Western variations are such as St. Luke uses, and that the number of *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* is, if anything, less than in other parts of his works. It needed no demonstration to show that the non-Western text of Acts which is the second recension, is much more concise and finished than the Western. But some critics who agree with Blass on this point do not see their way to follow him when he says the non-Western is the first recension in the *Gospel*, and that the Western, being more concise and polished, is the later. He has certainly quoted some passages which seem to strongly support his contention. Take, for example, the account of the healing of the man with the withered hand. In the ordinary text there are four co-ordinate sentences joined by *καὶ* or *δέ*. In Codex Bezae these are reduced to one principal sentence, the other three being changed into a genitive absolute and a relative sentence. The ordinary text gives vi. 6:

“And it came to pass on another Sabbath that He entered into the synagogue and taught; and there was a man there, and his right hand was withered, and the Scribes and Pharisees watched Him.”

D has :

“And when He had again entered on the Sabbath into the synagogue, in which was a man having a withered hand, the Scribes and Pharisees watched Him.”

Again, in xix. 35, speaking of the colt on which Jesus rode to Jerusalem, the ordinary text gives :

“And they brought him to Jesus, and having cast their garments upon the colt, they set Jesus thereon.”

Here it was necessary to repeat “Jesus” twice, on account of the mention of the colt, and this mention was necessary because it would be ambiguous to say “they cast their garments upon *him*.” In the Western text the whole sentence is recast and given in a smoother and more elegant form : “And having brought the colt, they cast their garments upon him and set Jesus thereon.”

Blass says if such transformations are to be ascribed to copyists or readers, then he is afraid we shall get a kind of copyists or readers who are but the creations of our own fancy, without having had any existence in reality. He is not able to recognise anything here but the license of an author who is handling his own work, and the skill of a writer.

Let us now turn to the Book of Acts, and examine a few of the most interesting additions of the Western text. Many of these have such an appearance of genuineness that they are accepted as St. Luke's even by those who do not give their approval to Blass's theory.

There are a number of passages in which the Western text gives exact notes of time and place which are wanting in the ordinary text.

In the account of St. Peter's delivery from prison by the angel, it tells us that after the iron gate opened and they went out “*they went down the seven steps.*” This remarkable addition could only come from someone who knew Jerusalem well. It is difficult to see why a scribe should insert it, but we can see how St. Luke might omit it in his second recension as an unnecessary detail.

When St. Paul withdrew from the synagogue at Ephesus, he took his disciples to the school of one Tyrannus, where he reasoned daily. Here the Western witnesses add a clause which Professor Ramsay says can hardly be explained, except as a deliberate impertinence, or as founded on actual tradition. They say that he taught “from the fifth to the tenth hour daily.” We know from Martial and Juvenal that school-work

ordinarily began at daybreak, so it is not strange that school should be over by eleven o'clock, and thus leave the room free for St. Paul.

In the account of the riot in this same city there is greater vividness in the Western text. According to it, the meeting of silversmiths took place in the house or workshop of Demetrius, for it says that after they were filled with wrath "*they rushed out into the street.*"

The same text tells us that on the voyage to Jerusalem St. Paul and his companions stopped *in Trogyllium*, and that when sailing to Rome they were *fifteen days* crossing the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia.

In xi. 28 there is an interesting insertion. After the mention of the prophets who came from Jerusalem to Antioch, we read: "There was great joy. And *when we were assembled together* one of them, by name Agabus, said," etc. If this is genuine, it agrees with the tradition given by Eusebius and Jerome that St. Luke was a member of the Church of Antioch. Blass points out its importance as showing that the use elsewhere of the first person "we" cannot be employed (as it frequently has been) for the purpose of dissecting the Acts into parts originally independent.

In the account of the persecution at Iconium, in the fourteenth chapter, the ordinary text reads thus:

"1. And it came to pass in Iconium that they went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed. 2. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren. 3. Long time, therefore, abode they, speaking boldly in the Lord. . . ."

Now, this narrative seems to be wanting in coherence; the result of the action of the unbelieving Jews is not stated at all. The verbs used of them are aorists (*ἐπήγειραν καὶ ἐκάκωσαν*), and imply a successful attempt, which, if unchecked, would have ended in the expulsion of Paul and Barnabas by the combined Jews and Gentiles, as before at Antioch. So the force of the next clause, "Long time, therefore, abode they," is not apparent.

The Western text, however, is clear and coherent. It reads: "But the chiefs of the synagogues of the Jews and their magistrates directed a persecution against the just, and made the minds of the Gentiles evil affected against the brethren: *but the Lord soon gave peace.* Long time, therefore," etc. Then in the fifth verse it goes on: "The Jews a second time stirred up a persecution, and having stoned them, cast them out of the city."

The question will naturally occur to one: If the Western reading is so superior, why did St. Luke alter it for the worse in the ordinary text, which is the second recension? Blass says it is the result of his attempt to condense his narrative, and that here, as in other passages, he did not improve it by doing so.

But this passage raises another question, which I have not seen noticed anywhere, and it is this: Is the Western text not contradictory to or at least inconsistent with 2 Cor. xi. 25, where St. Paul says, "Once was I stoned"? The account in this passage was quoted by Paley as a proof of the accuracy of the New Testament, since a writer forging a letter or a piece of history might easily have gone wrong. But what becomes of this argument if the Western reading is from the pen of St. Luke?

In the story of the Philippian gaoler there is a curious insertion (xvi. 30), which brings out how the same critic may take totally different views of a Western reading at different times. It reads: "He brought them out, and *having secured the rest*, he came and said to them, Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" Professor Ramsay, in his "Church in the Roman Empire" (p. 160) said: "This clause has an almost comic effect. The gaoler carefully looked to his immediate interests before he attended to his future salvation." But in "St. Paul the Traveller" (p. 222) he gives his later opinion: "The Bezan text preserves, in verse 30, a little detail which is so suggestive of the orderly and well-disciplined character of the gaoler that we are prompted to accept it as genuine. The gaoler first attended to his proper work and secured all his prisoners, and thereafter he attended to Paul and Silas and brought them forth. It seems highly improbable that a Christian in later times would insert the gloss that the gaoler looked after his prisoners before he cared for his salvation; it is more the spirit of a later age to be offended with the statement that the gaoler did so, and to cut it out."

We next come to a very instructive passage, one which strongly confirms what we have already seen—viz., that the Western text does add to our knowledge.

In xxi. 15-17 the ordinary reading is:

"And after these days we took up our baggage and went up to Jerusalem. And there went with us also certain of the disciples from Cæsarea, bringing with them one, Mnason of Cyprus, an early disciple, with whom we should lodge. And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly."

Now, this was generally taken to mean that Mnason had a house at Jerusalem, and went with St. Paul to entertain him

in that city. This raised a little difficulty. One would have thought that St. Paul would have been lodged by some private friends; we know, for instance, that his sister lived there, not to speak of "the brethren who received him gladly." Besides, it was about sixty-five miles from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, and the journey could not be made without a rest on the way.

Here also the reading of the Western text is fuller: "These brought us to certain with whom we should lodge, and when we got to a certain village we stayed with Mnason, an early disciple, and departing thence we came to Jerusalem."

Thus, it seems Mnason did not live at Jerusalem, but at a village on the way; and Professor Ramsay and others say that the ordinary text, when properly understood, implies this also. It means we set out for Jerusalem (*ἀνεβαίνομεν*), we lodged with Mnason (*ξενισθῶμεν*, aorist, a definite time on the way), we came to Jerusalem (*γενομένων δὲ ἡμῶν*).

Here, as before, Blass says the ordinary reading is the result of condensing what was told more fully in the first recension. That St. Paul lodged at a village might seem likely to have little interest for Theophilus, and so the details could be spared.

Dr. Salmon has a striking note¹ on the epithet "early" (*ἀρχαίῳ*) as applied to Mnason. We might ask when he was converted, and if we refer back to xi. 2 we find another addition of the Western text which throws light on the question. It says that when St. Peter was journeying along this same road from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, after the conversion of Cornelius, he "*preached the Gospel in the places through which he passed*"—that is, in the very country where Mnason lived. Here, then, is an undesigned coincidence, if, as is most likely, Mnason was one of his converts. We can also see a probable reason why this passage in xi. 2 might be inserted in the first recension and omitted in the second. St. Luke, when staying that night with Mnason, heard enough about St. Peter's preaching to lead him to make a note of it in his rough draft, and to copy it in the first recension. But he left it out in his second, when his mind was fully occupied with St. Paul's work.

Again, in xxviii. 16 there is a piece of information which would, no doubt, be very interesting to the Romans, but might be left out in the copy intended for Theophilus and the East. On their arrival at Rome, the Western text adds that "the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard" (*τῷ στρατοπέδαρχῳ*). This title used to be interpreted as meaning the Prefect of the Prætorian Guard, but, as Professor Ramsay says,² it is not likely that the Prætorian

¹ "Hermathena," vol. ix. (as above).

² "St. Paul the Traveller," p. 347.

Prefect would be concerned with the humble duty of receiving and guarding prisoners. Mommsen, however, aided by a Latin version (*g*), which translates the word by "princeps peregrinorum," has explained who this officer really was. Augustus had made out a system for the maintenance of communications between the centre at Rome and the armies on the frontiers. Legionary centurions, called "frumentarii," went to and fro, acted as messengers and couriers, performed police duties, and conducted prisoners. While at Rome they resided in a camp on the Cœlian Hill, called *Castra Peregrinorum*. This camp was under the command of the *Princeps Peregrinorum*, and clearly "Stratopedarch" is the Greek name for that officer.

This instance, then, not merely proves the accuracy of the Western text, but also shows that it adds considerably to our knowledge.

In the case of the Gospel some of the important additions of the Western text have been already mentioned. Two of them, at least, are such that it would cause us much sorrow to lose them—the account of our Lord's Agony and Bloody Sweat, and His prayer for His executioners. There is an echo of the latter in the dying words of St. Stephen, and it seems impossible to believe they are not authentic.

Two of the omissions of the Western text have also been referred to—in the *words of our Lord to Martha*, and in the *soliloquy of the rich fool*. If space permitted, many others could be given.

But there are still two remarkable additions which ought to be mentioned. One is the passage inserted in chapter vi. about the man working on the Sabbath day: "On the same day He saw a man working on the Sabbath, and said unto Him: Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou; but if thou dost not know it, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law."

The words here are for the most part such as St. Luke would use, and Scrivener thinks that if the antithesis were less pointed it might be deemed not unworthy of the Divine Teacher. The spirit of the passage Blass shows to be quite Pauline (*cf.* Rom. xiv. 5, 23). He thinks it was left out of the recension sent to Theophilus, lest it should cause needless offence to the Jews, who were much more numerous in the East.

The other addition is found in the account of the burial of the Body of our Lord in xxiii. 53. The Western text gives: "And after it (the Body) had been laid there, he put against the sepulchre a stone which twenty men could scarce roll."

The stone is mentioned in xxiv. 2 as being there, and it must seem strange that it was not mentioned before, as in SS. Matthew and Mark. Dr. Harris found here in the Latin of Codex Bezae a hexameter line: "Imposuit lapidem quem vix viginti movebant," and this he believed to be the source of the strange addition. He thought this line came from a translation of the "Odyssey," where Polyphemus is said to have closed his cave with a stone which two-and-twenty waggons could not stir. Blass quite agrees as to its Homeric origin, but says St. Luke must have learned Homer at school, and the comparison might occur to him as well as to anyone else.

In considering the theory of a double recension put forward by Blass, it is very important to remember that his reasoning is cumulative, and is based on the evidence taken as a whole. Separate cases of variation must be examined, and in each a different explanation may be possible; but the force of the argument grows if this one theory will account for most, if not all, of the variants. Further, whatever conclusion is adopted as to the Acts will largely decide the question in the Gospel, for the two go together. It is much easier to test additions than omissions; in Acts the Western text is chiefly marked by additions, and there is no danger here as in the Gospel of mixture with similar writings.

Investigation shows that the language of the Western text is quite that of St. Luke; the matter of the additions in many cases materially adds to our knowledge, and few or no contradictions to other passages can be discovered.

The question, then, is: Is all this consistent with the idea of an interpolator or reviser? Would such a person always succeed in reproducing St. Luke's style without overdoing it? Would he make no mistakes and fall into no errors? In this connection we must remember WH's dictum that "in literature of a high quality it is, as a rule, improbable that a change made by transcribers should improve an author's sense, or express his full and exact sense better than he has done himself."

Blass has stated that his theory rests on two bases: (1) That the Western additions are original: no stranger could add the many things which show actual and intimate knowledge, or, if he could, would not. (2) That the ordinary text must come from the author himself also, for no form not authentic could ever have acquired such universal acknowledgment.

A word must be said as to the criticism to which the theory has been subjected. No one seems to dispute its *à priori* probability; it is admitted to be in the nature of

things quite possible that St. Luke wrote his books twice, and those who disagree with Blass, deal rather with the hypothesis as applied to particular passages.

The strongest objection seems to be that drawn from the number of places, especially in Acts, where the Western reading is clear and easy to understand, while the supposed second revision becomes involved and obscure. Blass says one cannot always give the reasons why St. Luke made the change, and that occasionally he may have somewhat spoiled his work. Granting that this explanation may hold good in a few passages; yet if many such cases are found, of which no other account can be given, a certain amount of doubt must attend the theory.

However, Blass's hypothesis can claim a large and growing number of adherents, and commends itself as the most satisfactory yet offered, to such scholars as Dr. Salmon and Dr. Gwynn of Dublin, Dr. Harris of Cambridge, Nestle and Zahn in Germany, and many others.

Dr. Salmon, in his "Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," says: "If we had only to deal with the Acts, I should look for no other explanation of the facts; but if the fact of a double edition of the Acts is established, it becomes probable that the like may be true of the Gospel." As to the Gospel, it should be mentioned that Dr. Salmon inclines rather to the view that the Western variations there are owing to explanations of passages given by St. Luke himself in reply to questions at Rome; he thinks it likely that these explanations were written down, and afterwards read in the Church as authorized commentaries on his writings.

Since Blass's theory depends at present entirely on internal evidence, it is clear it cannot be proved with absolute certainty. I hope I have, however, succeeded in making the following points clear: (1) That the theory of a double recension is *à priori* probable; (2) that on the whole it suits the case, and goes much farther towards explaining the phenomena of the Western text than any other which has yet been advanced.

W. HARLOE DUNDAS.

ART. III.—FURTHER NOTES ON GENESIS.

MY last paper dealt with Gen. xxxiv.; I come now to chap. xxxv. It may be well to transcribe as far as is necessary what is assigned to P in this chapter, putting the passages in brackets which Kautzsch and Socin assign to the redactor. Following directly on chap. xxxiv. 29, which runs ["and all their wealth, and all their little ones and their wives, took they captive and spoiled even all that was in the house"], the narrative proceeds ["and they journeyed, and a great terror was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob]. So Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of Canaan [the same is Bethel]. And God appeared unto Jacob [again], when he came from Paddan Aram, and blessed him." From hence to the end of ver. 15 we have a passage of tolerable length, assigned by Kautzsch and Socin to the redactor and P, of which the redactor is credited with ver. 14 and with the words, "and to thy seed after thee will I give the land" in ver. 12. Then the redactor adds the words, "the same is Bethlehem" in ver. 19 (JE) as an explanation of the name Ephrath. Beside this, we have the list of the sons of Jacob, vers. 22-29 which is assigned to P.

Many points of discussion arise from this assignment of the narrative. First of all, "and they journeyed" comes rather abruptly after chap. xxxiv. 29, which, according to the critics, it immediately succeeds,¹ whereas the verse follows naturally after ver. 1 (assigned by the critics to JE), in which Elohim bids Jacob "Arise, and go to Bethel." It is true that if we regard ver. 5 as a simple annotation by the redactor of a narrative which he had before him, some of the difficulties disappear; but it is to be observed that neither Wellhausen nor Professor Driver have committed themselves to Kautzsch and Socin's theory that these verses are the work of the redactor, so that on this point at present "the critics" are *not* "agreed."²

¹ The reader will bear in mind that P's narrative is supposed to be inserted *in extenso*, or very nearly so.

² Wellhausen assigns vers. 9-15 to P. Dr. Driver assigns vers. 9-13 to P and 14 to J. Kautzsch and Socin assign ver. 14 to the redactor. These differences are treated by the critics as immaterial. As a matter of fact, they are as material as Newton's famous neglect of an infinitesimal quantity in a very intricate mathematical calculation, which reduced the rate of the moon's motion by one-half! A difference of a single verse throws the whole *apparatus criticus* out of gear. The critics should agree among themselves before they call upon us to refute them. To refute each one of them individually would be too herculean a task. Professor Driver assigns vers. 1-8 to E. It is noteworthy that *not one* of the three condescends to give any reason for his assignment.

Therefore the difficulty here has still to be met. And if we grant that the words *are* the redactor's (a proposition a good deal more easy to assert than to prove) we are still face to face with the question why he made this insertion here and whence he derived his facts.

Our next point is that the alleged priestly writer (or P) here uses the ancient name of Bethel. The alleged prophetic writer (JE) in like manner calls Beth-lehem by its early Canaanitish name (vers. 16, 19); so again does P (ver. 27) speak of Mamre and Kirjath Arba as the ancient names of Hebron.¹ We need not go over again what has been said on chaps. xiii. and xiv.² But criticism has still to explain to us (1) how the priestly writer, compiling his narrative after the return from the exile, came to know these ancient names, (2) why he takes the trouble to disinter them, and (3) why JE, as we find in the same chapter, should also know them and introduce them into his narrative. Three times in this chapter do these ancient names appear. Which is the more probable—that the whole chapter is by one hand, and that a very ancient one, and that the later names are put in by a later annotator, or that two separate writers, writing at different times, should have made use in each of their narratives of names which must have been long obsolete when they were writing? Then, again, we have once more here the remarkable phenomenon to which attention has already been called,³ that the writer (in each case P, according to the critics) is obviously writing *away from Palestine* and for people unacquainted with its geography. But, *ex hypothesi*, the writer of the Priestly Code wrote *in Palestine* after the exile, and for Jews presumably

¹ That is, according to Kautzsch and Socin. But, as we have seen, Dr. Driver and Wellhausen assign vers. 1-8 to JE. But as vers. 22b-29 are assigned to P we still find *each* of the writers to whom the narrative is assigned using the ancient names—a mark of homogeneity of considerable significance. I might have strengthened my argument in the CHURCHMAN for January, 1899, p. 175, had I noticed that while Kautzsch and Socin assign ver. 14 to the redactor, Wellhausen assigns it to P, and Dr. Driver to J. The latter possibly scents danger here. But once more he does not condescend to tell us why he has altered the analysis of his fellow critics here. I have not the Rainbow Bible and the Polychrome Bible at hand, but I understand that they too differ from one another. How can conclusions as to style and authorship be reached when the critics are not agreed on the premises?

² CHURCHMAN for November, 1897, p. 64. We may add to what is found there (1) that chap. xiii. 18 (JE) states that the oaks of Mamre are *in Hebron*, that chaps. xxiii. 19 and xxxv. 2 (2) say that Mamre *is Hebron*, and that chap. xiv., supposed to be an insertion from a source not elsewhere used, explains *how it came to be called Mamre*—a strange, clearly undesignated, and most surprising agreement between the various "sources."

³ CHURCHMAN, April, 1899, p. 348.

well enough acquainted with the land of their forefathers to know where Bethel was. The only possible explanation of this on critical principles is that P was quoting ancient records here; but if it be admitted that the post-exilic writer was following ancient and trustworthy authorities, then the argument for his separate existence disappears. For his late date is inferred simply from his obvious lack of authentic information, his resort to inventions of all kinds in order to prop up the views of the Deuteronomists and other innovators on the ancient religious polity of the Jews. These inventions, be it further observed, become darker and more criminal in their character if we find that the priestly writer actually had access to the most ancient and authentic traditions, and deliberately substituted his misstatements for them whenever it suited him to do so. There can be little doubt, I think, that a strong *prima facie* case is presented, both in this chapter and the last, for the contention that we have before us a narrative of great antiquity, compiled when the writer and those whom he was addressing were, and had for some time been, absent from the land of Canaan. The very fact that Canaan, not Israel, is the word used here, is an additional proof of high antiquity. The author or redactor of the fourth (or third?) century B.C. would surely sometimes have betrayed his late date by thoughtlessly using the language which was familiar to him. The fact that he never once does so confirms the argument which has been adduced. Thus the phenomena presented in this chapter point to an author before the Exodus. Who but Moses, or some one writing under his supervision, was likely to have been that author? The additions (to JE and P alike, we must not forget, at least according to some critics of repute) "the same is Bethel," "the same is Beth-lehem" are clearly annotations by a later hand, when the old names were forgotten, or nearly so, and these annotations have ultimately, as has so often been the case elsewhere, crept into the text.

Our next point is a slight but most noteworthy one. We have here P, the post-exilic writer (ver. 10), declaring most emphatically that Jacob's name should henceforth be, not Jacob, but Israel; and accordingly Israel (ver. 21) that name has immediately become in the pages of JE, a writer of four to five centuries earlier, who "knows nothing" of the fact.¹ This significant piece of evidence of homogeneity has escaped

¹ The name Israel is, it is true, represented as given to Jacob after the mysterious scene at the ford Jabbok in chap. xxxii. But *all* the writers call him Jacob after that. It is not until the strong confirmation of the command then given in the present chapter that *anyone* calls him Israel, and then it is not P in which the confirmation is found, but JE.

Kautzsch and Socin, who have not assigned "Israel" to the redactor in ver. 21. This can, of course, be done in Kautzsch and Socin's next edition, or by the next critic, or school of critics, which arises. Unfortunately, such a step would only be another illustration of the soundness of the position the opponents of the German school have laid down, that in German criticism the alleged facts depend upon theories instead of the theories, as on all sound principles of criticism should be the case, arising naturally out of the facts.¹ A striking confirmation of what has been said above is that P in vers. 23-29 "knows nothing" of what he himself has told us in ver. 10 of the change of Jacob's name to Israel. How clear a proof of ignorance of the facts recorded in ver. 10 this would have been held to be if it had been wished to assign these verses to another hand only the students of the German methods can understand. And in this case they would really have had an argument to back them up. How, they might say just as reasonably as they have said many other things, could the writer of vers. 22-29 have known anything of the history recorded in ver. 10? Is it not there said, "Thy name shall be *no more* called Jacob, but Israel"? The writer of the above-named passage would not, it might be argued, have dared to give the patriarch the name Jacob if he knew that Elohim had specially commanded that it should not be done. Few critical "proofs" that I have come across are equal in cogency to this one. But the critical fiat has gone forth that it shall not be used, and in this instance the followers of the critics meekly accept the assertion of the guides they have elected to accept.

A few words concerning Bethel may be added. In what Professor Driver admits to be an old account of the conquest of Canaan² found in Judg. i. we have an account of the conquest of Bethel. The writer calls the city Bethel, and states that the previous name of the city was Luz. It is evident from his account that while, of course, among the Canaanites it was still known by its old name (this is evident from vers. 24-26), it was *even then* known to the Israelites as Bethel; for no account is given of the change of names or the reasons for it in this narrative. Why? Obviously because the narratives contained in what is called the "prophetic" history of

¹ As in the instance quoted from Dr. Driver (above, p. 193), he gives no reason for departing from authorities he is usually content to follow. It is clear that not the phenomena of the text, but the exigencies of his theory, compel him thus silently to violate the "agreement of the critics" here. P, he feels, could never tolerate the idolatrous "matzebah." He only alters the character of the difficulty, however; he does not escape it. See CHURCHMAN, January, 1899, p. 175.

² Introduction, p. 153.

the "eighth or ninth century B.C.," and (according to *some* critics at least) in the priestly writer after the exile, were perfectly well known to the Israelitish people at the time when this account (admitted by the critics themselves to be an early one) was penned; that is to say, the prophetic writer of the eighth or ninth century B.C. and the priestly writer of the fourth century B.C. were known to the "early" writer of Judg. i. We have here, then, a strong presumption—we will not follow the vicious example of the critical school and call it a "proof"—in favour of the antiquity and authority, if not of JE and P themselves, at least of the documents they used in their narratives, and also a presumption of no light weight in favour of the opinion—in support of which other considerations have already been adduced—that we have in this chapter no JE or P at all, but an early narrative, composed or compiled from sources contemporary, or all but contemporary, with the events recorded. I need not say over again what has already been repeatedly said about the extreme improbability of the hypothesis that a post-exilic writer, whose primary object in writing was to substitute his comparatively modern ideas for the earlier religious belief and practice of Israel, would insert and even (as some critics suppose) emphasize, points in his narrative which directly made against his object—points such as the original importance of Bethel, and Jacob's practice of using pillars ("matzeboth") for worship and pouring libations on them which were forbidden by the code the priestly writer so earnestly (at least, so we are told) desired to recommend.

I return for a moment to the question discussed in March, 1898, about the use of *El Shaddai* here. That expression has been "proved," in the usual manner, to be characteristic of P among the writers of the Pentateuch. We have noted the fact that the term was clearly in use in early times among the peoples of Palestine, but *not* among the Israelites, which makes it a very extraordinary term to be pitched upon by the post-exilic writer as the early covenant name of God, expressly set aside by Him for Jehovah in Exod. vi. 3. On the other hand, we have not failed to ask the reader's attention to the exact accordance of P's statement with the facts, if he be really in possession of authentic information here;¹ for the history represents *El Shaddai* as an early term used by the Semitic peoples in the patriarchal age, and recognized as the covenant name of God in the days of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but confined, after the revelation to Moses, to the heathen nations bordering on Israel, which is precisely what we should expect,

¹ Kautzsch and Socin, as we have seen, assign ver. 14 to the *redactor*, and Professor Driver, more consistently, to JE.

if P's account be a true one. Thus P's statements are confirmed by the history if he be regarded as an early writer, handing down authentic information; out of harmony with it if he be a later inventor, as the critical theory supposes. The term appears in God's revelation of Himself to Abraham in chap. xvii. 1, in chap. xxviii. 3, in Isaac's address to Jacob, in the present passage, in an allusion to this last passage in chap. xlviii. 3, and in Jacob's song (xlix. 25), to the antiquity of which the fact recorded in Exod. vi. 3 testifies. The occurrence of the similar term El Eljon in the story of Melchizedek confirms the view that the title El, with some qualifying addition, was common in early times. Thus the more closely the narrative is scrutinized, the more unexpected and remarkable are the confirmations we find of the authenticity of the history, and the more untenable the positions of the German school of criticism are found to be.

I will not dwell on the way in which Professor Driver attempts to defend his assertion that P is less anthropomorphic than JE in his conceptions of God,¹ in the face of such an expression as "God went up from him" (ver. 13), further than to remark that it seems to involve some ultra-refinement of reasoning. But at least Professor Driver recognises the difficulty here, and frankly endeavours to deal with it, whether we regard his attempt as too fine-drawn or whether we do not.

In vers. 22b-29 we come across another peculiarity of the dominant school of criticism. When it suits them, peculiar expressions are seized upon as unmistakable evidences of style, which proves beyond a doubt that the sentences in question are by different hands. Thus, when יָלַד in the Kal voice is used for "to beget" the passage is indisputably from JE; when הוֹלִיד (the Hiphil voice) is used, it is as obvious that P is the author. I have already repeatedly shown that in dealing with the various expressions thus assigned the critics do not consistently follow their own rules; in fact, those rules are only binding when it suits them. The occurrence of הוֹלִיד, as we know, is regarded as an unmistakable proof that the historian is copying from P. On these principles, the expression "the sons of," found in vers. 22b-29, must be as indisputable a proof that the historian is copying from someone else. Still more inevitable is this conclusion when we remember that a still more indisputable proof that we are in the presence of P is the characteristic word "origins."² We are, therefore, bound to conclude that here, where *both of these* characteristic expres-

¹ Introduction, p. 121. See also CHURCHMAN, March, 1894, p. 294.

² "Generations," A.V.

sions are absent, and both of them replaced by the unusual phrase "sons of," we are to recognise a quotation from some other author. What, therefore, must be the surprise of the careful and inquiring student to find that, notwithstanding the marked absence of several of his best-known characteristics, we are asked to see in this passage the hand of P? Were *all* genealogies, without exception, assigned to P, as consistency would seem to require, we should have no difficulty in following the critics. But there is something, surely, a little "will-kurlich" in their treatment of the phenomena before them here.

Another point of some interest arises as we scrutinize the narrative, not from an *ex cathedra* point of view, but in the spirit of inquiry. In dealing with Gen. xiii.-xviii. we saw that JE brings Abraham to Mamre (chap. xiii. 18), that the unique author of chap. xiv. finds him there (ver. 13), and that when JE goes on with his narrative in chap. xviii. he is still there; nor do any of the extracts from various authors which occur in the intervening chapters represent him as living anywhere else. This is a tolerably striking instance of homogeneity in a narrative. But it is by no means all. In chap. xix. he was still there, for travellers have remarked how exactly the description in chap. xix. 27 agrees with all that is known of the locality. In chap. xx. Abraham, for some reason, leaves the neighbourhood, and journeys towards the land of the Philistines, where Isaac was born. But by chap. xxiii. he had returned to Hebron (ver. 2), and Abraham approaches the children of Heth, to whom he was obviously very well known, for "a possession of a burying-place." Again, when Rebekah reaches Isaac, he has moved to "the land of the south," and Beer-lahai-roi was his residence, as we are twice told. Next, he is found at Gerar, in consequence of a famine (chap. xxvi.). He is at Beer-sheba once more when Jacob leaves him. When Jacob returns to Canaan he does not appear to have gone to his father, but to have pitched his tent at Shechem, at Bethel, and at Bethlehem. Why he did not visit his father is not related. But when Isaac's burial is related, he seems to have been once more settled in Abraham's own home at Mamre. Now, it is remarkable that only JE and the supposed unknown author of that unique fragment chap. xiv. place Abraham at Mamre. It is therefore not a little surprising to find P placing Isaac there just before his death, and bringing Jacob to him there at that moment. Still more remarkable is it that when next we have a mention of the locality in which Jacob dwelt, JE speaks of him as still dwelling "in the vale of Hebron" (ver. 17), where P has brought him in chap. xxxv. 27, and where apparently P regards him as having made a lengthened

stay, for he speaks of him as having "dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings" in chap. xxxvii. 1. All this is surely no slight example of what is called the undesigned coincidence. It is beyond all possibility that two incomplete, and, as we are told, in many ways inaccurate, histories, which grew up, no one knows how, hundreds of years after the events narrated, could have been pieced together—very clumsily, as we are asked to believe—so as to bring out such harmonious results, such unexpected and undesigned confirmations of one another's narratives. Surely facts like these—and they are by no means isolated facts—ought to be placed by every candid student of the history side by side with the authoritative statements of the critics, and to be allowed some weight in the determination of so difficult a question as the date of a document recording events which took place, or were alleged to have taken place, some three thousand five hundred years ago.

The expression קהל גוים or עמים (ver. 11) occurs only three times in the Pentateuch, and not elsewhere in the Bible. It has been carefully assigned to P each time. The assignment, however, is somewhat arbitrary. It is fair to contend that קהל, which in the first instance means a body of persons called together, became afterwards the technical name for the congregation of Israel, and, having this recognised meaning, it ceased afterwards to be used of a gathering together of other peoples. It is, however, occasionally used in the later writers for a company generally, but never, I think, where it could possibly be confounded with the general assembly of the Israelite tribes.

Before dismissing chap. xxxv. there is one word more to be said about Kirjath Arba, the ancient name for Hebron. Both here and in Josh. xiv. 15 and xv. 13 mention is made of this name. The former passage in Joshua is assigned by Professor Driver to "JE, expanded or recast in parts by D₂." This he suggests with some hesitation. Josh. xv. 13 we are told belongs to P, although the next verse, which is in close connection with it, is assigned to JE. Now, the supposition that the same statement, repeated twice in the same book within the compass of thirteen verses, is by two different hands seems to involve a somewhat arbitrary assumption. If P here and in Josh. xv. 13 has repeated a statement of JE, or possibly of D₂, why did he so repeat it? And why has he introduced his quotation of earlier authors in the chapter we are considering? The passage points to a closer knowledge of ancient history than was likely to be possessed either at the date at which JE, or that at which

P, is said to have written. There can be little doubt that the writers in Gen. xxxv. and in Joshua were in possession of authentic details. And it is worthy of remark that while the former writer represents Hebron to be in the hands of the Hittites, the latter writer, composing his narrative at a time when the Hittite power, as we now know, was rapidly on the decline, speaks of the Anakim, or children of Anak, as in possession of the city. Thus, the narrative in the Pentateuch and Joshua, like that in Gen. xiv., displays, as recent archæological discovery has told us, a surprising acquaintance with the conditions of Canaan and its neighbours at the early period with which it deals. And as far as it goes, which is a considerable distance, the difference between the statements on this point of Genesis and Joshua appear to negative the theory which would make them into a Hexateuch, and to support the view which regards them as distinct documents, of which Joshua is the later. It may, however, be contended that Gen. xxxv. 27 speaks of Hebron as "the city of Arba" before the Hittites had abandoned it. Were we scientific critics, we should be able summarily to dismiss the matter by describing these words "city of Arba" as an "editorial gloss." But somehow this expedient, however ready a resource it may often prove to the scientific critic, seems only to move his wrath when used by others beside himself. But it is by no means inadmissible, when we remember the names of the various tribes which inhabited Palestine, to suppose that the Hittite occupation of Hebron was only a temporary one, and that, as the Hittite power declined, the ancient inhabitants repossessed themselves of their former habitations. This is at least as reasonable as to suppose that, here and in Joshua, we have mere vague and untrustworthy traditions of the history of Israel previous to the Exodus, written down by the Jehovist or the Deuteronomist, and copied at random by the priestly writer after the exile.¹

Chap. xxxvi. need not detain us long. Professor Driver assigns it, "in the main," to P; Kautzsch and Socin attribute a good deal of it to the redactor. It seems clear from ver. 31 that the list of the Edomite rulers at least is of later date—later than the introduction of kingly rule into Israel. But at least some support is given in this verse to the historical credibility of Judges and 1 Samuel, which represent the theocracy as having deferred kingly government in Israel to a considerably later date than that at which it was intro-

¹ It is, of course, possible that Ephron the Hittite was a foreigner sojourning among the Anakim; but this possibility does not in any way affect the argument in the text.

duced among the surrounding tribes. This, again, as far as it goes (and it goes a good way), tends to support the statements in the Pentateuch and historical books which represent the Jews as believing that they had received a Divine revelation and Divinely-ordered institutions—in fact, a national policy, secular and religious—at the hand of Moses.

We may further remark on the extreme improbability that a later writer should invent a number of utterly unnecessary details of the kind contained in this chapter. The only possible ground for their insertion is that they were obtained from authentic records to which the writer had access. He was not likely to have had access to them after the exile, when an altogether new order of things had come into existence. By that time the ancient records must have perished, and it would have been as fatuous to invent as it had become impossible to obtain them.

Lastly, the words “these are the generations” (origins—*tol'doth*) “of Jacob” (Gen. xxxvii. 2) are supposed to wind up the whole genealogy. Nothing of the kind. For what has gone before is not the genealogy of Jacob, but of Esau. By no stretch of language or of imagination can chap. xxxvi. be made to refer to Jacob. Why, then, may we not, as we have done in other cases, regard the expression as referring to what follows? Simply because the critics have assigned the chapter to JE. The fact that they have done so precludes the necessity for argument. Let us reverently submit to infallibility and its decrees.

J. J. LIAS.



ART. IV.—PRACTICAL ECHOES FROM THE BRIGHTON CHURCH CONGRESS.

II.

I MADE at Brighton notes on a great number of practical points of business, some of which, though individually, perhaps, seeming to be of no great importance, yet in the aggregate mount up considerably, and so have a material bearing on the comfort and convenience of the visitors to a Congress. These points do not very readily in all cases lend themselves to classification, and I shall have to present them to the reader in a somewhat disjointed form.

It has been the practice for many years to prepare for each Congress a special Congress Banner. These were allowed to accumulate, with the idea that at every Congress the banners

of all preceding Congresses should be exhibited to show the history of the movement. These banners have now so increased in number as to become burdensome; whilst they have grown from mere squares of silk with simple names and dates embroidered on them, costing altogether, perhaps, £5 each, to elaborate and highly-wrought specimens of art needlework, culminating at Brighton in a cost of £70. At the risk of being hooted by the votaries of ecclesiastical millinery, I suggest that (best of all) banners should be abolished; or, if not, that no attempt should be made any longer to parade them from Congress to Congress, but that, when done with at any Congress, they should be handed over then and there to some Church representative body, to be stored up locally as a reminiscence of a local event, or otherwise for local use. Under any circumstances, however, I venture to deprecate such a sum as £70 being spent on a banner as a wicked and useless waste of money.

The office arrangements in advance of a Congress deserve to be much more elaborately organized than is generally done. While a certain amount of office work in the shape of letters to write and answer falls to the paid Secretary intermittently between February and July, which he can dispose of at his own private residence, yet after July there should be a room in some handy position in the Congress town definitely set apart and publicly advertised as the office. Personal attendance should be given here, either by the Chief Secretary, or some responsible deputy, at fixed hours two or three times a week during July and August; whilst these attendances should be daily as from September 1 till the Congress is over. After the beginning of September the Congress office should be, if possible, under the roof of the Congress Assembly-Rooms, or in very close proximity thereto. The principal office accessible to the outside public should be a spacious apartment provided with an abundance of large tables, each dedicated to different branches of work, and each in charge of separate junior Clerks or Volunteer Assistants with defined duties. For instance, at one table nothing should be done but the filling up and delivery of tickets; another table should be the receipt of custom, including the giving of change, etc.; a third table should be dedicated to the reception, opening, and classification of general letters and telegrams; a fourth table should be set apart for Railway business; whilst the Hospitality Committee should have at their exclusive disposal a large table. All tables should be well provided with spring-clips, index-boxes, brass-spike files, and conveniences of that character, which are absolutely indispensable for the rapid, orderly, and accurate treatment of the

immense mass of correspondence which pours in daily during the last two or three weeks. At Brighton we had only two men permanently in residence, so to speak, and they were charged with a variety of matters distinct from one another, and which they unavoidably could not help muddling up. Our inside office arrangements at Brighton were terribly deficient in table-space, elbow-room, and method. The office ought to be kept open till a quarter of an hour after the end of each evening meeting.

The rooms and passages accessible to the members of the Congress generally should be properly indicated by a liberal allowance of printed labels in large type, such as "Writing Room," "Newspaper Room," "Type-writing Room," "Cloak Rooms," "Ticket-office," "Press Room" (to be marked "Private"), and so on.

Badges should be provided for the Secretaries, Treasurers, and Stewards. These should be circular, about two inches in diameter, in coloured leather, mounted on stiff millboard, and stamped as required—"Secretary," "Treasurer," "Chief Steward," "Steward," a different colour being allotted to each. A small supply of gummed labels with the word "Platform" on them should be kept ready to be placed on the tickets of a few privileged members, besides "Readers," "Speakers," and members of committees.

In connection with the sale of tickets, a decided mistake was made at Brighton by insisting on the day-tickets being 2s. 6d., and available for all the meetings of the dated day. It was pointed out that in many cases persons who did not care to incur the full expense of a full ticket at 7s. 6d. for the whole Congress ought to be offered the option of either a day-ticket for a whole day at 2s. 6d., or a ticket for one meeting only at 1s. A very large number of people came and asked for tickets for one meeting only, and whilst a certain number of them paid the 2s. 6d. for one meeting, it was quite evident that a very large number of tickets would have been sold for single meetings if the price had been put at 1s. only. Of course, if it were anticipated there would be a very special demand in respect of one meeting, and there was any prospect of the full-ticket holders being elbowed out by a great influx of 1s. ticket-holders, it would be easy, and perhaps sometimes it would be necessary, to place a limit on the issue of 1s. tickets.

Now for a few observations relating to the arrangements connected with the Meetings.

The rules as to the bell on the platform should be very plainly set out—that is to say, what the first bell means, and the second bell, as regards the intervals. Much confusion will

be saved if these rules are printed in the *Guide* much more plainly than they were printed in the *Brighton Guide*.

The Secretaries should be within easy reach of the President, so that he can readily communicate with them and they with him. In certain rooms at Brighton the Secretaries were placed at a very much lower level, and this was found exceeding inconvenient for everybody concerned.

The first, or two first, rows of chairs should be reserved for deaf people, and labelled accordingly.

The arrangements as to Stewards should be carefully thought out. There should be one Chief Steward in control of each Meeting-room, with one Chief Ticket-taker at each door, and the other Stewards in the room should be placed under the supreme control of the Chief Steward.

Though all readers and speakers do not require any sort of desk for their papers or notes, many speakers find such desks a great convenience, and one should be provided on each platform. A table is not enough. It must be a stand which can be raised to a good height above the floor, so that a speaker, who is a tall man, shall not have to stoop down to his own personal inconvenience, and to the loss of the audience; for if a speaker at a large meeting wishes to be heard, and the audience wish to hear him, he must be able always to stand well upright, and to keep his head upright. A music-stand is generally offered as suitable for this purpose, and so it is if its range of adjustment will take it up sufficiently high, which is not always the case. The average level of the shelf of the stand should be capable of being put up to nearly five feet. In addition to and independent of the desk a rail for speakers to lean upon is often appreciated.

A matter deserving of careful thought is the music to be given at the Mayor's Reception. It may be taken for granted that a full composition, likely to last, say, a whole hour, must not be thought of. Such was offered at Brighton, and very wisely refused by the Committee, who considered that the music should be so many distinct compositions, each complete in itself, and with a good allowance of time between each for conversation, which is certain to take place, whether an interval is allowed or not. If the principal reception-room is a very large one, it is questionable policy to accept offers of vocal solos, whether by ladies or gentlemen; in fact, under the best of circumstances, vocal music has a bad chance of being appreciated. However, if it is accepted, it had best be in the form of choruses or glees. If the music is not vocal, but only instrumental, and especially if a band supplies it, very great pressure should be put upon the conductor to keep the volume of sound down. I can recall, and so can everybody, many occasions in

which a loud band, however good the music, has been a nuisance and an annoyance. An evening reception, especially under its other and very good name of *conversazione*, is a period of time intended for conversation and which the visitors desire and intend should be so used, and anything which prevents them enjoying the society of the friends, who in many cases they come specially to meet and talk with, becomes a burden and annoyance.

The work of the Hospitality Committee is one which requires a very much larger amount of forethought and prearrangement than those appointed to organize hospitality generally realize. The matter is set in motion, or should be set in motion, by the issue of three circulars :

1. A circular to residents asking if they are disposed to take in some visitors, and for what length of time.

2. A circular to go out to purchasers of Congress tickets inviting them to state what accommodation they will require, coupled with a promise on the part of the Committee that though they will do their best to obtain the accommodation asked for, no guarantee can be given that it can be provided. The paragraph in the circular which states this should be worded with great care, because it often happens, and did so at Brighton, that purchasers of tickets treat the receipt of the ticket and the circular as a pledge that they will be provided with bed and board free of cost. There were numerous complaints in regard to this received by the Committee, and some of them couched in very intemperate language.

3. A circular to go out to hotels, boarding-house keepers, and ordinary lodging-house keepers, inviting them to state what accommodation they will be able to offer, and what their charges will be. These circulars should be slightly different in their wording according to the class of house which is addressed. But it is a very important matter that they should be asked to give the information in some detail, and not in a lump form—that is to say, not only charges per week, but charges per period—Monday to Saturday, charges per day, and charges per meal. If this is not done, visitors may be hindered in accepting day invitations to meals away from their lodgings, or if they do accept, disputes and unpleasantness may arise in settling up, when visitors claim, as naturally they will do and should do, a rebate, in regard to meals which they have not taken.

A matter which deserves careful attention in advance is the official list of ticket-holders, which is generally issued on the Tuesday of the Congress, but which, for various reasons, had much better be kept back till the Wednesday. I had no idea until I embarked on the matter how exceedingly complicated

and troublesome a business it is to prepare this list. The general practice has been for a clerk in the office to transcribe the names for the printer from the official record of the tickets sold from time to time. Of course, the book in which these entries are made only contains the names and addresses of the ticket-holders as the tickets are issued. Of course, they are not in alphabetical order, and they only give the home addresses of the ticket-holders, and not the addresses at which they will be found in the Congress town or neighbourhood. This is a subsequent process, and a very troublesome one. The names have to be transcribed under the letters of the alphabet, and the local address is added under great pressure of time quite at the last minute, say during the last three or four days before they have to be put into the printer's hands on the Monday or Tuesday. Experience shows that it is impossible to do this even with the most moderate accuracy in the available time. The transcription of such a mass of proper names from one manuscript into another manuscript is fatal to accuracy, and the only way in which it can be done is to notify to ticket-holders that if they wish their names entered they must hand in or send their visiting-cards or some equivalent prepared by themselves at the time when they apply for their tickets. The tickets being applied for during many previous weeks, cards so sent in can be sorted at leisure into the strictest alphabetical order, and they can be fastened into books or put on a spiked file, and handed to the printer so that the compositor can work from a printed original without the intervention of two copyists. In this way, not only is accuracy more easily obtained, but the names can be inserted to the very last minute in their proper order, and the minimum amount of time needs to be expended in verifying the spelling. Once get the names and home addresses in type, it is a comparatively simple matter to add in, on a facing page, the Congress town addresses. From our experience at Brighton, it is quite evident that a large and remunerative sale can be obtained for the list of names if it is got out with a fair amount of accuracy and especially with promptitude. We printed 750 copies, and could have sold a much larger number if the matter had been properly worked out in sufficient time.

The Post-Office department of the Congress is worked entirely by the Post-Office authorities, and the Congress officials are called upon to do nothing but provide the room, and the requisite tables or benches. There was at Brighton a serious omission that gave rise to many complaints. The Post-Office room was not very handy to the reception and reading rooms, but a little out of the way. The inconvenient effects of this might have been cured (but the matter was not

thought of in time) by the provision of a box for the reception of letters in the central hall.

Although the usual Post-Office arrangements were in force that stamped letters sent through the post could be asked for at the Post-Office table as at an ordinary Post-Office, yet it was impossible to dispel the idea which was in many people's minds that they could leave unpaid letters at the Congress general office, and ask for letters, parcels, and such things at that office. It would be far better to recognise this as a facility which the Committee were practically bound to supply, and to organize it properly in advance. If this is done, a very important fitting is a rack such as that used at hotels for exhibiting on the face of a wall a row of letters and telegrams affixed temporarily by means of a clip.

Perhaps mention may here be made in connection with this matter of the question of a Lost Property Office. Everybody seems to consider that the Secretaries can always find lost property, and make it their business to collect it and safeguard it. At Brighton it was considered to be the proper function of the custodian of the public rooms, but he was seldom to be found, and those who had lost their property invariably went to the Secretaries first of all to claim it.

A novelty was introduced at the Brighton Congress which worked exceedingly well—a refreshment-room conducted by a local lady of position, assisted by thirty young ladies collected from amongst her friends, and two or three gentlemen, to do special work. The food was all given. With rare exceptions, it was found to be of the best quality. The prices were very moderate. There was very little money paid directly by the Congress Committee in connection with the refreshments beyond the hire of glass and china, so that the sales were almost entirely net profit, and this profit was handed over to the Church Schools Fund. The professional caterer and the professional waiter were kept entirely out of the affair, and whether one inquired as to the luncheons or the teas, the reports were in the highest degree favourable. The attendance was very large every day. Business was carried on from 12.0 to 8.0 p.m., the idea being to supply luncheons at 1s. 6d. from 12.0 to 2.0, afternoon teas from 4.0 to 6.0, and a light meat supper from 6.0 to 8.0. The ladies who worked it sent their own circulars to their own friends, and the Congress Committee had the satisfaction of knowing that their ticket-holders were well-fed, and cheaply fed, under circumstances which were very favourable to the personal comfort of the guests. Where a party of visitors desired to have their meals as a family party, they were able

to engage tables to themselves which would accommodate from four to ten persons.

I have already more than exhausted the space at my disposal, and must pass over other points which I had desired to note, dealing only with one more matter. The Brighton Committee restored a practice which was formerly universal, namely, having two or more meetings going on at the same time; and they came in for a good deal of censure in certain quarters for doing so. I desire to express the opinion that this censure was altogether unreasonable. Though it is quite true that there may be a certain number of persons desirous of attending both of two meetings which are going on at the same time, on the other hand, there are a certain number of persons who do not desire to do this, and very likely in many cases they are a majority. If, therefore, it were laid down as a standing principle that there were never to be any simultaneous meetings the result would be that only half the number of subjects otherwise possible could be put upon the programme, and from that reduced number of meetings a large number of ticket-holders would be absent, and have nothing to do but loaf about the streets of the Congress town. On the other hand, by having meetings always in duplicate, and sometimes even in triplicate, a very much larger amount of ground may be covered, a very much larger number of members will be provided with *pabulum*, and a certain number of minor subjects, not perhaps of general interest, but yet useful and important in their way, can be ventilated, although only to small audiences. If any drastic reform of established usages is to be contemplated I think a good deal may be said for reducing the number of meetings in succession. Meetings morning, afternoon, and evening are indeed a great strain both on Congress members and Congress officials, and I should like to see the experiment tried of only two meetings a day—say, afternoon and evening on Tuesday; morning and evening on Wednesday; and morning and afternoon on Thursday and Friday. This would leave the Thursday evening free for the *Conversazione*, and the Friday evening for the Working Men's Meeting; and as Congress members in general are not admissible to this last-named meeting, they would be free to do what many of them would often like to do—that is, go home without sleeping on Friday night in the Congress town, and yet without missing any ordinary meeting by going home.

The discontinuance of the Devotional Meeting was discussed by the Brighton Committee, and would be a change in favour of which much might be urged.

G. F. CHAMBERS.

ART. V.—“PRESENT YOUR BODIES”—A NEW YEAR’S HOMILY.¹

THE language of religion is wont, perhaps too often, to speak of man as a soul. It is partly, no doubt, the result of a wish to insist upon that which the careless may forget, and to emphasize the immortal in man in distinction from the frail and changeful body. But it may unintentionally have aided these partial views of Christian truth which allow men to accept as inevitable acts which in their commonest form are often lightly dismissed as mere infirmities, and in their fullest development become rank antinomianism. If any persons were minded to think that the Gospel of Christ carried no message for their bodies, this use might help them.

But for no such view could Holy Scripture be summoned in witness. Whether we recall the language of the Prophets as to the Messiah, the words of our Lord Himself, the characteristics of His ministry, or the teaching of His Apostles, nothing can warrant such an assumption. Holy Scripture may inculcate the humility proper to the spirits which dwell in houses of clay (Job xiii. 12), in tenements as easily overthrown as a tent (2 Cor. v. 1). It may caution us against over-anxiety in caring for the body (Matt. vi. 5); against allowing it to be under the dominion of sin (Rom. vi. 12); against surrendering it to evil instead of consecrating it to God (1 Cor. vi. 13); against the peril of permitting a single member (*e.g.*, the tongue, Jas. iii. 6) to escape our control. But Holy Scripture has also other things to say. Christ is presented as the Saviour of the believer’s body (Eph. v. 23), which is a member of Christ (1 Cor. vi. 15), a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. vi. 19), may be the instrument by which God is glorified (1 Cor. vi. 10), and by which the life-giving power of Christ is manifested (2 Cor. iv. 10); is destined to share in the Resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 42-44), indeed to be made like unto the body of the risen Lord (Phil. iii. 21).

St. Paul, too, has another figure under which the dignity of the body is expressed. He bids us “present” it “a living sacrifice,” and he calls this our reasonable, rational “service.” It was a figure which would appeal to some early believers. Men then, like men now, differed in temperament. Some then, as some now, found themselves attracted by ritual. The Jew who believed might miss the ritual of the old dispensation, though he assented to its typical character. The Gentile might crave something which filled the place of old

¹ “I beseech you . . . present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God.”—ROM. xii. 1.

and familiar ceremonies. St. Paul seizes upon the old habit and converts it to his own use. If any desire a ritual here is a cultus of a new order. They can offer a sacrifice to God, the sacrifice of their bodies, an offering God will accept—a rational and seemly *λατρεία* on their part.

The season of Christmas and the New Year may well put every Christian believer in mind of the extreme urgency of this appeal. At a time when "for us men and for our salvation" our Lord Jesus Christ "came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man," the call to glorify God in our bodies, "which are His," can hardly be absent from our minds. Perhaps it will be all the more definitely before us because the development which has so largely marred a Christian festival by circumstances of almost pagan self-indulgence must imply a call to those who would rescue the season for something higher than feasting and merry-making. Christ, once seen in the flesh on earth, now ascended up on high, has to be manifested in His people, revealed in their lives, preached by their conduct and words, glorified in their actions. It befits us, then, to ask ourselves whether our own use of the body suggests to others as well as to ourselves this willing sacrifice.

In what spirit is our body used? Have we realized all our responsibility in respect of that body, or for the bodies of others in the world?

The profligate, the undisguised sensualist, the glutton and the hard drinker, following in part the primitive instincts of the brute, yet neglecting the self-control which even the brute can show, exhibit to us in some of its most revolting forms the lower side of man's fallen nature. These need no moralist to declare their dishonour of the body. But facile denunciation of them may go with other offences scarcely less serious in themselves and their issues. Short of these gross sins, others exist which cannot be set aside as mere foibles or infirmities of no importance. Over-anxiety, pride of person or adornment, and keen enjoyment of the pleasures of the table may still exist, even amongst those who meet for worship in churches. The warning against over-anxiety for the body, against undue regard for it, is not superfluous even now. The man who sinks into an anxious valetudinarian is calling all to witness the weakness of his faith, or his lack of faith at all. The man or woman who becomes a humble attendant upon the whims of fashion, a kind of slave under the austere rule of tailor or dressmaker, is in spirit an idolater. In such cases the life makes it hard for any to associate the thought of sacrifice with the use of the body. Where is the offering?

There is another extreme. The over-anxiety or sensual

solicitude of the one may be matched with utter forgetfulness in another. The body is wholly uncared for, merely because the mind is preoccupied with affairs. That is in an age of extreme competition and over-pressure a common failing. Doctors all around us are patching up the frames of men whose physical sufferings are the direct and obvious outcome of contempt for God’s laws as to the use of the body. There is nothing heroic in wearing out in toil for selfish ends the body or the mind, or in handing down to posterity enfeebled frames and impaired or distorted intellects. If there be any sacrifice here it is to self. God’s law directs the body to be kept at its best, that it may be used for Him. This is using it as a slave to do the bidding of self.

There are others who err from a sensitive conscience which has been wrongly treated. In the spirit of some ancient philosophers they have come to think of the body only as a clog upon the soul, only as the subject of temptation, only as a hateful garment which cannot too soon be thrown off. Thus, it seems, they think of the body formed in the likeness of God; the body honoured by Christ when He took our nature upon Him; the body in which the Holy Spirit may dwell as in a temple. Pagans may thus think; but it is ground upon which the Christian man must walk warily, even when, like St. Paul, he is most conscious of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit. At least, we may ask ourselves in what sense the body thus regarded could be presented to God. Such an offering would be, it is clear, not of our best, but of our worst; the giving away of the thing dishonoured and despised.

Let us turn from this negative view to ask ourselves what we are doing. What is the Christian law of the body? How far are we frankly seeking to obey it?

Our members are instruments of the will. Is the will submitted to the will of God? There must be readiness both to abide by and to do the will of God, even as Christ did the will of the Father. That submission can only come of faith. But he who definitely trusts the word and power of God can submit with a light heart. “I am Thine, save me” (Ps. cxix. 94), may be his cry. His defence is now with God, though vigilance and all that the Holy Spirit directs must be exerted by him. Every believing man’s experience assures him that this new power is absolutely needful for the conflict with temptation. It is idle for anyone to sit down and suppose that by careful regard to secular considerations he can secure immunity in the face of temptation. A moment of severer trial, a gust of passion, a fit of perversity, may scatter his resolutions like chaff. He needs a regenerate will to govern that body of his, the conflict with which, trying him

by its weakness (Matt. xxvi. 41), by some special frailty (2 Cor. xii. 7), or by the unceasing strife of the lower nature against the dominion of the Spirit (Rom. vii.), can only issue in assured victory to the man who has consciously resigned himself into the keeping of God.

The body, then, as the instrument of a regenerate will, must be employed in the service of God. It cannot be left only active in the pursuits which, though they may be followed to the glory of God, still connect themselves directly and naturally with self. The use of the body in the ordinary discharge of our duties is, indeed, a part of its service for God. But you will not always associate the thought of sacrifice with this. You may like work; it is no trial to discharge it honestly, to provide the full tale of bricks well made. Sheer idleness (save upon occasion) would be as irksome to one as hard labour to another. Beyond a doubt this ready, conscientious, single-hearted discharge of duty is, in the faithful, an offering to God. But the body as a sacrifice may give more than this; may cut off something of its just leisure for other work; may deny itself for the profit of others; may "be spent" in a service which has no relation to self-interest. Thus you have a double offering—the day's toil consciously offered to God; the sacrifice, made in no ascetic spirit, but in one of glad surrender, added thereto.

The whole field of social activity calls out for the intelligent influence of him who thus thinks of the body, and calls as clamorously as it ever did even in days of greater social peril and unrest. For he must not think only of himself, but also of others. Who that so honours the tenement in which God has placed his soul can look unmoved upon the world around him? I know not which sight is the more terrible—the pampered person of the utterly idle man or woman and the worn-out body of the profligate, or some poor starved frame—homeless, cold, and forgotten of man—that yields up its spirit in streets of a Christian city, itself to be the subject of an inquest, and the tenant of a pauper's grave.

But in every class there is crying need of those who, speaking to men's souls, will not omit to tell them of their bodies. The prodigality of the rich, the often merely careless wrong-doing of the leisured, the wasted time and the unemployed talents; the homes of the poor, the minds of the poor, the social instincts of the poor—these things cry out for the intelligent thought and care of the Christian citizen. It is not enough to ring the church bell, to open the mission-room door, to deliver your tract, to speak in your own words Christ's message of love, or to go yourself to church to worship in comfort and return to comfort again. You have to act as

those who would manifest to the world the Master Who fed the hungry, Who healed the sick, Who consoled the mourner; Who even now in the assize court of your own consciences calls you to witness whether, in the person of His "brethren" the poor, the sick, and the prisoner, the Lord Himself has had of your services. No man who has consciously laid hold of the promises of God and felt their sustaining power will ever do his brethren in the world the injustice of supposing that a Gospel of sanitation, education, and recreation can supply all their needs. But he will remember their nature. He will work "as well for the body as the soul." Shall he not with each New Year seek more fully to enter into the possibilities of his testimony in this aspect? In so doing, patiently watchful over his own members, and in the happy service of man, he will, indeed, offer the sacrifice of his body to Him Who one day "shall change" that "vile body that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself" (Phil. iii. 21).

A. R. BUCKLAND.



ART. VI.—AMONG THE WATER-GIPSIES.

THE 1st of June, 1801, was a red-letter day for the inhabitants of the pretty little suburb of Paddington. Flags hung from nearly every house, the church bells were rung, and at intervals guns were fired. From Cornhill and Cheapside came City merchants in their private carriages or lumbering hackney-coaches, and hundreds of less wealthy people arrived on foot.

The cause of this excitement was the opening of the Paddington Canal, an event of very great importance in the eyes of business men. But it was not only business men who rejoiced. The Londoner who yearned to travel saw in the new canal a comparatively cheap way to gratify his desire, for on this day the first pleasure-barge arrived at Paddington Basin. It was crowded with passengers from Uxbridge, who spoke so enthusiastically of their pleasant journey that many Londoners there and then vowed to make a barge-trip at the first opportunity.

A hundred years have, however, made a great change in Paddington Basin and its neighbourhood. The fields which once surrounded it have long since disappeared, and big, unlovely factories and other business premises now hide it so completely from the public view that there are thousands of people who have lived for many years within the compass of

a furlong without having seen it. The passenger-barges did not survive the introduction of railways; the solitary barge which now runs on Sunday mornings and afternoons, to give the Harrow Road loafers an opportunity to qualify as travellers at public-houses a few miles further down the canal, is a very different kind of boat.

The canal-boat people are little known to Londoners. Sometimes a tanned-face woman, wearing a lilac or white sun-bonnet, white apron, short skirt, and heavy hobnailed boots, is seen purchasing provisions at a stall in Edgware Road or Harrow Road. She is picturesque and attracts attention, but of her life, beyond that she lives in a barge, the average person knows little and cares less.

Fortunately, there are some people who take a kindly interest in these water-gipsies, and foremost among them are the special missionaries of the London City Mission. It was in 1877 that the Society appointed Mr. Woodall to be its first missionary to canal-boat men. Mr. Woodall began work by going down to the towpath and jumping aboard the first barge that came along. The steersman naturally inquired somewhat sharply the nature of his business, and was considerably surprised when Mr. Woodall explained who he was. After chatting with the man for some time, the missionary asked permission to go into the cabin and speak to his wife. This was readily given, and in the course of his conversation with her he discovered, to his surprise, that neither she nor her husband could read or write. Having made his first friends among the canal-boat people, Mr. Woodall sprang on to a barge proceeding in the opposite direction. This work he continued day after day, week after week, reading the Bible and preaching and praying whenever he found an opportunity, and from his habit of jumping from barge to barge the boat-people named him "Spring-heeled Jack." On one occasion he slipped and fell into the water. Being unable to swim, he would have been drowned had not the bargemen fished him out with their boathooks. After this misadventure Mr. Woodall found time to learn swimming.

In 1879 the London City Mission saw that the work was too much for one man to cope with, and appointed a second missionary, Mr. Bamber. For sixteen years Mr. Bamber laboured in the east of London among the sailing-barges which come from the coasts of Kent and Essex, but on Mr. Woodall's retirement he was transferred to West London.

It was in Mr. Bamber's company that I recently visited the canal-boat people. We started at Paddington Basin, where we found some forty or fifty monkey-boats—narrow canal-barges—some of which were waiting for the fog to clear away

before beginning their journey. It was a cold day, and many of the barge people were in their cabins making themselves comfortable in front of their fires. Here and there was a lad swabbing the deck, and a woman, wearing her black winter-bonnet—similar in shape to her white summer one—peeling potatoes. Many little children were playing about on the deck of their floating homes. Nearly everyone would have been improved by a good wash, but there was some excuse for their grimy condition. Paddington Basin is a decidedly dirty place. It is there that "slops," or street mud, as well as the contents of dustbins, are deposited by the borough authorities preparatory to being carried away by the barges. The slops-cart tilts its contents into a shoot, down which the slosh rushes into a big wooden erection somewhat resembling a stockade. When the water has oozed through into the canal the mud becomes "stiffened," and is then wheeled aboard the barges and carried off to Greenford and other places, to be used by the farmers for manure. These barges leave Paddington in the middle of the night. The cinders and dust, after having been carefully screened, are carried away to West Drayton and Slough, where they are utilized for brickmaking; the dust is mixed with the clay and the cinders are used to burn the bricks. The barges which have taken down the cinders and dust return to Paddington loaded with bricks. There are, of course, many things of a cleanly nature sent by barge from the Paddington wharves to the Midlands, and it is the street and house refuse alone which accounts for the dirty condition of the majority of the chubby-faced barge children. In spite of their dirty faces, the youngsters looked the picture of robust health, and a pleasing contrast to the pale-faced, town-bred children playing in the streets not a hundred yards away. Barge children undoubtedly run great risks, while playing about on the deck of their floating home, of falling into the canal and being drowned, but one woman told me that she was very thankful that her flock did not have to play in the London streets and live in danger of being run over by carts and cabs.

Having inspected the wharves and talked with many of the people working on them, Mr. Bamber and I went aboard the barges. Mr. Bamber is evidently very popular with the canal-boat people; men, women, and children greeted him smilingly, and raised no objection when they were told that he wanted to go down into their cabins and have a chat with them. Indeed, they appeared very pleased to show us their travelling home. And what a tiny home it is! In a little, low-roofed cabin, about eight feet by six, live in some cases the bargeman, his wife, and several children. Where the

youngsters sleep I do not know, for being a guest I did not care to ask.

In the barge-cabin space is economized on the amusing plan which we sometimes see advertised of turning a bedroom into a sitting-room. The cabin-bed is really a panel of the wall, which is pulled down when required. When not in use, a stranger, entering a cabin for the first time, would have a difficulty in discovering the bed. The table is worked on the same principle. Near the door is the stove, and facing it the box-seat on which three people can sit comfortably. The walls are painted in bright colours, green and red predominating, and on the panels is usually depicted a castle or some other stately scene, the artist apparently belonging to the school to which we owe the gorgeous painting on gipsy caravans, costers' carts, and ice-cream barrows. The jugs, mugs, and basin—the latter is used both for washing and making puddings—are painted in the same style. Nearly every bargeman possesses a dog, and some keep birds. In one small cabin our party consisted of the bargewoman, her three children, the missionary, myself, a dog, and two birds. In most of the cabins we found two or three people, but occasionally there was only one. After a few minutes' chat about their daily work Mr. Bamber would turn the conversation to things spiritual, using incidents from their daily life to illustrate his meaning. One old man showed his approval of the missionary's discourse by exclaiming every now and again, "That's so," and "That's right enough," but usually the people maintained perfect silence while he spoke to them or prayed. Sometimes he would tell a young fellow that he had heard of his being drunk, and, with his hand on his shoulder, would urge him to pull himself together before it was too late.

Drunkenness is not quite so prevalent among the canal-boat people as it is among our town poor, but the children of drunken barge folk must suffer more than land children, for they cannot get away from their parents' foul language and blows. Town children have learnt from experience that when their parents are intoxicated the best thing they can do is to go out of the house, but the barge children have no such means of escape. Many barge children learn, only too soon, what drunkenness means, and on one occasion as Mr. Bamber was passing from barge to barge a small child of six called out to him, "Daddy's getting drunk."

To find that a large proportion of these sturdy barge people could neither read nor write was very saddening. That the elder ones should be ignorant is, perhaps, not surprising, but it is surely a disgrace to our country that while millions of pounds are being spent annually on free education for the poor

there are hundreds of hard-working men and women below middle age, as well as a host of children, who do not even know the alphabet. Their wandering life is, of course, the cause of their lamentable ignorance. One man, fifty-eight years of age, told me that he was born on a barge, and that until he was over twenty-one he had only slept in a house five times. Sometimes a bargewoman, who has had a slight education, makes an effort to teach her children, but her opportunities for doing so are few, for she has to work as hard, if not harder, than her husband. She not only takes her turn at steering the boat and driving the horse—it is a common thing to see a bargewoman tramping along the towpath with a child at her breast—but cooks the meals, does the washing, keeps the cabin clean, and looks after the children.

When a bargeman or bargewoman who cannot read receives a letter, it is straightway taken to Mr. Bamber, who makes known its contents, and, if desired, replies to it. He reads and writes for them, not only letters on business and family affairs, but even love-letters. Some of the letters penned by barge folk, who consider that they can write, are wonderful things, and it is highly creditable to the Post Office authorities that so many of these strangely-addressed letters reach their destination. When I was at Brentford Locks—through which 250 to 300 boats, besides other barges with simply a steerer, pass weekly—there was only one letter stuck up in the bargemen's office window, but it was a good specimen. It bore the Tipton postmark, and there is no doubt that it was written by a bargeman. Straggling over the envelope, in thick characters, which looked as if they had been drawn with an inky skewer, was this address:

“fellelloes Morton
Office New branforde
Middle sex fore
Aline Harason boat
Poley.”

The interpretation is: “For Alan Harrison, Boat *Polly*, Fellows and Morton's Office, New Brentford, Middlesex.” A few days previously, a letter, addressed “The young man wot knows Mary Jones,” was received at Brentford Locks, and reached the bargeman for whom it was intended.

In their conversation the canal-boat people frequently come to grief over long words. One woman informed the missionary that a “portmanteau examination” was to be held on her dead husband's body, and another declared that her child died from “appycollection fits.”

Canal-boat men are very good to any of their comrades who happen to be in distress, and when a doctor tells a man that he must cease work for a time and “tie up,” the other barge-

men, as they pass by, drop a shilling on the "tied up" barge for its invalid master.

A few years ago Parliament ordained that barge children old enough to go to school should be provided with pass-books, and wherever the barge remained for a day the children aboard it should attend the nearest school, and the master or mistress enter in the pass-book every attendance. But this arrangement was not successful. The children had a strong dislike to going to schools with land youngsters, who were almost as strange to them as if they were foreigners, and the teachers were not at all enthusiastic about these young birds of passage. Indeed, it is said that many of them simply gave the barge children a slate and pencil, set them apart from the other pupils, and let them amuse themselves as best they could.

There is, however, one school which the barge children love to attend—the Canal-Boat Mission Hall and Day School, held in the London City Mission Hall, near Brentford Locks. This school, which was opened in March, 1896, by Miss Evelyn A. Bevan, and has for its mistress Miss Bamber, a daughter of the missionary, is certainly one of the most remarkable in existence. None but canal-boat children are allowed to attend it, and the teacher never knows how many pupils she will have. The average number of scholars is fourteen a day. One day there may be forty or fifty; the following day there may be only one. Sometimes the school is empty throughout the morning and crowded in the afternoon. As the barges rarely take more than two days to unload and load again, the children scarcely ever attend school more than two days at a time, but when they return to Brentford they again become pupils. And what a strange gathering of boys and girls is to be seen at this school! In age they range from three to fifteen. Some are neat and clean, others are untidy and dirty. Many of the boys have neither coats nor waistcoats, and their hands and faces have the appearance of not having been washed for a month. The unwashed are not, however, sent home to make themselves presentable; they are told to go into the adjoining room, where water, soap and towels are provided, and have a good wash. Many of the little girls bring a toddling baby brother or sister, which naturally adds to the difficulties of the teacher. The children are of various grades of intelligence; some learn quickly, but others are painfully dense, and take a year or two to master the alphabet. Quite recently a youth of seventeen attended the school for a day and a half, but he had only learnt the first seven letters of the alphabet when he had to start off again to Staffordshire.

Sunday-school is held in the morning and afternoon. In the same building there is a maternity-room, which barge-women can occupy for 2s. 6d. a week, making their own

arrangements for doctor and nurse. Remembering the very limited space of the cabins, and that the barges are frequently far away from medical aid, it can be understood that the maternity-room is a great boon.

The Canal-Boat Mission Hall and Day School is doing excellent work, but it is believed that with larger accommodation its usefulness could be vastly increased. Therefore the missionary and his friends are making an earnest effort to build at Brentford a small institute which shall contain, in addition to a large schoolroom and better maternity accommodation, a wash-house and a reading-room. Evening classes for young bargemen and women will be held, and coffee, tea, and other refreshments sold. The Grand Junction Canal Company has offered an excellent site, close to the locks and near to the spot where on Sunday evenings, during the summer, Mr. Bamber holds an open-air service. The cost of building and furnishing the institute is estimated at £800, and £260 has already been received. The institute will do much to better the condition of the canal-boat people, and therefore it is to be hoped that the required £540 will soon be forthcoming.

HENRY CHARLES MOORE.

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The Month.

THE announcement that the Bishop of London had fixed a subject for the second Round Table Conference, had chosen its members, and arranged the time of meeting, was received with respectful but not very acute interest. This time the Conference is to consider "Confession and Absolution," topics which, it will be agreed, are very much in the minds of English Churchmen just now. The members of the Conference, who will see the Old Year out and the New Year in at Fulham, are here, for purposes of comparison, set side by side with the list of Bishop Creighton's gathering :

1901-1902.	1900.
The Dean of Christ Church.	Dr. Barlow (now Dean of Peterborough).
Professor Swete.	The Rev. Prebendary Bevan.
Professor Moberly.	The Rev. Dr. Bigg.
Professor Mason.	The Rev. N. Dimock.
The Rev. Dr. Wace.	Canon Gore.
The Rev. Dr. Gee.	Professor Moule (now Bishop of Durham).
The Rev. T. W. Drury.	Canon Newbolt.
Canon Aitkin.	The Rev. Dr. Robertson.
Canon Body.	Canon Armitage Robinson.
Canon the Hon. E. Lyttelton.	Professor Sanday.
Canon Childe.	The Rev. Prebendary Wace.
The Rev. E. M. Benson.	The Earl of Stamford.
The Rev. V. S. S. Coles.	Lord Halifax.
Lord Halifax.	Chancellor P. V. Smith.
Chancellor P. V. Smith.	Mr. W. J. Birkbeck.

It will be seen that the names indicate a fair balance of power between the two chief opposing schools of thought, although it seems odd that the Broad Churchmen should practically be excluded from gatherings of this character. Have they no right to their view of what the Church may mean as to Confession and Absolution? There is no one on the Evangelical side at all corresponding to the extreme position marked by Mr. Stuckey Coles, Father Benson, and Lord Halifax, and this is the most obvious deficiency in the constitution of the gathering. No doubt it was advisable to get, as far as possible, a new body of men, lest it should be said that a kind of permanent committee was sitting to settle the differences of the English Church, but the loss of the unequalled erudition of the Rev. N. Dimock must be felt. It will be seen that Dr. Wace is the only clerical member common to the two Conferences. It will be remembered that he acted as Chairman in 1900, and edited the report of the Conference.

The difficulty most people feel in regard to such gatherings as these is to discover their value. With all respect to the London Diocesan Conference, it is a little difficult to see quite what the last Round Table Conference did, or what the new Conference may be expected to do. So far as any influence on the breach between the extreme Anglicans and the rest of the Church is concerned, the first Conference would appear to have been absolutely futile. Of course, it is just possible that the main body of Church-people were in some way affected; but it may fairly be alleged that there are no signs of this, or, indeed, that the main body of such persons as much as knew the Conference existed. The other gathering had, indeed, one value for the student; it showed the strength of the position held by sober Churchmen, and the utter impossibility of reconciling that position with the views of the Lord Halifax party. But, really, there was nothing very novel about this. Perhaps the new Conference may have some more definite value.

The appointment of Bishop Welldon to the stall at Westminster held by Canon Gore has been welcomed on all sides. It implies a distinct accession of strength to the clerical forces of the diocese—an accession which will help to keep in check the tendency to extreme and fantastic Anglicanism. It should also imply a distinct gain to the cause of Foreign Missions on their home side. Bishop Welldon is hardly the man whom the critic will accuse of ecclesiasticism, or sentimentality, or bigotry, or any of the crimes occasionally alleged as the peculiar characteristics of persons who think the last command of our Lord ought still to be deemed binding upon us. Dr. Welldon must be counted with the Bishops of Calcutta who had but short reigns—Heber, James, and Turner. The see has not yet been founded a century, but it has had nine Bishops already.

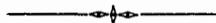
One interesting side of the appointment is its relation to the attitude taken up by Canon Henson towards the question of Home Reunion—an attitude in which he seems to some extent to have Canon Armitage Robinson with him. If Dr. Welldon agreed that it was time to acknowledge the Non-Episcopal Churches of Great Britain as real and true Churches, possessing valid orders and valid Sacraments, then the Westminster revolt against a typical doctrine of the extreme Anglicans would take a new form. At present it has very much the air of a protest against the extreme application of the doctrine of a Visible Church which has helped so many people on to Rome, and the resultant doctrine

"No Bishops, No Church," which has raised so deep a feeling against us in Protestant Nonconformity.

As had been generally anticipated, the Islington Clerical Meeting has been placed in the hands of a committee. It has been decided that a body of twelve clergymen, six resident in London and six in the country, shall in the future have the general control and management of the meeting. Dean Barlow, who is still Vicar of Islington, will be president in 1902, and the Rev. C. J. Procter will act as hon. secretary. The first committee consists of the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Liverpool, the Dean of Peterborough, Chancellor Allan Smith, Archdeacon Hughes Games, the Rev. Prebendary H. E. Fox, the Rev. Prebendary Wace, the Rev. Prebendary Webb-Peploe, the Rev. Walter Abbott, the Rev. A. E. Barnes-Lawrence, the Rev. Hubert Brooke, and the Rev. C. J. Procter. The 1902 meeting will be held on Tuesday, January 14, at Mildmay Conference Hall. The General Subject will be: "The Duty of the Church of England to the Nation"—(a) in removing hostility and apathy—the Rev. Dr. Nickson and the Rev. J. E. Watts-Ditchfield; (b) in effecting conversions—the Rev. W. H. Stone and the Rev. A. B. G. Lillingston; (c) in perfecting the Saints—Prebendary Webb-Peploe and the Rev. Canon Roxby; (d) in winning the young—the Rev. E. A. Stuart, the Rev. J. S. Tucker, and the Rev. H. H. Gibbon. There is ample opportunity here for some extremely interesting and useful papers; but the first programme issued by the committee is not unusually attractive. There is no marked and immediate connection between the subject and the special anxieties of the time; but this may very well be supplied by the speakers.

The editorial notes of the C.M.S. *Intelligencer*, discussing the financial position of the Society, and the need of new income, dwell upon a fact which needs wider attention than it has hitherto received from clergy and their people:

"The great thing to be done is to reach the laity of the Church. Not the millionaires—except, indeed, such as may be whole-hearted Christians—but the numerous wealthy or well-to-do men, particularly in the great towns of the Midlands and the North, who are communicants, and many of whom are now 'guinea' subscribers. It is hardly fair to expect the clergy to appeal to them individually. The clergy, overburdened with parochial anxieties, want the larger gifts of such men for local objects, which, being near, loom large. There are not many vicars who, if a churchwarden came and said, 'I have got £500 to give away just now: what shall I give it to?' would reply: 'The evangelization of the world is the first and greatest duty of the Church: give it to that'; and although *there are some* who would say it, it would be unfair and unreasonable to blame the great majority who would not. But these others would be sincerely glad if such large gifts were given to missions in response to an appeal from somebody else. What we have to do is to find the somebody else; and our belief is that we must use laymen to reach laymen. But the clergy can, and should, do *this*: set forth (1) in frequent sermons the greatness of the missionary enterprise as the fulfilment of Christ's commission: (2) the obligation upon every Christian to take an individual share in the work; (3) the Christian duty of systematic giving, to any object, on a very different scale from that which is common."



Reviews.



THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL WORKS.

Ordination Addresses. By the Right Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., late Bishop of Oxford. London: Longmans and Co.

Bishop Stubbs had, in anticipation of resigning the See of Oxford, chosen some of his MSS. with a view to their publication. The end came before he had himself prepared them for publication, and, as a result, these ordination sermons are issued "practically as they were written—written, generally, straight off at a sitting." One outstanding characteristic is at once manifest: they deal directly with their subject. They speak to men of their call to the office of the ministry, of the qualifications of the candidate, of his temptations, of his inner life, and of his future trials. We cannot imagine a devout candidate for Holy Orders reading this volume without being helped by it. The simple, practical nature of the Bishop's advice and warning is nearly always uppermost. One example may suffice. Dr. Stubbs is talking of some doubts and questionings, and he says: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all your heart; believe in His Word and His promises; put your whole trust and confidence in Him, ready to stake your eternal life on His truth and faithfulness, *but* remember that faith is not sight, and the methods and proof to which faith is amenable are not the methods of mathematical analysis."

Old Anglicanism and Modern Ritualism. By the Rev. F. MEYRICK. London: Skeffington and Son.

Canon Meyrick's volume, the substance of which will be familiar to readers of the CHURCHMAN, appears opportunely just now. The witness of Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, Cosin, and others, is drawn out in detail to show that Caroline theology was Protestant, and that the modern Neo-Anglican School has no English ancestry on this side of the Reformation. The volume should do good service. We hope it will be widely read and its testimony considered with candour.

The Son of Man: A Simple History of the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ. By ALEY FOX. London: Elliot Stock.

This is an unambitious life of our Lord, written with an eye to the needs of those who do not want an elaborate narrative, but a simple record of the facts. The words of holy Scripture are, as far as possible, used, and the author's own language is reverent, without affectation. The tone is Anglican. The illustrations are effective, and marked by fidelity to Oriental life. The general get-up of the volume is neat and tasteful.

The Heart's Desire: A Book of Family Prayers. By the Rev. G. S. BARRETT, the Rev. G. E. ASKER, the Rev. W. ROBERTS, and the Rev. W. T. ROWLEY. Edited by the Rev. R. Jarrett. London: R.T.S.

This is a volume designed to help in the systematic use of family prayer. The arrangement is for thirteen weeks, with special provision for Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter and Whit-Sundays. A well-chosen passage of Scripture is suggested for each morning and evening. The prayers have two excellent qualities in their simplicity and directness, whilst they have all been kept within moderate

length. There are many households in which such a volume will be welcomed.

Thoughts by the Way. By F. C. WOODHOUSE, M.A. London: S.P.C.K.

Canon Woodhouse's volume is well suited for private meditation or for reading aloud. He writes simply and clearly, with abundant reference to Holy Scripture, and with a wealth of illustrative quotation.

Divine Song in its Human Echoes. By the Rev. J. GEORGE GIBSON. London: Elliot Stock.

This is a new edition of a series of short, simple sermons on some familiar hymns.

Side-Lights on the Bible. By Mrs. BRIGHTWEN. London: R.T.S.

In this well-illustrated volume Mrs. Brightwen deals with some details in Eastern life which occur in Holy Scripture, explaining them by her account of various objects collected in the East. The book will help young Bible readers.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Outline of a History of Protestant Missions. By GUSTAV WARNECK. Authorized Translation. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.

Foreign Missions. By the Right Rev. E. T. CHURTON, D.D., late Bishop of Nassau. London: Longmans and Co.

Every accurate student of the history of foreign missions has some acquaintance with Dr. Warneck's admirable work, either in the original or in an English dress. The book first appeared twenty years ago, and an English version of the second edition was published in 1884. Since then the work has been rewritten, and has, of course, very largely increased in size. The present translation is from the seventh edition, issued in September last. Every such work tends inevitably to get out of date almost as soon as it is written. Thus, even in this latest edition the reader will not find some things for which, as the book has only just appeared in England, he may incautiously look. He will find British agencies amply and frankly discussed; but it is perhaps on account of its full treatment of Continental, especially German, work that this survey will be most valued. We are always under a temptation to think only of our own missions, and so, on the one hand, to underestimate the amount of work actually done, and, on the other, to lose the stimulus and instruction which may be derived from the study of other agencies. We cannot doubt but that this volume will be widely used amongst the increasing number of people who in a systematic way study the work of foreign missions.

The astonishing lack of perception which is in part responsible for the weakly condition of the distinctively High Church missionary organizations must also be held responsible for the choice of Bishop Churton to write the volume on the subject in the "Oxford Library of Practical Theology." Bishop Churton is just back from a Colonial diocese which he has left in some disorder because of his own extreme practices and teaching. Neither by experience, by reading, nor yet by temper, does he seem competent to undertake a manual on foreign missions. His book is, in fact, a melancholy example of a lost opportunity. His own school within the English Church very much needs to be stirred to a larger interest in foreign missions. Ornate and disloyal ritual in many

cases goes with every sign of coldness towards the needs of the non-Christian world. Even the main body of less extreme High Churchmen show far less interest in the subject than the corresponding section of the Evangelicals. This book might have done something to repair a condition of things already much deplored by spiritually-minded High Churchmen, but as it stands it can be of little or no use in this way. It is hardly a book about its subject; its title is an almost ludicrous misnomer. Practically, Bishop Churton gives us little more than his opinions how a copy of the Anglican Church, as she is represented by her extreme members, should be set up in a strange land. There is much, therefore, about his idea of the Church, the necessity of Episcopacy, the prerogatives of a Bishop, the use of Brotherhoods, and the advantages of ritual, but of the heart and core of the subject all too little. There are occasional illustrations which suggest a superficial acquaintance with a very restricted missionary literature, but of any adequate knowledge of the Church's foreign missions there is no sign at all. A single example will illustrate this aspect:

"During the last century missionary enterprise has had eminent advocates, founders, and benefactors. And it has had its great pioneers, whose names still live in those regions where they first unfurled the banner of the Cross. Succeeding to their labours, we have a cluster of thriving missions in South Africa, a good hold on the islands of the Pacific, fair promise in Zanzibar and the Nyasa and round the equator, manful effort at least in those directions where progress is slowest, as in Eastern Asia; while in America, Australia, New Zealand, weak colonial churches are helped to complete their own task of evangelization."

The vague generalities "around the equator" and "in Eastern Asia" may be a way of saying as little as possible of C.M.S. work, but it is just possible that they only cover a weak knowledge of the subject. His practical suggestions in regard to the missionary and his work are sometimes such as can be welcomed. Thus Bishop Churton insists on the missionary's call, and clearly contemplates the "call with authority" for which wavering candidates occasionally wait. He has sensible words to say upon some of the objections to foreign missions and their influence on the missionary's own mind. In another place he puts in a useful plea for more regard on the part of the Church at home for the followers of non-Christian religions who may be temporarily resident in England. But, on the whole, most of the things with which we are able to agree are commonplaces of their subject. One of the most curious parts of Bishop Churton's volume is Appendix I., in which he discusses "Some Modern Phases of Missionary Activity in Comparison of Methods." The contents answer poorly to this promising title. Many readers may be tempted to suppose that the chief aim of the author is to dwell on the missionary enterprise of the Church of Rome, to extol its methods, and accept at Rome's own valuation its actual results. In the meantime the work of Protestant Nonconformity—most inadequately and superficially treated—receives either lofty condescension or actual detraction. A careful comparison of the missionary methods of the English Church and of British Nonconformity would have been welcome, whilst some candid statement of the way in which Romanism does its best to sap and hinder the work of other missions would also have been useful. Instead of that, Bishop Churton is content to eulogize Rome. Possibly, however, the reason is the very simple one already suggested. There is nothing in this book to show that its author has any adequate knowledge of the mission field and its problems. His tenderness towards Rome may therefore be traced to natural predilection, encouraged by a generous ignorance of the facts.