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JANUARY, 1904.

ART. I.—*RESPICE, ASPICE, PROSPICE.*

IN the early life of those who have reached their three score years and ten, although Newman and his immediate followers had joined the Church of Rome, the general trend of the Church was rather towards Dissent than towards Popery. Theories were broached about the interchange of pulpits between the clergy and Dissenting ministers, distinctions of doctrine were smoothed over, and there was danger of the Church forgetting to insist on those points in which its superiority to the sects consists. In the twentieth century this is all changed; the trend of the Church, so far as the younger clergy are concerned, is away from Dissent and towards Rome. This change has been brought about by various circumstances, among which are the following: (1) Some of those whose opinions coincided with Newman's were not prepared to sacrifice the position that they held in the Church of England to their views, and, instead, have made every effort to bring over the Church of England to their views. (2) When Tractarianism had run its course, there sprang from its ashes a new school, partly æsthetic, partly medievalist, to which has been given the unsuitable title of Ritualist. This school took possession of the English Church Union and other associations, and the members of these societies, encouraging one another by the sympathy given by numbers, have advocated doctrines and practices borrowed from the Medieval Church, and unknown to the Church of England since the Reformation. (3) The institution of diocesan colleges for the training of the clergy, necessary as that was after the religious and ecclesiastical character of the

Universities had been abolished, has led to a race of clergy more of the seminary type than those who had been educated and taught in the freer air of the Universities. (4) It was found that clergy, though of the new type, often devoted themselves to work in the lowest districts of our great towns, and the Bishops, knowing how little religion there is in comparison to what there ought to be, were unwilling to damp zeal by forbidding practices to which hard-working clergymen were attached. It was easier to wink and hope for the best in the future than to earn a character for unnecessary strictness in the guardianship of the fold. Accordingly, the late Archbishop, Dr. Temple, when he was Bishop of London, let it be known that, provided a man worked, he should not be exact in inquiring into what he taught or what new ceremonies he introduced. The result has been something next door to anarchy, and the Archbishop found, in his old age, that he had to suffer for the laxity which he had previously permitted, without being now able to correct the evils which had by this time grown too strong to yield to an episcopal reproof. (5) It was true that our churches had grown too cold and bare of ornament and ceremony, and some thought that this accounted for the absence of parishioners from the services, and more ceremony was therefore introduced. This was done without any ill-meaning at the first. But the ceremonies brought in were found to suggest and symbolize doctrines connected with the Mass, which were alien to the Church of England, and they led to the admission of the doctrines which they indicated. What began as an effort to do away with irreverence ended by a natural and unconscious process in a system of will-worship, which became too firmly rooted to be easily eradicated.

Owing to these and similar causes the Church has come into a very perilous state in the beginning of the twentieth century. For the first time in the later English Church there exists an organized body of men whose purpose it is to overthrow the doctrines of the Church and to restore those that were held in it previous to the Reformation. They have stamped upon their flag a demand for the reintroduction of six ceremonies, all of which are medieval, none of them primitive. These are: (1) The use of the ecclesiastical vestments, the shape of which was invented about the year 800 by the ecclesiastics and courtiers of the Emperor Charlemagne. (2) The eastward position at the celebration of the Holy Communion, which was unknown in France till the ninth century, in Spain and North Italy till the eleventh century. (3) The use of lights in the daytime, which Bishop Andrewe has declared "altogether to be a Pagan custom."

(4) Incense, the material use of which the early Christians speak of with the utmost contempt. (5) Wafer bread, made without leaven, introduced in the West in the tenth century, but never used in the East. (6) The mixed cup, when water is added to the wine, a thing that was never ceremonially done in the early Church, although diluted wine was used. But these six points are only insisted upon as a means of introducing doctrine.

The central tenet of the school is the Objective Presence of Christ in the elements of bread and wine, and following upon that, the doctrine of the Mass. The point on which the English Reformation turned was the substitution of the Communion for the Mass; and if the Mass could once more be substituted for the Communion, the Reformation would in fact be abolished. Seeing that this was the purpose of a considerable number of clergy and laity, and finding that there were societies that made it their chief object to bring about such a result, those who loved the Church of England as she had been, with whatever defects, for the last four centuries determined that it was necessary to take defensive measures—measures which they would not have thought it in the least necessary to adopt in the past generation. Consequently, societies which have a definitely Protestant tendency were strengthened by unexpected recruits, and a new society was established by Lady Wimborne named “The Ladies’ League,” now called “The Church of England League,” with the object of maintaining or recovering plain Church of England teaching and practices. This league has, undoubtedly, done much good, the more that it avoids extravagance and represents the solid sense of English men and women resolved on the one side not to curtail legitimate liberty, nor on the other to condone excesses or novel approximations to the Church of Rome.

The earlier years of the twentieth century will no doubt be disturbed by the ritual controversy, but behind it there looms another controversy of more serious import, the shadow of which is already beginning to overspread the Church. The Rationalistic criticism of Scripture, which has had its home for a long time in Germany, has been introduced into England by Professor Cheyne and Professor Driver. It is a characteristic of Eastern writings, instead of following out a subject in logical sequence, to proceed some way with it, and then to go back, and as though recommencing at a new point to go over the same ground again with some differences of expression. If we compare the style of St. Paul and St. John in their Epistles we shall see the distinction between the Western and Eastern methods. Eastern poetry, we know, takes the form of parallelisms, and Eastern prose partakes of the same nature.

This peculiarity has led Westerns to believe that more than one writer has been concerned in the composition of a treatise or book, and has induced them to make an attempt to attribute different parts to different writers. Further, ancient writers, like modern compilers, have been in the custom of making use of previously existing documents, and the difference in style thus brought about can be readily used as an argument for a multiplicity of authors. These two causes led the French physician Astruc, and after him a school of German neologians, to divide each of the books of the Bible into separate documents or narratives composed at different times and contributed by various persons. These theories have culminated in the hypothesis that our present Bible was compiled at Babylon, during the Babylonish captivity, by an unknown student who had gathered together in his library seven existing books, three of them having been composed some four hundred years before the time of the compiler, and the remainder written by his contemporaries. The later authorship thus attributed to the Scriptures has given a legendary character to them, and their inspiration as having been produced under Divine guidance is practically denied.

With the authority and authenticity of Scripture being weakened or abolished, it becomes easy for men to choose out of its contents what they will or what they will not believe. Already two essential doctrines of the creed of Christendom are being questioned, the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection, and if these, how much more other doctrines! The wheel seems almost to have gone full circle, and we appear likely to be brought back to the state in which the Church was at the end of the eighteenth century, before the Wesleyan, the Evangelical, and the Tractarian movements had taken place, with this difference—that there will exist a powerful minority, carried away by a backstream in the direction of Rome (answering in a way to the later Nonjurists) and that Churchmen will not be able to appeal to the firm belief which was formerly entertained by the man in the street in the absolute truth and authority of God's written Word, on which an abiding slur will have been cast by the speculations of the Rationalistic Critical School. But we must remember that what comes in the future is not a thing fixed by mechanical or necessary laws. The future is the result of the present. It will depend, therefore, on the faithfulness and energy of the Churchmen of this generation what will be the religious state of England in the next, and what will be the fate of the English Church for all time. Will her light grow dimmer, or will it become more bright? Will she be the stay, of a mighty consolidated empire, and through her

harmony of truth and order a model to other parts of the Church Catholic, or will she be swept away into the lumber-room as an institution that has betrayed its trust and is no longer of any use in the world ?

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ART. II.—THE SUPREME AUTHORITY TO THE
CONSCIENCE, THE STATE, AND THE CHURCH.

LET us begin with the conscience. Is there a supreme authority to which the human conscience owes deference and submission ?

If it be answered that there is such an authority, and that it is the will of God, I do not see how any Christian can refuse concurrence to this statement. But more commonly some other authority is assumed to have a right to dictate to the conscience. The Word of God, in the sense of the volume of Holy Scripture, has been held to be the authority which the human conscience is bound to consult and to obey. A Book, according to this view, has been provided which has the exceptional character of being entirely true and containing no error. This being so, what has the human conscience to do but to study this Book and to follow its dictates ? The Bible, it is contended, is the infallible guide for man's thought and belief and conduct, and therefore it is the ultimate and supreme authority to the conscience. There is another view which values the Bible very highly, but places above it the Church, the keeper of the Bible, with an infallible voice to dictate belief and conduct. Of these two views, the former places the Bible in the highest place, and would allow a subordinate and dependent right of command to the Church ; the latter places the Church in the highest place, but assumes that the Church will reverently interpret and apply the Bible. There is a third view, still more common, which regards the conscience as an authority to itself, and an authority which to the right-minded man is absolutely supreme. But I do not see how those who hold any one of these three views can decline to admit that the will of God is to the human conscience an authority superior to the Bible, the Church, or the conscience itself.

To say, "I must obey my conscience," sounds like a true and lofty morality. But I would urge that all the truth of this confession, and much more, is contained in the saying, "I must obey the will of God." The conscience in one who puts it under the will of God becomes an ear rather than a

voice. And the change of title from a voice to an ear will be found helpful and illuminating. The conscience in us is the ear which hears the voice of God. We assume that we are so made as to be able to hear the voice of Him who makes us. That is the mystery of our spiritual nature. We are so related to our Maker, who is to the Christian the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He can speak to us, and we can hear Him. And it will be admitted that there can be no more ultimate account of duty than that we owe unreserved submission to our Maker and heavenly Father. There can be nothing behind or above the will of our God. When a man says, "I must obey my conscience," what he ought to mean is: "I must obey the will of God, my Maker and heavenly Father. It will be wrong in me if, for whatever reason, under the intimidation of any danger or under the attraction of any inducement, I refuse to obey the will of my God."

I may have a very strong conviction as to what is right in some matter. That conviction has been produced in me by various influences, of which I could give but a very imperfect account. The conviction has for the moment a right to direct my action. But the conviction is not infallible, nor guaranteed against change. A conviction, instead of being strong, may be weak; or there may be uncertainty in the place of settled conviction. To take as a rule, "I must act according to my conviction," may be quite satisfactory to a very self-confident and shut-minded person, but will be to others very unsatisfactory. There are many who will say: "I know and admit that I am bound to do what is right, at any cost; it is clear to me that I ought to be absolutely ruled by the will of God. But I cannot find in myself an oracle that will lay down for me what is right, or declare to me God's will; and I want to know what is right, and what my God, if I could hear Him, is bidding me do."

It is this want that is answered by those who hold that the Bible or the Church is the oracle for the human conscience to consult. But it has been ordained, I believe, by Divine Providence—"by the God of heaven and earth, greatly providing for mankind"—that neither of these authorities should be able to perform the functions of an oracle. If we want to know what is the right opinion on a question of controversy, or what action we should take in respect of a problem of individual duty, we are not likely to obtain a definite answer from either the Bible or the Church. It would not be good for us, as rational and spiritual creatures, as God's children, to have an oracle to decide our doubts for us. But then, how is the poor human conscience situated? If there is no avail-

able oracle to tell us what we are to believe and how we are to act, what means have we of learning what the will of God is ?

That is a question not to be evaded by those who hold that conscience, in the moral sense, is the recognition of the supreme authority of God's will. And the answer they must give is that God reveals His will, in some manner and degree, so that action may be guided by it, to those who desire to know it and to serve it. Life, human life, is the chief instrument of God's education of His human children. The will of the living God, or the living will of God, is working—must it not be?—in all human affairs: those of the individual, those of societies smaller and greater, and those of the human race. And one discernible operation of the living will of our God is to hinder His children from depending on oracles. He has been making it impossible for us to obtain immediate direction from the Bible or the Church. He breaks the false props upon which men would like to lean instead of looking to His living will; He uses manifold means, according to His wisdom, for revealing His will to men and pressing it upon them for guidance.

In the light of this belief existing traditions receive a wonderful consecration. The maxim, "Whatever is is right," can hardly have been stated or accepted by anyone as unqualified truth. That a good deal of what is is wrong is an assumption on which every human being is always acting. But the principle that we are instructed and guided by the living will of God leads us to hold that whatever is is right, except so far as, and until, any part of it is perceived to be wrong. This is a doctrine which goes a long way, but which will commend itself, I believe, to those who test and prove it by pressing it to its consequences. It assumes that all men are under Divine instruction. We are not allowed to limit the communications of the will of God to elect believers in Jesus Christ. To all men everywhere, God, the Saviour of all men, is showing some light, to which those who love light may be loyal. We feel reluctant, I imagine, to admit this when we contemplate a backward heathen race. But there is a better and a worse everywhere, and the better is the will of God revealing itself, and attracting those to whom He gives the grace to be attracted. And the traditions of every race and household—those which have held the receivers of them together, which have been supports of order and right, which have favoured reverence and docility, which have rebuked selfishness and promoted kindness—these are entitled to acceptance, and have authority for all who, in whatever partial blindness, submit themselves to the will and light of God, until clearer light and the pressure of life prove them to

be untenable. We have two great sayings which contain this doctrine; one is that of our Lord: "If any man wills to do the Father's will, he will know whether My teaching is from God or is only from Myself"; the other is St. Paul's: "By manifestation of the truth I commend myself to every conscience of men in the sight of God." Every man, Jew or Gentile, Christian or non-Christian, has in him an ear for truth, an eye for light, a soul that cries "Abba, Father," to the living God; by listening for truth, by looking for light, by moving towards the Father, he will continually be enabled to lay hold on something better than something that is; but until he can do this, he is right in making the best of the traditions that have come down to him.

No theory will save us from practical difficulties of judgment when a question of belief or action presents itself to us. Difficulties, we may reasonably conclude, are exercises by the use of which the Divine Instructor trains us. The conscience is no guide to itself; neither the Bible nor the Church will answer our inquiries as infallible oracles. Our God, in keeping the ultimate authority to Himself as the alone infallible Instructor, pledges Himself not to fail or betray His dependent children. But He has His ways, which are not as our ways. Take such a case as a change of religion. Do we not see one conscientious person rejecting the appeal of a truer and better religion, and another conscientious person going over to a less true and less wholesome religion? Such instances are perplexing, and baffle our judgment. They compel us to admit our incompetency to judge. But there are things which God can see, though they are hidden from us. A man may do courageously what seems to him to be right, but he may not have done all that he might have done to learn what is right. It is also conceivable and possible that one who makes a change which is not in itself for the better may be making one which for him is better. Mistakes have their own instructing value. But no perplexities should have power to destroy our hold of these primary principles—that there is a living will of God for every man, and that this will is to be learnt by self-surrender, teachableness, and experience. The voice of conscience in each man should be, So far as I can ascertain what is right—that is, what is the will of God for me—I ought to do this; and, God helping me, I will do it.

The notion that any man, however religious or illuminated he may be, has in him a secret guide, which dispenses him from obtaining information and exercising his judgment like his fellow-men, and which he must follow wherever it may lead him, is dispelled by the sovereign truth that a conscientious man is one who disinterestedly endeavours to find

out the will of God and to do it. The living will of God is the supreme authority to every conscience of men, and every man has to ascertain what God's will for him is by the help of authorities, by reflection, and by the witness of experience.

Again, is there any authority to which the State owes deference and submission? The same answer must be given as when the conscience was in question. The State owes allegiance to the living will of God, and is bound to be guided in its action by that will.

There are those who hold that the State is one ruler, and that God is another. Those who think thus generally personify the State as Cæsar. Cæsar and God, they assume, have different provinces, and neither should meddle with the other's dominion; the individual man who finds himself to be under both Cæsar and God is bound to keep his relation to the one separate from his relation to the other, and to discharge his obligations to each separately. The members of the Free Churches and the anti-Erastian Anglicans appear to recognise an ultimate sovereign authority in Cæsar or the State over the civil province; but the Roman Catholic holds that the State is subject to the Pope of Rome as representing the Church, the Pope being the Divinely appointed ruler of the world, supreme over all individuals and all societies.

In the old time, when Kings governed as well as reigned, the ruler was believed to be under Divine authority as much as his individual subjects—more so, indeed, on account of his heavy responsibility and the wide-reaching influence of his action. No one doubted that rulers were bound to rule in the fear of God. The duty of subjects towards the ruler was never separated from the ruler's duty to God. The ruler's authority over his subjects might be allowed to be absolute; but, then, God's authority over the ruler was affirmed to be equally absolute, and God held the ruler responsible for governing in accordance with His righteous will. Misfortunes befalling a country were habitually regarded as signs of Divine displeasure, whilst prosperity was welcomed as an assurance of Divine approval.

But all this way of thinking has been altered, it is said, by the progress of democracy and the accompanying progress of freedom of opinion. When the people govern, and the people are not all of one religion, the administrative authority of a State cannot acknowledge any supernatural dominion over it. In this country the King was formerly the actual ruler, and the King was a member of the Church Catholic, and those who served or controlled him were also members of the same Church; and it was a matter of course that the State should acknowledge the authority of our God, the Father of Jesus

Christ, as unreservedly as any subject of the realm. But the ruling power of the State has now passed into the hands of the House of Commons, which is elected by the people at large, and both the people and the representative House include adherents of various creeds.

That difficulties are created by this change, no one would deny; but it is going too far to say that the difficulties prevent the living will of God from being the supreme authority to the State. Due weight should be given to the following considerations:

1. The fundamental principle of the democratic system of government is that the majority should prevail. In the constituencies the majority is represented, and the minority has to go without representation; in Parliament the majority makes laws: the minority may try to prevent their being made, but is overruled. If, therefore, the majority are of one religion, the democratic principle itself authorizes them to profess it and act upon it in the administration of the State. But this principle, that the majority must prevail, is obviously unsatisfactory, and populations only acquiesce in it as a convenient working rule, which, subject to conditions, preserves peace and concord. The great condition to which it is subject is that there shall be reasonable consideration on the part of the majority towards the minority, and that all parties shall keep in view, not only what each prefers, but what is right and fair and for the common advantage. A majority possessed by this spirit of consideration and sense of community will be especially respectful towards the religious opinions of the minority or of minorities, and this feeling will tend to make the majority that is in power unwilling to take religious action which may be gravely displeasing to their fellow-representatives and their fellow-citizens.

2. But, further, for those who are reverent and thoughtful it becomes a growing conviction that, as the Bible teaches, the God of Christians is essentially righteous and gracious, and that His will means active righteousness and grace. Who is there in the House of Commons—who is there in the United Kingdom—who will not bow to the authority of righteousness and grace? There are those amongst us who would dissociate righteousness and grace—or, as they might prefer to name them, justice and humanity—from the very name of God; there are others who would dissociate them from any one formal creed or ritual; but what a wonderful acknowledgment of the supremacy of the will of our God over the State we have in the universal profession of allegiance to justice and humanity, to righteousness and grace! I lay stress on *profession*, because our politics are still too much

the struggles of rival interests, forgetting the supremacy of justice and humanity; and those who care for the will of God have a mighty task before them in labouaring that their country, in its State character, shall seek first the kingdom of the heavenly Father and His righteousness.

3. Further, whilst members of the Church of England should hold themselves bound in Christ's name and for Christ's sake to be considerate towards the religious opinions of Nonconformists, of Roman Catholics, of Mussulmans, and other non-Christians, where they have the power to enforce their own preferences, and are justified by Divine Providence in keeping their religious preferences to themselves where they have not the power, they may reasonably regard it as within their right and their duty to profess openly their own faith, and to let it be seen that they hold the Gospel, as they have received it, to be a Divine message to mankind, and the healing and life-giving power to all races of men.

In view of these considerations, it is surely possible to believe and to maintain that the living will of our God, the Father of Jesus Christ, is—for us as for our fathers—the supreme authority to the State.

Is the same will equally the supreme authority to the Church? In speaking of the will of God as a living will, I am assuming that the Maker and Father of men is acting in their affairs, is instructing them and leading them onwards. And I can hardly imagine it being denied that the living will of our God is a real authority to His Church, an authority which subjects to itself every other authority.

Christians belong to the Church universal, and also to their own particular communion. The Church universal is the ideal Body of Christ, which is realizing itself—in a way which we must believe to have its advantages—in the strange variety of divergent and even conflicting Christian societies. Each of these is justified to itself by the desire of those who have founded it or governed it to be as loyal as possible to Christ the Head. The will of God for the Church Catholic must be to bring all these societies into the unity of perfect allegiance to Christ. What God desires for each society, and for the members of it so far as they influence its action, must be that all Christians may study with sincere docility along what lines God is drawing and impelling them into their proper relation to Christ.

We have recognised it as an undeniable truth that every human being should regard with reverence the traditions which he inherits. It has been commanded, with the encouragement of a promise, that children should honour father and mother. This involves for children the respectful

acceptance of the creed and practices of the society in which they have been born. It is with some reluctance that we agree to this conclusion; but we may find it to be, on the whole, a welcome one. No one, it follows, ought to be in a hurry to abandon his religious inheritance; and everyone has reason to see the hand of God and to hear His voice in some aspects and influences of the creed to which he has been born. But when the light of the Gospel comes to one who has been bred in an idolatrous religion, whilst he may thankfully acknowledge that the true God has not been far from him in the past, it may be still more clear to him that God is imperatively calling to him to go forth from the home of his fathers into a better home.

If we can imagine a perfect Christian to descend, unattached, into the world, and to be bidden to choose the communion to which he should attach himself as the most truly Christian of the many Christian communions he would find here, we of the Church of England hope that he would choose our Church. If we were commending it to him, we should have to ask his attention to those features of it which make it a good instrument for expressing and fulfilling the mind of the Saviour who is at the Father's right hand, and which show it to be animated by the one heavenly Spirit. And in doing so, would not our hearts sometimes sink within us?

But we are not unattached. According to what I have contended to be the necessary belief of those who follow the Son of man and His Apostles, we, like all our fellow-men in their respective places, are bound to begin with reverent loyalty to our sacred inheritance, and, except in a few exceptional instances, those who are born in the Church of England find, as they grow up in it, much to honour and value, much that attracts and feeds their best spiritual instincts, much that commends itself to their love of light and progress. If we believe in the will of God as ordering the movements of mankind, we can look with awe and thankfulness upon the history of our Church, going back from the present, century by century, seeing as we go too many evidences of the unruly wills and affections of sinful men, but recognising also that our Church has not been left to itself, but has had a continuous life under heavenly guidance from the first days until now.

In considering the ways of this National Church of ours, we may, if we will, dismiss the will of God, revealing itself in the pressure of history and in new light as the supreme authority to the Church, and fix our minds only upon the tradition of the Church, either of the undivided Church, or

of the Western Church whilst it was still a whole, or upon some speculative theory of what a Christian society should be. We may persuade ourselves that the will of God has for us buried itself in the tradition or the theory. But the living will of our God has never abdicated its sovereignty—not with regard to the Church any more than with regard to the State and the individual soul. If we defer in Church matters to its authority as supreme, the past will become full of importance and interest to us, as we see in it, not a casual sequence of events or the clashing of competitive appetites, but a revelation more or less discernible of the guidance and the purposes of God; and all that we learn from the past will help us to understand and appreciate the present; but we shall look forward to the future also in pious dependence upon the same living will, hoping to be guided and impelled by it, and seeking courage to make any changes by which we may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God.

J. LL. DAVIES.



ART. III.—A PLEA FOR PRACTICAL PREACHING.

THE relation between doctrine and ethics, religion and morals, or, to speak more definitely, between Christian faith and Christian character—this is a subject never out of place, and which has now a special importance from certain conditions of our time. If I may use the graceful language in which His Majesty's inspectors have been accustomed to note the defects which would bring loss and danger to our schools, it is "a subject which requires attention." That there are reasons for this suggestion in the thought and habit of the day will be more or less acknowledged if the following observations are held to be correct.

On the side of faith, the subjects which have long pre-occupied the mind of the Church do not, in the first place, concern themselves with the individual life. The prevalent discussions inaugurated by the Oxford Movement, bearing on sacraments and ministry and corporate and historic Christianity, have in their effect largely superseded the practical teachings on personal character and conduct. These, again, are placed at a still greater disadvantage in presence of that line of scriptural study which consists in a detailed criticism of the documents, a revaluation of their truth and worth, and a reconstruction of their historic contents. Such religious interests (if they may be so described) have but a remote

bearing on personal religion—on what we are and do. If on the religious and scriptural side the thought of our time is little favourable to the practical education of spiritual life, so on the secular there are influences which tend to dispense with its foundations. This is largely due to an unacknowledged effect of Christianity itself. Its spirit has so far leavened modern society that its principles come to be left out of sight as unnecessary adjuncts; enlightened public opinion is taken as sufficient authority and guide without the Word of God, and the private virtues and honourable record of eminent persons known to be unbelievers are held to show that the faith has no very close connection with life and character.

The prevalence of these three conditions of mind has distinctly affected teaching in the Church. In some quarters subjects connected with corporate life, sacramental, sacerdotal, confessional, ritual, and the like, seen in permanent possession of the pulpit; and if other topics are taken in hand, they are soon turned to account in the interest of the same doctrines. These predominantly and habitually hold the field. In other cases, less numerous, the shadow of the critics has fallen on the pulpit, and gone far to take the heart out of the preacher. Recorded facts seem suspected as fictions, inspired sentences lose their inspiration, and Scriptures most illustrative of human nature and personal character are slighted as untrustworthy, and dropped out of use. The effect on the pulpit in Germany, as recently described by a German writer, has in smaller measure its counterpart among ourselves. "The love for the Old Testament is at present well-nigh extinguished. Consider how seldom the Old Testament is preached on to-day. It will not be very different in the instruction of youth. But if our people are not constantly referred to the Old Testament as the basis of the New, the New Testament must become unintelligible to them, and the person of Christ a puzzle. The Old Testament is made disagreeable to students of theology, and the congregation suffers" (Möller, "Are the Critics Right?"). With the effect of the other influence mentioned, that of the ethics of the world, we are much more familiar. In many sermons, notably those on public occasions and those addressed to the young, the standard proposed and the motives appealed to are just those of the natural man. Good things are said of the need of high ideals, the inspiration of great examples, and the excellency of truthfulness and charity, of manliness and self-control, of public spirit and social virtues; but the governance of life and the building of character appear to have no need for their basis and support of the Word of God, the faith in Christ, and the grace of the Spirit.

These are the reasons in the circumstances of the time which give fresh cause to say that practical preaching in the Christian sense is "a subject which requires attention." Preaching in the Christian sense is more than giving good advice in a loud voice, as Dean Stanley's saying defined it. It is proclamation of a truth, publication of a message, which we call the Gospel, comprehensive in its contents and manifold in its consequences. It is just in the connection between the truth and its consequences that the essential character of Christian preaching lies. Those consequences are practical, wrought in the mind, the conduct, the life, in what a man becomes, and does, and is; they go to make character. If not, the claim on attention fails. There is nothing more felt by men in general than that the ethical effects of a religion are the tests of its worth; and certainly the preacher of the Gospel has in this respect, not only a supreme obligation laid upon him, but almost infinite resources for its fulfilment. The obligation consists, not in mere command, but in the very nature of the religion, as one that not merely regulates the surface, but enters into the springs of life, constituting motive, claiming the whole man, and riveting that claim by the prospect of eternal judgment. The resources are in all the lessons, examples, and experiences of the past, but chiefly in those enshrined for ever in the Holy Scriptures. There the ways of man are laid out before us in the clear light of heaven. Where shall we find such true knowledge of the world and of the heart, such disclosures of character, and consequently such instructions, admonitions, suggestions, as in the statutes, histories, psalms, proverbs, prophecyings, of the Old Testament? Where else do we find that marvellous elevation and at the same time discrimination of the moral life which meets us in the Sermon on the Mount, in the penetrating and pregnant sayings of Him who knew what was in men, and then in the close dealing with heart and conscience by Apostles speaking in the Spirit? Truly we have in the written Word an inexhaustible mine of "teaching, correction, reproof, education in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly furnished for every good work" (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

Is this mine worked as it should be? Are these resources utilized for the practical purposes for which they are said to be provided? In a measure, no doubt, they are, and in many a congregation more or less adequately. Yet, by common report and regretful complaints, there is in the Church on the whole a noticeable defect in this matter; and this is to be traced, not only to such causes as those above mentioned, but still more to a weak apprehension of the Christian life in its nature and history, and an insufficient

sense of the difficulties which beset the realization of the Christian character. Yet this is the work which it is a main business of the Church to conduct and assist, and for which, as a perpetual need, its normal and systematic ministry is carried on. Special evangelistic efforts have a distinctive character in their methods and topics for conversion and revival, but sometimes their insistence on the first principles of salvation is such as to leave the impression that the future is secured by the change of an hour, and that the whole Christian life will necessarily follow on a conscious reception of Christ; so that the work which remains for the believer is rather a testimony to others than a government of himself.

In some cases this kind of mission-preaching becomes the ordinary ministry of the Word, urging in general terms the necessity of holiness and a consistent walk, but giving little help for its details and exigencies. It is just this help that ever-recurring sermons ought to give, and the virtual reliance on the automatic effects of faith is a grave mistake. It is a mistake which habitual self-observation would prevent, and against which there is obvious warning in the ways and characters of many presumably good people. It is one which implies ignorance of human nature, of the power of the world, and of the normal action of Divine grace. Our first teachers were under no such mistake, and their successors will not fall into it if they take Apostolic preaching for their model and guide.

These writings are not, indeed, specimens of pastoral teaching in the congregation, but they give sufficient light upon it. The letters to churches on special questions or occasions show a wakeful attention to what is passing in men's minds and lives, and when the particular purpose is fulfilled, the great doctrines are seen as foundations of practical life, with charges and admonitions, necessarily rapid, but both ample and definite. Brief words touch in succession on separate points in character and conduct, and sometimes combine them for completeness in a comprehensive sentence. So St. Paul: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are reverend, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue and if there be any praise, think on these things" (Phil. iv. 3). So also St. Peter, enumerating the necessary qualities of the Christian, as if involved one with another and all evolved from faith, yet needing all diligence for their realization: "Adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue, and in your virtue knowledge, and in your knowledge temperance, and in your temperance patience, and in your

patience godliness, and in your godliness love of brethren, and in your love of brethren charity. For if these things are in you and abound, they make you to be not idle or unfruitful to the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Pet. i. 5). This is a preaching which insists on the completeness of the Christian character, which distinguishes its constituent features, which makes faith its originative source, and insists on its condition in the man's own purpose and endeavour. It is what St. Jude expresses as "building up yourselves on your most holy faith"—admirable words, containing the pith of the matter. It is this process of building up, not of a fortune or a family, or some cherished scheme, but of a man's self, for which the preaching of the Word is needed, to give stimulus and support, instruction and counsel, caution and warning; to raise the dropped hands and confirm the feeble knees, to keep the lame from turning out of the way, to discover roots of bitterness, to restore the consolations of God, and to dissolve complications of error and self-deceit; for such power belongs to "the Word of God, which is quick and powerful, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart" (Heb. iv. 12).

This Apostolic guidance in practical preaching is likely to be more worthily followed if the preachers come to understand that "the subject requires attention," and to understand it in the meaning which it has in its technical use—viz., that on neglect of the warning loss and danger follow. And have not loss and danger followed already? Is not a defect in this respect one cause of that loss of interest in Church services and that popular abstention which is so often discussed and deplored? The proper effect of the sermon is usefulness and helpfulness. If this be wanting, other attractions will be no compensation to the common mind. Our present clerical training gives little help in this direction. The principles and methods of such a ministry are not learned in our theological colleges. Men pass from them into Holy Orders equipped rather for propounding adopted ideas or carrying out ritual systems than for the cure of souls, which has to deal with the duties and difficulties, the trials and temptations, the conflicts and sorrows, of actual life. No doubt the necessary qualifications are to be acquired afterwards in the pastoral office itself; but there might be some more help than there is in the day of preparation. Our parochial system, besides its direct advantages, is a scheme of education for the minister. Placing him in the midst of the life around him and in a special relation to it, making the preacher and the pastor one, it provides opportunity and

obligation for perfecting the twofold ministry by the influence that the one kind of service has upon the other. The intercourse of pastoral visitation has a natural tendency to bring the teaching in the congregation into touch with the life of the people, and to make the preaching practical. So it will, if the ministry has its true spiritual foundation in the supreme and dominating purpose "to seek for Christ's sheep, which are dispersed abroad, and for His children that are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever." Then the ultimate aim pervades the whole work, and gives vitality to all its parts, in commencing, promoting, and perfecting this salvation, in the edification of the individual and the edification of the Church.

Then, in building up others on the most holy faith, the minister has to see that he is building up himself. If it be not so, there is a note of falsehood in his work, which is felt in his ministry and echoes in his conscience. If it be so, there is harmony between the one and the other, and his honest self-observation becomes a source of power. It reveals to him secrets in human nature, which the outside study of it would not have shown him, and he knows better what takes place in other men by what is passing in the man he knows best. In this respect, as in some others, "a man's soul is often wont to tell him more than seven watchmen who sit above in a high tower" (Eccles. xxxvii. 14). But the watchmen in the tower are not to be disregarded. Those who survey mankind from special posts of observation and with a larger sweep of view—the historians, the biographers, the metaphysicians, and moral philosophers—are great assistants to the preacher. Such general reading and the habits of thought which it creates qualify for practical teaching on the larger scale and in the more cultured congregations; and the present diffusion of education among the people makes upon the privileged teachers an increased demand, which they on their part are bound to recognise.

In what has been said upon one kind of preaching there is no forgetfulness that there are other kinds which have their claims and their occasions. There is preaching which has in some other way its own definite character, doctrinal or expository, evangelistic or controversial, besides that which may be described as having no character at all, which (as it has been said) aims at nothing, and hits it. But it is reasonable to urge that the practical character belongs more especially to the ever-recurring sermon, and is also one that naturally attaches itself to the other lines of teaching as their consequence and completion. So we see it in the sacred pages, wherein the Apostles ever add to their high arguments and

expositions of the truth of the Gospel the needful words, which teach us "what manner of persons we ought to be in all holy conversation and godliness."

T. D. BERNARD.

ART. IV.—THE CHALDEANS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

THE use of the word *Kasdim*, "Chaldeans," in the Book of Daniel, to denote a certain class of the "wise men" of Babylon, has been looked upon by some authorities as an evidence of the late date of that book. Professor Schrader remarks: "The signification 'wise men' that we meet with in the Book of Daniel is foreign to Assyrio-Babylonian usage, and did not arise till after the fall of the Babylonian Empire. This is in itself a clear indication of the post-exilic date of the Book of Daniel."¹ Still stronger are the following statements from Professor Sayce in his interesting work on "The Higher Criticism": "Besides the proper names, there is another evidence of late date. The 'Chaldeans' are coupled with the 'magicians,' the 'astrologers,' and the 'sorcerers,' just as they are in Horace or other classical writers of a similar age."² Again: "After the fall of the Babylonian Empire the word 'Chaldean' gradually assumed a new meaning. The people of the West ceased to be acquainted with the Babylonians through their political power or their commercial relations. The only 'Chaldeans' known to them were the wandering astrologers and fortune-tellers, who professed to predict the future, or practise magic by the help of ancient 'Chaldean books.' 'Chaldeans' consequently became synonymous with fortune-tellers; and fortune-tellers, moreover, who—like the gipsies or 'Egyptians' of to-day—were not considered of a very respectable character. The term lost its national or territorial signification, and became the equivalent of 'sorcerer' and 'magician.' It is in this sense that the term *Kasdim* is used in the Book of Daniel. It is a sense which was unknown in the age of Nebuchadnezzar or of Cyrus." . . . "In the eyes of the Assyriologist, the use of the word *Kasdim* in the Book of Daniel would alone be sufficient to indicate the date of the work with unerring certainty."³ The above opinions are endorsed by Professor Driver in the Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges.⁴

¹ "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," vol. ii., p. 125.

² "The Higher Criticism," p. 533. Horace is a slip for Juvenal.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 534, 535.

⁴ See The Introduction to Daniel, pp. xlix, l.

Now, it will be seen on reflection that the objections of these eminent critics are twofold. In the first place, they affirm that the use of the term 'Chaldean' to denote a class of the "wise men" of Babylon is contrary to Assyrio-Babylonian usage. In the second place, they assert that in the Book of Daniel the term is used in a sense belonging to a later age—viz., as an equivalent of "sorcerer" and "magician."

With regard to the first of these objections, it was certainly natural at the outset to expect that in the Babylonian Contract Tablets of the age of Nebuchadnezzar, which introduce us to the everyday life of the people, we should meet with the word *Kaldu*, the equivalent of the Hebrew *Kasdim*, used in the sense, say, of "astrologer." When, then, the determinative *amēlu*, "man," was found followed by the signs GAL-DU, it was natural to treat those signs syllabically, and to read *amēlu Gal-du*, "a Chaldean" or "astrologer," the "K" being softened into a "G" in accordance with Babylonian usage. It has, however, been satisfactorily shown that the two signs in question are here used ideographically, seeing that on the Contract Tablets *amēlu* GAL-DU interchanges with *amēlu* GAL *ba-ni-e*, which is a proof that DU has here its ideographic value, *bānū*, "a builder." But if we thus regard DU as an ideogram, then, in order to get any rational sense, it is clear that we must treat the sign GAL in the same manner, and give to it its ideographic value, *rabū*, "chief." Hence *amēlu* GAL-DU must be read *amēlu rab banē*, "chief" or "superintendent of the builders."

It is therefore true that the word *Kaldu*, in its secondary sense of "astrologer," is entirely wanting from the very numerous Contract Tablets of the age of Nebuchadnezzar. But there is another fact, equally true, and very much overlooked by the higher critics—viz., the fact that this same word in its primary ethnic sense is never found in the monuments of the New Babylonian Empire. For instance, the Chaldean Kings of the dynasty of Nabopolassar never style themselves *šar mat Kaldi*, "King of the land of Chaldea," as they so well might do. And, on the other hand, whilst men call themselves on the Contract Tablets *amēlu Mitsirai*, "an Egyptian," *amēlu Assurai*, "an Assyrian," we never meet with anyone who calls himself *amēlu Kaldai*, "a Chaldean."

On this point Professor Schrader remarks: "It is worthy of notice that the name *Kaldu*, 'Chaldean,' has hitherto been found only on Assyrian monuments"; and again: "Up to the present time we possess accounts of the Chaldeans (*i.e.*, the Kaldi) only from Assyrian sources."¹ To which it might

¹ "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," vol. i., p. 118.

be added that the Assyrians used the word only in its ethnic sense. The fact, then, is that the word *Kaldu*, *Kasdim*, *Χαλδαῖος*, in its primary ethnic sense, is only used by outsiders. But if this be so, and if the word in its ethnic meaning is entirely wanting in the monuments of the New Empire, what right have we to expect to find it in the secondary sense of "astrologer," seeing that this latter must be derived from the former?¹

Why the word *Kaldu* was thus tabooed by the Babylonians is a crux not easy to explain. Possibly Babylonian vanity had something to do with it. It may be that the name "Chaldean" was offensive to them, as savouring too much of the conquest of Babylon by the foreigner, so that whilst a man might be a Chaldean by race, yet if he aspired to become a ruler of Babylon he must call himself a Babylonian. The prophet Ezekiel, who lived in Northern Babylonia in the days of the New Empire, has a passage in his book which bears on this subject.² Speaking of the overtures made by the kingdom of Judah to idolatrous Babylon, he writes thus: "She saw men pourtrayed upon the walls, the images of the Chaldeans (*Kasdim*) pourtrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look upon, after the likeness of the Babylonians, the land of whose nativity is Chaldea."³ The language is remarkable. The prophet is speaking of the ruling caste; they are Babylonians by virtue of conquest, but Chaldea is where they spring from. The outside world knows them as Chaldeans, but they call themselves Babylonians, and that is the light in which the people of the great city love to view them. Agreeably to this, on the Second Dynastic Tablet, as we have seen, a dynasty of Chaldean Kings is called "*the dynasty of Babylon.*"

The word "Chaldean" being thus unknown on contemporary Babylonian documents, either in the ethnic or the

¹ Aulus Gellius, *circa* A.D. 130, speaking of the term "*Chaldæi*" as the right name for astrologers and fortune-tellers, calls it (i. 9) *vocabulum gentilicium*, "a name taken from a race." The geographer Strabo, who lived till A.D. 25, has also a very interesting passage, which shows that even in his day there were still some relics of the Chaldean nation in their old haunts, as well as Chaldean "wise men" living in Babylon (xvi. 1, § 6). "A quarter," he tells us, "was set apart in Babylon for the native philosophers, called 'Chaldeans,' who are chiefly engaged in the study of astronomy." . . . "There is also a tribe of the Chaldeans, and a district of Babylonia inhabited by them which borders on the country of the Arabs and on the Persian Gulf."

² Referred to in my last paper. See the CHURCHMAN for November, 1903, pp. 64, 65.

³ Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15.

class sense, and only used by outsiders, the question may perhaps be asked, How came Daniel to use it? The answer is, He *was* an outsider; and not only an outsider, but, through the force of circumstances, and through the nature of the visions vouchsafed to him, a man of very cosmopolitan tendencies. Though living in Babylon, and perfectly conversant with Babylonian usages and modes of thought, as his book shows, yet he neither writes in the Babylonian language, nor does he feel bound to confine himself to terms used in the official documents and commercial contracts. This it is which explains the use in his book of certain Persian words which are not to be found in the contemporary Contract Tablets. Business documents, we know, are drawn up in set forms, which change little from age to age. But the Book of Daniel is far removed from these; moreover, it is written, not by a Babylonian, but by an outsider—a Jew. If, then, to return to the point before us, the Jewish prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, speak of the conquering race as “Chaldeans,” what is there to prevent Daniel doing the same? Nay, rather, we should expect that he would do the same. This, then, explains the ethnic sense in which the word “Chaldeans” is used in chaps. v. 30 and ix. 1, and possibly in i. 4. But how are we to account for the class sense which meets us in chaps. iii. and v., where “the Chaldeans” appear as a section of the “wise men”?

In order to answer this question, I take up the second objection of the critics, viz., the assertion that in this book the term is used as an equivalent of “sorcerer,” “magician,” “fortune-teller”—*i.e.*, in a sense belonging to a later age. This is the view so strongly advocated by Professor Sayce, and at first sight it seems a not unreasonable one; for, just as a man is known by the company he keeps, so the term “Chaldean,” being found in this book along with such terms as “magicians,” “enchanters,” “sorcerers,” “soothsayers,” might well be taken as a synonym, and looked on as bearing the same sense which it has in the “Satires of Juvenal.”¹ But though it is true that our “Chaldeans” seem to be in bad company, yet it must be remembered that Babylon was

¹ See Satire VI., 553:

“Chaldæis sed major erit fiducia; quicquid
Dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum
Hammonis, quoniam Delphi oracula cessant
Et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.”

Also Satire X., 93, referring to the Emperor Tiberius:

“Principis angustâ Caprearum in rupe sedentis
Cum grege Chaldæo.”

ever "a cage of every unclean and hateful bird"¹ centuries before the age of Juvenal. A King of Babylon, and especially such a religious King as Nebuchadnezzar, would be sure to have his Court crowded with persons whom the philosophers of a later age deemed impostors, but who were looked upon then as "wise men." In the Book of Daniel we meet, not with mere groups of synonymous words all denoting impostors, but with lists of these "wise men" of Babylon, more or less complete, several times repeated, and, with one exception, in a fixed order. That order is, first, "wise men," the generic term; then "magicians," "enchanters," "sorcerers," "Chaldeans," "soothsayers."² Now, it is not a little remarkable that the class which occupies the last place but one in this order should yet be brought forward with such marked prominence by the writer of this book. In chap. ii. 4, "The Chaldeans," who in the list of ver. 2 were mentioned last, are the first to answer the troubled monarch. Further, they not only take the place of spokesmen, but venture to remonstrate with the enraged King in words which show considerable courage and self-respect. There is nothing of cringing in their manner. The question then arises, *Who are these Chaldeans* on whom the attention of the reader is thus fixed? Professor Sayce, in order to answer that question, carries us down through the centuries to the age of Horace, or rather of Juvenal—*i.e.*, to the latter half of the first century after Christ. But why descend the stream of time so far, and why visit countries so remote from the scene of the Book of Daniel? Juvenal's "Chaldeans," we know, are wandering soothsayers, fortune-tellers, but the Chaldeans of the Book of Daniel are not found roaming over the world, content to play the part of parasites at the Court of some weak-minded prince. On the contrary, we find them stationed at Babylon, where they evidently hold a most influential posi-

¹ Rev. xviii. 2. Compare Isa. xlvi. 9, 13.

² If in algebraical fashion we write down the order thus: (a) "wise men," (b) "magicians," (c) "enchanters," (d) "sorcerers," (e) "Chaldeans," (f) "soothsayers," then we have in:

- i. 20, - b c - - -
- ii. 2, - b c d e -
- ii. 10, - b c - e -
- ii. 27, a c b - - f
- iv. 7, - b c - e f
- v. 7, - - c - e f
- v. 11, - b c - e f
- v. 15, a - c - - -

Thus it will be seen that in one case only—*viz.*, ii. 27—is the established order broken. Let it also be noticed that with the coming of the Medo-Persian kingdom the "wise men" disappear from the scene.

tion, and speak as persons who respect themselves and are accustomed to be treated with respect by others. It is perfectly useless, then, to look to Juvenal for light on this question; but there is one who can throw considerable light upon it, one who lived and wrote about a century after the time of Daniel, one who had visited Babylon and gained his knowledge on the spot. The chatty old historian, Herodotus, in his description of that famous city, when speaking of the temple-tower of the god Bel, uses the following expression: "As the Chaldeans being priests of the god say." Again, writing of the sacrifices, he says: "On the great altar the Chaldeans burn the frankincense." Also, a little later in the same chapter: "As the Chaldeans said, and I did not see it myself, but I say what is said by the Chaldeans."¹ Referring to the above extracts, Professor Driver remarks that the term "Chaldeans," in the sense of "wise men," is first found in Herodotus. "It dates," so he assures us, "from a time when Chaldean had become synonymous with Babylonian in general." But this is incorrect. Herodotus does *not* use these terms synonymously. When he is talking about the temple of Bel, he speaks of the "Chaldeans," because, as he tells us, they were the priests of the god and acted as his informers and guides. But when he goes on to discuss the strange manners and customs of the people of Babylon, we hear nothing of the "Chaldeans," but only of the "Babylonians." Then, as to Herodotus being the first writer to use the term "Chaldeans" in this class sense, the thing cannot well be otherwise, seeing that he is the father of Greek history, and the first Greek writer who appears to have visited Babylon, which visit, happily for us, but unhappily for the higher critics, took place, as I have said, within about a century of the time of Daniel.²

The "Chaldeans," then, according to Herodotus, are the priests of the god Bel, and Bel-Merodach, as the India House Inscription so plainly testifies, is the favourite divinity of Nebuchadnezzar.³ Here, then, we have at once an explana-

¹ See Herodotus, Bk. I., §§ 181, 183. Professor Rogers, in his "History of Babylonia and Assyria" (second edition, vol. i., p. 264, London, 1901), has the following remark: "There is good reason for believing that Herodotus had really visited Babylon, for the topographical details which he gives bear frequently the stamp of an eye-witness."

² Herodotus was born about 484 B.C. His visit to Babylon was probably prior to 447 B.C., when he left Halicarnassus to live at Athens. His testimony, therefore, amounts to this: that a priesthood of "Chaldeans" was in existence at Babylon within about ninety years after the fall of the Babylonian Empire. Quite apart from the Book of Daniel it would be a justifiable inference that such a priesthood had its rise while that Empire was still standing.

³ See "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. iii., pp. 104-123.

tion of the prominent part taken by the "Chaldeans" in Daniel, chap. ii. These men come forward and speak with courage and spirit before the angry King, because their class stands highest in the royal favour: they are the priests of his god.

But this is not all; let us ask the further question: *Why are they called "Chaldeans"?* Not as being magicians or fortune-tellers, not in the sense which the word has in the pages of Juvenal; but, as the history of Herodotus shows, they are called "Chaldeans" to distinguish them from the Babylonians. In other words, they are called "Chaldeans" because they *are* Chaldeans, men of the same race as the rulers of the New-Babylonian Empire. Even a century later than the time of Daniel they are known to be of a different stock from the ordinary Babylonians. Here, then, is a further explanation of the freedom with which they address the King; they are men of the same race as the monarch himself.

It appears, then, that *throughout the Book of Daniel the term "Chaldeans" is used in an ethnic sense.* In two places, chaps. v. 30 and ix. 1, the sense is *purely* ethnic, as in the Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. But in chap. ii. 2, 4, 5, 10, and also in chap. v. 7, 11, *a class sense is combined with the ethnic*, "the Chaldeans" there spoken of being the priests of the god Bel, and probably this is also the case in chap. iii. 8.

It is possible also to throw a yet further light on this Chaldean priesthood of the god Bel, and to form some conjecture as to its origin. Diodorus Siculus, who flourished in the first century B.C., speaking of Belesys, whom he makes to be the founder of the New Babylonian Empire, calls him "*the most distinguished of the priests, whom the Babylonians call Chaldeans.*"¹ That some dependence may be placed on this statement by a late writer appears from an inscription of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar and actual founder of the New Empire, in which he gives a remarkable account of the active part taken by himself and his two sons in the ceremonies at the rebuilding of the temple of Bel-Merodach. The passage runs as follows:

"Unto Merodach, my lord, I bowed my neck; I arrayed myself in my gown, the robe of my royalty. Bricks and

¹ Diodorus Siculus, ii. 24. Compare also ii. 29: "It seems to me to be not unsuitable to give a brief account of the Chaldeans in Babylon and of their antiquity, that I may leave nothing unsaid worthy of mention. The Chaldeans, then, as belonging to the most ancient of the Babylonians, occupy a position in the State similar to that of the priests in Egypt." He further states that they "form a caste, possessing a fixed traditional law, in which successive generations are brought up."

mortar I carried on my head, a workman's hat I wore; and Nebuchadnezzar, the first-born, the chief son, beloved of my heart, I caused to carry mortar and gifts of wine and oil along with my workmen. Nabû-shum-lisher, his own brother, the offspring of my body, the junior, my darling, I caused to drag a truck with ropes;¹ a workman's hat I placed upon him. To Merodach, my lord, I presented him as a gift."²

The spirit of the above inscription and the zest with which the King describes the part taken by himself and his sons in the ceremonial is a strong confirmation of the truth of Diodorus's statement as to the priestly origin of the founder of the New Empire. Winckler³ supposes that in presenting his younger son as a gift to Merodach, Nabopolassar intended to make him King of Babylon, while his elder brother Nebuchadnezzar was designed to occupy the position of suzerain and ruler of the whole Empire. But it seems more natural to take the simpler view that the King, having been a priest himself, was bent on consecrating his younger son to the priesthood. However, whether this be so or not, we may venture to assert, on the strength of the above inscription, that there could hardly be a more likely person than the founder of the New Empire to have instituted at Babylon a priesthood composed exclusively of men of the same race as himself. But if we attribute to Nabopolassar the institution of "the Chaldeans," then the comparatively recent origin of this body may perhaps be the reason why they stand last but one on the list of "wise men" in the Book of Daniel.

There now remains but one other point to clear up. When I began to write this paper, it seemed to me a wellnigh hopeless task to endeavour to identify "the Chaldeans" of the Book of Daniel on the contemporary tablets, and I was content, therefore, to rely on the testimony of Herodotus, which is in itself amply sufficient. A kindly Providence, however, has guided my eye to a tablet which *does* seem to furnish a fairly clear identification. In that valuable work, "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," Band IV., one hundred Contract Tablets of the New Babylonian Empire are transliterated and translated into German, thirty-one of this number belonging to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Throughout these tablets we shall search in vain for the term *Kaldu*, used either of a country and nation or of a priestly class. But there is one tablet of the seventeenth year of Nebuchadnezzar in which

¹ Literally, "I caused to seize rope and truck." See bas-relief, No. 55, in the Nineveh Gallery of the British Museum, where men are seen drawing loaded trucks by ropes over the shoulder.

² "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," III., ii., pp. 4, 6.

"Alt orientalische Forschungen," II., ii., p. 193, *et seq.*

repeated mention is made of the chief State of the *Kaldi*, "the Country of the Sea." This tablet is altogether of such importance as bearing on the question before us that I have no hesitation in giving it in full. It runs thus:

"These are the judges, before whom Shâpik-zîr, the son of Zîrutu and Balâtu, the son of Nasikatum the female slave¹ of the Secretary of the Country of the Sea, went to law over a house, with regard to the house and the tablet which Zîrutu the father of Shâpik-zîr had sealed and given unto Balâtu. (They [viz., the judges] made Balâtu and Shâpik-zîr change places. They assigned the house to Shâpik-zîr and they took the tablet and gave it to Shâpik-zîr):

"Nabû-itîr-napshati, the Prefect of the Country of the Sea.

"Nabû-shuzziz-anni, the Deputy-Prefect² of the Country of the Sea.

"Marduk-erba, the Burgomaster of Uruk.

"Imbî-ilî, the Priest of Ur.

"Bel-uballiṣ, the son of Marduk-shum-ibnî, the Prefect of that place.

"Aplâ, the son of Shûzubu, the son of Babûtu.

"Mushezib-Bel, the son of Nâdin-akhi, the son of Babûtu.

"Mushezib-Marduk, the son of Nâdin-akhi, the son of Shana-shîshu.

"Bâniâ, the son of Aplâ, the Priest of the House of *Shadrû-rabû*.

"Shamash-ibnî, the Priest of *Shadrû-rabû*.

"Babylon, sixth of Nisan, seventeenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon."

The above tablet mentions three chief officials of the Country of the Sea—that district which in somewhat earlier days had formed the centre and nucleus of Chaldean power. The throne of Babylon being now in the hands of the Chaldeans, we may affirm with certainty that these three officials are men of Chaldean race, and very probably of noble birth. The first mentioned of the three—viz., the Secretary of the Country of the Sea—has an interest in the case, one of the parties being either his grandson, or, at least, the son of a dependent. The other two—viz., the Prefect of the Country of the Sea and the Deputy-Prefect—sit as judges. Amongst the other judges are some men of importance—to

¹ Perhaps for "female slave" we ought to read "daughter."

² Literally, "the Second."

wit, the Burgomaster of Uruk, the Priest and the Prefect of Ur; but by far the most interesting are the last two—Bânîa, the Priest of the House or Temple of *Shadû-rabû*, and Shamash-ibnî, the Priest of *Shadû-rabû*. Who is *Shadû-rabû*? *Shadû-rabû*, "the Great Mountain," is a name given to Bel-Merodach, the patron god of Babylon.¹ Therefore these two men are priests of the god Bel; and the connection in which we meet with them on this tablet is suggestive that they, too, are Chaldeans, and ancestors possibly of some of those Chaldean priests whom Herodotus met with at Babylon. Further, the company in which we find these two priests is a voucher for their social position. Neither Bânîa nor Shamash-ibnî would be at all flattered to find themselves classed with wandering fortune-tellers. In these men, then, we seem to see representatives of that proud, high-spirited, jealous, aristocratic class, the "Chaldeans" of the Book of Daniel. We need not, therefore, be troubled over these "Chaldeans"; their presence in that book does not affect its authenticity. Even so long ago as the year 1877 the position of these men was truly gauged; witness the following passage from the able pen of A. J. Delattre, with which I close this article:

"Parmi les diverses catégories de sages auxquels Nabuchodonosor demande l'explication de ses songes, il en est une que le livre de Daniel distingue par la denomination spéciale de *Casdim*, 'Chaldéens.' Un tel emploi du mot *Casdim* serait étrange si tous les Babyloniens de ce temps avaient été Chaldéens. Il se justifie sans peine si l'on admet avec nous que les Chaldéens étaient une classe particulière et d'origine étrangère dans le peuple babylonien. Dès lors, en effet, il était assez naturel d'appliquer la denomination de Chaldéen à un collège de prêtres recrutés exclusivement parmi les hommes de cette classe. Ces docteurs chaldéens—nous les voyons encore par le livre de Daniel—avaient le pas sur leurs confrères. Lorsque Nabuchodonosor, furieux de ce que les sages consultés par lui sont impuissantes à deviner le songe qu'il a eu, menace de les massacrer tous, ce sont les Chaldéens qui s'efforcent de calmer le monarque, et qui portent la parole au nom de tous. On a fait à propos d'un emploi si remar-

¹ The Assyrians gave the same name to their national god, Assur. See the Taylor Cylinder, Col. I. 10. Dr. Pinches has pointed out that the Hebrew Shaddai, "Almighty" (Gen. xvii. 1), is very possibly connected with the Babylonian word *shadû*. See Pinches, "Old Testament," pp. 248, 249. Was it this name and attribute of the Deity that was impressed on the mind of Nebuchadnezzar when he saw the stone cut out of the mountain become itself a great mountain, and fill the whole earth? Granted that the word *šûr*, Heb. *tsûr*, used in Dan. ii. 35, 45, is different, yet we must admit that the ideas are the same.

quable du mot *Casdim* des insinuations peu favorables au caractère du livre de Daniel, tandis qu'il fallait trouver en cela même une marque de son originalité." ¹

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

ART. V.—CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM.²

OF all the missions, whether to Jew or Gentile, in which the Christian Church has been engaged from her infancy until the present hour, those to Mohammedan peoples may be regarded as at the same time the most important and the most difficult. They are the most important; for whereas other missions are attempts to evangelize the adherents of older religions in countries or among races in which the Cross has never yet prevailed, Mohammedan missions seek to win converts from a younger religion, which claims to have superseded Christianity, and which has actually in large tracts of territory displaced it from the position of influence and authority which it once held. They are the most difficult; for this very claim, and the partial success which has attested it, oppose a formidable bar to the acceptance of the Christian faith by the Moslem mind; and the elements of monotheistic truth in the creed of Islam give a strength to that creed which is not to be found in polytheistic Hinduism or agnostic Buddhism, or in the superstitions and devil-worship of less educated and less civilized tribes.

We may urge upon a Jew that his form of religion was, according to the Divine purpose and according to predictions recorded in his own Scriptures, destined to be transformed into the Christianity of which it was the parent, and that its survival at the present day is an anachronism. We may instruct the votaries of heathen religions that their beliefs are the conceptions of earlier and darker ages, which the pure light of Christian truth has come into the world to dissipate. But no such line of argument can be adopted in controversy with the adherents of Islam. They, on the contrary, will tell us that Mohammed was directly inspired by God to complete that revelation of Himself which before had been only imperfectly made to Jews and Christians. They will tell us that Christianity and the teaching of Jesus Christ, while they had their place in the Divine plan for the religious development of the world, and were a stage in

¹ See the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, tom. xxi., pp. 536-551.

² An address delivered at St. Anne and St. Agnes' Church, Gresham Street, London, on Wednesday, November 25, 1903.

advance of Judaism, were nevertheless themselves intended to give place to the later Arabian faith.

There are only three possible attitudes for Christians to adopt towards this claim of Islam. The first is frankly to admit it, in which case it would be the duty of us all to become Mussulmans. The second is to give a qualified assent to it, and to concede that Mohammedanism may, in the Divine purpose, be an adequate and appropriate religion for the peoples who have embraced it, though it would not be adequate or appropriate for ourselves. This is a line which is avowedly taken by some English people, and is tacitly taken by all who view with disfavour or indifference Christian missions to Mohammedans. The third attitude is to reject the Moslem claim altogether, in which case those missions become as imperative a Christian duty as are missions to the heathen. Which of these three alternatives is the correct and true attitude for us to adopt? It is clear that only one of them can be true. They are mutually destructive, and two of them must be false. There is scarcely a single Englishman who maintains the first alternative—that Mohammedanism is true in the abstract, and Christianity, in so far as it contradicts Mohammedanism, is false. But the second alternative—the local and racial suitability of both religions—possesses far more attractions to an easy-going and indifferent age, impatient of dogma. Yet this second alternative is, in one respect at least, the most untenable of all the three; for it is, in fact, equally opposed to both Christianity and Mohammedanism. It would have been emphatically repudiated alike by Christ and Mohammed. Both of these prophets taught that the religion which he inaugurated was to have, or ought to have, world-wide prevalence. Neither recognised any territorial or geographical limits to the application of the message which he professed himself sent by God to deliver. If we accept this theory of the parallel claims of the two religions within their respective appointed areas, we are neither orthodox Christians nor orthodox Mohammedans. We proclaim our conviction that neither system is entirely true, that the founders of both were under a partial delusion.

If we are convinced that this was the case, we are bound honestly to admit it. But do the facts warrant our arriving at this conclusion? Islam had undoubtedly many elements of truth in it, when contrasted with the idolatrous religion of the Arabians, against which Mohammed established it as a protest. It has at the present day many elements of truth, when compared with Hinduism and Buddhism in India, or with fetish worship in the dark continent of Africa. But the

point for our consideration is, whether at the outset it was, as Mohammed alleged it to be, an advance on Christianity, and whether in the present day it is a preferable, or even tolerable, substitute for Christianity among the peoples of the East. We can examine this question in the abstract and experimentally. We can compare the tenets of the two religions, and weigh their respective merits and their comparative capacities for meeting the spiritual wants of mankind. We can then turn to their results, and see what they have actually effected for mankind in the twelve centuries and upwards during which they have existed side by side.

What, then, in the first place, have Christianity and Islam in common, and what are their salient points of difference? Both recognise that God is one, and that He is a Spirit, to be worshipped spiritually, and not through the medium of idols. It is true that Mohammedans have failed to recognise that Christians share this article of belief with themselves. Mohammed himself, either from coming into contact with a corrupt form of Christianity, or from acquiring only an imperfect acquaintance with it, or from both causes, fell into a startling error on this point. In the Koran he accuses Christians of worshipping a Trinity of deities, consisting of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary. And where his followers are undeceived as to the deification by Christians of the Mother of our Lord, they yet maintain that in acknowledging Christ to be God we destroy the unity of the Deity. The best answer which I ever heard to this accusation is the retort with which a lady missionary to the Moslems in South India told me that she is in the habit of meeting it. She replies to her Mussulman objectors: "It is you, and not we, who practically nullify the unity of God by raising a man to the same level with Him. Your primary formula is, 'There is one God, and Mohammed is His prophet.' We should not venture for a moment to put Christ on that level, and to say, 'There is one God, and Christ is His prophet,' if we did not believe that Christ Himself was actually the one God manifested in the flesh." At any rate, the fact remains that, when properly understood, Christianity and Islam are alike monotheistic religions. They are also agreed in regarding God as a holy, just, and merciful Being, and as having revealed Himself to and through Abraham and Moses and the Jewish nation, and through Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary. But there the agreement practically terminates; and we find three cardinal points of divergence, which result in placing the two religions in sharp contrast with each other. First, Christianity affirms, and Islam emphatically repudiates, the idea of the Fatherhood of God. Secondly, Christianity affirms, and the Koran

denies, that Jesus Christ suffered death on the cross. Thirdly, Christianity claims to be based upon the perfect life of its holy and self-denying Founder; while Islam claims to be based upon a perfect and infallible book, irrespective of the life of its author. Let us briefly examine these three points of difference.

First, as regards the Christian idea of the Fatherhood of God. This, of course, is, in a certain sense, only a figure of speech. No one attaches to it precisely the same meaning as belongs to the notion of father among men and other material creatures. But it is used in a metaphysical sense to denote a relationship, a kinship between the Deity and mankind, and an imparting of the Divine Spirit to men, of which no other word could convey an equally adequate expression.

Again, in the second place, the Koran affirms that Christ did not suffer upon the cross, but was miraculously carried up to heaven without enduring that death of shame; a phantom being substituted for His actual person, and His enemies being thus deceived by God into a belief that they had taken his life. Here, of course, orthodox Christianity and Islam are directly at issue upon a matter of fact; and no Western mind can have any reasonable doubt on which side the truth lies. But the Moslem belief is not merely an historical error; it carries with it the gravest ethical and practical consequences. Superficially, and from a casual point of view, it might appear to give greater honour to Jesus than the Christian belief does; but in fact it cuts at the whole root of Christ's teaching, as recorded in the Gospels and accepted by the Church. It is identical with the carnal view of the Board school teacher who, in commenting on the taunt recorded in the Gospels as levelled at the Saviour during His hours of mortal agony—"If Thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross"—said to his class: "Yes, and if He had been the Son of God He would have done so." It is also identical with the view expressed by St. Peter when he first heard of His Master's destined crucifixion, and who on uttering this view was met with the stern rebuke: "Get thee behind Me, Satan: thou art a stumbling-block unto Me; for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men." It is identical in principle with the lines of conduct suggested to our Lord by the tempter, that He should obtain personal ease, glory, and power, by unnatural or questionable means. But it is radically and irreconcilably opposed to the whole system of Christian ethics as established by Christ. He based His teaching on the principle of self-denial and self-sacrifice, of surrender of life itself for the

good of others, and He emphasized this principle by His own death on the cross. If He did not so die; if, as the Koran teaches, He was spared the shame and the agony of this death—aye, and of any death at all—by a miraculous intervention of the Divine power, the whole force of His teaching of self-surrender and self-sacrifice is cut away. He then appears as the author of a teaching which He did not carry out in practice Himself; and Christians, in giving up their lives for the sake of what they believed to be truth and in the service of God and their fellow-men, have not been humble followers of their Master, but have far surpassed Him in zeal and devotion.

Lastly, as to the claim of Islam to be founded on an infallible book, as against the claim of Christianity to rest on the perfect life of its Founder. This contrast is well brought out in Lord Houghton's lines :

“Mohammed's truth lay in a holy book,
Christ's in a sacred life.
So while the world rolls on from change to change,
And realms of thought expand,
The letter stands without expanse or range,
Stiff as a dead man's hand ;
While as the life-blood fills the glowing form,
The Spirit Christ has shed
Flows through the ripening ages fresh and warm,
More felt than heard or read.”

The significance of this contrast is not affected by the place which the Bible holds in the Christian faith. Whatever be the exact views taken as to the inspiration or inerrancy of the Bible, the fact that it did not, like the Koran, owe its origin to one time and one source, but is the product of divers ages and divers writers, has effectually prevented it from having a similar effect upon Christianity to that which the Koran has had upon Islam.

And now for the practical results of these three distinctive features of Mohammedan teaching. Islam, in consequence of its denial of the Fatherhood of God, can only very imperfectly grasp the two great commandments of the Gospel, “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart” and “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,” and the essential dignity of every member of the human race as the offspring of God. Islam grasps them to a certain extent; for it repudiates the degrading system of caste, which is an integral part of Hinduism, and it does not inflict on Moslem widows the lifelong torture of a despised and down-trodden widowhood, which is one of the worst curses of Hinduism. But in its general degradation of women, and in its toleration, and

even encouragement, of slavery and traffic in slaves, it shows that Christ's teaching of the Fatherhood of God cannot be rejected without a corresponding grievous declension from the standard of Christian ethics.

Again, the denial of Christ's death on the cross carries with it, as an inevitable consequence, the rejection of the Christian doctrine of self-sacrifice and self-surrender. You find Moslems boldly throwing away their lives in battle, in the fierce excitement of fanatical zeal, and supported by a firm belief in the prospect of a sensuous paradise beyond the grave. But you do not find in Islam that principle of patient, unostentatious, unrequited labour and suffering for the good of others, which is a distinguishing feature of Christianity, and which has inspired deeds of charity and the foundation of philanthropic institutions, undreamt of in the world before the advent of Christ, and unknown in regions and among peoples where this religion has not penetrated.

Lastly, the whole history of Mohammedanism is eloquent as to the blighting effect of the doctrine that the will and truth of God were once and for ever delivered in the pages of the infallible and immutable Koran. That book undoubtedly contained a message—partly true and partly erroneous, but still a message—for the age in which it was composed, and for the people for whose immediate use it was written. And accordingly we find that, impelled by its teaching, Islam in the succeeding two centuries became the leading power in the world, not merely in military strength and territorial dominion, but in culture and science. To this day we owe to it our Arabic numerals which are in common use, and without which all our notations and calculations would be cumbrous beyond endurance, and our system of algebra, without which advance in science would have been impossible. But what position does Islam hold in the world now? The fair promise of its youth was speedily clouded over. Stagnation and death set in, and the pre-eminence in learning, in invention, in progress of every kind, passed to the Christian nations. And though at intervals Islam has made spasmodic and partially successful efforts to recover its ascendancy by the sword, it has been impossible to arrest the inevitable decay; and every year, as it passes, renders more apparent and more decisive the triumph of the Cross over the Crescent in the material and intellectual and political spheres. A deadly blight reigns over the lands subject to Moslem dominion—a blight which, as experience has shown, is not natural to them, and is dispelled when, but only when, they come under Christian sway and influence. To what are we to attribute this extraordinary reversal of the

relative position of the two systems from that which existed a thousand years ago? Only one reason can be assigned for it—namely, that Christianity, though it has had its phases of decline and corruption, has yet within it imperishable seeds of life and progress, which do not exist in Islam.

But if all this is so, is it justifiable, is it philanthropic—to put the question on no higher grounds—to adopt an attitude of acquiescence in the continued stagnation and low level of 155,000,000 of our fellow human beings, of whom some 60,000,000 in India, and perhaps 30,000,000 more in Africa, are under British rule? For it is such an attitude of acquiescence which we deliberately adopt if we deprecate any attempt to carry on Christian missions among Mohammedans. Are we not, rather, bound to offer them the opportunity, if they will embrace it, of sharing in those blessings of light and love and life which accompany a sincere adhesion to Christianity? The only possible ground for answering this question in the negative would be the certainty that they would decline to avail themselves of it. And this is, in fact, the ground which is sometimes put forward by objectors to Mohammedan missions. They say that the conversion to Christianity of the followers of Mohammed is an impossibility. If they contented themselves with asserting its extreme difficulty, they would be correct. But individual Moslems have, as the result of missionary effort, embraced the Christian faith, and have in some instances become distinguished Christian ministers and teachers. Abdul Masih, the only direct individual result of Henry Martyn's missionary labours, and the first native of India who was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England, was a convert from Mohammedanism. Dr. Imad-ud-din, the first native of India to receive the degree of Doctor of Divinity from an Archbishop of Canterbury, was a convert from Mohammedanism. Moreover, in our own lifetime Moslems have suffered death as martyrs for embracing Christianity. It is true that as yet there is no outward indication of any general movement towards Christianity among the followers of Mohammed; but the same may be said with regard to the professors of Hinduism and Buddhism. Those, however, who look below the surface believe that signs can be detected of a gradual undermining of these systems, which will lead some day to sudden and startling consequences.

Whatever we may say of Buddhism, clearly Hinduism and strict Mohammedanism are alike incompatible with the discoveries and assured results of modern science. But Moslems, unlike Hindus, have been already taught in their Koran that the Jewish law and the Gospel were actual Divine revelations,

and that Jesus Christ was a Divine teacher, filled with the Spirit of God, and worthy of being styled the Word of God. They have been taught, it is true, that the Koran has confirmed and supplemented the Gospel, and that where the Old and New Testament Scriptures are inconsistent with the Koran, the discrepancies arise from these Scriptures having been corrupted. But with the general diffusion of knowledge this mistaken notion will be dispelled. It will be admitted that the mistakes are on the side of the Koran, and with this admission the authority of Mohammed as an infallible teacher will be shattered. Islam will be recognised to be what it in fact is, an aberration from the age-long stream of Divine truth and revelation, which has flowed through Judaism and Christianity; true in so far as it is in accord with Christian teaching, but erroneous in so far as it has distinctive and conflicting features of its own. Its fate will be seen to be the natural and inevitable outcome of its character. Being an aberration, and not a legitimate development, it has run into an *impasse*, and is incapable of future progress. On us, who are ourselves advancing along the forward track, lies the obligation of doing what we can to lead our Moslem brethren into that road of Christian enlightenment which is at once the path of individual safety and of social progress.

P. V. SMITH.



ART. VI.—ON THE INTERPRETATIVE VALUE OF CERTAIN USES OF THE COPULATIVE CONJUNCTION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

WHEN the copulative conjunction is used to connect two propositions, it will often be found that, from the very relation of the connected statements one to another, the conjunction has naturally conveyed something more than a merely copulative significance. I say "from the relation one to another of the propositions" because it is not pretended that the added sense can be said to be strictly contained within the conjunction. But the two statements, as viewed together, are seen immediately by their very collocation to be indicative of a certain relation of sequence—it may be of logical sequence, or it may be of sequence of time—or of comparison, or of illustration which might have been expressed by substituting for "and" some other more significant word.

Take as an example of sequence such a saying as this: "The dark clouds gathered, and the refreshing raindrops

fell, and the dry earth rejoiced." We naturally read into the words the same meaning as if it had been written: "The clouds gathered, then the rain fell, therefore the dry earth rejoiced."

Again, in the words of the Jewish *Shama*—"Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord; *and* thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might" (Deut. vi. 4, 5)—we do not fail to interpret the *and* as acquiring to itself an added sense nearly equivalent to "therefore." It is the undivided unity of the Divine "substance" which requires the undivided allegiance of Jehovah's people.

Again, in the proverb, "A gracious woman [wins and] retaineth honour, and strong [violent, R.V.] men retain riches" (Prov. xi. 16), we naturally read into *and* the meaning of "even as," because the two statements are obviously put together by way of comparison. We should marvel otherwise at the collocation. But the parallelism constrains us to see that the second statement is added to illustrate the first.

Many examples will be found in the Book of Proverbs of things or propositions thus collocated—with or without the copulative conjunction *expressed*—obviously for the purpose of such comparison. And in such cases our translators have generally, and no doubt rightly, introduced some form of expression signifying similitude, such as "is like" or "as" and "so," which has no place in the original. The idiom of the Hebrew does not require it. To give the equivalent of the meaning in English does require it.

For example, "As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, *so is* a fair woman which is without discretion" (xi. 22).

"A word fitly spoken *is like* apples of gold in pictures of silver" (xxv. 11).

"As an ear-ring of gold, and an ornament of fine gold, *so is* a wise reprove upon an obedient ear" (xxv. 12).

"He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife that belongeth not to him, *is like* one that taketh a dog by the ears" (xxvi. 17).

"Burning lips and a wicked heart *are like* a potsherd covered with silver dross" (xxvi. 23).

"As a roaring lion, and a raging bear: *so is* a wicked ruler over the poor people" (xxviii. 15).

In all these instances the words in italics represent nothing actually *expressed* in the original.

So the literal translation of Ps. cxxv. 2 reads thus: "Jerusalem; mountains round about her, *and* Jehovah round about His people." But none will question that the true meaning is conveyed by the words: "As the mountains are round about

Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about His people." It is a lesson for those who lift up their eyes unto the mountains, that they are to expect their help not from the mountains, but from the Lord which made heaven and earth (cxxi. 1, 2).

We may see also a striking example of the tendency of the Hebrew language thus to add to the meaning of the copula in Job. v. 7, which says simply: "Man [Adam] is born to trouble, *and* the sons of flame fly on high." No one, I suppose, doubts that its meaning is rightly rendered in the words "*as* the sparks fly upward." Winer notices it as a peculiarity of the Hebrew language to string together like sentences merely by a copula, the language having but few special conjunctions.¹ And he adds: "This all-prevailing complexion of the linguical expression so deeply rooted in the genius of a people is easily transferred to a foreign language which they undertake to speak or write. We cannot, therefore, wonder that the use of the copula *καὶ* is more frequent and extended in the New Testament than in Greek prose writers" ("Idioms," p. 342).

It is this use of the copulative conjunction in connecting two sentences, one less obvious than the other, in the Greek of the New Testament to which I desire now to draw some special attention. I think it may be shown that the conjunction *καὶ* (or some similar copula) is so used in various passages of the New Testament, and thus acquires a sense which seems to have been not always clearly seen by some expositors.

¹ The recognition of this tendency will be found, perhaps, to throw a new light on the interpretation of certain teachings of the Old Testament. See, for example, Amos ix. 7: "Have not I brought up Israel from the land of Egypt? and [even so] the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?" It is a warning that such words as: "He hath not dealt so with any nation" must not be understood as making void the words: "For three transgressions of Israel, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof" (ii. 6). See iii. 1, 2. The bringing-up of a nation from another nation or another locality was not an event altogether without a parallel. The Philistines, too, had been brought from Caphtor, and Syrians transplanted from Kir. So understood, we cannot fail to see how naturally this latter section of the verse follows on the question of the first section: "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto Me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord."

Again, in Isa. xlv. 3: "I will pour water on the thirsty, *and* streams upon the dry ground." It will be seen, I think, that the latter half of the verse forbids our confining the "thirsty" to the "land" (as R.V. margin); but if we supply "soul" after *thirsty*, and let "*and*" bear its comparative sense, then we shall read: "I will pour water on *him* that is thirsty [or upon the thirsty soul], *even as* streams upon the dry ground." And this interpretation will be found not only to add force to the statement, but to give more perfect coherence with the latter part of the verse, as well as with vers. 1 and 4. Compare lviii. 11 (where observe "thy soul in *dry* places," R.V.) and lxi. 11.

I. It may be worth while to refer for a moment to Luke xii. 48: "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; *and* to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more" (*καὶ ὃ παρέθεντο πολὺ περισσώτερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν*). The first clause here will probably be acknowledged to have reference to the dealing of "the lord" in the parable "when he cometh" (ver. 43), and so (beyond that) to the advent of the Lord of lords. The second clause seems to point to ordinary ways of men upon earth. Why should not the *καὶ* be understood as connecting two statements by way of comparison? Let the copula be interpreted as equivalent to "even as," and the connection of the last proposition will be obvious and plain. It will be seen to explain that in this Divine procedure is nothing but what all can recognise as in agreement with the principles which underlie the usual dealings of men with men.

II. There is another passage which I will venture to refer to, though I would not be understood to speak of it otherwise than diffidently: "If a man abide not in Me he is cast forth (*ἐβλήθη ἔξω*) as a branch and is withered, *and* men gather them (*καὶ συνάγουσιν αὐτὰ*) and cast them into the fire, and they are burned" (John xv. 6). Might not the words be understood to signify "even as (you know well) men gather [the withered branches which the husbandman in pruning throws outside the vineyard] and cast them into the fire, and they are burned"?

But I must not be supposed to be insisting on this. It can hardly be said to derive support from the Vulgate. As in Luke xii. 48, the word "men" is not expressed in the Greek. Apollinarius (as quoted in the "Catenæ G. P."; see Cramer, tom. ii., p. 355) expounds the passage thus: "*Ὅστις οὖν ἑαυτὸν χωρίζει τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς σαρκικὰ πράγματα, ἀπηλλοτριώσειν ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ ξηρὸς καθίσταται, τὴν ζωοποιὸν μηκέτι δεχόμενος ἰκμάδα· ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὴν αἰώνιου φυλαχθήσεται κρίσιν, ὥσπερ εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὰ ξηρὰ κλήματα*."

Godet observes: "The operation of pruning had just taken place in Palestine; perhaps, as Lange remarks, Jesus might at that very moment have been beholding the fire in which the recently lopped branches were burning" ("Com.," vol. iii., p. 161). He says: "The subject of *συνάγουσι*, *they gather*, is the vineyard labourers; in the application, the Angels" (Luke xii. 20; Matt. xiii. 41); so Alford and Meyer. Westcott quotes from Aug., *ad loc.*: "Unum de duobus palmiti congruit aut vitis aut ignis."

But now let us proceed to give attention to some other examples from the New Testament, in which the principle contended for will be found, I believe, more obvious, and its

application far more important. If I am not mistaken, some of these examples will serve to exhibit very clearly the interpretative value which should be attributed to the copulative conjunction.

III. Let us turn, then, to a well-known saying of our Blessed Lord which is found recorded in St. Mark's Gospel (ix. 49), and which has much exercised the minds of expositors: "Every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt" (*Πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀλὶ ἀλισθήσεται*).

The apparent difficulty contained in this saying has probably been the cause of the omission of the latter clause from several MSS., including the Sinaitic and the Vatican. Nevertheless, this clause holds its place in nine good uncials, including the Alexandrian. It is also found in all ancient versions of weight. In making this important assertion concerning the versions, I am relying on the authority of Canon Cook, who ("Revised Version," p. 78) is somewhat severe upon the Revised Version for the omission of the clause. "We must not" (he says) "risk or tolerate a mutilation, unless we are constrained by irresistible evidence." For myself, I must profess that I find it not easy to be persuaded that the clause is not a part of the original Gospel. Its omission is to be accounted for, but its insertion by a copyist without authority is certainly not easily to be explained.

But to look now at the whole verse. Here are two propositions coupled together. And one of these—the last—contains a statement which we may certainly suppose to have been perfectly familiar to every Jew. It is, indeed, simply an epitome of the direction given in Lev. ii. 13: "Every oblation of thy meat offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat offering: with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt." So in Ezek. xliii. 24 we read: "The priests shall cast salt upon them, and they shall offer them for a burnt offering unto the Lord."

But with this familiar statement we find collocated a declaration—a revelation it may be called—concerning truths pertaining to a higher sphere. And I must venture to ask: Is not the relation of these truths thus brought together sufficiently obvious? Is there not a teaching which may be said to be the natural result of the parallelism? Are they not, if I may so speak, two truths which may be seen to be bracketed together for the purpose of comparison, and for comparison in such sort that the one should serve to illustrate the other, so that the obvious and familiar declaration should serve, by way of illustration, to enforce the higher truth here unfolded to the view?

If this is so, then the force of *καὶ* here might well be expressed by "even as"; thus: "Every one is to be salted with fire, even as you know well that every sacrifice has to be salted with salt." And then the general purport of the teaching of our Lord here—taking the context into view—may be expressed thus: that as every thing offered to God of corruptible material should be—in the service of the Temple—penetrated, or accompanied, by that which is the antidote to corruption, so the corruption of man's nature, if man would escape the vengeance of eternal fire (seeing that our God is a consuming fire) must be purged and purified by being brought into contact with the Divine nature—must be, as it were, salted with the Spirit of judgment and the Spirit of burning, must have its tin and its dross separated and removed by the consuming and purifying power and Spirit of Him whose fire is in Zion, and His furnace in Jerusalem.

IV. I must not altogether pass over the witness of a saying of St. Paul's in Rom. xiv. 7: "None of us liveth unto himself, and no man dieth unto himself" (*Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἑμῶν ἑαυτῷ ζῆ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἑαυτῷ ἀποθνήσκει*).

Here, if we regard the proposition which follows the copulative *καὶ* as simply an addition, it seems difficult not to regard it as adding weakness to the previous statement. Is it not the weakness of a truism added to one of the most important and constraining truths of Christianity?

But regard the collocation of the two statements as set before us for the purpose of comparison, and for comparison in such sort that the truism might serve to illustrate, and by illustration to enforce the teaching of the former momentous truth—in other words, read the *καὶ* as equivalent to "even as" or "just as truly as"—we shall then be able to paraphrase the Apostle's language thus: "No Christian man, no 'one of us' (*οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν*), is to live for himself, any more than any one (any child of Adam) dies for himself. Just as much as any man's death is a debt the payment of which is demanded of every man by might, just so much is a Christian man's whole life that which he is to regard as due to another by right—due to Him who died and rose again, and revived that He might be Lord both of the dead and the living, that whether we live or die we might be the Lord's."

V. The next example is one in which this use of the Hebrew copulative signification is, perhaps, more striking than in any other. In Heb. iv. 12 we read: "For the Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart."

Let it be noted, as we stand on the threshold of our observations on this text, that the conjunction *καὶ* is not used here for the copulation. The words are: *δικνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος, ἄρμων τε καὶ μυελῶν*. And it would be overbold (I conceive) to assert that this fact does not at all materially affect the force of my argument.

But let the reader be asked to mark well what is here predicated concerning the piercing and dividing power of the two-edged sword of the Word of God. It sunders *first* "soul and spirit," *then* "joints and marrow." Is it too much to say that the words "and of the joints and marrow" can hardly be regarded as a mere addition to what is stated of the power to divide "soul and spirit"? May they not much rather—far more naturally—be looked upon as affording a very forcible illustration—an illustration naturally suggested by the previous description of God's Word as *τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον*? If this is so, then their true meaning might well be rendered: "Even as the two-edged sword of steel [or, rather, perhaps, *the sacrificial knife—the culter sacrificulus*—for the word *μάχαιρα* may very well bear this sense¹] divides the joints and marrow of the victim." And is there not thus a real and most important teaching for us? There is a truth conveyed to us in view of the sacrificial knife and its appointed work. It is with as real a cutting and dividing power that God's Word enters the inner being of a man, to divide soul and spirit, and to be a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. It may be observed that elsewhere where Christ's two-edged *sword* is spoken of (Rev. i. 16, ii. 12, 16) the word used is *ῥομφαία*.

To understand, with many commentators (including Dr. Kay), the words *ἄρμων τε καὶ μυελῶν*, as used in a spiritual sense (though this interpretation is supported by quotations from classical authors), is to suppose that they are added as an additional expression when they can add no additional sense to the words *ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος*. Besides which, the harmony of ideas with *μάχαιρα δίστομος*, going just before, seems almost to require us to understand these words in their literal and natural rather than in a forced metaphorical sense.² But to admit (as Bishop Wordsworth does) that it is better to understand the words literally, and

¹ See Parkhurst *in v.* It is the word used by LXX. in Gen. xxii. 6, 10 for the Hebrew *ma'keleth*. The same expression (*μαχαίρας διστόμων*) is found in LXX. of Prov. v. 4. See "Speaker's Com." on Judges xix. 29.

² This view may also, perhaps, derive some support from the word *τετραχηλισμένα* (ver. 13), which has been supposed to set before us the idea of sacrificial victims hung up by the neck and flayed (so Chrysostom), or (so Theodoret) of victims prostrate and lifeless. See Westcott *in loc.*

then to consider the whole sentence as referring to man's body, soul, and spirit, and to interpret the meaning as of Christ's power to anatomize each with precision, and determine what sins are due to the weakness of the flesh, what to the lusts of the animal man, and what to the pride of the spirit, this, I submit, involves something of an inconsistency, for it seems, after all, to abandon the literal sense of "joints and marrow" altogether. But probably I may have imperfectly apprehended the meaning of the learned prelate.

I may add that Wordsworth understands "the Word of God" as the personal *Λόγος*—a view which derives much support from ancient authorities as well as from esteemed Anglican theologians. But this interpretation is rejected by Westcott, who argues against it with great force. It certainly seems to do violence to the natural and obvious meaning of the passage viewed as a whole.

There are objections, no doubt, to be urged against every interpretation of this confessedly difficult text. But I will conclude my observations upon it by just referring to the view referred to by Theophylactus, "Meo judicio, ab Apostolico scopo haud aberrante"—"*Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ βέλος διαιρεῶν τὴν σάρκα, οὕτως εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσδύεται· οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος, εἰ μὴ τὰ συμπεφραγμένα τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη διέλη, οὐκ ἂν εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσέλθει.*" Of this view, however imperfect, it may at least be said that it seems to recognise that principle of interpretation which is in harmony with the Hebrew idiomatic use of the copula. And if this principle be admitted, the difficulties of the passage will, I venture to think, be reduced to a minimum.

VI. One other example, taken from the same Epistle, must not be omitted.

We read in chapter x. (ver. 22, 23): "Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water" (*Ἐβρᾶντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς, καὶ λελουμένοι τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῶ*).

Now, whatever may be our opinion as to the connection of cleanliness with godliness, I cannot suppose that any Christians imagine that St. Paul is here enjoining upon us the necessity of never praying till after we have taken a bath, and of always seeing that we have pure unadulterated water in our bath. Yet the resources to which some commentators have had to resort seem to show how difficult it is to avoid giving such a meaning to his words, unless we admit the principle of interpretation for which I am contending. Patriarchal and legal lustrations were, we need not doubt, preparing the way for that which the Apostle does teach us

here.¹ But it would be strangely out of place, and utterly dissonant from the whole tenor of the doctrine in this Epistle, to think that he is here concerned with ceremonial or other outward purifications of the body.² What, then, should the writer mean by adding to the need of the sprinkled conscience the words "and our bodies washed with pure water"? If only we will understand the latter clause of the sentence, as brought by the copula into juxtaposition with the former for illustration's sake, then no difficulty will remain. The meaning then will be natural and obvious—"even as our bodies have been washed with pure water." Indeed, I can hardly doubt that in some such sense most thoughtful readers have understood it. (Compare 1 Pet. iii. 21.)

Alford justly (as I think) condemns those commentators who, following Calvin, would quite spiritualize away the meaning of "water" here, leaving only the notion of the spirit and doctrine of Christ. Every plain declaration of Scripture may be explained away by such a method as this. But Alford's own interpretation, making τὸ σῶμα to be "the seat of the emotions and desires," seems to me in a high degree forced and unnatural. And I submit that the long extract from Delitzsch (though very valuable and beautiful) with which he would support his position is incautiously expressed, and can hardly be regarded as strictly accurate. For, though it may be quite true of the inward and spiritual grace of Baptism, it is assuredly not true of the outward element—the "pure water" of Baptism—that it "penetrates" (which is what Delitzsch here seems to assert, and what he understands the writer here to assert) "with its saving power, not only into the depths of our self-conscious life, but also into the very foundations of our corporeity."

Let it be observed that the Apostle had been speaking of *sprinkling* in the previous chapter, where we read: "If . . . the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the Blood of Christ . . . purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?" (ix. 13, 14). Here is a passage which may assuredly serve to elucidate the teaching which we have before us.

¹ Alford truly observes: "The washing with water also [Exod. xxix. 4] was to be part of the cleansing of Aaron and his sons; not only so, but as often as they entered the holy place or approached the altar they were to wash their hands and feet in the brazen laver (Exod. xxx. 20, xl. 30-32); and the High Priest, on the Day of Atonement, λούσεται ὕδατι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ (Lev. xvi. 4)."

² Chrysostom says: Ἐκεῖνοι τὸ σῶμα ἐρραντίζοντο, ἡμεῖς τὴν συνελθῆσιν, ὡστε ἔνεστι καὶ νῦν περιρραντίζεσθαι αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρετῇ.

The teaching, if I am not mistaken, comes to this—that just as, and as surely as, the outward and visible sign of the washing of water in the bath of regeneration avails to the putting away of the filth of the flesh, so, and so surely, the inward and spiritual grace which is therein signified and sealed to the believing soul avails (through the washing of the Blood of Christ) to the cleansing (or sprinkling) of our hearts from an evil conscience—the conscience, that, is, convinced of the evil of sin—so that, as men washed and sanctified and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God, we may have boldness to enter even into the holiest by the Blood of Jesus, and draw near to the throne of grace with a true heart in full assurance of faith.

Here I close my list of examples, not, however, because there are none others that might be adduced.

I only desire to say in conclusion that the value of these examples must not be estimated merely by regarding separately this one and that one. They should be looked at in their relation one to another, and specially in their relation to the passages quoted from the Old Testament—the literature with which the New Testament writers were most familiar.

N. DIMOCK.



ART. VII.—THOUGHTS ON ISAIAH.—I.

WITH the permission of the editor, a series of papers will be submitted to his readers on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah. The treatment of the prophetic writings has varied much from age to age. The early Fathers were accustomed to regard them as storehouses of passages from which particular doctrines might be proved or inferred, or from which much valuable instruction might be derived by means of allegorical or, which was supposed to be the same thing, *spiritual* treatment. The medieval writers, for the most part, carried to a still further extreme the methods of their predecessors. In later years the prophetic books have been regarded almost exclusively from a Messianic point of view. Little or no attempt has been made to view them in their historical setting. The consequence has been that some passages have been tortured to yield a Messianic sense, and many others, replete with spiritual and moral teaching of the utmost value, have been neglected altogether, because it was impossible to extract a Messianic meaning out of them. The inevitable reaction has now set in. A school has arisen which has already done much valuable work in bringing us back from the region of predictive, or

ideal, or dogmatic interpretation to the standpoint of the prophet himself, and its members have been materially aided by the recent historical discoveries, which have recreated for us the epoch at which the prophets wrote. But the new school has "the defects of its qualities." Reactions almost invariably go too far in the opposite direction to that from which they start. And in the present case there has been an unfortunate tendency on the part of the realistic expositor not only to minimize the supernatural, or as, in view of the ambiguity of that word, I prefer to call it, the *spiritual* in the Scriptures, but needlessly to limit the amount of direct Messianic teaching which, though its extent may sometimes have been exaggerated, must, on every rational and common-sense interpretation of the prophetic writings, most unquestionably be admitted to exist. There is no disposition to underrate the value to the devout student of the able and earnest volume of Professor G. A. Smith; but it must, nevertheless, be confessed that, beside an occasional tendency to substitute a new set of strained and fanciful analogies for those of expositors of earlier date, there is also to be found in it a disposition to exaggerate the human and to minimize the direct and objective Divine element in Isaiah's writings. The Professor tells us, for instance, that the word *vision*, with which Isaiah's prophecies commence, "is not employed to express any magical display before the prophet of the very words which he was to speak to the people." Why should the whole question be prejudged in this way by the use of such a disparaging word as "magical"? Might not the "display" of which he speaks be miraculous rather than "magical"? Is it impossible for God to make known His purposes by means of visions? Are not numerous instances of the "vision" recorded in Holy Writ? Do we know for certain that the Prophet Isaiah, whose amazing power of spiritual insight is the great feature of his writings, had *not* before his mind's eye the picture which he strives to place before us? And why does Dr. Smith add the *dictum* of the schools—these *dicta*, by the way, laid down without sufficient proof, are among the least attractive features of the new school of criticism—that the original meaning of the Hebrew word here used is "to cleave, or split"? Dr. Smith must know perfectly well that some of the best authorities do not agree with him here. He ought, therefore, to have furnished us with some proof of his assertion. In the absence of such proof we are entitled at least to assert that there is sufficient authority for the belief that the word *vision* here means just what it says. Besides, there is the additional evidence of the rest of the sentence. "The vision which he *saw*," we read, which does not necessarily mean

“the penetrativeness with which he penetrated.” Why, again, should Professor Smith attribute to the enlarged “political experience” of the prophet that in which the Christian Church has from the first discerned his spiritual insight, derived by special inspiration from on high? That there was growth, human and natural growth, in the mind of the prophet, and that the results of this growth doubtless mingled with his spiritual intuitions, no one, we presume, would be bold enough to deny. But in view of the phenomena presented by the prophetic writings, and of the uniform belief held from the time in which they were written to the present day that there is much in them which altogether transcends the ordinary natural processes of human thought, has a writer of any school the right to ignore or to put in the background the very characteristics which differentiate the prophet from other men, the Bible from other books? Why, again, should the Professor assert—and once more assert without proving—that even the short section, chapters ii. to iv., contains “utterances” which “conflict one with another”? This manufacture, as we cannot but call it, of contradictions, this tendency to substitute dogma for argument, are two of the most unfortunate characteristics of the school which is now in fashion. And they are an insufficient ground on which to set aside or to disparage the unique character of the works with which we are dealing.

It is not, however, the object of these papers to enter into controversy with Dr. Smith or any other member of the critical school. We do but note in passing certain tendencies of that school which are full of danger, and of which we shall, therefore, do well to steer clear. Our object is to provide the student in his closet and the preacher in his pulpit with an exegesis which, whatever its shortcomings, is at least free from the grave perils to which we have referred—from the tacit and unjustifiable assumptions in the direction of naturalism which pervade a volume otherwise extremely useful. The student and the preacher will certainly do well to consult it; but they must consult it with care, and be on their guard against the tendency to explain away the supernatural which crops up continually throughout its pages. For the flesh and even the bones of animals have been known to be coloured by what they feed on. It will not be well for us if the pulpit expositions of the clergy, intended to feed their people with the Bread of Life, should colour their whole inner being with the tinge of pure humanism. “I give the Old Testament a wide berth,” said one of the clergy of our Church the other day to the writer. And so at present do many of his brethren and many of his hearers. In part this is due to a certain phase

of Puritanism which has been accustomed to regard the Old Testament rather as "done away" than as "fulfilled" in Christ. But this tendency has been strongly reinforced of late by the teaching of the modern critic, which is calculated to reduce the evidential value of the Old Testament to zero, and its moral authority to a lower level than that of a modern novel.¹ It is well, therefore, to recall the warning which that clear and brilliant thinker, Archbishop Magee, has left us: "However we may attempt to distinguish between Scripture and Scripture, between the living and the dead Word, Scripture refuses to accommodate itself to any such treatment. The Christ whom we worship received, owned, lived by the whole of the Old Testament Scriptures, tells us by the mouth of His Apostle that it is all inspired, all profitable, all written for our learning. The credit of the New Testament is thus, as it were, pledged for that of the Old, and *whatever weakens our respect for the one must eventually weaken it for the other.*"²

These remarks must only be understood as expressive of a desire to keep criticism in its proper place. It certainly is not our object to proscribe it altogether. But in these days people very often appear to forget that the true object of criticism is not to explain away that which is criticised, but to elucidate Holy Writ, to bring out its meaning, to make clear to us the circumstances under which it was composed, and the object and aims of the writers. The critic has no right to set aside, on *a priori* grounds, fundamental principles of faith which have been arrived at by other means and on other grounds. It is one thing to discuss questions of date and authorship, the true text of the writings with which we have to deal, the circumstances in the history of surrounding nations which may throw light upon the condition or feelings of the Israelites, even the respective spheres of the Divine and of the human in the Scriptures. It is quite another to attempt to decide whether a revelation from God be credible or not, or, supposing it to be credible, to lay down conditions as to the way it may be expected to have been made. If there is reason to believe that the sacred writings contain evidences of the date at which they are composed, if the recently disinterred records of the past throw any light upon their contents, if

¹ Professor Robertson ("Early Religion of Israel," Preface, p. xi) uses a similar expression.

² "Christ the Light of all Scripture," p. 7. The whole sermon is full of valuable suggestions. See also Robertson, "Early Religion of Israel," Preface, p. xi: "The Christian scholar must be prepared to meet the objector who insists on meting out the same measure to the New Testament writers."

these discoveries should compel us to abandon some conclusions which insufficient information had led us to form, by all means let such matters be fully and freely threshed out. We have not the slightest wish to impose any conditions on the critic which should prevent him from coming to a fair and unbiassed conclusion on them. But let it be clear that the conclusion *is* fair and unbiassed. Let not the critics hamper themselves by any preconceptions concerning the possibility of miracles or prophecy, or concerning the way in which the evolution of the Divine purpose toward mankind must necessarily have taken place. Such antecedent assumptions are not freedom, but bondage. Instead of facilitating investigation, they hinder it. The critic is bound to deal with the facts before him, not to settle beforehand what those facts ought to be or must be. He has no right, for instance, to declare certain parts of his author to be of later date, because there is no allusion to them in the subsequent history, and then to strike out of that subsequent history every allusion to them that he finds there. He has no right to say that Deuteronomy quotes "JE" and "knows nothing" of the history contained in the "Priestly Code," and then to go over his Pentateuch and assign to the writer of the "Priestly Code" all the passages, and only the passages, of which Deuteronomy makes no mention. He has no right to assert that the various contributors to the Pentateuch, writing, as he declares they do, at periods far apart from one another, can be as easily detected by their style as could a cento of extracts from Chaucer, Shakespeare, Pope, and Tennyson. He has no right to assume, in the absence of proof, that so barbarous a *mélange* of authors of all styles and dates would have been flung together after the Captivity, with scarcely the slightest attempt at harmonization and modernization. Nor has he any right to conceal from his readers the fact that there is not the slightest approach, even in the latest of the "sources" to which he assigns the Pentateuch, to the distinctive diction of the acknowledged post-exilic writers. He may, of course, inquire whether the Scriptures *contain* a revelation, whether there be or be not signs of a special Divine guidance of the writers whose works he has before him. But he can have no right to lay down any canons on what he imagines—very often mistakenly—to be principles scientifically established by research in other branches of knowledge as to what the course of the Divine illumination of mankind must necessarily have been. Nor is he justified declaring off-hand that such evolution must necessarily have been "slow," nor that it must have proceeded on "natural" laws, if by "natural" he means laws

usual in Nature. It is perfectly evident to every observer that, besides her ordinary processes, Nature has her cataclysms and convulsions, her epochs of change and evolution. We cannot, therefore, deny that the same features may be presented in the kingdom of grace.

We need not enter here into the evidence for revelation. Suffice it to say that it depends on cumulative considerations gathered from every department of human thought and conduct. It cannot, therefore, be overthrown by researches confined to one or two branches of human knowledge. Revelation, moreover, depends to a certain extent on external testimony. Now, the laws on which such testimony is to be dealt with have been clearly laid down long ago by historians. We have no right whatever to set aside those laws because, in the history of a certain people, they establish the occurrence of certain phenomena which have not been observed elsewhere. The extraordinary and unprecedented way in which the authoritative and coherent tradition of Israel has been rent asunder and patched together again, just because a golden thread of special Divine guardianship consistently runs through it all, is utterly indefensible on all true scientific principles. We have a right, as believers in revelation, to demand at least that those who profess to investigate it from within shall hold fast to its two main principles, Historical Manifestation and Divine Inspiration, and to caution the Christian student against those who would induce him to enter upon the study of the sacred books of his religion apart from the safeguards which these principles afford. To the objections of those who investigate them from without we have our answer. But the Christian can only profitably view the sacred books in the light which his religion throws upon them. If he do otherwise, he will lose the blessings they were designed to impart. He who does not believe, cannot be made whole.

It only remains to say that these papers make no claim to scholarship or originality. They will make free use of the discoveries of others, but the writer will offer no discoveries of his own. His work is intended, not for advanced Hebrew students, but for simple men and women who want to study the Word of God with the aid of *some*, at least, of the lights which modern research has thrown upon it, but apart from the bewildering and not unfrequently reckless conjectures and assertions which tend so often to "darken" the "counsel" which the Word of God was designed to give. A little less originality and a little more humility than sometimes characterizes the exegesis of the present day will appear to sundry simple-minded folk to be eminently desirable. At all events,

it is the aim of the writer to walk, and encourage others to walk, "in the old paths," though he would not, of course, deprive them of any assistance from modern research which may serve to help them on their way.

The following extract from a well-known work, written by one at whose feet the writer sat in his youth, will illustrate the spirit, at once liberal and orthodox, by which he desires to be guided in these pages :

"These thoughts have reference chiefly to the New Testament. But the conviction has been fixing itself deeply in my mind that the Old Testament, too, ought to be read much more simply and according to the letter than we are used to read it ; that we have not made its application to our individual cases more clear by overlooking its obvious national characteristics ; that if we had given heed to them we should have found an interpretation of some of the greatest difficulties in history and in the condition of the world around us. This opinion is strangely opposed to that which is common among the philosophical thinkers of our day. It sets me in direct opposition to those writers, in this country and America, who make it their business to copy German models, though it does not authorize me to refuse any help from German learning when it comes within my reach, or to pronounce sentence upon a nation with which I am most imperfectly acquainted, or to generalize under one name theologians who, I suppose, exhibit as many varieties of opinion and are scattered through as many schools as our own."¹



ART. VIII.—THE MONTH.

IT is seldom that a New Year promises to answer to that designation so fully as the one on which we are just entering. In politics, at all events, we seem to be entering on an entirely new career. The subjects which occupied our thoughts at the commencement of last year have almost disappeared from view ; the old divisions of party seem vanishing, and an issue is before the country of which no one dreamt twelve months ago—except, we suppose, the statesman who has created it and the two or three others who may have shared his thoughts. It is difficult to recall so complete a transformation in the political world. The last thing that

¹ F. D. Maurice, "Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament," Dedications, p. xi.

Notices of Books.

The Nation's Need. Chapters on Education. Edited by SPENSER WILKINSON. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co. Pp. 311. 6s.

DR. JOHNSON'S *dictum* that "education is as well known, and has long been as well known as it ever can be," sounds oddly in these days. The problem still remains unsolved, judging from appearances, and we have a multitude of counsellors. There is no healthier sign of our condition as a nation, Mr. Spenser Wilkinson tells us, than the general prevalence of a belief that our methods of education are defective and need to be improved. The reign of Queen Victoria witnessed a continuous series of improvements, and an increase of schools and colleges of all classes. Yet, in spite of the labours of three generations, the cry for further improvements waxes louder. The contributors to this volume are mostly experienced members of the teaching profession. Mr. Wilkinson takes for his own subject the education of officers in the army and navy, and several able writers deal with the various stages of our educational system, from the elementary school to the Universities. Articles on education in France and Germany, and the teaching of modern languages, are also included. One of the most informing chapters is that by Mr. P. J. Hartog on the regulations for the management of secondary schools in France. Some of the rules relating to the study of the French language and French literature might be adopted with advantage in this country in connection with the study of English, and in another respect "they do things better" across the Channel. Care is taken that assistant-masters shall not be overworked. They are encouraged by the Government to take up some special study, for which time is allowed, on the ground that their pupils profit by it, since—to quote the Ministerial circular—"teaching derives its chief value from the independent work of the teacher, which gives it fresh life, and saves it from lapsing into routine." The whole of Mr. Hartog's description of the system is well worth reading. Mr. J. C. Tarver, who writes on public schools, is strongly in favour of inspection by a central authority. One or two of the contributors appear to regard the average British boy as a *vile corpus* for numberless experiments; but the book is an interesting one, containing not a few sensible suggestions along with others of an impossible kind. We should like to see a volume of essays on education written from the parents' point of view. In such a work several matters unnoticed here would be brought to the front.

The Battle of Belief: A Review of the Present Aspects of the Conflict. By NEVISON LOBAINE, Vicar of Grove Park West, London. With an Introduction by the Lord Bishop of London. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 244.

The two previous editions of this work appeared twelve years ago. It has now undergone considerable enlargement, and is brought up to date. In its present form it will prove very serviceable for use in evidential

lectures, or for circulation among agnostics. Mr. Loraine confines himself to a few fundamental points: belief in a Personal God and Creator, miracles, and a future life. With the view of showing the concessions of even the most hostile opinion, as well as the divisions which exist among the different sects of unbelief, his plan is to let representative exponents of advanced thought speak for themselves. Extracts from their writings form the main substance of the chapters, and are connected together by a running comment. Many of the extracts happen to be taken from articles in the leading reviews and periodicals, and are thus particularly useful for reference purposes. Few volumes of the same size, if any, contain such a large collection of quotations from scientists of all shades of opinion. Not the least interesting portions of the book are the sections in which the author shows that doubt is as busy in the region of the facts of Nature as in the facts of religion. We would draw attention also to his criticisms of the late Mr. W. R. Greg's argument that a revelation attested by miracles could only be a revelation to the age in which it was made. Mr. Loraine takes a favourable view of the future, believing that recent researches in physical science have proved friendly to the fundamental facts of religious belief, while in the Christian Church, on the other hand, a more comprehensive spirit has arisen. The Bishop of London, in a commendatory note, speaks of the difficulties that are widely felt as due in a great measure to misunderstanding of the teaching of science. A really sympathetic effort to remove this misunderstanding is made here. We hope that the book will not be thought to be only suitable for working men, since it is equally adapted for doubters belonging to the educated classes. Its contents show it to be the outcome of extensive reading and much careful reflection.

Early Church Classics: The Shepherd of Hermas. By the Rev. C. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vol. i. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 166.

Its inclusion in the series of "Early Church Classics" will help to make the "Shepherd" better known among English readers. The portion of the translation contained in the present volume embraces the visions and the mandates, and there are numerous explanatory notes. An introduction of fifty pages is prefixed, in the course of which the editor works out an idea suggested by Dr. Cotterill that one of the main sources used by Hermas was the *Tablet of Cebes*. He goes so far as to say that "a careful comparison of the two writings seems to show that the comparatively lengthy work of Hermas is in part a Christian version" of the other. If Hermas took as his model the philosophical piece attributed to Cebes, which is an exceedingly dull production of uncertain date, his own performance was a great improvement upon it. But the resemblance of form may possibly be accidental, and the parallels adduced are somewhat forced. We venture to differ from Dr. Taylor's view that "the Church sits at first upon a tripod chair that she may look the more like the heathen prophetess, the Sibyl, for whom Hermas is to mistake her." Her age and the book in her hands were surely the reasons for his guess.

most men would have supposed possible a few months ago was that Protection should be revived as a practical policy in England, and should become the avowed principle of a great party. It is evident from some observations which have lately been recalled that the late Lord Salisbury recognised the inconveniences which are entailed by our existing system; but his tone in referring to them was that of his characteristic resignation to the evils of a disordered universe. One strong man—whether right or wrong, no one can question his strength—has suddenly transformed the whole political situation, and has made the adoption of an Imperial system of Protection the supreme question of the hour. It is a striking instance of the manner in which the course of human affairs depends upon individual characters and minds. The interests and forces of society are, no doubt, always tending, however unconsciously, in one direction or another; but it is the insight and the energy of an individual which ultimately renders that direction clear and which gives the final impulse. Whatever the issue of the immediate contest, the political world in this country can never again be as it was before. Fiscal questions which we had thought finally settled have been revived in full force, and will henceforth be momentous factors in our political life.

The year will commence a new period in another great branch of our national life—in that of education. Current discussion on the subject is mainly occupied with the unhappy controversy which is being so bitterly waged by the militant Nonconformists. On that point we will only say that a comparison of the two letters which appeared side by side in the *Times* the other day—from the Archbishop of Canterbury and from Dr. Clifford—could leave little doubt in an impartial mind on which side was the Christian spirit and the reasonable temper. But, apart from that controversy, the education of the country enters on a new course, in consequence of its transference this year to the management of the County Councils. In London in particular the School Board, which has played so large a part in the development of elementary education, disappears, and the London County Council, with the Borough Councils, assumes control of elementary, and of a great part of secondary, education. The Bishops of London and Rochester have warned Churchmen that, if they wish to preserve the religious education which they prize, they must take a far more active part in the elections to the County and Borough Councils than they have done hitherto. From the influence which London exerts the future of religious education may largely depend upon the course taken by the new London County Council in the matter, and if we wish the

teaching of the Church of England to hold its due place, we must see that the Church is adequately represented on the Council. Dr. Clifford and his friends will do their utmost to capture the Council, and Churchmen will fail in one of the gravest duties ever cast on them if they do not exert an equal, though a more generous, energy in their own cause. Throughout the country new influences will be brought to bear upon the chief problems of education, and we can only pray and strive that the new educational world which will thus be produced will retain the best and most precious elements of the old.

It may be also that a new period is opening for the Church of England. There are some signs that men are wearying of the clamour of extremes on all sides, and are recognising that the Church of England can neither be Romanized nor rationalized under any fair interpretation of its formularies. The greatest danger of all, perhaps, is lest thoughtful men should be so disgusted with our religious quarrels as to turn away from religion altogether. One of the saddest sights, to a thoughtful mind, which has been witnessed for many years, was the cremation, the other day, of the body of Mr. Herbert Spencer with no religious rites whatever, and with an address from an earnest man like Mr. Courtney, which concluded with an admission that "our Master" could not give us any illumination as to a future existence, but with no reference to that Divine Master whose Gospel has brought life and immortality to light. The value of Herbert Spencer's work has, indeed, been much exaggerated. He fascinated many minds by a singular power of imaginative generalization; but his reasoning was very loose, and on the subject to which he himself attached the greatest importance—that of ethics—his arguments were simply illogical. But he professed to provide men with a philosophy of the universe independently of Christianity, and we are much afraid that this was in great measure the reason why his theories were so fashionable. The task which really lies before Christians, and especially before Churchmen, in the New Year and the new century is to convince men that the only philosophy of the universe is to be found in the Christian creed, and that "all form is formless, order orderless," which is not based upon the Christian verities. But to produce that conviction must be the work, not merely of Christian reasoning, but of Christian life; and it is because we believe that it is in the English Church that that life is best exhibited and best nourished that we must do our utmost to maintain among Englishmen the authority and the teaching of that Church.

Notices of Books.

The Nation's Need. Chapters on Education. Edited by SPENSER WILKINSON. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co. Pp. 311. 6s.

DR. JOHNSON'S *dictum* that "education is as well known, and has long been as well known as it ever can be," sounds oddly in these days. The problem still remains unsolved, judging from appearances, and we have a multitude of counsellors. There is no healthier sign of our condition as a nation, Mr. Spenser Wilkinson tells us, than the general prevalence of a belief that our methods of education are defective and need to be improved. The reign of Queen Victoria witnessed a continuous series of improvements, and an increase of schools and colleges of all classes. Yet, in spite of the labours of three generations, the cry for further improvements waxes louder. The contributors to this volume are mostly experienced members of the teaching profession. Mr. Wilkinson takes for his own subject the education of officers in the army and navy, and several able writers deal with the various stages of our educational system, from the elementary school to the Universities. Articles on education in France and Germany, and the teaching of modern languages, are also included. One of the most informing chapters is that by Mr. P. J. Hartog on the regulations for the management of secondary schools in France. Some of the rules relating to the study of the French language and French literature might be adopted with advantage in this country in connection with the study of English, and in another respect "they do things better" across the Channel. Care is taken that assistant-masters shall not be overworked. They are encouraged by the Government to take up some special study, for which time is allowed, on the ground that their pupils profit by it, since—to quote the Ministerial circular—"teaching derives its chief value from the independent work of the teacher, which gives it fresh life, and saves it from lapsing into routine." The whole of Mr. Hartog's description of the system is well worth reading. Mr. J. C. Tarver, who writes on public schools, is strongly in favour of inspection by a central authority. One or two of the contributors appear to regard the average British boy as a *vile corpus* for numberless experiments; but the book is an interesting one, containing not a few sensible suggestions along with others of an impossible kind. We should like to see a volume of essays on education written from the parents' point of view. In such a work several matters unnoticed here would be brought to the front.

The Battle of Belief: A Review of the Present Aspects of the Conflict. By NEVISON LORAINÉ, Vicar of Grove Park West, London. With an Introduction by the Lord Bishop of London. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 244.

The two previous editions of this work appeared twelve years ago. It has now undergone considerable enlargement, and is brought up to date. In its present form it will prove very serviceable for use in evidential

lectures, or for circulation among agnostics. Mr. Loraine confines himself to a few fundamental points: belief in a Personal God and Creator, miracles, and a future life. With the view of showing the concessions of even the most hostile opinion, as well as the divisions which exist among the different sects of unbelief, his plan is to let representative exponents of advanced thought speak for themselves. Extracts from their writings form the main substance of the chapters, and are connected together by a running comment. Many of the extracts happen to be taken from articles in the leading reviews and periodicals, and are thus particularly useful for reference purposes. Few volumes of the same size, if any, contain such a large collection of quotations from scientists of all shades of opinion. Not the least interesting portions of the book are the sections in which the author shows that doubt is as busy in the region of the facts of Nature as in the facts of religion. We would draw attention also to his criticisms of the late Mr. W. R. Greg's argument that a revelation attested by miracles could only be a revelation to the age in which it was made. Mr. Loraine takes a favourable view of the future, believing that recent researches in physical science have proved friendly to the fundamental facts of religious belief, while in the Christian Church, on the other hand, a more comprehensive spirit has arisen. The Bishop of London, in a commendatory note, speaks of the difficulties that are widely felt as due in a great measure to misunderstanding of the teaching of science. A really sympathetic effort to remove this misunderstanding is made here. We hope that the book will not be thought to be only suitable for working men, since it is equally adapted for doubters belonging to the educated classes. Its contents show it to be the outcome of extensive reading and much careful reflection.

Early Church Classics: The Shepherd of Hermas. By the Rev. C. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vol. i. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 166.

Its inclusion in the series of "Early Church Classics" will help to make the "Shepherd" better known among English readers. The portion of the translation contained in the present volume embraces the visions and the mandates, and there are numerous explanatory notes. An introduction of fifty pages is prefixed, in the course of which the editor works out an idea suggested by Dr. Cotterill that one of the main sources used by Hermas was the *Tablet of Cebes*. He goes so far as to say that "a careful comparison of the two writings seems to show that the comparatively lengthy work of Hermas is in part a Christian version" of the other. If Hermas took as his model the philosophical piece attributed to Cebes, which is an exceedingly dull production of uncertain date, his own performance was a great improvement upon it. But the resemblance of form may possibly be accidental, and the parallels adduced are somewhat forced. We venture to differ from Dr. Taylor's view that "the Church sits at first upon a tripod chair that she may look the more like the heathen prophetess, the Sibyl, for whom Hermas is to mistake her." Her age and the book in her hands were surely the reasons for his guess.

The "great white chair of snowy wool" described in the allegory could not have looked like a tripod, neither was a tripod one of the conventional accessories of the Sibyl. As regards the chair of the false prophet, there is nothing in the text to connect it with a tripod. The notion is rather that of a sophist's chair, recalling Juvenal's "Pœnituit multos vanæ sterilisque cathedræ." Dr. Taylor is of opinion that the case of the unfaithful wife in M. iv. 1 was suggested to Hermas by the pericope in St. John (vii. 53 to viii. 11), but the points of correspondence are far from obvious. It would seem more probable that the questions discussed in that part of the "Shepherd" had begun to be of pressing importance, owing to the growth of the Church and a decline from the primitive standard of life and practice. Divisions as to the treatment of post-baptismal sins had sprung up, and we can hardly doubt that they went on simmering for some years before the Montanist controversy broke out. If the "Shepherd" was not actually written for a controversial purpose, it was, at all events, made use of in that way; and there are reasons for thinking that Hermas wrote with a serious object in reference to the question of the day instead of designing a fanciful allegory in imitation of Cebes. His work was evidently appealed to in Tertullian's time as an authority by the anti-Montanists. We wish that Dr. Taylor had discussed its relation to the history of the period in his Introduction, and that he had drawn attention to the parallels in the "Passion of S. Perpetua" pointed out by the Dean of Westminster. The Dean's notes upon them are deeply interesting. On p. 150 of this volume an error of the press, which destroys the meaning, requires correction: "It speaketh not all" being a misprint for "it speaketh not at all."

Manuals of the New Testament. Vol. III. First Days and Early Letters of the Church. By the Rev. T. H. STOKOE, D.D., Rector of Waddington, Lincoln. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

The publication of this volume completes the late Dr. Stokoe's very useful series of New Testament manuals. His first volume comprised the four Gospels; the second had for its subject the "Life and Letters of St. Paul," embracing Acts ix., xiii.-xxviii., and (excluding that to the Hebrews) the Pauline Epistles. The remaining portions of the Acts and the other Epistles are dealt with here. In the text an analysis of each chapter is given, with exegetical and grammatical notes at the foot of the page. Both the paraphrase and the annotations are thoroughly well done, the former being so arranged that it may be read continuously, thus presenting a connected view of the argument. Though the book does not take the form of a commentary, it serves the purpose of one, and may be recommended to those who are unable to purchase more expensive works. A short appendix on the Revelation of St. John is added. Dr. Stokoe abstains from attempting a detailed exposition of it, and contents himself with putting together a few serviceable notes on its date and general character. These Manuals are a worthy conclusion to the work of valuable life.



Erratum.—In the CHURCHMAN for November, page 80, line 3: For *South by West*, read *East by South*.