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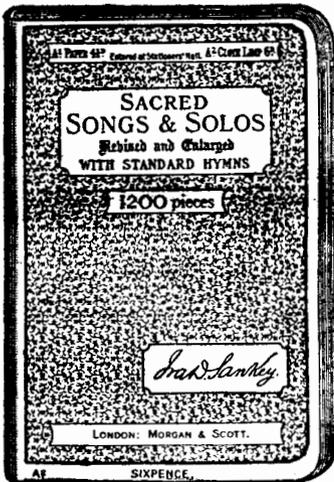
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THE CHURCHMAN.

NOVEMBER, 1906.

The Month.

The Church Congress. THE Barrow Church Congress, though necessarily not large in attendance, was full of practical interest, and proved a distinct success under the presidency of the Bishop of Carlisle. Dr. Diggle's presidential address was worthy of the occasion, and his statement of the true nature of the Church, as at once old and young, changeless and changing, was as appropriate to the occasion as it was timely and useful. The Bishop's courageous remark about the time having come to count up the losses due to the Oxford Movement was noteworthy, and ought to prove fruitful if taken up. His vision of a great united Church was also intensely interesting and inspiring. The order in which he placed the united hosts of God was significant. The Church of England was to be in the van, followed by Nonconformity, the Greek Church, and the Roman Church. This order is worth observing, for it indicates the true line of effort after reunion. In spite of the present acute controversy, we venture to believe we are much nearer reunion with Nonconformity than with the Greek and Roman Churches. We welcome this utterance of the Bishop of Carlisle as indicating that the echoes of united prayer last Whitsunday are still being heard, and are making themselves felt in the Church.

Two Divergent Attitudes. We wish we could feel that there was any prospect of the Bishop of Carlisle's words on union being realized within the borders of our own Church. The two papers on the Royal Commission

read at the Church Congress by Lord Halifax and the Dean of Canterbury, coming one after the other, serve to accentuate, as scarcely ever before, the essential and, we fear we must add, fundamental differences between the party represented by Lord Halifax and the great mass of English Churchmen represented by Dean Wace. On the one hand, Lord Halifax boldly made his own the words of a recent pamphlet, in which it is said that "the principles of the Reformation are things to be repented of with tears and in ashes." On the other hand, the Dean stated that, as a matter of historical fact, it is unquestionable that there exists "a traditional type of English Churchmanship, not merely in distinction from that of the Roman Church, but in repulsion to it." Could any positions be more diametrically opposed? It would surely seem impossible. No wonder that the *Westminster Gazette* points the moral with regard to "Church teaching" in our day-schools, and asks which of these views is to be understood as the teaching of the Church of England. If Lord Halifax is right, the Dean must be wrong, while if the Dean represents the Church of England, Lord Halifax cannot possibly do so. Although we deeply regret that such an utterance as that of Lord Halifax was heard at a Church Congress, we are not sorry that the essential differences between the two positions are being emphasized more and more strongly. The Royal Commission is assuredly helping to clear the air, and to bring matters to a definite issue.

**The Bishops
and
Ritualism.** We have already expressed the opinion that the key to the present situation lies very largely in the hands of the Episcopate, and certain utterances of the last month go far to confirm this view. By an inadvertence last month, we applied the words of Recommendation 1 of the Report of the Royal Commission to the practices at St. Aidan's Church, Birmingham, which the Bishop of that diocese was prepared to justify. This was not strictly accurate, though the ceremonial at St. Aidan's is about as "un-Anglican" as it can well be, and approximates in several points to that of

the Roman Mass. It is not under any conceivable interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric, but only by an appeal to some undefined "Catholic heritage," that such a service can be justified. It is on this ground that we regret and even deplore the Bishop of Birmingham's pronouncement. This month, however, we have some other and very different utterances of Bishops, which are more encouraging to those who desire nothing but loyalty to the teaching of the Reformed Church of England, as enshrined in the Prayer-Book and Articles. The Bishop of Bristol has taken the bold but welcome step of prohibiting the use of the new "English Hymnal" in his diocese. His points are worthy of attention on more grounds than one:

"He regarded the 'English Hymnal,' recently issued, as a direct attempt to introduce into the services of the Church of England, under the cover of hymns, requests addressed to saints for prayers on our behalf. It appeared to him to be practically useless to prohibit the use of certain parts of the book while allowing the book itself to be used in the public service of the Church; and it was clear that his only course was to prohibit, as he now did, the use of the 'English Hymnal' in the public services of the Church in the diocese."

A little more of such "drastic action" in the direction of the recommendation of the Royal Commission would prove salutary to the peace and true welfare of our Church.

Nothing could well be more striking and significant than the attitude of the Bishop of Oxford to the questions brought before the Royal Commission. Dr. Paget's Visitation Charge is a document of first-rate importance, and though at the moment of writing these lines it is not possible to comment on it in detail, we must return to it later. The calm, wise way in which each point is discussed is most welcome, and ought to carry great weight with the body of High Churchmen with whom Dr. Paget has the closest affinity. Even those who do not accept his position or agree with all his conclusions cannot but feel the great importance of his pronouncements, and will welcome the Charge as a valuable contribution

**The Bishop
of Oxford's
Charge.**

to the solution of the problems which are now harassing our Church. Reserving the Charge itself for later notice, we would only now refer to the significant closing words of the article in the *Times* on the subject, with special reference to Dr. Paget's appeal to the extreme party :

“Coming from him, the appeal, as it were, shifts the scene of the battle. The tourney is no longer between the Protestant agitator, with his loose conceptions of Church order, coupled with not very restrained methods of abuse, and the Tractarian, anxious to assert his liberty to remain in the Church of England. If this earnest appeal is set at nought, we must prepare for a struggle between the main phalanx of loyal Tractarianism, proud of its descent from Keble and Pusey and Liddon, and a small body of extremists, who own no master and recognise no authority but their own will.”

We are glad that in such a quarter as the *Times* it should now be realized—what, it must be said in common fairness, “the Protestant agitator” and a few besides have long ago seen—that the question is, to use the Bishop of Oxford's words, “one of real, unhesitating, spontaneous, and affectionate loyalty to the Church of England.”

We are glad that the Government has agreed to
 Letters of
 Business. issue Letters of Business to Convocation to allow of
 the consideration of Recommendation 2 of the
 Royal Commission dealing with a new Ornaments Rubric, and
 also with such proposed modifications in the Church services as
 will allow “greater elasticity in worship.” In granting the
 Letters of Business, the Government has, of course, reserved
 freedom to itself in regard to the proposals that may be sub-
 mitted by Convocation to Parliament. To the vast body of
 Churchmen the fact of “enactment by Parliament” will be
 the sufficient safeguard against any dangers arising out of the
 new proposals. The Dean of Canterbury at the Church
 Congress expressed his conviction that the issue of Letters of
 Business would only “prove the opening of floodgates of
 theological and ecclesiastical debate.” It is impossible not to
 feel the force of this contention, and to sympathize with the
 Dean's opinion that, if the Bishops “would strenuously uphold

by all their moral and spiritual influence the old Anglican and anti-Roman ideal of our Church, they would soon rally round them an irresistible union of loyal men from all schools of thought, and would gradually but surely banish from our midst the falsehood and extremes." But we are quite ready to see the subject discussed, and shall watch with keen interest the experiment of making a new Ornaments Rubric. It will, at any rate, afford Convocation something definite and practical to discuss, and will give an air of reality and timeliness to their debates, which they do not always possess. We only hope that meanwhile the Archbishop of Canterbury is going to take the "drastic action" he promised some time ago, and see that the Roman practices specified in the Report of the Commission are "promptly made to cease." It is not difficult to believe that the necessity of a new Rubric would be very largely set aside if this were done.

The second part of the recommendation connected with the Letters of Business will meet with much wider and fuller sympathy than that which concerns the proposed Ornaments Rubric. Our Church is indeed "tied and bound by the chain" of our present law. As the Report says: "It is incongruous that the precise and uniform requirements which were in harmony with Elizabethan ideas of administration should still stand as the rule for the public worship of the Church under altered conditions and amidst altered ways of thought." While we wish, and will have, no changes which imply alteration of doctrine, we certainly do need greater elasticity of administration in connection with our services. Our brethren in Ireland and the United States enjoy great liberty in this respect, though they have paid a heavier price for it than English Churchmen would be ready to do. It may, however, well turn out that this particular Recommendation of the Commission is fraught with even greater issues than anything else in the Report.

"Greater
Elasticity."

**The
Evangelical
Alliance.**

Special attention has been called to this valued organization by the letter of the Bishop of Durham and the presence of the Bishop of Exeter at the recent Convention at Plymouth. The purpose of the Alliance is to give expression to the true spiritual unity that exists among all Christians who adhere to the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel. Rightly, therefore, does it seek to exhibit rather than to create unity. Nor does it in any way interfere with the denominational liberty of its members, but in every way seeks to promote a spirit of union between all Evangelical Churches at home and abroad. Not the least important work of the Alliance has been its efforts on behalf of religious liberty—work in the case of those who in various countries have suffered persecution for conscience' sake. Its membership includes Christians of all Evangelical Churches, and what it is able to do is fully set forth in the following words of the Bishop of Durham :

“ Two opposite phenomena in the Christian world at the present moment seem to give special opportunity for its uniting, conciliating influence and its benignant activities—on one side a deepening longing for unity among all earnest Christians, a unity spiritual in its basis and visibly practical in its issues ; on the other side, a sorrowful unrest in many quarters about the very basis of the faith, and also some special controversies on practical Christian policy, endangering the manifestation of ‘ the family affection of Christianity.’ ”

Everything that makes for better understanding, closer fellowship, and more concerted action among “ all who profess and call themselves Christians ” is heartily to be welcomed, and the Evangelical Alliance is an organization of the greatest value and importance in this connection.

**The Church
and the
People.**

A very grave indictment was brought against our Church by the Bishop of Birmingham at the Church Congress. Here are his words :

“ We are not in touch with the mass of the labouring people. Is not this because we are the Church of the rich rather than of the poor—of capital rather than of labour? By this I mean that in the strata of society the Church works from above rather than from below. The opinions and the prejudices that are associated with its administration as a whole are the

opinions and the prejudices of the higher and higher middle classes rather than of the wage-earners."

Now, is this true? Sorrowfully we must confess that it is, and mainly for the very reason the Bishop alleges. We have worked, and are largely working still, "from above rather than from below." This is to reverse the order which has invariably been associated with blessing and success in Christian evangelization through the centuries. Dr. Gore rightly urges that the chief test of the vitality of a Church is its power among the poor, and that it is just here that our Church has failed. We may not, and many will not, be able to follow the Bishop in every suggestion of his proposed "way of return," for one of them, at least, is too far removed from the simplicity and power of New Testament Christianity to be effective. But we are grateful for the fearless statement of our failure and for the clear indication of the secret of it. Dr. Gore has given every Churchman food for earnest and prolonged thought, and we must return to the consideration of some of the suggested remedies. Meanwhile "from below," and not "from above," is the Apostolic method of work, and the surest guarantee of blessing.



The Higher Criticism of the New Testament.¹

BY THE REV. F. W. M. WOODWARD, M.A.

THE age in which we live has often been termed a critical age. We are not, indeed, to suppose that the critical faculty lay dormant, and the canons of criticism remained unknown till the middle of the nineteenth century. What is implied is that the methods of criticism have been applied with greater strictness, and that the discovery of fresh material has stimulated inquiry to a degree unknown before. Critical investigation, it should be remembered, is not in itself necessarily hostile to Christianity, and indeed has often proved a valuable

¹ Abbreviated from a paper read at the York Evangelical Union, June, 1906.

ally, throwing fresh light on dark places, and enabling us "both to keep our faith, and yet to see the reality of things." We must distinguish between criticism and criticism, between critics and critics, between the use and abuse of the instrument employed.

Now, part and parcel of this critical movement is the so-called higher criticism. In itself the term is vague and is used in various senses. Strictly and properly it is contrasted with textual criticism and historical criticism. As, however, the work of the textual critic is often in popular language ascribed to higher criticism, and indeed his work may be and is in some cases influenced thereby, and as, on the other hand, higher criticism is frequently taken to include historical criticism, the phrase "higher criticism" becomes practically synonymous with "modern criticism." It is my intention in this paper to use the term in its broader meaning, and, following in part the example set on a recent occasion by Professor Sanday :

1. To speak of the present trend of criticism—textual, literary, and speculative.

2. Then to point out certain important presuppositions affecting both the methods and results of inquiry.

3. In the last place to warn against certain dangers to which the critical process may expose us in approaching the New Testament.

I. The trend of modern criticism—textual, literary, and speculative.

1. Of textual criticism there is no need to speak at length. Such a Greek text as that which underlies the English Revised Version, or that contained in Westcott and Hort's edition, based on the great Greek Uncial MSS., takes us back at least to the end of the third century A.D. By the aid of versions such as the old Latin and the old Syriac, where these are extant, we can go back to the second century A.D. In some cases these versions may even give us a better reading than the great Greek MSS. However that may be, from these versions, the Greek Uncial MSS., and patristic quotations from the second

century onwards, we can draw converging lines in tracing the formation of the text very nearly to the autographs of the New Testament writers. We are practically certain that we know what was originally written. The history of the text of the New Testament is a sufficient answer to give to a school of criticism that shows signs of coming into vogue, relying largely on conjectural emendation. Such conjectures resting on little or no external evidence, disregarding the cumulative witness of the best textual tradition, and inferred from the supposed silence, perhaps, of a single patristic writer, are purely subjective, and really reflect presuppositions about the formulation of doctrine or the history of Christian institutions, either mistaken or without adequate foundation.

2. Literary criticism. Turning to literary criticism, we ask how far have the books of the New Testament stood the inquiry into their date and authorship and literary sources? They have come out of the furnace practically unharmed. The course of inquiry has been a reaction and a return to the Christian tradition that they are what they were believed to be—documents of the apostolic age. Writing in 1896, Professor Harnack thought that questions of literary criticism would diminish in importance, as it was come to be generally understood that the early Christian traditions were in the main right. The oldest literature of the Church, in its main points and most of its details, he considered to be veracious and trustworthy. On the whole, writes Dr. Sanday, Professor Harnack's forecast has held good. Since 1896, controversy has raged most fiercely round the Fourth Gospel; but, on the other hand, since that date there has been published a strong work defending its genuineness by Dr. Drummond, of Manchester College, Oxford. As a Unitarian, Dr. Drummond cannot be accused of bias in its favour.

It is something gained to know that the trend of criticism is towards the same result as was reached by the Church at the end of the second century. After all, the earlier Church was not so simple and credulous in accepting spurious documents

as was once thought possible. It did not suffer from "rabies pseudepigraphica." It is something gained to know that the "tendency" writing and the exaggerated scepticism of the times of Strauss and Baur may be relegated to the limbo of lost causes and impossible beliefs.

3. Speculative criticism. It is when we pass to the speculative phase of modern criticism that we are brought face to face with the disturbing forces that have caused so much anxiety and given rise to so much restlessness and unsettlement. As we have seen, the tendency of criticism sets towards a moderate position in literary questions affecting the age and authorship of the New Testament writings. Similarly in the examination of their subject-matter and its historical credibility, we feel that we are in an atmosphere of truth and reality. On such considerations as these the more conservative criticism lays stress, and we ought to insist on their significance. As Dr. Sanday has pointed out, there has been a very real reaction even in historical criticism. "The note of a higher sincerity runs through the teaching of our time. The broad basis, so to speak, of early Christian history is being more securely laid; extravagances are being pruned away, and erratic experiments dropped." Such a statement about the direction taken by investigation justifies us in demurring to any attempted reconstruction of the history of the Christian Society, or the Life of our Lord without the doctrine of His true Deity. "It is true," says Dr. Sanday, "that the latest critical writers abroad cut themselves adrift from the universal verdict of the Church and from traditional Christianity. In certain quarters, whilst a genuine sense of admiration, if nothing more, is felt for the Person of our Lord, yet His miraculous Birth and His miraculous Resurrection are rejected, and the orthodox doctrine of His Person is denied." The general position is summed up as being like that which we associate with the better Unitarianism.

At the same time it is well to recollect what is conceded. Whilst the real authority of St. Paul and St. John is impugned

and an attempt is made to build up a history on the basis of the first three Gospels, omitting the narratives of the Nativity and the Resurrection, yet the common matter of these Gospels remains. It is something that this has passed through the fire intact. Now in this common matter is found the belief that Jesus of Nazareth believed Himself to be the Messiah, and in a peculiar sense the Son of God. This is the irreducible minimum from which we can go forward, for, granted so much, we shall find that there is no key that will ever fit the lock of the problem, except the old belief that Jesus Christ really was and is what He claimed to be and was believed to be. It is but ingenious perversity to pick out, as Professor Schmiedel does, five passages about the life of Jesus, and four about the miracles, and to regard these nine negations as the foundation pillars of a truly scientific life of Jesus. Such passages merely show what Jesus Christ was not and would not do; they do not enable us to understand what He was and is, what He did and does still. They serve not to explain the history but to explain away His true Deity, and to involve in impenetrable darkness the origin of the theology of St. Paul and St. John, and the life and spiritual power of the Apostolic Church.

II. Presuppositions affecting both the methods and results of critical investigation.

The instance just quoted shows us that the battle has to be fought not merely on the ground of the available evidence, but in the region of critical presuppositions. No one, not even the modern "trained historical critic," approaches the evidence with a colourless mind, and the presuppositions involved may decide the inferences before any real examination of the evidence has been made. What, then, are the tacitly assumed principles against which we should be on our guard?

1. The first postulate is the validity of the argument from silence. In estimating the force of external testimony to a book or the character of a narrative, too much stress is often laid upon the silence of early writers, or the fact that narratives possessing the ring of genuine metal are omitted, where we

should expect to find them mentioned. To take an example, we should not have expected to find such parables as the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son mentioned by St. Luke only ; yet such is the fact. As Dr. Sanday has pointed out in his work on the Fourth Gospel, the critic does not always ask himself what is silent. What extent of material does the argument cover? Often the extant evidence is so scanty that no inference can be drawn from it. In illustration, Dr. Sanday quotes the work of Dr. Drummond on the character and authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Drummond is dealing with the common assumption that, because Justin Martyr quotes less freely from the Fourth Gospel than from the other three, therefore he must have ascribed to it a lower degree of authority. He says, "But why, then, it may be asked, has Justin not quoted the Fourth Gospel at least as often as the other three? I cannot tell, any more than I can tell why he has never named the supposed authors of his memoirs, or has mentioned only one of the parables, or made no reference to the Apostle Paul, or nowhere quoted the Apocalypse, though he believed it to be an apostolic and prophetic work. His silence may be due to pure accident, or the book may have seemed less adapted to his apologetic purposes ; but considering how many things there are about which he is silent, we cannot admit that the *argumentum e silentio* possesses in this case any validity. . . . It is not correct to say that a writer knows nothing of certain things simply because he had not occasion to refer to them in his only extant writing ; or even because he does not mention them when his subject would seem naturally to lead him to do so."

If we reflect how imposing an edifice may be raised out of the most flimsy critical materials, or recall the compressed nature of such a narrative as the first twelve chapters of the book of the Acts, or remember the confession in the Fourth Gospel of the many other signs that Jesus did, we must be very chary of saying, "This is not a genuine Dominical saying," or, "That is the reflection of later ecclesiastical practice." As Professor Sanday well says of Dr. Drummond's remarks, "This is one of

the most important and the most far-reaching of all the corrections of current practice."

2. The second principle is the elimination of miracles. No implied canon of criticism really cuts so deeply into the New Testament writings. Owing to the conception of law we derive from physical science, the tendency is to assume the impossibility of the miraculous, or, when the abstract possibility is admitted, to urge that it is practically incapable of proof, and a useless burden on belief. There are two lines of apology that we may take :

(i.) Even supposing the miraculous element were an accretion, the testimony of the writers is not thereby completely invalidated. Mr. Conybeare, a neutral witness in such a matter, in his "Monuments of Early Christianity" (p. 5), has truly said: "The real miracle would be if we should find a homely narrative emanating from Galilee in the first century to have originally contained no such elements. . . . In appraising the historical value of an early Christian document, we ought to condemn it, not in case it contain miraculous elements, but in case the sentiments and teachings put into the mouths of the actors and the actions attributed to them be foreign to their age and country, so far as of these we have any reliable knowledge. Here are the true touchstones of truth and genuineness." Thus far Mr. Conybeare. I need hardly remind you how well the New Testament writings stand these tests. The local colour and the character of the teaching exactly suit the period and the circumstances in the first century to which the Christian tradition assigns them.

(ii.) But we ought to take a much bolder line in defence of the miraculous element. It is in no sense a mere accretion that can be disentangled without loss from a supposed non-miraculous original. The miracles are the Gospel in action. Examine the Gospels, and in the first cycle of evangelic teaching represented by St. Mark, what do we find? Miracle is at its height, and the miracles are exercises of power that do not admit of any naturalistic interpretation. The original writers and witnesses undoubtedly believed that miracles happened, and when we turn

to St. Paul's Epistles and the Acts, it is clear that he and others believed that they had miraculous powers, and lived in an age of miracle. The powers that they possessed were not original but derived, and point back to the Supreme Manifestation of miracle, the Incarnate Lord. There is evidence that in the apostolic age there was not an imagination ready to ascribe miracle, as a matter of course, to any great teacher ; for it is expressly written of St. John the Baptist that he wrought no miracle, nor are miracles ascribed to our Lord prior to His public ministry. There is no need to question the testimony of the writers as a whole, unless we assume that the known order of Nature is a complete and final revelation of God's will, or deny the possibility of direct Divine action not to violate but to vindicate Nature's true order. The miracles are congruous with our Lord's Personality. "If the Incarnation was a fact, and Jesus Christ was what He claimed to be, His miracles, so far from being improbable, will appear the most natural thing in the world."

3. The discussion of the miraculous element in the New Testament leads to a third presupposition that lies behind many reconstructions of the New Testament. It is to approach the New Testament with the idea that primitive Christianity has been lost, or was represented by the sect of the Ebionites. On the assumption of the truth of an inadequate Christology, the attempt is made to explain Christianity without the Christ of the Gospels, of the Creeds, of history, and of experience. There is offered to us a merely human Christ, who came into the world as other men come, who was an admirable philanthropist and preacher, but nevertheless was the fallible child of His age, who was crucified and was dead and was buried, but never rose again in any intelligible sense of the words, and never appeared to His disciples, except in so far as subjective visions can be called appearances. It is on the basis of this Christology that the attempt is made to explain and re-orientate the Christian faith and the history of the Church. The attempt is foredoomed to fail. We cannot have Christianity without

Christ, nor Christ without Christianity. Great effects spring from great causes, and great causes produce great effects. If Christ had not been what He was believed to be, there would have been no day of Pentecost, nor any such conviction, energy, and power as we find in the narratives of the Acts and the Epistles. It is simple hallucination to suppose that a mere man, however praiseworthy and noble, could have produced such a spiritual earthquake.

This general position we may support by two lines of more special argument :

(i.) It is against the available evidence. Trace back the first three Gospels to the common matter, and you find there the same truly human but more than human Christ. The first three Gospels, to which the appeal is made, themselves witness that Jesus of Nazareth believed Himself to be, and was believed by His disciples to be, the Christ, the Son of God. There is no ground for the supposition that a naturalistic Christ was deified. We are worshippers not of a deified man, but of an Incarnate God. Whether we turn to the synoptic Gospels or to the fourth Gospel, or to the epistles of St. John and St. Paul, and of the writer to the Hebrews, the same unmistakable figure is enshrined in them all.

(ii.) And a second argument is that the rival hypothesis of a naturalistic Christ is inadequate. It explains neither the genesis nor the success of the supposed legend. For if the portrait is not drawn from life, it must be due to one or two causes : (a) Invention, or (b) the unconscious creative influence of myth. (a) To take the former, exaggerated importance is ascribed by some writers to St. Paul. He is regarded almost as the founder of Christianity, and the creator of Catholic Christology, whilst St. John is regarded as the chief of His disciples. There is, however, nothing in St. Paul's epistles to bear out the suggestion. He is far from being an innovator. He lays stress on the foundation already laid. He appeals to common preaching (1 Cor. xv. 11), and from the Epistle to the Galatians we certainly learn that, whatsoever points were in

debate between him and the Judaizing party, the doctrine of the Person of Christ was not in question. It is the union between St. Paul and the leading Apostles at Jerusalem, corroborated as it is by the common belief of the Apostolic Church, which assures us that Christianity was founded upon a Christ truly Divine. There is no reason to suppose that St. John is a disciple of St. Paul, and his Gospel, for which the value of eye-witness is claimed, really springs from the common belief of the Apostolic Church. (*b*) Nor, again, can this common belief be explained by the growth of a mythology. It is true that round the persons of great men, romance has entwined itself with singular rapidity. Nevertheless their characters are not affected thereby, and the very growth of legend witnesses to the greatness of their personality. The character of Jesus of Nazareth stands out distinctly, but whence do the evangelists, or the Early Church as a whole, get the photographic negative from which to strike off portraits of Christ, so unworldly and yet so human, so spiritual and yet so practical, so heavenly and yet so unlike the conventional Jewish piety of the time? Surely the easiest and the simplest hypothesis is that we have a portrait sketched by living witnesses soon after the events recorded.

Take which line of argument we will, the words of John Stuart Mill hold good, "It is of no use to say that Christ as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical. Who among their disciples or among their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of Galilee, certainly not St. Paul."

As we study these presuppositions, evidential, scientific, or theological, we find that, whilst they seem to claim that the New Testament is to be examined and treated like any other book, they tacitly substitute another premiss; that nothing different from the contents of any other book will come out of it as the result of investigation.

III. The chief dangers of critical study.

From this brief examination it ought to be clear where the

chief dangers are to be apprehended. We have nothing to fear from free and full inquiry, we need have no dread of new discoveries. Rather do we welcome them. The danger lies elsewhere, and is twofold. We may lose our sense of proportion, and we may live in an unwholesome atmosphere.

1. It is possible on the one hand to become so absorbed in the observation of seeming fissures and sutures in the narrative, so occupied with the examination of supposed minute discrepancies, so engrossed in weighing the probabilities of possible reconstruction, that the majesty of the central Figure in the New Testament is lost to our view. The purpose of the New Testament is before all things and above all things, to bring before us a picture of God in Christ Jesus, as the God of redeeming grace, and to exhibit the relations He has established in Christ Jesus by His Holy Spirit, between Himself on the one side and the individual believer and the Christian society on the other. To behold this picture is far more important than to turn aside and discuss the material on which it has been drawn, the mode by which it has been produced, or the character of the frame in which it has been set. Because a supreme revelation has been given in Christ Jesus, it is incumbent upon us to consider, first of all, the greatness of His Person and work. For this purpose, it seems, Divine Providence caused and guided the formation of the New Testament. It is, therefore, more to us than a true historical record. It is more than a book of edification. It is in vital and organic union with the revelation given in Christ Jesus, for thereby that revelation has been perpetuated and made universal. Thereby the living and reigning Christ speaks and works by His Spirit here and now. For this reason it is to us an inspired book, and speaks with the authority and power of the voice of God Himself.

2. Again, there is the danger of dwelling in an unhealthy atmosphere. The New Testament is, as Christian instinct has felt, an inspired book. It must be used and studied in the spirit in which it was written. Now in critical study there is a very real danger of allowing the Gospel to be sublimated into intel-

lectualism. We may become so absorbed in intellectual problems, or mental difficulties, that we may overlook the primary appeal to the heart, the conscience, and the will. The New Testament is not to be reduced to the level of an antiquarian puzzle for the historian. We may not volatilize it into a philosophy for metaphysicians. We cannot resolve it into a treatise on ethics for the moralist. We cannot even transform it into a text-book of doctrine for theologians. It implies these things, but it contains far more, and is far more. It offers us a present religion, not a mere reminiscence of the past. It guarantees a new power for holiness of life. It is a gospel of grace for sinners. Above all, it is the revelation of a living Lord. These are the powers wherewith it has been endowed by the Spirit of God. These are the promises that the same Holy Spirit can thereby make our sure possession. These no criticism can give, and these, thank God, no criticism can ever destroy. There is much that may perplex, much that may provoke, much that may sadden in current criticism and prevalent modes of thought. We rise from the study of some modern criticism very much with the feelings that Canon Ainger expressed on reading a volume of modern sermons :

“ With eager knife that oft has sliced
At Gentile gloss or Jewish fable,
Before the crowd you lay the Christ
Upon the lecture table.

“ From bondage to the old beliefs
You say our rescue must begin ;
But I want rescue from my griefs,
And saving from my sin.

“ The strong, the easy, and the glad
Hang, blandly listening on thy word ;
But I am sick and I am sad,
And I need *Thee*, O Lord.”

This is the spirit in which we should approach the New Testament, and, if we so approach it, we shall never be disappointed. Deep down in the heart of man there is a thirst for God, yea, even for the living God, and across the ages, from the heaven of heavens, there still sounds in the New Testament a

voice really human and truly divine, with the same loving accent as of old, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," and again, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."



Hasisatra and Noah.

A "CRITICAL" ASSERTION CRITICISED.

BY THE REV. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, D.D.

"There has . . . been discovered [in the Cuneiform tablets] an account of the Deluge very similar to the one we have in Genesis. . . . What is the inference from all this? Surely this—that these legends were derived from a Babylonian or Accadian source."

"That the early Hebrews derived the story [of the Deluge] from Babylonia . . . may be considered a practical certainty."

THESE are two passages taken from two different books recently published which profess to state the "proved results" of Higher Critical investigations. Their authors are themselves Higher Critics, and they agree in asserting in the most clear and decisive manner, as will be seen, that the Biblical account of the Flood is borrowed directly from the Babylonian. The ground on which the assertion is professedly based is the alleged *great similarity* between the Hebrew narrative in Genesis and the Babylonian story known to us from the Deluge episode in the eleventh book of the "Epic of Gilgamêsh," and also in part from Bêrôssos. Our object in this article is to test this conclusion of the Higher Critics. We approach the subject from a purely critical and literary point of view, entirely setting aside all theological questions.

To enable our readers to estimate for themselves the degree of resemblance which exists between the Babylonian account and the Hebrew, it is necessary to quote the former, as related

by Šit-Napishtim or Ḥasisatra, the hero of the Deluge, to Gilgamêsh. It runs thus :¹

“Šit-Napishtim² then said to him, to Gilgamêsh: ‘I shall disclose to thee, O Gilgamêsh, the account of the mystery, and I shall tell thee the oracle of the gods. The city Shurippak, the city which thou knowest, is built on the bank of the Euphrates. That city was ancient, and the gods within it did their hearts impel to produce a cyclone³—the great gods, as many as there were: Anu their father; the hero Bel their ruler; their throne-bearer⁴ Adar;⁵ their prince En-nu-gi. The lord of the bright eye, Êa, spake with them, and repeated their word to the forest,⁶ (saying): ‘Forest, forest, town, town: forest hear, and town understand. O Shurippakite, son of Ubara-Tutu, destroy the house, build a ship, leave what thou hast, see to (thy) life: collect seed and preserve life alive. Bring up into the midst of the ship the seed of life of all sorts. As for the ship which thou shalt build, . . . let her proportions be measured, let her width and her breadth match (each other), . . . and the abyss, deck her.’ I knew, and I said to Êa my lord: . . . ‘My lord, as thou sayest, so will I do. What shall I answer to the city, the youth and the elders?’ Êa opened his mouth, he spake, he said to me his servant: ‘[Thus] shalt thou speak to them, It hath been said to me that Bel hateth me: I will not dwell, . . . and within Bel’s territory I will not set my face. I shall descend to the deep; with my lord will I dwell.’”

In the broken lines which follow Ḥasisatra assures Êa that no one had ever before built a ship on dry land,⁷ but he is again directed to do so. The fragmentary second column of the tablet evidently contained exact particulars as to the measurements of the vessel and the arrangement of its several parts. Ḥasisatra laid in an abundant supply of food and wine for the crew, and cut cable holes. The story then continues thus:

“‘Whatever I had I gathered it; whatever I had of silver I gathered it together; whatever I had of gold I gathered it together; whatever I had of the seed of life of all kinds I gathered it together. I caused all my family and my relations to embark in the ship. The cattle of the plain, the animals of the plain, the sons of the artisans, all of them did I cause to embark.’”

¹ My version is made from the Cuneiform text, printed in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, vol. iii., part ii., and vol. iv., part i. The “Epic of Gilgamêsh” was written by Šin-liqi-unnini, possibly a contemporary of Abraham (*vide* Sayce, “Religion of Egypt and Babylonia,” p. 423).

² The first ideograph in this name may be read variously. The name means “Sprout (or Sun) of Life.”

³ *ÂPÛPU* or *ÂBÛBU*. Cf. *Æg. APEP*.

⁴ This word *may* have this meaning.

⁵ Otherwise read “Nin-ip.”

⁶ This and the next few words are of very doubtful signification.

⁷ Some hold that this fragment belongs to a different version of the legend.

Then Êa said to him :

“The sun-god will appoint a fixed time, and the lightener¹ of the darkness in the evening shall cause the skies to rain down masses. Enter thou into the midst of the ship and bolt thy door.”

“That fixed time drew nigh. The lightener of the darkness in the evening caused the skies to rain down masses. Of the day I beheld the appearance, I felt awe upon seeing the day. I entered into the midst of the ship and bolted my door. For the steering of the ship, to Buzur Shad-rabi,² the pilot, I gave over the palace³ with its contents.

“At the shining forth of something of dawn, then from the horizon of the heaven there rose a dark cloud. Rimmon thundered in the midst of it, and Nebo and Merodach marched in front. The throne-bearers marched over mountain and land. Urra-gal drags forth the cables. Adar marches; he brings down ruin. The Anunnaki (gods of the earth) raised the torches; with their brightness they lit up the land.⁴ Rimmon’s ragings reached the skies; they turned everything bright into darkness. . . . Brother saw not his brother; men were not known. In heaven the gods feared the cyclone and withdrew; they went up to Anu’s heaven. The gods crouched down like dogs; they camped on the walls. Ishtar wailed with a loud voice.⁵ Ishtar the well-voiced proclaimed: ‘This people has returned to clay because I spake evil in the presence of the gods: for I spake evil in the presence of the gods. To the destruction of my men I spake strife, and, indeed, I bore a people, and it is not.⁶ Like the sons of fishes, it fills the sea.’ The gods weep with her for the Anunnaki. The gods humbled themselves, sitting weeping; their lips were covered in all the assemblies. Six days and nights the wind marches on; cyclone and tempest overpower the land. The seventh day, on its arrival the tempest breaks up, the cyclone, the strife, which had fought like an army.⁷ The sea rested, it retired,⁸ and the evil wind, the

¹ *I.e.*, the Sun-god (*cf.* Skt. *doshâ-vastri*, with the same meaning).

² “The secret of the god of the great mountain.” Bêrössos, too, mentions the pilot.

³ *I.e.*, the vessel.

⁴ This must refer to the flashing of lightning.

⁵ Another reading has, “like a mother.”

⁶ Or, “where is it?”

⁷ Others render, “like a whirlwind.”

⁸ With this compare Pindar’s account of the falling of the water. The whole passage runs thus :

Φέροις δὲ Πρωτογενείας
 ἄσται γλῶσσαν, ἴν', αἰολοβρόντα Διὸς αἴσα,
 Πύρρα Δευκαλίων τε, Παρνασοῦ καταβάντε,
 δόμον ἔθεντο πρῶτον· ἄτερ δ' εὐνῶς ὁμόδαμον
 κτησάσθαι λίθινον γόνον·
 λαοὶ δ' ὀνόμασθην. . . .

. . . λέγοντι μὲν
 χθόνα μὲν κατακλύσαι μέλαιναν
 ὕδατος σθένης· ἀλλὰ
 Ζηνὸς τέχναις ἀνάπτωτιν ἐξαίφνης
 ἄντλον ἐλείν

(“Olymp.,” ix. 64-79, ed. Weise).

cyclone, ended. I beheld the sea uttering (its) voice, and all mankind had returned to clay. The forest had become like unto the desert.¹ I opened the window, and the light fell upon my face. I fell down; I sat weeping; over my face went my tears. I beheld the regions, the shore, the sea; unto twelve did the district rise. At the land of Nišir² the ship stood still. The mountain of the land of Nišir caught the ship and permitted it not to be lifted up. One day, two days, the mountain of Nišir, *do., do.* Three days, four days, the mountain of Nišir, *do., do.* Five days, six days, the mountain of Nišir, *do., do.* The seventh day, on its arrival then I caused a dove (?)³ to go forth: it left; the dove went; it returned; a standing-place there was not, and it turned back. Then I caused a swallow to go forth: it left; the swallow went; it returned; and a standing-place there was not, and it turned back. Then I caused a raven⁴ to go forth: it left; the raven went and saw the drying up of the waters, and it eats, it wades, it croaks, it turned not back. Then I caused to go forth to the four winds; I offered sacrifices. I made a libation on the top of the summit of the mountain. Seven and seven libation-vessels did I set up; below them I poured out cane, cedar, and rosewood (?). The gods inhaled the odour, the gods inhaled the good odour, the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer. Ishtar, on her arrival from afar, raised the great signets which Anu had made as her adornment, (saying): 'By the lapis-lazuli stones of my neck, let me not forget these gods; I shall remember these days for ever: I shall not forget. Let the gods come to the libation. Bel will not come to the libation because he did not consider, and made a cyclone, and he has numbered my men unto destruction.'

"Then, on his arrival from afar, Bel saw the ship. Bel became angry; he was filled with wrath against the gods, the Igigi (spirits of heaven). (He said): 'What life has escaped? No man shall live in the destruction.' Adar opened his mouth and spake, he said to the hero Bel: 'Who but Êa has done the thing? And Êa, too, knoweth every matter.' Êa opened his mouth; he spake, he said to the hero Bel: 'Thou art the leader of the gods, O hero! Why, why didst thou not consider and didst make a cyclone? On the sinner lay his sin; on the evildoer lay his evil deed. Release him,⁵ let him not be destroyed; yield, let him not be destroyed. Instead of thy making a cyclone, let a lion come and diminish men. Instead of thy making a cyclone, let a leopard come and diminish men. Instead of thy making a cyclone, let there occur a famine, and let the land be desolated. Instead of thy making a cyclone, let Urra (god of pestilence) come, and let him destroy men. I did not divulge the oracle of the great gods. I caused a dream to fly to Ḥasisatra, and he heard the oracle of the gods.

" 'And now do ye take counsel.'

" Then Bel came up into the midst of the ship. He took my hand and

¹ Rendering doubtful.

² Bêrôssos says in Armenia, but wrongly, as will be pointed out later.

³ Sum. TU-KHU, Ass. *summatu*.

⁴ Bêrôssos merely mentions that "some birds" were sent forth. He does not specify number or kind.

⁵ *I.e.*, Ḥasisatra.

raised me up; he raised up, he caused my wife to bow down beside me; he turned our faces and stood between us; he showed favour unto us, (saying): 'Formerly Šit-Napishtim was a man: and now let Šit-Napishtim and his wife be like the gods, even us; and let Šit-Napishtim be a dweller in the distance at the mouth of the streams.' Then they took me and made me to dwell in the distance at the mouth of the streams."

The general resemblance between the two accounts is obvious. Yet the *differences* are very considerable indeed, and *these also* should be taken into consideration if we wish to form a correct and unprejudiced opinion upon the question whether one narrative is derived from the other. This we now proceed to do.

The greatest difference of all undoubtedly is that in the Hebrew account we have pure monotheism, whereas in the Babylonian legend the polytheism is completely undisguised. The gods meet in council, and resolve upon producing a destructive cyclone; but one of them, Êa, gives timely warning to Ḥasisatra. The cyclone was so terrific that it frightened even the gods themselves, and they joined the goddess Ishtar in weeping. One of their number, Bel, is furious on discovering that some human beings have escaped destruction, but he is ultimately pacified. All the gods "gather like flies over the sacrificer."

This difference may seem slight unless we realize the fact that the chasm between the conception of "God" the Creator and that of "the gods" is so vast that *no nation of antiquity was ever able to attain to the former conception except the Hebrews.*

Ḥasisatra builds a "ship" (*êlappu*) so large and commodious that he speaks of it as a "palace" (*êkalu*). He takes with him a pilot, his own family and relations (their names are not given), and a large number of people, of a different rank apparently. He not only lays in a supply of food and wine, but he also loads the vessel with treasures of gold and silver. He remonstrates against the command to build the ship on dry land, fearing to be scoffed at, and is told to make an excuse and declare that he is fleeing from one god's province to that of another.

Noah, on the other hand, builds an "ark" (*tēbāh*, תֵּבָה). The word used is not Assyrian, Babylonian, or Accadian, but *Egyptian* (*tēb-t*). It is in the latter language applied to coffers, chests, and even coffins,¹ but it has not been found in Babylonian. The use of the word would lead us to suppose that the Hebrew narrative assumed its present form in the land of the Nile. Noah took with him none but his own family; his three sons are named. No mention whatever is made of *treasures*.

The scene of the Flood in the one case is Babylonia, the city of Shurippak on the Euphrates being especially mentioned. Hasisatra is a native of that city, and resident there. The "ship" is ultimately stranded on Mount Nišir, which is mentioned in one of Asshur-našir-pal's inscriptions as lying between the Tigris and the Lower Zab. In the Hebrew account, on the other hand, the ark rests "on one of the mountains of *Ararat*"²—*i.e.*, Armenia. The mention of the "olive leaf" confirms the inference that the catastrophe occurred in that country, for the olive in ancient times abounded in Armenia,³ as it still does along the south of the Caspian,⁴ whereas it was unknown in Babylonia in early days, and is therefore not mentioned in the Babylonian narrative.

The birds sent out differ somewhat in the two accounts. The Hebrew speaks of the raven and the dove; the Babylonian of the raven, the swallow, and a third bird, which *may* be a dove and *may* be a quail. The name of this bird is *summatu*⁵ in Semitic Babylonian (TU-KHU in Accadian), and this has not

¹ Probably also to a kind of boat used on the Nile.

² In all other narratives of the Flood—as, for instance, in the Babylonian—a mountain in or near the country in which the narrators live is named. But the Hebrew account, naming no special mountain, mentions that the one on which the ark rested was in a distant country—Armenia. This is a reason for concluding, not only that the account in Genesis is not borrowed from Babylon, but also that it did not arise in *Palestinian* tradition.

³ Strabo, Lib. XI.

⁴ To this I can testify from personal observation.

⁵ *Vide* Muss-Arnolt's "Assyrian Dict.," *s.v.* Hommel compares the Egyptian *semen*, "goose"; and in Arabic we have *sumanatum* and *sumāna*, "quail," *summatu* standing for *sumnatu*. In Arabic *samām* also occurs as the name of a species of swallow.

the slightest resemblance to the word *yônâh* used in Hebrew. In fact, the only reason for supposing that *summatu* means a dove seems to be that it occurs here, and therefore "ought" to have that meaning in order to make the resemblance between the two accounts appear greater than it otherwise would.

In the Babylonian story the duration of the Flood is limited to a fortnight; in the Hebrew it lasts in all a year and ten days.¹

The Hebrew text speaks of "a flood of waters" (*mabbul mayim*), the Babylonian of a "cyclone" or storm (*âpûpu*). This latter word is also used in the Creation tablets, in the narrative of the fight between Merodach and Tiâmat, where it is spoken of as his chief weapon against her, and the way in which it is employed proves that it means "storm" rather than "flood." This translation is supported, too, by the vivid description of the raging of the elements and the flashes of lightning. Of course the storm produced a flood, but yet in this matter there is a marked difference between the two accounts. It is noteworthy that in Arabia and Persia to the present day people speak of the *tûfân* (طوفان, typhoon), or "storm," of Noah, not of Noah's "flood," as we do.

The Babylonian text makes no mention of the distinction between clean and unclean animals, which is again and again insisted on in the Hebrew.

In the Hebrew account it is clearly and repeatedly stated that sin was the cause of the Deluge; in the Babylonian this is implied, but not plainly affirmed.

The incidents of the rainbow and the Divine promise do not occur in the Babylonian text, the former being represented, if at all, only by Ishtar's lapis-lazuli necklace and her signets, and the latter by Êa's advice to Bel to punish men by sending wild beasts and pestilence instead of a cyclone.

Hasisatra is finally removed by Bel to "dwell in the distance at the mouth of the streams," where he and his wife are made like the gods. Noah, on the other hand, remains with his family and resumes his life on earth.

¹ Gen. vii. 11, viii. 14.

These are some of the most important differences between the Babylonian and the Hebrew accounts of the Deluge. On the supposition that the latter was derived from the former, how is the occurrence of these differences to be accounted for?

It may, of course, be asserted that doubtless the Hebrew writer or compiler did not borrow directly from the "Epic of Gilgamêsh," but from some simpler form of the legend. At first sight this theory appears plausible, because it to some extent obviates the difficulty presented by the self-evident fact that the Hebrew narrative is simpler and less ornate than the "Epic," and therefore seems to give the tale in an *earlier* and less fully elaborated form. The version that represents the hero of the Deluge as building a "ship," answering the scoffs of those who laughed at him for doing so on dry land, and not only employing a "pilot," but actually carrying off treasures of gold and silver in the vessel, does certainly seem later than the unvarnished tale of the "Ark" given in Genesis. Doubtless, also, some simpler and more ancient tradition did at one time exist in Babylon, and upon it the "Epic" was based. But we have *no proof whatever* that this supposed earlier account differed from that given in the "Epic" in the particulars in which the Hebrew account contradicts the latter. Bêrôssos' narrative agrees more closely with the "Epic" than with the Hebrew text. If critics base their argument on the *hypothesis* that the Hebrew writer had at his disposal an earlier and simpler Babylonian form of the tradition than that found in the "Epic," then this is at once a *petitio principii*, and a confession that, whatever the source of the Hebrew account may have been, it was *not* the "Epic," nor was it Bêrôssos. But these are the only *known* authorities upon which our information about the Babylonian tradition rests. There is clearly a link missing in the Higher Critical chain of reasoning. The search for the "missing link" always excites keen interest in investigators, but to assert that, because the link cannot be found, therefore the chain is complete, is logic of a kind not indeed unprecedented in our own day, but

none the less certainly unworthy of reasonable and unprejudiced scholars.

But let us for a moment suppose that the Hebrew narrative *is* borrowed from Babylon. When then did this take place? The "Epic of Gilgamêsh" was known in Palestine (as we learn from the Tell-el-Amarna tablets) at least as early as the time of Moses, having been composed hundreds of years earlier still. If the Hebrew account in Genesis was compiled some hundreds of years *later* than Moses' time (as the Critics assert), how did the compiler (or compilers) gain access to the supposed *antique* form of the Babylonian tradition? Are we to imagine that the Hebrews learnt the story from the "Epic," and then, handing it down orally for many centuries, insensibly simplified it until it became practically identical with the *supposed* original Babylonian form, of which we have no knowledge? Stories handed down orally generation after generation usually become more marvellous and complicated as time goes on. But perhaps *this* particular one is the exception that proves the rule!

One great difficulty in accepting the Higher Critical assertion which we are considering in this article is that, according to it, whereas almost all other nations, savage or civilized, ancient or modern, have preserved each their own tradition of the Flood, the Hebrews alone among the peoples of antiquity were so completely devoid of any such tradition that they were glad, at a comparatively late period¹ of their history, to borrow it from their heathen enemies and oppressors, the Babylonians. This theory is one which appears contrary both to reason and to our experience of other nations. It *may* be capable of being proved correct, but I confess that I have never yet read any such proof, though doubtless we have all met with reiterated *assertions* instead. But it has never yet been decided how many assertions are equivalent to a single proof.

When not only the Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Hindûs, but even the Scandinavians, the Mexicans, and the Polynesians

¹ "J" is asserted to have been composed in Southern Palestine about 650 B.C., and "P" in Babylonia about 500 B.C.

preserved each their own version of the momentous event, is it credible that the Hebrews should have failed to do so, and have, therefore, been compelled to resort to the Gentiles for instruction on the subject? If the Jews *had* a tradition of the Deluge, it must either be the Biblical one, or it must be some other which has perished and left not a trace behind in all Hebrew literature. If it was the *same* as that now given in Genesis, what room is there for the theory that the "source" of the latter is found in the Gilgamêsh "Epic"? If it was *other* than the Biblical narrative, how can we account for its being dropped and the Babylonian one adopted instead? though we have already seen that this was *not* done, since the account in Genesis differs in so many particulars from the only known forms of the latter.

The Higher Critical conclusions on this subject cannot, therefore, be safely stated in the manner in which they are quoted at the head of this article. Perhaps the proper way to formulate them would be this: "It is clear that the account in Genesis is borrowed from the earliest Babylonian form of the Deluge story, which form differed considerably from that given in Bêrôssos and in the 'Epic of Gilgamêsh,' and has perished so completely that we find it nowhere but in Genesis, where it has replaced the original Hebrew tradition, with which it coincided in all particulars." In this form the theory would, at least, put us in mind of the way in which Mr. Gladstone jestingly stated the conclusions drawn from a careful examination of the evidence for and against Wolf's theory which denied the Homeric origin of one of the great epics of ancient Hellas: "The 'Iliad' was not written by Homer, but by another man who lived at the same time and bore the same name."

It has been known ever since Bêrôssos' time that the resemblance between the Babylonian account of the Flood and that given in Genesis is comparatively great—greater, for instance, than in the case of the Greek legends of Deucalion's¹ flood and that of Ogyges.² If we accept the Biblical account as

¹ Pindar, "Olymp.," ix. 64-79; Apollodorus, "Bibliotheca," I., vii. 2, 3; Lucian, "Tim.," 3, and "De Dea Syra," cap. xii. *et seq.*

² N. Dionysius, iii., p. 96.

true, this is very easily accounted for, since it was to Babylonia that men first returned after the Deluge. But the Higher Critical theory is founded upon certain self-evident coincidences between the narrative in Genesis and that given in the "Epic of Gilgamêsh." Now, coincidences are strange and very interesting things, but they may easily lead us astray. It is remarkable that some details found in the Biblical account and *not* in the Babylonian occur again in the Greek and other legends. For example, the Greek tale tells us that Deucalion was saved in an *ark* (ἀρκαξ and κιβώριον, Lucian), not in a *ship*. One of the Sanskrit accounts¹ mentions *eight* persons (Manu and the seven R̥ishis) as saved, thus agreeing with the Biblical account as far as the number is concerned, though every form of the Sanskrit legend speaks of a *ship*, in accordance with the Babylonian. The Fijian² tradition also states that *eight* persons were saved. The Mechoachan deluge myth tells us that Tezpi sent out several birds to see whether the water was subsiding or not, and one of these, the humming-bird, returned with a branch covered with leaves.³ The "Edda" informs us that the Flood was of *blood*,⁴ not of water, and flowed from the veins of the slain giant Ymir. All the Frost-giants were drowned except Bergelmir and his wife, who escaped "on his bench" (*i.e.*, in a boat). Strange as this myth sounds, not only does it agree with the Greek tale as to the number of people saved (Deucalion and Pyrrha), but also in regard to the gruesome liquid of which the Flood was composed it exactly coincides with the ancient Egyptian legend of the Destruction of Mankind found in the tomb of Seti I.⁵ But such coincidences as these, which might be indefinitely multiplied, do not prove that the Scandinavians

¹ That in the "Mahābhārata" (*Matsyopākhyānam* episode). The earliest form is that in the "Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa" (eighth Adhyāya, first Brāhmaṇa, §§ 1-11); and perhaps the latest in the "Bhagavata-Purāṇa," viii. 24.

² Calvert's "Fiji and Fijians," cap. vii.

³ Humbolt.

⁴ "Prose Edda," "Gylfaginning," cap. vii., and "Vafthr.," 35.

⁵ In studying this Egyptian document, which is in a somewhat injured condition, I find no mention that anyone escaped from the wrath of the goddess Hathor.

learnt from the Egyptians, and that the Mexicans borrowed from the Hebrews. Nor are we justified by similar coincidences, in defiance of points of contrast, in accepting the assertions of the Higher Critics, and asserting on their authority that the narrative of the Noachian Deluge had its source in Babylonia. It would be more plausible to imagine that the Sanskrit versions of the tale were derived from Chaldæa. The two earliest Sanskrit forms of the story agree with the Babylonian in mentioning a *ship* (*naus*) provided with *cables*, in the command given by a deity to Manu to *build* it and enter it, in the *warning* of the coming flood (given *seven days beforehand* in a later account), in the mention of the great *winds* that raged over the waters, in the statement that sacrificial *libations* (and not burnt-offerings—*ôlôth*—as in the Bible) were offered on coming out of the ship, and in the gaining of *Divine favour* thereby. The “great fish” of the Indian tale might be held to represent the Babylonian fish-god Êa (Ôannês). Such a theory would, of course, be wrecked on other grounds, just as was Sir W. Jones’ idea that the Biblical narrative of the Flood was borrowed from the Sanskrit. Doubtless the Babylonian theory, which has succeeded the latter, will share the same fate.

It does not lie within the scope of this article to attempt to account for such coincidences as we have mentioned, but their occurrence should make us chary of dogmatizing on such uncertain evidence. Yet there is one coincidence which is so striking that we are almost forced to come to some conclusion about it. As is well known, there is absolutely no event in the past history of the world regarding the occurrence of which we have such a mass of unanimous and unmistakable tradition preserved by almost all nations as we have about the Deluge. No two versions of the tale agree in their details, but the force of the evidence is thereby strengthened. The result is to lead us to conclude, in the words of Sir Henry Howorth—a witness by no means prejudiced in favour of Genesis—that the evidence (palæontological as well as traditional) points to the occurrence of “a widespread calamity, involving a flood on a great scale.

I do not see how the historian, the archæologist, and the palæontologist can avoid making this conclusion in future a prime factor in their discussions, and I venture to think that before long it will be accepted as unanswerable.”¹

This being so, we are led to regard the narrative (or narratives) in Genesis as, to take the very lowest view, the genuine ancient Hebrew tradition about the Flood, and quite as independent of the Babylonian as the latter is of the Indian or the Mechoachan. In any case, whether this view be correct or not, we venture to conclude that the derivation of the Noachian Deluge narrative from the Babylonian has certainly not yet been *proved*, and should not therefore be *assumed* or *asserted*, as it now so frequently is.



Hilary of Poitiers.

By Miss M. E. AMES.

THE esteem generally entertained for the Patristic writings has not more obviously erred in ascribing undue honour to some than in evincing a lack of appreciation of others of the earlier Fathers; and as one whose claims to our gratitude and reverence have thus met with a wholly disproportionate response, we unhesitatingly instance the subject of this present sketch, Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. While the fame of his friend and pupil Martin of Tours has transcended the limits of human reverence, we are assured by Isaac August Dorner that the merits of Hilary, his father in the faith, have never been appreciated—a circumstance that is all the more remarkable from the fact that, while the sources from which the history of the founder of monachism has been drawn are universally admitted to be more or less unreliable, the Bishop of Poitiers has interwoven so much of his own personal experience into his various writings that Dom Constant has furnished us

¹ “The Mammoth and the Flood,” p. 463.

with a Life which renders us independent of the superstitious anecdote of Fortunatus. It is, however, in his preface to his great controversial work "De Trinitate" that Hilary unfolds to us the very secrets of his inner being, and invites us to enter, as it were, into the sacred arena of conscience, and to witness the birth-throes of a young and ardent nature, as it bursts asunder the bands of pagan darkness, and soars, with outspread wings, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. And here we would entreat attention to the indisputable fact that the doctrine which claimed Hilary's entire allegiance, and to which he tenaciously clung from the moment of his conversion throughout his whole career, was "justification by faith," and "faith only." We venture thus to emphasize the importance of this statement, because there can exist but little doubt that herein lay the primary cause of the waning influence of one of the most illustrious of the early Post-Nicene Fathers, whom every eminent theologian from Jerome to Peter Damien had delighted to honour—a conclusion emphasized by the fact that the Basle edition of Hilary (dated 1556), formerly revised by Erasmus, to be seen in the British Museum, contains eleven original erasures by the hands of the Inquisitors, besides an attempt to obliterate the name of Erasmus from the title-page. While in some instances the references themselves are entirely obscured, the pagination is still traceable, and a brief glance at the passages thus indicated will convince the reader that they contain in their absolute loyalty to Scripture a *primâ facie* reason for this effort at elimination by the Church of Leo X. and Julian II.

Moreover, as at this period the celibacy of the clergy had been universally enforced in the Latin Church, and asceticism had become to be regarded as the crowning virtue to which all were encouraged to aspire, the fact that Hilary led a naturally simple family life with the wife and daughter so dear to him, and from whom only an enforced banishment could separate him, was so entirely at variance with the narrow conception of medieval theology, that the high estimation which had formerly

procured for this noble champion of the Nicene faith the title of the "Athanasius of the West" was allowed to fade gradually into oblivion, while the thunders of Trent and the creed of Pius IV. silenced for the time at least the last lingering echoes of that revered voice.

But for us, as members of a historic Church, with her foundations striking deep into the rock of revealed truth, and encircled by the impregnable battlements of her Creeds and Articles, the whole range of ancient ecclesiastical records does not contain a more perfect type of the ideal clergyman of our own day than Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. Nay, further, it is hardly too much to say that had this "blameless" man of God, "the husband of one wife, sober, grave, given to hospitality, apt to teach, ruling his own household well, having his children in subjection with all gravity," lived three centuries earlier, he might almost have furnished the model for that beautiful portrait of the Christian Bishop traced by the aged hand of the great Apostle.

Concerning the personal history of Hilary, we possess many interesting and authentic details. We learn he was born about the year 320, that his father's name was Francarius, a man of noble family, distinguished not only for their patrician birth, but for the nobility and generosity of their nature, all of which we are able to read between the lines, as it were, in Hilary's account of his own conversion already alluded to. He appears to have married early in life, and it is generally supposed that his wife was instrumental in leading her husband into the glorious faith she had herself for many years embraced. They had one child only, the beautiful Abra, who appears to have been as richly endowed with inner as with outward graces. A very pleasing testimony to Hilary's abiding love and fidelity to both wife and daughter exists in the tender letter written to the latter from his place of exile. A noble suitor had desired to present this maiden of his choice with gifts of rare apparel and priceless gems, and the young girl had evidently written to her father to solicit his consent before accepting them. Hilary,

whose one profound desire for his little daughter was that she should live uncontaminated by the world and its allurements, wished to urge upon her, by way of allegory, the far more transcendent beauty of the Lord and the exceeding riches of His spiritual gifts. The epistle concludes with the parental advice: "If on account of thy tender years" (she was only thirteen) "thou art not able to understand my letter and hymn, ask thy mother, who prays to God that He will bring thee up in His ways." Beside this simple testimony to Hilary's respect and confidence regarding his wife, whom even Dom Constant declares to have been "a worthy spouse," the letter contains in itself a refutation of many of the foolish fictions which superstition has endeavoured to weave around his history. The story that the impending betrothal of his daughter was supernaturally revealed to him is entirely destroyed by his opening words: "I have received thy letter," etc.; and the still more absurd fable that Hilary "obtained the death of his daughter by his prayers" is equally nullified by his closing petition, immediately following his advice regarding her mother, quoted above: "I pray that God will keep thee here and in eternity." So happy appears to have been the domestic life of Hilary that it is not surprising to learn from Grynæus that he encouraged marriage among his clergy, a "temerity" which Dom Constant laughs to scorn as against the teaching of the Church, in happy oblivion of the fact that the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of St. Patrick, supposed to be the nephew of his friend and pupil Martin of Tours, were all married clergymen.

Hilary appears to have been raised to the Episcopate about the year 350. As had frequently been the case with other great leaders of the Church, he was evidently consecrated when merely a layman by a plebiscite of the Pictavians, and his zeal and learning became so speedily and universally recognised that only a brief period elapsed before he was chosen by all the Gallic Churches to be their champion against the Arian heresy. The exact period of his first acquaintance with Martin is not

known, but as the young soldier appears to have been attracted to Hilary by the fame of his preaching, and in consequence came to visit him in his home, their earliest meeting cannot have taken place very long after the Bishop's consecration, from the added circumstance that within five years from that event, when he was driven into exile by the edict of the Arian Emperor Constantius, given at the Council of Biterra, Martin had retired from the army, had been instructed in the Christian faith by Hilary, had been baptized by him, and had also received the ordination of deacon at his hands. And that all these events happened before the banishment into Phrygia is clearly evident from the fact that it was to the care of his friend and pupil Martin that Hilary entrusted the charge of his family and flock during his absence. This responsibility must have been greatly increased by the circumstance that, in the untiring energy of his nature, the Bishop had already founded schools in his diocese for the free education of his people, and the maintenance of these must have formed no light addition to the usual duties of pastoral ministrations, which signified in the case of Hilary that he gave himself to his people. In the multitudinous extra-diocesan duties which devolved upon him his care for and work among his flock seems never to have faltered, and even in his exile he appears to have kept in some degree in touch with them; for in a passage in "De Trinitate," which was written during that painful time, he speaks of his duties as still those of a Bishop and preacher of the Gospel.

His exile in Phrygia appears to have lasted for about three or four years. He was met upon his return by his wife and daughter, accompanied by his faithful friend Martin. His people welcomed their Bishop's arrival once more into their midst by every possible demonstration of affection and delight; but their mutual happiness was doomed to be speedily overshadowed by the death of the gentle Abra, followed within a few months' time by that of her broken-hearted mother. Hilary himself only survived the home-call of his dear ones for

a period of ten years. The concluding period of his life was spent in happy, peaceful ministration among his beloved people. He died in January, 366, after having endeavoured faithfully to work for and to follow his Lord, and also to suffer for His sake throughout a period of twenty-one years.

As in the due course of our consideration we emerge from the peaceful atmosphere of Hilary's personal and pastoral life, and step forth into the more extended and important arena of his writings and conflicts, we by no means leave behind us those traits of the typical Evangelical minister of the Gospel which our previous contemplations of this man of God have so clearly revealed to us.

Our attention has already been drawn to his Scriptural fidelity concerning justification by faith. As a further evidence of this, we may observe in passing that a considerable portion of the index of his *Opera* under *Fides* refers especially to this doctrine, besides numerous other passages under *Justificatio*.

With regard to other vital doctrines which constitute the heritage of our reformed Church, we shall find the same adherence to revealed truth. For instance, concerning confession of sins, Hilary declares "that it must be made to God, and to none other," a passage which occurs in his commentary on Ps. li. (LXX.), and which we gather from the appended note formed a subject for discussion between the Protestant Dally and the Romanists. The contention of the latter that Hilary, in accordance with the original intention of the Psalmist, was referring to confession of *praise* is from the context too palpably absurd for comment. Again, in commenting on Matt. ix. 2-8, he observes: "Forgiveness is from God. Because the law has no power to unloose, faith alone justifies . . . because it is true that none but God can forgive sins, therefore He who can forgive sins is God, because no one but God can forgive sins."

As indirectly allied to the forgiveness of sins, we refer the reader to a very interesting passage on Matt. xxv. 1-13. Commenting on verse 9, he says: "To whom they" (the wise virgins) "answered it was not possible for them to give" (oil),

“because there was not enough for all, from which it is evident that no one will be assisted by the works and merits of others.”

Was Pius IX. aware of this passage, which hurls so powerful a dart against, not only the “spiritual,” but the actual treasure-house, of his Church, when he styled the author “*Doctor ecclesiæ universæ*”?

But perhaps the question which appears to us to constitute the most powerful touchstone of Protestant truth, especially in the light of present-day controversy, is that which centres round the Table of the Lord. What, we ask ourselves, was Hilary’s conception of the Eucharist? Let this man of God himself furnish us with the answer.

Commenting on Ps. cxxvii. 2 (LXX.), “Thou shalt eat the labour of thy fruits,” he observes: “This is not natural food, neither is it to be corporally eaten, but we possess here a spiritual food, for the sustenance of our spiritual life, which is evidently those good works of benevolence, charity, mercy, patience, tranquillity, by which the sin of the flesh in us must be laboured against. The fruit of these labours is in eternity, but the labour is to be eaten beforehand, in order that our souls may be nourished by the food of these labours in this mortal life, so obtaining through the bread of these labours the living Bread, the heavenly Bread, from Him who says, ‘I am the living Bread from heaven,’ which, according to the Apostolic injunction, ‘whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily acquireth judgment.’ The labours are to be therefore eaten now, but the fruits are to be gathered in heaven.”

And again on Matt. ix. 15-17: “He answered them that the Bridegroom being present, there was no necessity for the disciples to fast, and by the joy of His presence He signified the Sacrament of the holy Food, in which He being present—that is, contained within their mental vision—no one fasts; but He being withdrawn, they fast . . . for we receive this Sacrament of the heavenly Bread of the Resurrection by faith; but whoever is without Christ will be left to fast from the Bread of Life. And in order that they might understand how

impossible it is for those remaining in the old man to receive the finished Sacraments of salvation, He showed them by the example of the parable of the new cloth being put to the old garment, and the new wine being put into the old bottle . . . that it is plainly to be seen that while our minds and bodies are clothed in the old garments of our sins it is impossible to receive the Sacrament of a new grace." The remaining extract from St. Hilary's writings which space will alone permit us to give is contained in a fragment from an unidentified work : "Give us this day our daily bread, for this is the will of God, that Christ, who is the Bread of Life, the Bread from heaven, should dwell in us daily ; and because the prayer is to be daily prayed, the answer is to be daily given."

While the spiritual signification which St. Hilary attached, not only to the Lord's Supper, but to His words in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, is very clearly to be seen in these foregoing passages, yet at the same time, with that truly regrettable inconsistency of the early Fathers, he appears to give elsewhere a more material interpretation to both the one and the other. It cannot, however, be too emphatically declared that there does not exist within the whole scope of his writings the faintest trace of even an approximation towards the conception of any sacrificial character in the Eucharist ; nor does he ever allude to a change in the elements resulting from priestly ministration. Moreover, those passages which appear to convey the idea of a corporal presence in the Sacramental bread and wine occur in his "De Trinitate," written, as we have already seen, during his exile and in the heat of controversy, while the passages to which we have drawn attention occur in the more sober portion of his writings, containing commentaries on the Psalms and St. Matthew's Gospel, which it appears were in the first place given in the form of separate sermons to his people, and were afterwards collected and compiled "for the good of the Church" at large. It is these addresses, the result, no doubt, of quiet and prayerful reflection, which are especially distinguished by the persuasive earnestness of their tone and by

their fidelity to Scripture—as, for example, a truly majestic passage on the dignity and inspiration of God's Word, a truth which we meet with again in Hilary's letter to Constantine. It is also as interesting as it is pleasing, to learn, in his enumeration of the canonical books, that Hilary follows Melito of Sardis, and Origen, and antedates Jerome, in including only those of our own English Bible. Space alone forbids our further referring to those other doctrines of our Catholic and Evangelical faith maintained by him in a spirit of equal scriptural integrity. The object, however, of our brief considerations will be amply fulfilled should they conduce not only to a recognition of Hilary of Poitiers as one of the most Evangelical of all the earlier post-Nicene Fathers, but, what is of still greater importance, to a fresh revelation of the reality of the continuity of our own Church with that of the early centuries.



Barnack on "Luke the Physician."

BY THE REV. THOMAS J. PULVERTAFT, M.A.

NOTHING in the criticism of the New Testament has been more remarkable than the steady return by the leading theologians on the Continent to the traditional views of the authors and dates of the books contained therein. The day is past when the publication of startling paradoxes arrests attention, and constrains acceptance by reason of the eminent position of their propounders. It is becoming more and more recognised that the Church has not been wrong in the assignment of dates and authorship, and the detailed analysis of sources and language in order to determine the various documents that lie behind the writings as we receive them has taken the place of "tendency" discussion, and fantastic theorizing. This decisive change of attitude has received its last, and in many respects most important,

manifestation by the publication of Adolph Harnack's—now no longer Professor, but Councillor of the German Empire—brilliant monograph on the authorship and sources of the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles.¹ He crowds into 160 pages a masterly review of the most important works on the subject, and finds beyond a doubt that both books have a common author, who was in a position to know "the certainty of those things wherein Theophilus had been instructed."

He starts with the indisputable assertion that from 140 to 150 A.D. the third Gospel is acknowledged to have been the work of St. Luke, and arguing from the allusion in the Epistles of St. Paul, he shows that St. Luke was a born Greek, a physician, companion and fellow-labourer of St. Paul. The tradition of Eusebius that he was an Antiochian is worthy of all belief, for the writer shows peculiar acquaintance with the "group of Christians in that city," and dwells with special interest on the names of Antiochian Christians. Nicolas—one of the seven deacons—was a proselyte of Antioch. Antioch became a second Jerusalem after the dispersion of the Church (Acts xi. 19-21). Agabus dwelt in that city, and in Acts xiii. 2 he mentions by name, with details, the prophets and teachers in that city. The other allusions (Acts xiv. 19, 26, xv. 35, xviii. 22) all point in the same direction. The writer was not a native of Palestine and did not write for the inhabitants of that land; he did not keep in view the Macedonian. He had a sound knowledge of Antioch and the coasts of Asia, and when he visited Jerusalem with St. Paul he arrived as a stranger (Acts xxi. 15, 17).

Was this man the author of the two books assigned to him? The great names of Baur, de Wette, Zeller, Wendt, Schürer, Pfleiderer, and many others, are associated with the confident assertion that tradition is wrong, and no companion and fellow-labourer of St. Paul could have written the Acts. In spite of the writings of Zahn, Renan, and Blass on the Continent, and Hobart, Ramsay, Hawkins, and Plummer in this country, it is

¹ "Lukas der Arzt der Verfasser des dritten Evangeliums und des Apostelgeschichte," Leipzig, 1906.

generally believed by critics that the attribution of the Acts to St. Luke is a "vain wish," and it has become a critical dogma that the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles could not have had a common author. Criticism acknowledges that the "we" sections of the Acts were the work of a travel companion of St. Paul, and all hypotheses that Timothy, Titus, or Silas was their writer have been rejected. Still there is an unwillingness to assign them to St. Luke. Some anonymous scribe was the author, who suddenly, without any apparent reason, introduced "we" into his writing, forgetting that the real author was known to Theophilus, to whom the book was dedicated with an "I." Surely such carelessness is beyond the range of probability, as no anonymous writer who was not a companion of St. Paul would be guilty of such evident deception to a man he respected and to whom he dedicated his work. Two difficulties arise at once—viz., that the skilled writer took out of his sources long extracts containing "we" and inserted them uncorrected in his work, and thereby, *volens nolens*, gave rise to the opinion that he was an eye-witness. But in a few decades his name was lost to tradition, and in its place the name of the author of that source was inserted, although the true writer has never mentioned that name, and, as far as we know, no special authority attached to it. Well might Harnack exclaim: "Two literary historical paradoxes at once—that is rather too much." The task of our author is to make plain the fact that the author of the "we" sections is the writer of the whole work, and compel Higher Criticism to keep silent on this point, and to find some explanation for its problems on a wider and freer valuation of the facts. Dealing with the "we" sections, special emphasis is laid on the narrative of the story of the shipwrecked group in Malta, and it is shown that by its language it may be decided at once that St. Paul's companion was a physician. The description of the viper on St. Paul's hand, the expectation of his death, the illness of the father of Publius, all bear manifest signs of being the work of one familiar with medical phraseology. Harnack draws the conclusion that the phrase of Acts xxviii. 10 (*οὐ καὶ*

πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς) in connection with the case of many rich folk shows that St. Paul's fellow-traveller took part in the work of healing the sick. "If Paul were the only helper, he would not have written *ἐθεραπεύοντο* only, but would have inserted *ὑπὸ Παύλου*. The indeterminate *ἐθεραπεύοντο* prepares for the following *ἡμᾶς*." In connection with this passage he quotes the words of our Lord, "Physician, heal thyself," and comparing them with the words in Mark xv. 31 (quoted also in Luke xxiii. 35, Matt. xxvii. 42), "He saved others, Himself He cannot save," mentions a striking parallel from Galen, which says: "The physician should first cure his own symptoms, and then prepare to cure others."

Before going into linguistic and general questions the work of St. Luke is dated between 78 and 93 A.D.—before the Domitian persecution, the wide distribution of the Epistles of St. Paul, the establishment of the name "Christian" in ordinary Christian use, the canonization of the word "Church," the use of "martyr" as title of one who witnessed for the faith with his life, but some time after the destruction of Jerusalem. To place its date about 80 A.D. is probably the nearest approximation to fact that can be made.

Sixty-seven pages—more than one-third of the entire work—are devoted to a masterly analysis of the language and contents of the "we" sections and their comparison with the rest of the Acts, the Gospel of St. Luke, and the other Gospels. Their writer is in no way different in temperament from the author of the other Lukan documents. He is in no way averse to belief in miracles, for in a comparatively short series of passages he narrates an exorcism, the healing of fever by laying on of hands, a wonderful salvation from the effects of a viper bite, the summary account of many healings, a raising from the dead, prophecies by disciples, the prophet Agabus, the prophet-daughters of Philip and by St. Paul, the angel's appearance to St. Paul on his journey, and the vision of the Macedonian.¹

¹ Acts xvi. 16-18; xxviii. 8; xxviii. 5; xxviii. 9; xx. 10; xxi. 4, xxi. 11; xxi. 9; xxvii. 22; xxvii. 23; xvi. 9.

"More wonders in few verses cannot be desired. The writer also shows himself as keen on wonders—and as specially interested in wonderful healings, the 'Spirit' and angel appearances—as the writer of the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles." There can be no doubt on this point. The "we" sections are not one whit less full of miracles than the rest of the work of St. Luke, and it is specially noteworthy that in the Gospel (Luke viii. 28) the evil spirit cries out, "What have I to do with Thee, Jesus, Thou Son of God most high?" and in the Acts "we" section (xvi. 17) the evil spirit shouts, "These men are servants of the most high God." Harnack, as his wont, rejects miracles; but the fact that a physician, who by his writings shows himself a skilled historian and a trustworthy man, narrates those he has seen, and believes them to be such, constitutes a real difficulty for those who wish to proclaim a non-miraculous Christianity.

Harnack makes short work of the objections to the homogeneity of the Acts, and proves that the introduction of names in the "we" section—*e.g.*, Agabus and Philip—is a convincing testimony to the unity of the Acts. In fact, from a mere historical point of view, there is no escaping from the conviction that the Acts was written by the author of the "we" sections. This becomes even more certain by a closer examination of the language of the "we" sections, that of the Gospel and the rest of the Acts. Anyone who carefully compares the words and phrases must be impressed by the parallelisms which occur in every verse. The work is a whole, composed at one time. Gospel, Acts, and "we" sections all have the same peculiarities in syntax, style and medical language. All Irish scholars are delighted to find the use made by Harnack of the "Medical language of St. Luke," written by the late Dr. Hobart and published by the Dublin University Press; and we who have carefully gone over all the passages noted by Hobart are not surprised to find that his testimony to the technical colouring of the Lukan writings is fully accepted by the German critic.

The results of Harnack's linguistic investigations are briefly

summarized. In the "we" sections there are 97 verses, which constitute one-tenth of the entire contents of the Acts. They have in common with the first half of the Acts 67 words, and with the second half 88 words, of which 45 are identical with those employed in the first half, and are not found in the other Evangelists. The "we" sections have—

In common with

Luke and Acts,	43	words wanting in	Matthew, Mark, and John.
Luke ...	20	" "	Matthew, Mark, John, and Acts.
Acts and Matthew	3	" "	Mark, Luke and John.
Matthew ...	3	" "	Mark, Luke, John, and Acts.
Mark and Acts	2	" "	Matthew, Luke, and John.
Mark ...	1	" "	Matthew, Luke, John, and Acts.
Acts and John	2	" "	Matthew, Mark, and Luke.
John ...	2	" "	Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Acts.
Mark and John	1	" "	Luke, Matthew, and Acts.
Matthew and Mark	1	" "	Luke and Acts.
Acts, Matthew, Mark, and John,	1	word wanting in	Luke.

Of the 63 words used in the Gospel of St. Luke and in the "we" sections, 35 are verbs; and of the 110 words used in these sections and elsewhere in the Acts, 55 are verbs; whereas of the 16 words common to Matthew, Mark, and John, only 7 are verbs. These facts and the similarity of style and the use of particles prove that the Acts of the Apostles and the "we" sections proceed from the same hand. "Now," says Harnack triumphantly, "no one denies the identity of the writer of the third Gospel with the writer of the Acts; but the words and phrasings of the 'we' sections are twice as strongly related to the Gospel of St. Luke as the rest of the Acts are related to the Gospel. How can anyone, then, deny that the author of the 'we' sections and the author of the Acts of the Apostles are identical! In the 480 verses of Acts i.-xii. and xv., 132 words are common with St. Luke's Gospel which are not found in Matthew, Mark and John, and in the 527 verses Acts xiii., xiv., xvi.-xxviii., there are 141 words with a similar relationship. But in the 97 verses of the "we" sections there are 63 words, whereas only 26 would be expected." One more remark need only be made on the "word" question. It is said that in the "we" section there are a very large number of *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*. In fact,

111 occur which are not found elsewhere in St. Luke's writings. Only 188 words in Acts i.-xii. and xv. are found which do not occur in the rest of Acts and the Gospel, and this would lead us to expect only 38 in the "we" sections. But all difficulty is removed when it is noted that three-fifths of the *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* occur in the account of the shipwreck, and when these are eliminated the relation between unusual words in the "we" sections and the other writings is strictly observed. In fact, in the narrative of the shipwreck the accustomed style and vocabulary of the writer are strikingly manifest.

Harnack next discusses the sources of the Gospel and Acts. Quite three-fourths of St. Mark's Gospel is appropriated by St. Luke, who, however, removes roughnesses of style and makes the language more classical. He is especially careful in describing events which have a technical significance for him (*e.g.*, *cf.* Mark ii. 3 with Luke v. 18). He probably had before him also an earlier Gospel similar to that of St. Matthew, and uses this source with similar freedom. Behind these portions lies a written document, and in the third place he employed Jerusalem or Jewish traditions "whose trustworthiness is thoroughly questionable, and the greatest part must be described as legendary." These last sources bear a relationship to the Johannine Gospel, were probably received orally and were in no way committed to writing in narrative form. St. Luke derived them, it is conjectured, from Philip and his four prophesying daughters, who, according to the express statement of Papias, handed down histories. This accounts for the strong woman element in his Gospel, for we find in it, besides allusions to the Virgin Mary, the prophesying Elizabeth, the prophetess Hannah, the widow of Nain, the great sinner, the group of women in viii. 1 *et seq.*, Mary and Martha, the woman who praised the Lord's mother, the woman bound for eighteen years with a spirit of infirmity, the widow and the judge, the widow's mite, the wailing daughters of Jerusalem, the Galilean women at the foot of the cross, women as the first evangelists of the resurrection of the Lord, and the history of the woman

with seven husbands. He supports his view by the special interest shown by St. Luke for the Samaritan, which is shared, however, by the fourth Gospel, but is not found in the others. This is attributed to the fact that Philip was the Evangelist of Samaria (Acts viii. 14).

For the earlier portions of the Acts he doubtless used material supplied by St. Mark—whose household he knew intimately (Acts xii., Rhoda)—as well as narratives of Philip and his daughters, for he lodged with them in Cæsarea, where he probably met them for the first time, and it is possible that he afterwards consulted them in Asia. It is interesting to note that Dr. Sanday and other writers attribute the Lukan narrative of the Nativity to a female source, and it is obvious that for St. Luke there is a special attractiveness in the work of woman in the early Church.

In the opinion of Harnack the traditions concerning our Lord in St. Mark and St. Luke are older than is generally believed. St. Mark gives us the accounts that spring from Jerusalem, and uses an Aramaic source which is earlier than 70 A.D. He wrote not for Jewish Christians, but probably for Roman Christians—such as Alexander and Rufus, sons of Simon of Cyrene, and we know that a Christian Rufus and his believing mother lived in Rome. Luke followed him, and, like a miller, he uses all that comes to his hand in his own way. "He writes without any tendency, or rather he has only *one* tendency—viz., to present Jesus as the Divine Healer, and to prove His healing power by His history and by the effects of His Spirit (through the Apostles in the heathen world, in opposition to stubborn Judaism). Like St. Mark, he disdains theology; he makes good use of prophecy in all the Gospel and in the first half of the Acts. This history propagated Paulinism in Asia or Achaia, less than the work of Mark. Only in his general labours Paul lives in both; but his general work was his greatest."

St. Matthew's Gospel is a vindication against Jewish objections and slanders, which soon were also made by the heathen; it alone has for the teaching of Jesus a substantial interest. It

is furthest removed from the Greeks in its contents and tendency, and yet it sets itself in the position of St. Paul in the heathen world, for it deals with the universalism of the Church in Pauline manner. It is a great mistake to identify Pauline with heathen Christianity. St. Matthew, in the controversy between Jews and Jewish Christians, became the chief Gospel of the heathen Church. Two authors stand forth in the light of history—Mark, the companion of St. Paul, and St. Luke. That the name of the third writer is unknown is not strange, for the Gospel according to St. Matthew, in its earliest form, is at least a private work. As a book for the Churches it was compiled, and assuredly often rewritten. In its earliest form it is older than Luke, and as we have it is the youngest of the Synoptic Gospels. It can be considered the first liturgical book of the Christian Church, especially of the Palestinian Church, with a message not only to Jewish Christianity, but also to the heathen Church. The Church rapidly became a teaching Church, and preferred Matthew to Luke. The formation of the Canon saved Mark and Luke from being lost, for they were not doctrinal but narrative accounts of the life of Christ; and as the Gospel of the Saviour has its special place in the Church, so in the Catholic Church Paul lives more in the picture of the Acts of the Apostles than in his letters.

The entire book is an excellent piece of work—one of the ablest that has come to us from the Berlin thinker. It contains much that is not in accordance with the traditional belief of Christendom, and has the author's customary rejection of miraculous events. Nevertheless, it makes the position more precarious, for every year that is taken from the late dates of the books of the New Testament makes the account of the beginnings of Christianity more trustworthy; and it seems impossible to believe that the supernatural element, which forms a large and integral portion of St. Luke's writing, should be unhistorical, when the other parts may be received as a faithful chronicle of events—many of which are supported by the personal testimony which, as an eye-witness, was given at the same time to the miracles by St. Luke himself.

Professor Petrie on the Census Numbers.

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

IN a recent issue of the *Expositor* (6th Series, vol. xii., pp. 148-152), Professor Flinders Petrie put forward a new theory of the census lists in Numbers, and he has now worked it out further in his "Researches in Sinai" (p. 208 *et seq.*). The view put forward is this: There is a probability that written records descending from the time of Moses form the basis of these lists. Now, as they stand, the numbers are impossible, but if the thousands in the various numbers be put aside, the hundreds present some curious phenomena. "There is not a single round thousand, there is not a single 100, 800, or 900; and the greater part of the numbers fall on 400 or 500" (p. 210). A similar peculiarity distinguishes the tens of thousands, but that has no bearing on the theory, and is not noticed by Professor Petrie. From this it is inferred that the hundreds have a separate origin from the thousands. The conclusion does not necessarily follow from the premiss, though, for the purpose of testing the theory, it is better to assume that Professor Petrie has proved this point. But, if this be so, what are the thousands? "The word *alāf* has two meanings, 'a thousand' and 'a group' or family" (p. 211). Hence it is suggested that for the thousands we ought, in fact, to read families or tents. And here comes a remarkable fact. It would almost seem as if the Professor had not read the census lists, and had contented himself with taking the numbers without regard to their context. This, at least, appears to be the only explanation of his words. "Let us test this hypothetical emendation. If it were not true, the thousands then need have no connection with the hundreds, and so the hypothesis would fall through by the absurd results reached for the number of people *per* tent. For instance, if the numbers had no relation in their original meaning, we might find 22 tents for 700 people, or 32 *per* tent" (p. 211). That is exactly what we do, in fact, find, if we look at the words of the

census. Take the case of Ephraim in the second census. Professor Petrie thinks that the number 32,500 really means that there were 500 people in 32 tents, giving an average of about 16 persons in each tent, and he explains this by saying: "The richest tribes may have had two parents, four or five children, both grand-parents, making eight or nine, and herdsmen and servants of the Hebrews and of the mixed multitude who went up with them" (pp. 211, 212). It has entirely escaped his notice that the numbers in the census are not the numbers of the people, but only those of *males above the age of twenty years*, "all that are able to go forth to war in Israel." If, therefore, we allow for women and children, we do, in fact, find far more than thirty-two per tent; and, in the words of the Professor himself, "the hypothesis falls through by the absurd results reached for the number of people *per* tent."¹

In view of this fact, it is unnecessary to do more than indicate some other insuperable objections to this view. The numbers of the Levites and the firstborn, and the story of Korah with 250 princes of the congregation, are waved aside as conflicting with this theory, and the total number of elders is cut down to the seventy mentioned in the Hebrew text. "Allowing that 5 tents and under were not represented by a separate elder, there would be 58 elders, each with 10 tents, and the 12 sheykhs of the tribes would make up 70" (p. 214). But

¹ Professor L. E. Steele writes as follows: "I find, from a conversation which I have since had with Mr. Currelly, that Professor Petrie has carelessly used the word 'people' for 'men' throughout his chapters on the Exodus. He has merely, however, in this followed the phraseology of the modern Arabs, who count their population, as the Bible does, by heads of families. This, of course, will make what would appear at first sight a considerable difference; it is a discrepancy, however, to which your correspondents are welcome, as the difference between 27,000 or so and 3,000,000, leaves the difficulty much where it was" (*Church of Ireland Gazette*, August 17, 1906, p. 695). There must be some mistake, as in the passage quoted—"We might find 22 tents for 700 people or 32 *per* tent"—the word "people" cannot mean either men or heads of families. It may be added that in the book of Numbers the population is not counted by heads of families, but by fighting men. This passage also rebuts another statement of Professor Steele's (*ibid.*) that the word "tent" is not employed in its literal sense, but rather as equivalent to "family group." Had that been Professor Petrie's meaning, he could never have suggested this test.

Professor Petrie forgets to wave aside a number of other passages which militate against his hypothesis. Here are a few instances. In Exod. xii. 37, 38, we hear of "six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children," and also "a mixed multitude." This cannot possibly mean 600 tents (or families) on foot, beside children and a mixed multitude. Secondly, Exod. xviii. 21-26 contemplates an organization comprising "rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." This surely should also have been waved aside, for it is in hopeless conflict alike with the tent theory and the elders theory. And whatever may be thought of some other passages, it would be impossible to explain this chapter by saying that "this corruption of a perfectly rational text may have been the cause of the introduction of other corruptions of numbers in order to agree with it" (p. 214). Obviously the judicial organization cannot be regarded as a corruption introduced to agree with the census numbers. Then, again, whatever view may be taken of the numbers, it is very difficult to dissociate Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26—the silver obtained by a tax of half a shekel levied on 603,550 men from twenty years old and upwards, where the number is carefully checked—from the thousands of the census lists. In the *Expositor* article (p. 151) Professor Petrie suggests that this is a later introduction, but in the "Researches" he is silent on that point. Once more, the numbers sent against the Midianites in Num. xxxi.—a thousand from each tribe—cannot be construed as being "of every tribe a family."

On the whole, therefore, it must be reluctantly said that the question of the numbers remains precisely where it was before Dr. Petrie propounded his new theory.



Literary Notes.

IT is of interest to learn that Mr. Clement J. Sturge, M.A., who has for some time past been contributing articles on various matters relating to the Church and State to several papers, chiefly the *Guardian* and the *Westminster Gazette*, has decided to collect these articles together and publish them under the general title of "Points of Church Law." Mr. Sturge is a barrister-at-law, and his discussion of the various points about which we are now so much concerned is dealt with from the strictly legal point of view. One section of this new volume provides a careful legal analysis of the case against the appointment of Dr. Gore as Bishop of Birmingham, and in an appendix is given an account of the King's Coronation in 1902, revised by the Dean of Westminster, which fully explains the legal, historic, and symbolic aspects of the ceremony.



Mr. Sturge's book is to be published by the Macmillans, who also have in the press other volumes likely to interest readers of the *CHURCHMAN*: "A Layman's Mind on Creed and Church," by J. S. Templeton; and Dr. Cheetam's volume on the "History of the Christian Church from the Reformation to the Present Time." A book which might be fittingly mentioned in this paragraph is "The Problems of Faith in Relation to Modern Science and Criticism," by Mr. Henry T. Nicholson (of the Christian Evidence Society). It is needless to say that the work is orthodox in its teaching, and should prove of great service to leaders of societies and others at the present time.



Quite a remarkable book appeared this month, entitled "The Gate of Death," the author of which desires to remain anonymous. As its title suggests, its theme is that of death. The very title holds one, and the contents are likely to secure the thought and attention, however momentary, of the most casual and thoughtless. The author—so the story runs—was brought to the gate which is named in the title of his book by an all but fatal accident, and lingered there long without passing through. Face to face with the dark angel, he looks back over his life; tells how the relative values of things, when seen from the shadow, were changed; with what feelings he contemplated his past; what modifications were made in his views of duty, God, and immortality; and with what heart he confronted the unknown. Death is the single event certain to befall every man, and when one who has long faced it returns to tell, in awed accents, the tale of his experience, he should not fail to find eager listeners.



Two important American books are promised. One is a volume entitled "Memoir and Letters of Frederic Dan Huntington," first Bishop of Central New York. Bishop Huntington's life is being written by his daughter, Miss Arria S. Huntington. He was at one time a Professor at Harvard, resigning in 1860. He was born in 1819, and his first charge was at the South Congre-

gational Church in Boston. He held his professional chair for five years, and apparently only gave it up because his religious views changed, afterwards devoting his time to the organization of Emmanuel parish, Boston. Nine years later—1869—he was consecrated Bishop of Central New York, and died two years ago. He was a strong man, and had much influence in his Church. The other volume was suggested by John Fiske's "Through Nature to God," which will be published in England by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Company. It emphasizes the difference in the points of view taken by the two authors. The author is Dr. G. A. Gordon, and his book is entitled "Through Man to God." In distinction from Mr. Fiske's plan, Dr. Gordon seeks to "interpret the Eternal, not through Nature, but through human nature; not through the lower expressions of the creative power, but through man, the highest expression." Dr. Gordon has been minister for twenty years of the old South Church in Boston, and is the author of several other books.



Here are some new theological works: "The Fifth Gospel," a work somewhat in the style of the first book by this anonymous author—*i.e.*, "The Faith of a Christian." The main point of the new book is the identification of the Christ of history with the Christ of experience, and the author puts forward St. Paul as the mediator between the two ideas. Mr. Claude G. Montefiore's "Truth in Religion, and other Sermons," which were delivered at the services of the Jewish Religious Union; and Canon Bernard's "Great Moral Teachers," eight lectures delivered in Salisbury Cathedral on Confucius, Buddha, Socrates, and Epictetus, should also be noted.



There seems to be an increased output in the matter of literature relating to Jews and their work. Last month I mentioned two or three works on Jewish matters by Jewish writers. Two other works of an important character are announced: one by Miss Beatrice C. Baskerville, on "The Polish Jew: His Social and Economic Value," while the other is a study of "Israel in Europe," by G. F. Abbott. In the former volume the author writes that "Many facts set forth in the book are so much at variance with accepted opinion of the Polish Jew—both in Great Britain and the United States of America—that I have been advised to preface them with the assurance that they are not the outcome of a short visit to Poland, but the result of eight years' residence in the country." Mr. Abbott's book sketches the fortunes of Israel in Europe from the earliest times to the present day. "It is," he says, "a sad tale, and often told, but sufficiently important to bear telling again. My object—in so far as human nature permits—will be neither to excuse nor to deplore, but only to describe and, in some measure, to explain."



What will certainly be the most ambitious and important undertaking in the matter of an attempt at a definite and authoritative "History of English Literature" is to be issued under the auspices of the Cambridge Press. The editors will be Dr. A. W. Ward and Mr. A. R. Waller. It will be in fourteen

volumes. Further particulars are to be announced later. In this connection it is worth noting that the early part of October saw the publication of the second volume of M. Jusseraud's "Literary History of the English People." It deals with the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and among the subjects treated are the Literature of the Reformation and the English Bible, and the Early Renaissance in England. There will be a third volume.



Mr. Jonathan Nield, the author of that very useful volume, so intelligently conceived, "A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales," which went into a third edition, and which secured such a large measure of attention both in England and America, has just had published, through Mr. H. R. Allenson, a novel entitled "The Slings of Fortune," a title which is certainly distinctive. Mr. Nield is a painstaking literary man and an earnest student of philosophy, and in this story—a first effort, by the way, at novel-writing—Mr. Nield gives good evidence of his wide range of study, while at the same time there are some excellent touches of humour, which make the book most pleasant reading.



Fiona Macleod! What a wealth of suggestion this name used to bring to one! The writer of these notes always associated it with the cry of the gull around the crags and rocks of Scotland's coast and the misty isles within her ken. Whether Fiona Macleod and William Sharp was a duality mattered not—although it is now known that they were one and the same—so long as Fiona Macleod sent out from time to time those exquisite stories which thrilled the reader with romantic visions, and left a vague questioning as to the identity of the teller and the measure of the intellect that conceived them. It is, alas! for us that those sea mists have rolled away and the sun is risen in all its glory for Fiona Macleod. The gap is wide and the silence is loud. But, fortunately, Fiona Macleod has left behind three volumes which *Country Life* is publishing: (1) "Where the Forest Murmurs," a series of Nature sketches written at the suggestion of the Editor of *Country Life*; (2) "The Immortal Horn," being two Celtic dramas; and (3) a collected edition of poems old and new. Mrs. William Sharp intends to arrange for the publication of a selection from the three volumes of poems by her late husband, with the addition of a number of poems written in certain years. It does not always seem possible to regard William Sharp and Fiona Macleod as one individual—their styles were so different; and although the announcement made in this paragraph practically settles the question, I have never actually seen a definite pronouncement by any authoritative person that they were one and the same personality. Yet it is a significant fact that since the death of William Sharp there have been no further contributions to the magazines—particularly the *Fortnightly*, where one often found her writings—and journals from Fiona Macleod's pen.



Since Messrs. Cassell and Company have been in the capable hands of the new management there has been a renewal of, if not an advance upon, the old

days of this popular publishing house. There are two books in their autumn list likely to interest readers of the *CHURCHMAN*. One is by Mrs. A. Murray Smith—who is a daughter of the late Dean Bradley—dealing with the story and associations of Westminster Abbey; and the other is a work in two volumes devoted to “The Cathedrals of England and Wales.” Both of these books are to be very fully and very beautifully illustrated. It is doubtful if there is another person who knows more about our historic shrine than Mrs. Murray Smith.



Mr. L. T. Hobhouse has written a volume which he calls “Morals in Evolution: a Study in Comparative Ethics.” It deals, historically, with the private and moral consciousness in man. It is divided into two parts: the first volume is concerned with custom—*i.e.*, the rules and conduct which are generally recognised in any society; and the second treats of ideas lying at the root of custom—principally in religion on its ethical side.



Quite an original book of the moment is Mr. Okakura-Kakuzo's little work “The Book of Tea.” This Japanese writer is enthusiastic about tea. To him it is more than a pleasant beverage over which one may say even more pleasant things—it is to him and the Japanese at large “a religion of the art of life.” The author who wrote “Ideals of the East,” which Mr. Murray published, also endeavours to show how the Japanese ideal of teism discovers greatness and beauty in the smallest incidents of life. This little book reminds me that this month is to see the publication of the “Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn,” who was in spirit a pure son of the East, although his father was an Irish Surgeon-Major, and his mother a Greek. There is an excellent impression of him by his friend Dr. Gould concluded in the November *Fortnightly*. The “Life and Letters,” which is in two volumes, has been prepared by Miss Elizabeth Bisland.



Notices of Books.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, AND ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. By H. M. Gwatkin, D.D., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge. In 2 volumes. Edinburgh: *T. and T. Clark*. 1906. Price 12s.

This is not an easy book to describe—at least, in any really adequate fashion; still less easy is it to sum up, seeing that the author, in the course of his lectures (for these two volumes represent the Gifford Lectures delivered in 1904 and 1905), has summed up in them the teachings of a lifetime. To review the book as it deserves to be reviewed would require a man the equal—intellectually and spiritually—of Dr. Gwatkin; and where is such a man to be found? It may be doubted whether our generation has seen anything quite equal, in its own way, to the work we venture to notice here. In what-

ever light we regard them, these volumes have elements of intellectual greatness and of moral intensity which are profoundly significant of the width and depth of the writer's own personality. For years—indeed, ever since the "Studies in Arianism," now nearly a quarter of a century old—we have been waiting for the Professor's *magnum opus*, and now we have it.

What will strike the reader first, as he cons these pages, is the ease with which Dr. Gwatkin marshals his knowledge—a knowledge, as Cambridge men well know, all but inexhaustible—and, secondly, the vigour, conciseness, and sharpness of the literary setting. Hard the book often is, but never other than clear, if once the initial difficulty of the thought itself is overcome. No contribution of any vital significance for the purpose undertaken seems to have escaped notice, and toll is levied upon every department of human thought.

Perhaps the first series of lectures (which deal with the question of the knowledge of God from a metaphysical aspect) is more remarkable, as a contribution to the problems involved, than the second series, in which the development of the idea in history is worked out. The reason for this seems to be that the field of history is so vast that even Dr. Gwatkin, brilliant as he is, can do no more than touch the fringes of his subject. We get the idea of a résumé in this part of his work, whereas in Part I. we are brought into closer contact with the actual guiding and controlling idea of history, before it externalizes itself in the field of human action. Few things have ever struck us more deeply than the two chapters entitled "Possible Methods of Revelation." The summing up of those chapters runs as follows:

"The sovereign claim of God to human trust will never be fully vindicated till his right and goodness are no longer viewed as attributes of power, but made the eternal ground of everything divine; and an eternal assurance of this is found in facts which are facts of the eternal world as well as facts of time. Christianity is at least logical; for the link it finds belongs as much to the eternal world as to that of time."

What view the Roman Church and "its Anglican tail" (Dr. Gwatkin's own words) will take of this book it is easy enough to foretell; for never fell heavier or juster indictment of the essential *infidelity* of all such travesties of true Christian doctrine than has been meted out in these lectures. From the lips of a less able man such indictment might have passed for prejudice, but Dr. Gwatkin *knows*. He has no sympathy with any form of obscurantism, Anglican, Roman, or Evangelical; he utterly rejects any (well-meaning, *perhaps*, but certainly fatuous) attempts to barricade doctrinal positions against the assaults of truth, however roughly delivered. He stands for truth in every shape, knowing that where the spirit of truth is, there (and there alone) is liberty. Nowadays, when (as at the recent Church Congress) Lord Halifax¹ can be found declaring that "*English Churchmen, whether lay or clerical, owe no loyalty to the principles of the English Reformers,*" and, again, that "*the principles of the Reformation are things to be repented of with tears and in ashes,*" we are profoundly thankful to find a man of such accurate knowledge and

¹ Whose importance—and whose sole importance—is that he represents a school. This must be borne in mind.

practical sagacity writing, as Professor Gwatkin writes, on the Reformation movement. What was the cardinal principle of that great movement? Briefly this: the knowledge of God is direct and personal. That was the principle; and it was absolutely vital. And it is as historically clear as noon that pretty nearly all that is distinctively good in the work of modern times may be traced back to that principle. Faults the Reformers had—many faults: they were afraid, in too many cases, of carrying out their principle to its logical issue; but the truth of that one cardinal verity they never gave up. For that they lived, and for that they died. Well is it that the vital consequences of that principle—which is, after all, as old as the truth of religion itself—should be detailed by a master hand. The Latin Church turned its back upon that great and illuminating doctrine, preferring debased ideals. Now (as Dr. Gwatkin points out) irreligion precisely consists in following the lower rather than the higher. “The Roman ideals are the lower, and the high priest of irreligion calls himself the Vicar of Christ.”

In a noble and eloquent close to his work Dr. Gwatkin emphasizes the great truth that history has to teach us. Like the mountains seen afar off above the mist of the low-lying plains is the revelation of God in history and in human life. We shall not find it in the mists of selfishness and cherished sin. “Lift up your hearts, and you will see it working down on you. But it is not the setting sun which lights the Church of God—the Church of all that love and follow truth. It is the light of the morning, the light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

THE INTERLINEAR BIBLE. The Authorized Version and the Revised Version. Cambridge: *University Press*. Price 12s. 6d. net.

The Interlinear Bible is a Bible so printed that from one and the same text both the Authorized Version and the Revised Version may be read. Instead of parallel columns we have parallel lines whenever there are variations, the Revised Version being read along the upper line and the Authorized Version along the lower. The obvious advantage of this arrangement is that variations in the versions are seen at a glance, and all trouble of comparing book with book, or even column with column, is entirely avoided. This is the most useful edition of the Bible published for many years. The present writer has used a similar American Bible for some time past and has often been surprised that no such English edition was available. Now, however, the provision has been made in the volume before us, and in several respects the English form is a decided improvement on the American. It will be simply indispensable to all Bible students, and at once supersedes all parallel-column, and other two-version editions. It is issued in various bindings and is got up with all the taste and attractiveness for which the Oxford and Cambridge Presses are deservedly famous. We can only recommend our readers to get copies without delay. Several years' experience of the American edition has proved to us the extreme convenience and usefulness of the arrangement here adopted.

GRIFFITH JOHN. By R. Wardlaw Thompson. London: *The Religious Tract Society*. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Who has not heard of this great Chinese missionary who has laboured for over fifty years in China, and is one of the leading authorities on all

things connected with missionary work in that great country? In this large and handsome volume of over 500 pages we have the story of his life well and ably told by the Secretary of the London Missionary Society, with which Dr. Griffith John is connected. The reader is shown mainly from Dr. Griffith John's own letters some of the very remarkable changes during the last fifty years in connection with the progress of Christianity in China. Still more, a great and truly heroic figure is depicted in these pages—a man of marked individuality from his earliest days, a true hero of the Cross, a man of resistless energy, indomitable courage, missionary statesmanship, and masterful leadership. This book will at once take its place with the lives of the other great London Missionary Society missionaries, like Williams, Morrison, Moffatt, and Chalmers. The author has done real service to the cause of missions in bringing before many outside the London Missionary Society the noble character and herculean labours of this truly great missionary.

FOR FAITH AND SCIENCE. By F. H. Woods, B.D. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

We wish we could speak as warmly of the substance as we can of the motive of this book. It aims at helping Christian people to know what, and why, they believe, and is especially intended for those who fear lest the results of scientific research should compel them to give up their faith. But the author's attitude to the Bible seems to us to vitiate very much of his teaching, and to hinder the accomplishment of his purpose. By "salvation" we are to understand "the purifying and preserving of the higher life, the educating of it to even higher ideals" (p. 9), which is surely a very cold and inadequate view of the great Bible truth of salvation. The influence of the Bible, it is said, is not essentially different from that exercised by gifted and holy men in all ages (p. 37), and whatever may be understood by the term "inspiration," it gives no guarantee of infallibility. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that a very extreme view of the Old Testament is taught. The early chapters of Genesis are mythical (p. 74); the argument from prophecy is of very little importance (p. 108); there was no primitive revelation (p. 189). The discussion of our Lord's miracles is very unsatisfactory. A careful consideration of all Mr. Woods says about the Bible compels us to say that, so far from helping faith and knowledge, his book will work in an opposite direction.

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE. By the late Major-General Sir C. W. Wilson. Edited by Colonel Sir C. M. Watson. London: *The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.* Price 5s.

Those who read most of these chapters as they appeared in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund will be especially glad to have them in this form. The author was perhaps our highest authority on the subject, and in this book we have a mass of valuable and important information made available to students. The history of the traditional spot is here told with full knowledge and graphic pen, while the account of Gordon's Calvary is also fully dealt with. The author concludes against the latter site, as he could hardly help doing if sentiment be left on one side, but it does not follow from this that he favours the traditional site. As a matter

of fact, he considers the evidence inconclusive either way. With Robinson he agrees that "probably all search for the true site will be in vain." We commend this work to all Bible students, and we hope that not the least result of reading it will be to call fresh attention to the valuable work of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR. By John O'Connor Power. London: *Methuen and Co.* Price 6s.

The purpose of this work is to suggest a course of practice in public speaking. After an introductory chapter, the would-be orator is taught how to arrange and state his facts, the value of logic, and the requirements for delivery and extemporaneous speaking. Then follow some examples of ancient and modern oratory interspersed with hints and criticisms. This is but a bare summary of an exceedingly interesting and valuable book, which everyone who would speak in public will do well to study. The advice given is the result of wide observation and long experience, and if put into practice cannot fail to accomplish a great deal in the direction of proficiency in speaking.

STUDIES IN THE EPISTLES TO THE HEBREWS. By Joseph Bryant Rotherham. London: *H. R. Allenson.* Price, paper, 1s. 6d. net; cloth, 2s. net.

This is a fresh and forceful little volume. The text is given section by section, after the manner of the author's "Emphasized Bible," and then follows a scholarly and suggestive commentary. We do not endorse several of his positions and interpretations, as, for example, on conditional immortality and baptism; but these apart, the book will prove a distinct contribution to the study of an important part of the New Testament. It is well worth the attention of every thoughtful Bible student.

THE REVELATION OF THE TRINITY. By S. B. G. McKinney. Edinburgh and London: *Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.* Price 3s. 6d.

"Is there anything in Nature that explains, illustrates, or suggests the Doctrine of the Trinity?" The author answers his own question by calling attention to the human body, and in a series of six chapters discusses its unity and its three elements of Thought, Emotion, and Will. These elements are accordingly associated respectively with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as expressive of Divine Intelligence, Divine Emotion, and Divine Will. The information given about the structure and functions of the body is interesting and useful and the employment of the analogy suggestive, but whether its application to the Doctrine of the Trinity is quite so conclusive as the author thinks is open to question.

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE ADDRESSES ON TOPICS OF THE TIME. By Various Authors. London: *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* Price 2s. 6d.

A series of nine lectures recently delivered in London, dealing with various aspects of Christian Evidences, such as "The Idea of God," "The Universality of Christianity," "Comparative Religion," "Sin and Modern Thought," "Personal Immortality," "Evolution," "Revelation," "The

Problem of Suffering," "The Problem of Doubt." It can be readily seen that there is a great variety of topic and treatment, and, as the subjects suggest, it is not always easy reading. For the most part the discussions are true to Scripture and the position of the Church, though we are sorry to see included in the volume Mr. Inge's characteristic errors about the Bible and about sin. If read with care and discrimination, the student of Christian Evidences will find not a little suggestion and guidance in these lectures.

GOD'S SELF-EMPTIED SERVANT. By R. C. Morgan. London: *Morgan and Scott*. Price, paper, 6d. net; cloth, 1s. net.

The author finds the key to the Epistle to the Philippians in the discord at Philippi of which Euodias and Syntyche were the centre. The Epistle is then looked at from this point of view, and certainly some very striking truths are brought out by this method. Bible students will find the discussion well worth attention. The great passage in chapter ii., dealing with our Lord's humiliation, is then brought into line with the general interpretation, and its point and bearing shown. In the course of the discussion the Kenosis is treated with equal clearness and suggestiveness, and though it may not be possible to endorse every position, the author has much to say for his view. This little book is a genuine contribution to our knowledge of the Epistle.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. By E. A. Gardiner. London: *David Jackson*. Price 1s. net.

A series of chapters on the Christian life, dealing with the subjects of Sin, Forgiveness, Bible Reading, Church Services, and other similar topics. It is intended for working girls, and is written by one who has been invalided home from missionary work. Mr. Joynt writes a preface, and with his recommendation we are in hearty accord. A very useful little book, which may be commended to the attention of workers among the class for whom it is intended.

LUNCHEON LECTURES AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. By the Rev. C. H. Grundy, M.A. London: *Elliot Stock*. Price 1s. net.

Five lectures, delivered at St. Paul's Cathedral, discussing the Christian at home, in business, in society, in Church life, and on Sundays. The teaching is almost entirely ethical and practical, with scarcely any personal appeal or assumption that his hearers may not have been all of them Christians. In view of the audience to which they were addressed, we cannot help feeling that a great opportunity was largely lost by the absence of the points now mentioned.

THE CONSUMPTIVE WORKING MAN. By Noel Dean Bardswell, M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.S. London: *The Scientific Press, Ltd.* Price 10s. 6d. net.

The Medical Superintendent of King Edward VII. Sanatorium speaks with authority. He gives an account of the history of twenty-five working-class cases, with luminous notes on each, and shows how the deadly disease can be combated with considerable hope of success. The question is, Should public money be spent in providing sanatoria for the working classes, and

should friendly societies take up the question? From an economic, educational, and preventive point of view, Sir W. Broadbent, who writes an introduction, is in favour of an emphatic "Yes."

ESSAYS FOR THE TIMES. No. 6. ARCHÆOLOGY AND CRITICISM. By Professor A. H. Sayce, M.A., D.D. No. 7. THE SPIRITUAL QUALITY OF EVOLUTION. By the Rev. Newman Smyth, D.D., LL.D. No. 8. ILLUSION IN RELIGION. By the Rev. Edwin A. Abbott, M.A., D.D. No. 9. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN MODERN LIFE AND THOUGHT. By P. Mordaunt Barnard, B.D. No. 10. DOCTRINE AND THEORY. By William Barrett Frankland, M.A. No. 11. THE VIRGIN BIRTH AND THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST. By Principal Walter F. Adeney, M.A., D.D. No. 12. ORIGINAL SIN. By the Rev. F. R. Tennant, M.A., B.Sc. No. 13. THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS. By the Rev. Charles Moinet, M.A., D.D. London: *Francis Griffiths*. Price 6d. each net.

These essays assuredly deal with living and timely subjects, but unfortunately they have no uniform message, since they represent men of very different and divergent views. Professor Sayce's position is once again put forcibly and well; Dr. Newman Smyth summarizes his larger works on a congenial topic; Dr. Abbott pleads for illusions as a stepping-stone towards truth; Dr. Adeney writes well on the Virgin Birth; and Mr. Tennant continues to teach the view promulgated in his Hulsean Lectures, which clearly contradicts the teaching of Article IX. of his Church, and, still more, the teaching of the New Testament. Dr. Moinet has much to say that is helpful on his transcendent theme. It will be seen that discrimination is very necessary in reading these essays. The price strikes us as somewhat high in these days of cheapness.

BISHOP WESTCOTT. By Joseph Clayton. *A. R. Mowbray and Co.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

We can speak highly of this volume of a series entitled "Leaders of the Church." It gives an interesting account of Westcott's life from boyhood to episcopate. While the writer is a genuine admirer of his subject, he has an eye quick enough to detect a weakness. We are bound to thank God for so great a commentator as Westcott, and for so strenuous a life. We do not fail to note the many-sidedness of that life, whether as scholar or as Christian Socialist. With the Evangelical position he had little sympathy, but then neither had he with the Sacerdotalist. The Incarnation overshadowed the Atonement in his theology, and herein must be found a point of attack in his otherwise whole armour. The book is most interestingly and succinctly written.

THE ASHES OF ROSES. By the Rev. William L. Watkinson. London: *The Religious Tract Society*. Price 3s. 6d.

Mr. Watkinson has one of the keenest, freshest, and most fertile minds of the present day. His power to draw apt lessons from out-of-the-way passages of Scripture is nothing short of marvellous, while his full and varied use of scientific and everyday life to illustrate his points is exceedingly

striking. The present volume is a welcome addition to the works by which he is already known and valued. Preachers and teachers in particular will find in this volume a mine of suggestion. The teaching is at once Scriptural and modern, spiritual and practical, instructive and searching. Mr. Watkinson has long been one of our favourite writers, and we are glad to have and recommend this new volume of Bible studies from his pen.

S. PETER AND S. JOHN: FIRST MISSIONARIES OF THE GOSPEL. By Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, B.A. London: *Hodder and Stoughton*. Price 1s.

In the words of the authoress, "This scheme is designed to guide students of Christian missions in thinking out and finding out as much as possible for themselves from the New Testament records of missionary work." Right worthily does the book carry out this design. It is full of the guidance and suggestion that Mrs. Carus-Wilson knows so well how to give. It is intended specially, though not exclusively, for missionary study classes, but is equally adapted to individual study. For several obvious reasons we should have preferred the familiar English "St." to the Latin "S." Prayer-Book usage is far safer and better than modern custom in this matter.

A THOUSAND MILES OF MIRACLE IN CHINA. By the Rev. Archibald E. Glover, M.A. London: *Hodder and Stoughton*. Price 3s. 6d.

A new and cheaper edition of what we do not hesitate to call one of the most remarkable missionary books of the last few years. It is well called "A Personal Record of God's Delivering Power," for it is indeed a story of perpetual miracle. We are glad that it has reached a second edition, and we notice, too, that it has been translated into German. It cannot fail to bring a blessing to every reader. It is a thrilling narrative graphically told, and stirs the heart to its very depths. It ought to be read and circulated by all lovers of foreign missionary work.

ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY. By Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D. *T. and T. Clark*. Price 3s. net.

The writer's name is a guarantee of ability, scholarship, clearness, and interest. His four lectures on the period dating from the death of Henry VII. to Archbishop Parker are presented to us in one volume. Scholarship and sobriety are clear on every page. With some points we cannot agree. He reinstates Wolsey, and regrets the Reformation was not carried out under his guidance. For ourselves, we are unfeignedly thankful it was not. A really doctrinal Reformation would never have been inaugurated by so unmitigated a diplomatist. Dr. Plummer can yet write: "To retain Roman authority and give up Roman doctrine is impossible." And again: "If anything in the future is morally certain, it is that England will never again accept the doctrines and jurisdiction of Rome." This is curious after the former. He startles us further by saying that every Anglican is free to adopt any explanation of the manner of the Presence in Holy Communion that seems to him or to her to be edifying, or, better still, to

avoid searching for an explanation. We should have thought it clear that the whole Prayer-Book and the works of the Reformers emphasized the Real Presence—not in the elements, but in the heart of the worthy recipient; not *on* the table, but *at* the table. Haziness of idea is the surest inlet of superstition. We should characterize the Reformation in its essence as a repudiation of Roman doctrine rather than a compromise.

THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL. By W. Howard Frere, M.A. *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 5s.

A volume of this kind was, we suppose, inevitable in the Oxford Library of Practical Theology, which aims at supplying "carefully considered teaching" on matters of religion to the devout layman who desires instruction, but avoids learned treatises. The book is practically an apologetic for the Ritualistic party, whose views on doctrine and history are set forth in other volumes of the series, and its references to those Churchmen who are not attracted by these newest fashions in religion are not always in good taste. Thus, he charges Churches of Puritan tradition with observing a ceremonial which rests mainly on the individual caprice of Vicars or curates, and on no ecclesiastical authority whatever.

It would have been well if Mr. Frere could have found space for a few examples of what he had in mind when writing in this way. We are certainly not familiar with any Evangelical Churches to which his description would apply. Moreover, the pages of Mr. Frere's book contain references to a great many number of ceremonial actions on the part of both clergy and laity of which he admits the extremely doubtful authority, and he gently chides his brethren from time to time for retaining in a ceremonial form actions which at one time served a practical purpose, but which now have neither utility nor authority. He gives as an example of the latter the lifting of the tail of the chasuble by an acolyte when the celebrant elevates the consecrated elements. When the chasuble was long and full and of a heavy material, it must have been a relief to have it held up; but now that chasubles scarcely reach below the back, the retention of the action merely provokes ridicule. Mr. Frere gives a chapter on ceremonial in general, in which he aims at showing that in ordinary life, and at Court, Masonic and civic functions, there is a great deal of ceremonial of one kind or another, and he presses this to the utmost, so as to draw the inference that in religious matters ceremonial should be not only more reverent, but also more full and precise. He next proceeds to discuss religious ceremonial in several aspects, bringing a great deal of antiquarian and ecclesiological detail to bear upon the question, and there is in all this very little, if any, reference to the important question of the authority which is to direct and regulate the ceremonial, so that it shall be something more than the Vicar's "own ways" or "oddities." Then, we have a chapter on the rubrics of the Prayer-Book, the object of which appears to be to show how incomplete these are, and, therefore, how much they need supplementing. "In the Missal," says Mr. Frere, "for example, there is page after page which contains almost as much rubric as text; but on turning to the Prayer-Book, there is nothing at all comparable to this." Of course there is not; but the inference from this

is not that the rubrics of the Missal are still to be followed, but that, since they have been discarded, they must be ignored. Will it be believed that among the instances given of the imperfectness of the rubrics we read that they do not tell the clergyman how he is to reach the "altar," where he is to vest, or the position in which the Epistle and Gospel are to be read? The whole chapter on this subject is worth reading as an illustration of the specious show of reasoning by which the "experts" of the priest party mislead their followers. On the question of the "authority" for the complex ceremonial discussed and defended in this book, Mr. Frere says in effect that it rests with the Bishops, though even now there are only a very few Bishops whose sympathies are with the extreme Ritualistic party, while the majority write in condemning their practices. But his whole treatment of this part of the subject shows clearly enough how little value Mr. Frere has for the opinions of any Bishops who may happen to have the misfortune to differ from him. We have not space to deal with his treatment of the Ornaments Rubric, which should be read in conjunction with the searching cross-examination to which Mr. Frere was subjected by the Dean of the Arches before the Ritual Commission, and it will be seen how precarious and untenable are the grounds on which the Ritualistic theory is based. But Mr. Frere's own admission, which we have already quoted, that there is nothing in the Prayer-Book at all comparable to the rubrical directions of the Missal, is so destructive of the whole position taken up in his book that nothing could be added to its damaging force.

THE EYE FOR SPIRITUAL THINGS. By H. M. Gwatkin, M.A. *T. and T. Clark.* Price 4s. 6d. net.

These sermons are a welcome combination of brevity, lucidity, spirituality, and penetration. Sentences packed with thought, difficult subjects skilfully handled, arrest us. Scientific men should note that "we need training as much for spiritual as scientific truth." Ordination candidates should read the sermon on "Patience." Romanizing sentimentalists should ponder the truth that "there is no profaner page in history than the negotiations for the union of Churches." Downcast Christians will value the sermon on "Hope." That on "Eternal Punishment" is powerful and suggestive, though the author does not give full prominence to the arguments for the old view. He reaches his conclusions on the ground that God's purposes cannot be finally defeated by sin.

THE MENDER. By Amy Le Feuvre. London: *The Religious Tract Society.* Price 6s.

Miss Le Feuvre has given us in this story some interesting pictures of life and character. Very varied are the characteristics of the several individuals depicted, from the eccentric Lady Veale and the quick-tempered old Captain Campion to the Mender, who, by means of her good influence, combines various styles of "mending" into a harmonious whole. The drink question is skilfully handled and intertwined with some love-stories. What we particularly like in this authoress's work is her beautiful presentation of week-day religion and the introduction of one or two passages of

Scripture, which are brought forward again and again with great power and force. "Why shouldest thou be . . . as a mighty man that cannot save?" was the impression left upon the mind after reading this book. "The Mender" is a most readable story, and we thoroughly and cordially recommend it.

EVERY BOY'S BOOK OF BRITISH NATURAL HISTORY. By W. Percival Westell, F.R.H.S. London: *The Religious Tract Society*. Price 3s. 6d.

Not only "Every Boy's Book," but "Everybody's Book," would be a suitable title for this fascinating work. It is quite a small encyclopædia of information on bird life and habits. In this section of the book the species are set out in alphabetical order, and eight points are dealt with in the account of each bird, such as their nests, eggs, vocal powers, plumage, etc. One chapter is devoted to "Some British Mammals," another to "Butterflies, Moths, etc.," and still another to "Some British Wild Flowers and Trees." There are 109 interesting and charming photographs as illustrations. It is impossible to give any adequate idea of this useful and delightful book.

THE ADVENTURES OF BABS. By M. D. C. Lucas. London: *The Religious Tract Society*. Price 1s. net.

This is a very sweet but pathetic little story of a child of four. A clever little dog and a kind-hearted but ignorant boy are prominent characters in it. How Babs was lost and the parts which the gipsy boy and the dog played in her return are attractively told. It is written in a style which would be fascinating to a child, and we warmly commend it as a Christmas gift for young children.

IN PURSUIT OF A PHANTOM. By E. Everett-Green. London: *The Religious Tract Society*. Price 2s. 6d.

A story concerned with the modern pursuit of pleasure in the forms of bridge-playing, betting, drinking, and other evils. It shows how and when recreation may become sin. Proficiency at bridge, by its earnings, is made a substitute for an honourable profession. The *nowveaux riches* of society, with their slang and smart ways, and the absence of real worth and intellect are shown in no flattering light. Worth, goodness, and old-fashioned manners and principles triumph in the end, as they ought always to do in stories of good tone. The love-affairs of several couples are pleasantly woven into this story. Mrs. Everett-Green is too well known as an interesting writer to need any recommendation.

RECEIVED :

Our Little Dots, The Child's Companion, Church Missionary Intelligencer, Church Missionary Gleaner, Awake, The Round World, India's Witness, The Canadian Churchman, India's Women and China's Daughters, The Bible in the World, Bible Society Gleanings, The Cottager and Artisan, Church and People, South American Missionary Magazine, The Sunday at Home, Protestant Observer, The Church Gazette, Grievances from Ireland (No. 21), The Dawn of Day, Girls' Own Paper, Orient and Occident, The Expository Times, The Reader and Lay Worker, Open Doors (organ of Mrs. Meredith's Homes).

