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THE

CHURCHMAN

DECEMBER, 1902.

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IT is specially instructive that one of the Collects of the Advent season is a prayer for the due use of the Holy Scriptures. Having regard to the Epistle for the same Sunday, it cannot be doubted that this is due to the fact that the season is pre-eminently marked by prophetic associations. It reminds us of the most important of all prophecies which still remain to be fulfilled—that of the second Advent of our Lord. There is not, perhaps, a greater instance of the essentially supernatural and miraculous character of the Christian revelation than the fact that one of the very corner-stones of our faith respecting the future, which we reassert whenever we recite the Apostles' Creed, is a prophecy respecting an event wholly out of the range of our natural faculties, and of the most distinct and definite character. It is a prophecy that our Lord will return in glory and power to judge the quick and the dead. The Christian life depends no less on that prediction respecting the future, than upon the facts of our Lord's life when He was upon earth. He and His Apostles have assured us that He will so come again, in like manner as He was seen to go into heaven, in order to assert in a final judgment the truths and the laws He has given us for our guidance; and that Judgment may be regarded as the effective sanction of the Christian law. But this is no surmise of our natural faculties; no ordinary reasoning could suffice to give it validity, as a great truth on which our action must be founded. It is a simple prediction of plain matter of fact, resting solely upon the word and promise of our Lord Himself and His Apostles.

The case, as we are reminded throughout the Advent season, is precisely similar to that of our Lord's first coming.

That coming had similarly been predicted and looked forward to, though, from the nature of the case, with less definiteness than the second coming can be foreseen. But here also certain assurances had been given which were sufficiently plain in their broad outlines; and as these were exactly fulfilled in the first coming of our Lord, so are we encouraged to believe that the predictions of His second coming will be similarly fulfilled. Such is the practical argument of St. Paul in the fifteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, in assuring us that "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope." He is dealing with what was the great difficulty to the Jews of his time—namely, the admission of the Gentiles to all the privileges of the chosen people of God; and he is supporting himself and them, amidst the opposition and misunderstanding they had to encounter, by reminding them that this admission had been distinctly predicted in their Scriptures, and that the wonderful development of the kingdom of God which they were witnessing was thus, beyond all doubt, in harmony with the Divine will and purpose. Without this evidence from previous prophecy, the difficulty of breaking through the inveterate prejudice of the Jews of the Apostle's time might, indeed, have been well-nigh insuperable; and accordingly almost every argument addressed by the Apostles to the Jews at the foundation of the Christian Church is based upon prophecy and prophetic history. The memorable argument of St. Stephen, which formed the very basis of St. Paul's subsequent thought, simply recounts those facts of past Jewish history and prophecy which bore upon the charge against him, with the view of showing that they involved the principles which he was proclaiming. The essence of the early Christian argument is thus an argument from prophecy, and it is upon the fulfilment of that prophecy that the Apostles took their stand in appealing to their own countrymen.

An argument which held this momentous place at the foundation of the Christian Church can never be otherwise than of the highest importance to us, and it is well to endeavour, from time to time, to refresh our apprehension of its overwhelming force. It may be of advantage at the outset to observe that it is in great measure independent of discussions respecting the exact interpretation and applicability of particular texts. There is one fact which, taken by itself, is sufficient to establish and illustrate the prophetic character of the Old Testament, and which was the main element in the preaching of the Apostles. This is the undoubted fact, that when the Apostles preached to the Jews that Jesus was

the Christ, every Jew knew sufficiently what the word "Christ," or "Messiah," meant. The Apostles did not go to the Jews to tell them that our Lord had come to assume new functions of which they had no conception; but that He had come in a character, and had assumed an office, of the nature of which they were well aware, and for the realization of which they were looking forward with the utmost eagerness. Our Lord's position differs essentially, in this respect, from that of all other great religious leaders, such, for example, as the Buddha, or Mahomet. They created their own positions. The idea of the Buddha was initiated by Sakya Muni; and although Mahomet's idea of his office was in some degree due to Jewish tradition, still, in its specific character, it is the result of his own action. But the idea of the Messiah, with the conception of the Messianic office, existed, beyond all question, long before our Lord came; and its sole ultimate source was the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The origin of the idea is to be found nowhere else; but there, as a plain and broad matter of fact, it exists; and it had been consolidated into a great living ideal in the minds of men who derived their religious beliefs from the Old Testament, and from the Old Testament alone.

For the purpose of this aspect of the argment there is no necessity to enter into critical questions, as to the date of the various parts of Isaiah's prophecies, for example, or of the Book of Daniel. Two facts alone are sufficient to enable us to establish the prophetic character of this great conception—one, the fact of the existence of the whole Old Testament in at least the third century before Christ; so that translations of great parts of it were completed and in use among Jews in various parts of the ancient world at that date; the other, the fact of the expectation of the Messiah having been produced by it. That the Septuagint translation began to be produced in the third century and was completed in the second is beyond controversy; and we have in our hands not less conclusive evidence of the interpretation which was placed by Jews, before the birth of our Lord, upon the general tenour of these sacred Scriptures. Out of them, long before His advent, had arisen a whole literature of Messianic expectations, and the very air of Jewish thought was full of anticipations of His coming.

This fact is so important that it is no wonder some rationalistic critics have endeavoured to dispute it. If it could be shown that the belief in a coming Messiah was an afterthought of the Christian Church, great suspicion would justly be thrown on the interpretation of the Messianic prophecies. It would be easy to urge that the meaning assigned to them by Christian divines is not one which would naturally have

been suggested by them, but has been forced into them in the interests of the Christian argument. It is therefore deserving of particular notice that these attempts to dispute the existence, before the time of our Lord, of Messianic hopes and Messianic interpretations of prophecy are rejected by the writer—himself sufficiently rationalistic in tendency—who is recognised among scholars of all schools as the greatest living authority on the circumstances of our Lord's time—I mean Dr. Schürer, the author of the great work on the history of the Jewish people in the time of our Lord, of which the third edition has been completed this year. He says (vol. ii., p. 505) that "in reality the Messianic idea had never entirely died out, at least not in its more general form, as the hope for a better future for the people. In any case, in the last centuries before Christ, and particularly in the time of Christ, it became again very active, as indeed is shown by the course of the Gospel history. Without Jesus doing anything for its revival, it appears as in full life among the people. Moreover, in the last centuries before Christ it appears, as a rule, not only in its general form as a hope for a better future for the people, but specifically as a hope for a Messianic King." From the interesting historical sketch in which he justifies this statement it will be sufficient here to quote two references. He says (p. 508) that "the stream of Messianic prediction is poured forth in rich fulness in the oldest Jewish Sibylline verses, which appeared about the year 140 B.C." But in the Psalter of Solomon, which he assigns to the time of Pompey (63-48 B.C.) he says (p. 510) that "the image of the Messianic King appears in fuller colours and in sharper outlines. These psalms are particularly instructive in one point—namely, that the author emphasizes not only that God Himself is Israel's King, but also that the kingdom of the House of David will not cease before God. . . . He hopes that God will raise up a King out of David's House, who will reign over Israel, annihilate his enemies, and purify Jerusalem from the heathen. . . . Apparently what is expected by the author is not, in a general sense, God-fearing Kings from the House of David, but one unique King—the Messias, endowed by God with wonderful powers, who is holy and pure from sin, whom God has made mighty and wise by the Holy Spirit, and who consequently will smite His enemies, not with external weapons, but with the word of His mouth."

This evidence affords a valuable confirmation, in the present day, of the fact that the appeal of the Apostles, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Evangelists in their references to prophecy, is perfectly true to the ideas of their contemporaries. But the main consideration which arises upon

such facts is that they appear to afford conclusive proof of the reality of Messianic prediction in the Old Testament. If the prophecies of the Old Testament were not Messianic, how came they to give rise, before the Messiah had come, to an expectation of His coming, and to a general apprehension of His office in its broad features? We may venture, in fact, to put the matter in this form—that our Lord came, not to create a new office, but to fill one which had been already created, and which was vacant. Thoughtful Jews looked forward to the coming of a perfect prophet, priest, and king, and the office of the first preachers of the Gospel was to show that our Lord's character answered, and more than answered, to these lineaments. In view of this broad fact, the general Messianic character of the Old Testament becomes independent of controversial details. One great central reality did, as a matter of fact, emerge, by the natural influence of the Old Testament Scriptures, and that reality is the great character and office which our Lord claimed to fulfil.

This consideration becomes the more impressive when we bear in mind the continuous development of this conception. It does not depend upon a few specific passages, or even upon one or two authors, but is, so to say, the total result of a long and varied national literature. The Old Testament is the work of many different authors, who wrote in different ages and in different places. The lapse of time between Moses and Malachi is not less than a thousand years, or about the same period which separates us from Saxon times, and the books of the Bible arise gradually in the course of this long and varied succession of centuries. What an extraordinary thing it would seem to us if we had a national literature beginning with King Alfred, extending through Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor times, all of which exhibited a general unity in the conception it presented of the destinies of our nation, and which pointed with more and more clearness to the appearance of a certain personage, with specific powers and offices, about our own time! But this, as is proved, not only by Christian, but by Jewish testimony, is the case with the Scriptures. So the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott, in a remarkable discussion, in his edition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the use of the Old Testament in that Epistle, observes (p. 480) that generally it may be said "that Christ and the Christian dispensation are regarded in it as the one end to which the Old Testament points, and in which it finds its complete accomplishment." That Epistle, as he shows, reviews with singular comprehensiveness the record of the revelation of the Old Testament, from Abraham to the later prophets, depicts by means of that record the personal Messiah with singular

completeness of portraiture, and shows that every stage of the Old Testament history affords some anticipation of Him (p. 489). So when St. Stephen begins his defence to the Jewish rulers, he goes back to the records of the patriarch Abraham, and traces through him, and through Moses, David, and the prophets, the thread of prediction, the prophecy of national destiny, to which his people clung. His argument would have had no weight had he not been appealing to promises which were fully admitted by those whom he addressed. Their position, like his, was based on the conviction which their history and their prophets had wrought in them, that from first to last they were the subjects of a special Divine dispensation, which assured them of a great office in the economy of the world, and of the advent of a great prophet like unto Moses, who would be their leader in the fulfilment of this destiny. Ancient patriarchal records, prophecies, psalms, national troubles and deliverances, all pointed to this great central promise, and were felt to possess by virtue of it an indissoluble unity. This, perhaps, is the greatest marvel of old Testament prophecy. A single prediction, such as Isa. liii., is wonderful enough. But ten centuries of continuous prophecy, often unconscious—ten centuries of literature, springing from different hands in different countries and ages, all converging, as unquestionable matter of fact, in one central prediction, that of the Messiah—this is a prophecy which bespeaks the continuous action and inspiration of One with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

Nor, although this great fact constitutes the chief point in the predictive character of the Old Testament, must we forget that, apart again from controversial details, it is marked throughout by specific predictions of definite facts. Long before it could have occurred to any natural observation that the Jews were destined to play that momentous part in the subsequent history of the world, which we know now they have played and are still fulfilling, the sacred historian, in the Book of Genesis, picks out the thread of the Patriarchal history from the mass of the confused drama which the world presented; and from the time when Abraham appears in the narrative of that book, everything, throughout the Scriptures, is narrated in relation to, and in harmony with, the history of his race. The Jews might be crushed by the great Assyrian, or Babylonian, or Persian Monarchies. It makes no difference to the point of view from which the prophetic historians survey the scene. They are inspired by an unwavering conviction that the stream of their national life is continuous and can never be broken, and that the destinies of all those mighty nations are of comparatively transient interest compared with

their own. In spite of their apparent dissolution as a nation, we know how completely those hopes have been justified, and that while all the glory of man, by which they were surrounded at Nineveh or Babylon, has passed away like a dream, the Word of the Lord, spoken by apparently insignificant prophets, has endured for ever. Nor is it simply in the definite prediction of the importance of their race to the history of the world that prophecy is of this specific character. Through the darkest ages, when the seed of David had apparently disappeared, as the royal blood of many an ancient dynasty has been submerged in history, did the prophets persistently recall the old promises which had been made to David's house, and predict that the great king of their nation should be born of David's line. There can surely be no question that these definite and detailed promises have received in the coming of our Lord, and in the momentous office which, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear, He holds towards the human race, a specific fulfilment of the most conspicuous and marvellous character. A great Ruler and Law-giver, Prophet, and Priest of the seed of David is now the most potent power in the history of the world, and all thoughtful eyes are turned on His ever-growing influence and kingdom.

If, then, we find that the Scriptures have predicted, in long past ages, the main course and current of human affairs; that they have indicated where the centre of all human history would be found to lie; that they have designated, out of all the families of the earth, not merely the race, but the specific house, from which the King should arise who should be "a light to lighten the Gentiles"; if they have thus in the past been, in the words of St. Peter, "as a light shining in a dark place until the day dawn and the Day-star arise in our hearts," what comfort and patience ought we not to derive from them in their assurances respecting those blessed realities to which they point us in the future! If St. Paul, in the difficulties of his time, when the fulfilment of the promises made to his people was only dawning on his vision, could base his hope upon those Scriptures, what trust and what assurance ought we not to derive from them in our spiritual life! With what reverence ought not all their intimations respecting the future, as well as the past and the present, to be received; and with what thankfulness should we not accept their guidance respecting our duties here and our destinies hereafter! In particular, what "comfort and patience" ought we not to learn from them with respect to those solemn and blessed realities which are associated with the promise of our Lord's second coming! We should surely be encouraged to live with

the deepest confidence and hope in the prospect of His appearing hereafter as our Lord and Saviour, and at the same time "to pass the time of our sojourning here in fear," in the belief that He will then appear also as our Judge. In this faith in His prophetic word, we shall strive so to abide in Him, "that when He shall appear we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before Him at His coming." HENRY WACE.

ART. II.—LIGHT FROM THE ALMANACK.

Matt. xiv. 22-33 ; Mark vi. 45-52; John vi. 14-21.

IN the three accounts of our Lord's walking on the sea there are, I think, some undesigned coincidences of considerable importance. If so, it is hardly likely that I am the first to discover them. But I do not happen to have seen the thing written out, and I will try what I can do.

St. Matthew and St. Mark give substantially the same account, though St. Mark has, as usual, some graphic touches peculiar to himself, as that when our Lord was on the mountain above He *saw* the disciples on the sea; that when He came to them "He would have passed by them"; and that they *all* saw Him. St. John's account is independent, yet with some exact correspondences with St. Matthew and St. Mark, notably in the words, "It is I; be not afraid." St. John says, chap. vi. 3, that the Passover was near. Jesus had crossed the sea of Tiberias with His disciples "to rest awhile," probably as a suitable preparation for the approaching festival, which, as devout Jews, He and His disciples would keep at Jerusalem, as before His last Passover He retired to the "city called Ephraim." But it was a time when many were on their way to Jerusalem; and it seems to be for this reason that St. John notices the time, as it accounts for so large a number of people, chiefly *men*, following our Saviour into His retreat.

It was "late," says St. Matthew, or, as St. Mark tells us, "the day was far spent" before the feeding of the five thousand took place. This, with the gathering of the fragments, would take some time; so that the dismissal of the disciples to their boat could not have been long before sunset, which in Palestine at that time of year would be soon after six o'clock. St. John says "it was late" when the disciples went on board. Then followed the dismissal of the multitude and our Lord's ascent of the mountain. And again we have the same expression, "It was late." Thus, there are *three* "lates" in the story

It was late in the day before the five thousand were fed; it was still later, near upon sunset, when the disciples embarked; and it was late in the evening, most likely after sunset, when our Lord was alone on the mountain and the disciples encountered the storm. How, then, could our Lord *see* the disciples? We need not suppose that when St. Mark speaks of our Lord seeing them they had rowed the whole of twenty-five or thirty furlongs from their starting-point. "In the midst of the sea" does not necessarily mean half-way across. But the disciples would be some distance westward from the shore, and our Lord would be some distance eastward on the mountain. If we could ascertain exactly what part of the mountain He stood upon, and exactly where the disciples embarked, we might give a more exact account of what took place. But there would be *some* considerable distance between our Lord and the boat. How could He *see* it and its crew? Of course, a miracle would account for anything. But it is a wise rule not to introduce a miracle where Scripture does not seem to require it.

He would see them by *moonlight*. At the Passover the moon would rise about sunset and set about sunrise. Sunrise and sunset at the Passover season would each be about six o'clock. A few days before the Passover the moon would rise about three in the afternoon, reach its greatest height about nine, and set about three in the morning. St. Mark says our Lord *saw* the disciples out at sea from His place on the mountain. St. John says that when He came to the disciples it was dark. St. Matthew says He "went" (ἀπῆλθε) to them in the fourth watch of the night. St. Mark says it was about the fourth watch of the night when He "cometh" (ἔρχεται) to them. The Revisers, usually so exact, have here omitted to mark this little difference. It was probably before the moon set that He left the mountain, and soon after it had set that He came to the disciples. The moon enabled Him to see them at a considerable distance. The darkness, after the moon was set in the fourth watch of the night—say four o'clock in the morning—would prevent the disciples from recognising their Master even when He was within a few yards of them. St. Mark tells us that Jesus saw the disciples from the mountain at a distance, and that the disciples could not distinctly see Him when He was near them on the sea. But he does not tell us what enabled Him to see them at first, nor what hindered them from seeing Him afterwards. St. John says nothing about His seeing them from the land, but says, as St. Matthew and St. Mark imply, but do not say, it was dark when He came to them, and from his mention of the Passover we are warranted in concluding that it was light, moonlight, with a moon nearly full, shining on to the sea first

from the south-west, next from the south, lastly from the west, on its way towards its setting, in neither case, perhaps, in so good a position for showing any object on the sea as if it had been shining in the east, and so behind our Lord. But when we remember that the eastern banks of the Sea of Galilee are 2,000 feet high (Smith's Dictionary), we see that an observer thus placed would have a great advantage. The little touch in St. Matthew, that He went, departed, set out, in the fourth watch, may not count for much. But it seems to complete the picture by leaving our Lord on the height in prayer almost as long as He could see, and representing Him as using the last light of the declining moon, which would now shine full on the face of the cliff, to come down the 2,000 feet by one of the many ravines (Smith) to the shore, and set out on His miraculous walk of three or four miles on the water. How St. Mark knew that the Lord *saw* the disciples we cannot say. But probably He told them, and Peter told Mark.

That neither St. Mark nor St. John mentions St. Peter's attempt to walk on the sea is scarcely more remarkable than that St. Luke omits our Lord's own walking on it, or that St. Mark omits the special promise to Peter after his confession of faith. St. John seems to have recorded our Lord's walking on the sea as an almost necessary connecting-link between the feeding of the five thousand and the discourse at Capernaum.

Comparing the ἤθελον λαβεῖν of St. John vi. 21 with the ἤθελε παρελθεῖν of St. Mark vi. 48, we might doubt, at first sight, whether St. John meant us to understand that Jesus actually got into the boat. But St. John's usage in i. 43 (or 44), v. 35, and viii. 44, as others have pointed out, clears up the difficulty. Ἤθελον λαβεῖν αὐτόν practically = they would take Him = they took Him. The *primâ facie* difficulties about the two Bethsaidas, St. Mark and St. Luke, and the Capernaum of St. John have been well cleared up. Others have also pointed out that there would be *grass* near the shore in March or April, the time of the Passover, as St. Mark and St. John say there was—"on the green grass"; "there was much grass in the place"; also that the four thousand sat on the *ground*, perhaps at another time of the year.

All this looks like fact. It makes, at least, a high presumption that the miraculous feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the water really took place. If by piecing together two or three separate narratives we had come upon the statement that shortly before the Passover it was dark from sunset to three in the morning, and light for the

rest of the night, or that grass was green and abundant near the Lake of Galilee in July or August, but not in March or April, we should, at least, have found ourselves far less ready to credit the rest of what had been written by writers thus inaccurate than when, as at present, St. John and St. Mark fit one another like the key and wards of a lock, though without any obvious attempt to agree with one another, and, indeed, in such a way as to make it all but absolutely certain that no such thought entered either writer's mind. The little touch in St. Matthew is but little, but it is in the same direction.

J. FOXLEY.

*** Since this paper was written I have seen that Dr. Edersheim mentions part of the argument in his "Life and Times of the Messiah."

*** In the year 29, which I take to be the year in which these miracles took place, the Paschal full moon fell either on March 18 or on April 17, the same days as those on which full moons occurred in those months in 1897. (See Lewin's "Fasti Sacri," p. 241; or Browne's "Ordo Sæculorum," from which Lewin quotes, p. 55.)

The following details are taken from Whitaker's Almanack for 1897. The hours are for Greenwich, but, so near the equinox, I suppose they would not differ much from the hours in Palestine:

Day in 1897.	Moon rose.	Moon southed.	Moon set.
March 15	1.50 afternoon	9.38 evening	4.46 next morning
March 16	3.13 „	10.28 „	5.6 „ „
April 13	2.8 „	9.4 „	3.25 „ „
April 14	3.33 „	9.53 „	3.40 „ „

Perhaps some astronomer will tell us the exact times, etc., at which the moon rose, southed, and set at Tiberias for a few days before March 18 and April 17, A.D. 29. Is it known whether March 18 or April 17 was taken for the Paschal full moon that year? One table that I have gives April 17 only; the anonymous writer refers to a paper by the Rev. J. R. Lunn in the *Sacristy* for 1872, p. 234, which I have not seen.

ART. III.—TIGLATHPILESER, KING OF BABYLON: THE KEY TO ISAIAH XIII. 1 TO XIV. 27—III.

IN the extracts from Professors Sayce and McCurdy given in a previous article, reference is made to the remarkable financial system instituted by Tiglathpileser—remarkable because then so novel. It was not merely that this great conqueror every now and then exacted enormous tributes from some vanquished foe, as, for instance, when his general,

the Rabshakeh, took 150 talents of gold from Mitenna of Tyre.[1] Things like this had been done by former Kings, but Tiglathpileser had a more masterly policy. He sought to establish a regular system of finance and the annual payment of a fixed tribute, which was made more oppressive according as the subject peoples were more restive under it. There are still existing fragments of the tribute-lists of this King, in which the amount to be paid by the different cities is nicely apportioned.[2] Further, it is impossible to acquit this great monarch of that grasping, covetous spirit so characteristic of the Ninevite rulers. All the riches of the provinces were to flow towards the capital. The Assyrian lion was bent on filling "his caves with prey and his dens with ravin."[3] Witness the names which he gives to the halls and gateways of his palace at Calah: "Holding abundance"; "Preserving the tribute of mountains and seas"; "Causing the fulness of the lands to enter into the presence of the King their lord."[4] When, then, a second capital was established in Babylon, the same thing went on still. The wealth that had flowed together to Calah was now diverted to the banks of the Euphrates. Babylon now became "the golden city," or, as some translate it, "the gold exactress,"[5] and is identified by the prophet with the grasping tyrant who had founded his new capital in her. Hence the opening stanza of the "parable":

> "How hath the oppressor ceased,
> The golden city ceased."

Further, when we read a little later of "the *continual* stroke" with which the conquered peoples were smitten, it is impossible not to see a reference to the financial policy and the fixed yearly tributes first devised by Tiglathpileser.

In xiv. 17 the tyrant is described as "making the world as a wilderness, and overthrowing the cities thereof"; whilst in xiv. 21 it is implied that he was also a builder of cities. Like other powerful Kings of Assyria, Tiglathpileser comes before

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[1] "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. v., p. 126.
[2] *Ibid.*, Old Series, vol. xi., pp. 139-144.
[3] Nahum ii. 12.
[4] "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. v., p. 128.
[5] Heb. מַדְהֵבָה = (1) "golden city," from root דהב, Chaldee = Heb. זהב; (2) "place of languishing," from דאב, "to languish" (Delitzsch); but (3) some ancient versions read מַרְהֵבָה = "proud oppression," which forms a suitable parallel to נֹגֵשׂ, "the oppressor." Compare Isa. iii. 5, where both these words occur. Hence Ewald renders:

> "How still is the despot!
> Still, the imperious rage!"

us as a great devastator. To use his own phraseology, he breaks a conquered kingdom "like a potter's vessel"; "threshes it as with a threshing instrument"; "shatters it to atoms"; "treads it down like dust"; "sweeps over it like a mountain wave." But he was not only a destroyer; according to Professor Maspero he raised cities and fortresses throughout the length and breadth of Assyria and its more recently acquired provinces.[1] Hence on the Clay Tablet from Nimrud, when speaking of his conquests in Media and other Eastern lands, he adds, "the cities which were in them I built anew."

In xiv. 12 the prophet uses a striking simile to portray the sudden downfall of this most ambitious tyrant: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O day star, son of the morning!" This simile, so strikingly beautiful, is no less suitable. In Assyria, as Oppert observes, the Morning Star was called *kakkabu mustelil*, "l'étoile brillante," where *mustelil* comes from the same root as the Hebrew word *helal*, "radiant one" —R.V., "day star"—here used by Isaiah. Thus, in the syllabary given in Rawlinson's "Western Asia Inscriptions," vol. iii., p. 57, we read in line 60, "*kakkab ilu Nabu, kakkab sarri, kakkabu mustelil*" = "l'étoile de Nabu, l'étoile du roi, l'étoile brillante"—*i.e.*, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus respectively. Also in line 36 of the same syllabary, Venus as the Morning Star is identified with Ishtar: *Dilbat ina Samas aṣi Istar kakkabi—i.e.*, "Dilbat (Venus) at the sunrise is the star of Ishtar."[2] Why is the usurper likened to the Morning Star, the star of Ishtar? Not merely because of its brilliance, but because among the Assyrians Ishtar, as the Morning Star —*i.e.*, Ishtar of Arbela—was the war goddess, "the lady of battle and war," "the lady of onset," "the strengthener of battle," "the chieftain of heaven and earth." "Not only," writes Professor Sayce, "was Ishtar the Evening Star, the companion of the Moon: she became also the Morning Star, the companion and herald of the Sun. It was thus that she assumed the attributes of a male deity, since Dun-khud-e, 'the hero who issues forth at daybreak,' was both a god and the Morning Star"—*i.e.*, among the Accadians, the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia.[3] It was, then, this masculine goddess who was identified with the Morning Star. Further, in Babylonia Ishtar bore the name of Nanâ and the title

[1] See "The Passing of the Empires," p. 207, footnote, where the names of some of these cities are given.

[2] See *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1871, p. 448.

[3] See the Hibbert Lectures for 1887, p. 258; and for Ishtar as the war goddess, see the seal impression in Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization, p. 670.

"Queen of Babylon," and it was under this name and title that Tiglathpileser offered sacrifices to her in Babylonia.[1] She was also called "Queen of the Mountain of the World," a mountain supposed by some writers to be "the mount of congregation in the uttermost parts of the north"[2] referred to in the "parable." If, then, a great and successful ruler be not unsuitably represented by a brilliant star, it is clear that the prophet could not have chosen a more fitting simile than the one now before us, for he thus identifies Assyria's warrior King with the star of her "goddess of battles," and Babylon's —nay, the world's—ruler with the star of "the Queen of Babylon," "the Queen of the Mountain of the World." Further, it will be noticed that this identification of the King with the war-goddess is not unlike that of verse 4, where the oppressor is identified with the oppressing city.

But whilst the prophetic "parable" seems admirably suited to the great personality of Tiglathpileser, yet it is not denied that formidable difficulties meet us when we look at other parts of the Burden of Babylon. Perhaps the chief difficulty is the mention, in chap. xiii. 17, of the Medes as the instrument of the Divine vengeance on Babylon: "Behold I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver, and, as for gold, they shall not delight in it"—*i.e.*, revenge rather than plunder will be their motive. The question thus arises, What was the position of the Medes, politically and geographically, in the days of Tiglathpileser, and what was their special grudge against Assyria, or, rather, against Babylon? To this question, owing to the scanty scraps of Babylonian history bearing on this period which have come to hand, only an imperfect answer can be given. The Medes first appear in the Assyrian annals in the twenty-fourth year of Shalmaneser II., B.C. 836, more than a hundred years before the time at which we are looking. They are styled by the Assyrians *dannuti*, "mighty," an epithet only given to them and to the Manda or nomads of the steppes, of whom they are believed by some to have been a branch. They are also styled *rukuti*, "distant," and *samuti*, by some rendered "obscure," by others "distant." They dwell over a wide extent of mountainous country, from Illip, the name of the region round the Southern Ecbatana, to Mount Bikni, "the mountain of *uknu* stone," supposed to be the snowy height of Demavend on the south of the Caspian. To the east of them are "the

[1] See lines 15 and 16 of Slab Inscription No. 1, given in Schrader's "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," vol. ii., pp. 2-9; and for some of the many titles of Ishtar, see the hymn to this goddess given in Budge's "Babylonian Life and History," pp. 129, 130.

[2] Isa. xiv. 13.

Arabs of the rising sun" and "the mighty Manda," to the south Elam, to the west the district of Namri, forming part of the Assyrian Empire. In the days of Tiglathpileser and his successors Media was divided into numerous districts, and was under the rule of *khazanati*, or "town-governors." We read of the *khazanati* of the mountains, and of *khazanati dannuti*, "mighty governors," for not only were the Medes formidable in the mass, but even separate chieftains were regarded as foes of some importance. In these *khazanati* we see "the Kings of the Medes," spoken of in Jer. xxv. 25; while such expressions as "the distant Medes," "the mighty Medes," "mighty *khazanati*," "the *khazanati* of the mountains," are in substantial harmony with the description of the foe which meets us near the commencement of the burden: "The noise of *a multitude in the mountains*, like as of a *great* people!"—great even in the eyes of the warlike Assyrians —"the noise of a tumult of *the kingdoms of the nations* gathered together!" . . . "They come from *a far country, from the uttermost part of heaven*, even the LORD, and the weapons of His indignation."[1]

But what grudge have the Medes against Babylon?—for it is implied that they are urged on by the spirit of revenge. The Medes, no doubt, have a grievous grudge against Babylon as the seat of the Assyrian tyrant; for this Tiglathpileser, according to his own showing, has carried into captivity 60,500 of their people, together with a countless spoil of horses, mules, oxen, and sheep. Their cities he has destroyed, laid waste, and burnt with fire, rebuilding some as garrison cities, whilst new-comers from distant parts of the empire have been introduced by him into their land.[2] Finally, large districts of Media have been annexed and placed under Assyrian governors, the worship of "Asshur, my lord," has been established, and the tyrant's hateful image set up in various places as a standing insult.[3] It is thus easy to see that Media must be the deadly foe of Tiglathpileser, King of Assyria, and now also King of Babylon. But has she any ground for enmity against the Babylonians themselves apart from their forced connection with Assyria? As stated above, our scanty acquaintance with Babylonian history, and the darkness which envelops the period immediately before the era of Tiglathpileser, prevents us giving any sufficient answer to this question. Yet there is one single expression in the historical inscriptions of Tiglath-

[1] Isa. xiii. 4, 5.
[2] Compare the policy of Sargon (2 Kings xvii. 6).
[3] See the Clay Tablet Inscription, lines 32-37, given in "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. v., pp. 115-128.

pileser which throws a ray of light on the question, and renders it probable that in the period immediately before B.C. 745, when Assyria was lying very low, Babylon made some attempt to subjugate part of Media. Among the districts or towns of Media conquered by Tiglathpileser mention is twice made of "Silkhazi, which men call *the stronghold of the Babylonians.*"[1] The name is remarkable, and certainly warrants a supposition, natural enough in itself, that Media had been invaded by Babylon; for the Medes, pressing forward from the east, must of necessity be held in check by the ruling power on the Euphrates and Tigris, whether that power be Assyria or Babylon, and they are best held in check by offensive rather than defensive operations. If, then, this was actually the case, the Medes have a grudge against Babylon as well as against her great King.

But here a further and yet greater difficulty meets us. How are we to answer the difficult question, When did Media, according to the prediction contained in the burden, avenge herself on Babylon? I would reply that the utter destruction and desolation with which Babylon is threatened, were to take place, so it would seem, subsequent to the downfall of the usurper and the uprooting of his family. This is indicated by the little word "also" in chap. xiv. 23. As a matter of fact, this destruction took place some forty years after the death of Tiglathpileser, and at the hands of Sennacherib, the second King of the next dynasty. Did the Medes, then, take any part in that destruction? Had Sennacherib any Median allies? We cannot say; but this much is worthy of notice, that while Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, made expeditions in the direction of Media in the four successive years B.C. 716 to 713, and Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, penetrated beyond the many folds of the Zagros Mountains, *Sennacherib himself let the Medes alone.* Only once does he mention them in his inscriptions, and that quite casually. He was returning from Ellipi at the close of his second campaign, when, as he casually remarks, "I received from the land of the distant Medes a heavy tribute; I placed them beneath my yoke."[2] This comparatively peaceful attitude of Sennacherib towards the Medes suggests that, influenced by prudential motives, he may have sought an alliance with this powerful people, and endeavoured to make use of them in his attack on Babylon. True, he does not even breathe a hint of this, for to do so would be to detract from his own glory; nevertheless, one can well conceive that the wily Assyrian would be only too glad to make use of

[1] See the Clay Tablet Inscription," lines 31, 32, and 38.
[2] "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. vi., pp. 87, 88.

an alliance with the "mighty Medes" as a counterpoise to the united strength of Babylon and her staunch ally the Elamite.

It has been already stated somewhat confidently that the predicted vengeance on Babylon, as distinct from that denounced against her great King, was executed by Sennacherib. The fulfilment of the prophecy is so striking that I give the story in full, and part of it in the destroyer's own words.

The Babylonians and Chaldeans, with their allies, the Elamites, were constantly giving Sennacherib trouble; possibly because, as Professor Maspero points out, he refused "to take the hands of Bel," and to have himself legitimately proclaimed King of Babylon, as his father, Sargon, had done. Sennacherib, it seems, was bent on relegating Babylon to the rank of a vassal State, and this was more than the haughty Babylonian spirit could submit to. Consequently, a very formidable insurrection broke out, headed by Merodach-baladan, who had maintained his seat on the throne of Babylon during the first twelve years of Sargon's reign, B.C. 722 to 710. The first campaign of Sennacherib, in B.C. 703, was directed against the Babylonian insurgents. After defeating Merodach-baladan and putting him to flight, he captured no fewer than seventy-five strong fortresses in Chaldea, and returned to Assyria with 208,000 captives. Terrible in his wrath, but not so strategic in his policy as Tiglathpileser and Sargon, Sennacherib was soon forced to take further measures. Accordingly, in his fourth campaign, B.C. 699, we find him again in Chaldea, overthrowing the chieftain Mushezīb-Marduk, and tracking out Merodach-baladan to his home in the marshland. That wily Prince a second time fled before the face of the foe, and betook himself with his gods and his treasures across the head of the Persian Gulf to Elam. Sennacherib, for want of ships, was unable then to follow him; he therefore contented himself with devastating Bit-Jakin, the hereditary principality of Merodach-baladan, and carrying away to Assyria all the members of his family whom he had left behind. On his way home Sennacherib placed his eldest son, Asshur-nadin-shumu, on the throne of Babylon. As time was required to make preparations for a campaign by sea, and it was necessary to give a check to the mountaineers on the north-west frontier, it was not till the year B.C. 694 that Sennacherib found himself able to cross the head of the Gulf, and pursue his foe to Elam. This feat, no small undertaking for an inland people like the Assyrians, was successfully accomplished with the help of Phœnician shipwrights and sailors, and wrath poured out to the full on the fugitive Chaldeans and their Elamite neighbours.

But meanwhile Khallushu, King of Elam, created a diversion by marching upon Babylon, carrying off to Elam Asshur-nadin-shumu, and placing Nergal-ushezib on the throne of the sacred city. This Nergal-ushezib, after a short reign of eighteen months, was defeated by an Assyrian army and carried captive to Assyria. But the spirit of rebellion or of patriotism, whichever we choose to consider it, was still active in Babylon and among the Chaldeans. When Nirgal-ushezib was carried captive to Assyria, "the Babylonians, wicked devils, closed their city gates; their heart planned the making of a rebellion."[1] This time they rallied round the Chaldean chieftain Mushezib-Marduk, placed him on the throne, and, opening the treasure-house of their chief temple, sent a costly bribe to Ummân-minânu, the new King of Elam, and entered into an alliance with him. The allied forces of these two Kings—"many as the locusts," "the dust of whose feet, like a storm-cloud, covered the broad face of heaven"[2]—were defeated by Sennacherib at the great battle of Khalule, on the banks of the Tigris, in B.C. 691. But though the Assyrian claims a complete victory on that occasion, the Babylonian Chronicle gives the impression that Khalule was a drawn battle;[3] at any rate, Mushezib-Marduk and his ally, the King of Elam, escaped the conqueror's hands, and the struggle might have been prolonged indefinitely had not Ummân-minânu been struck down with paralysis,[4] so that Elam, occupied with her own affairs, was unable to render further help to her ally. Perceiving his advantage, Sennacherib prepared to seize it, and, by pursuing a ruthless policy on which none of his predecessors had ever ventured, sought to rid himself once for all of his troublesome foes.

To the Assyrians Babylon was always the sacred city, the mother city, to be treated with a respect and indulgence shown to no other people. But Sennacherib's patience was exhausted; he saw no other way but summary vengeance to complete the good work only half done at Khalule. "In my second expedition," so he tells us, "I marched with haste to Babylon, which I planned to capture. Like the coming of a hurricane I raged; like a storm I cast it down. The city I surrounded with a cordon; with *bilti* and *napalḳati* I captured that city; I left none of its inhabitants, small or great, and I filled the square of the city with their corpses.

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[1] Taylor Cylinder, col. v., line 6. See "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. vi., p. 96.
[2] Taylor Cylinder, col. v., lines 43, 45.
[3] "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. i., p. 27.
[4] *Ibid.*

Shuzub (*i.e.*, Mushezib-Marduk), King of Babylon, together with his family, I captured alive; into my land I carried him off. The treasure of that city I carried away—gold, precious stone, possessions, treasure; into the hands of my men I delivered, and they took charge of them (or, took for themselves). The gods dwelling therein the hands of my men took, and they brake them in pieces; also they took their possessions and their treasure. . . . The city and the houses from foundation to roof I pulled down, dug up, and burnt with fire. The wall and the rampart, the temples of the gods, the temple towers, bricks and mortar, every vestige, I dragged away and threw into the river Arakhtu. *In the midst of that town I dug ditches; I covered its site with water;* I destroyed its site. I caused it to be more ruinous than if it had been overflowed with a tidal wave. In order that posterity might not find the site of that city and of the temples of the gods, *I made it glisten with water;* I destroyed it utterly."[1]

This destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib is also referred to about 130 years later by Nabonidus, the last Chaldean King of Babylon, in the following striking terms: "He (Sennacherib) cursed the land, and mercy he granted not. To Babylon he came: he cursed the shrines, he erased the sculptures, the ceremonies he caused to cease. The hand of the Prince Merodach he took, and he caused him to enter into the midst of the city of Asshur. As with the anger of a god he acted in the land, he ceased not his vengeance."[2] In this case, then, so remarkably does the historic event answer to the prediction as to leave little doubt upon the mind that we have here the actual fulfilment of the words of the burden: "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldean's pride, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." "I will also make it a possession for the porcupine and *pools of water;* and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the LORD of Hosts." In one point only does this fulfilment fall short of the prophet's words. The destruction inflicted by Sennacherib, utter and complete as it was, lasted only for a time. After eleven years, according to an inscription of Esarhaddon, the compassionate god Merodach selected him from amongst his brothers to take in hand the work of rebuilding the sacred city. When, then, it is said in xiii. 20 that Babylon "shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be

[1] See the Bavian Inscription of Sennacherib, lines 43-48 and 50-54. "Records of the Past," Old Series, vol. ix.

[2] See the important inscription of Nabonidus discovered at Babylon by Dr. Schiel, given in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for September, 1896.

dwelt in from generation to generation," we can only understand the prophet to be glancing down the vista of the future to what would be the ultimate fate of this great seat of world empire. Sennacherib's destruction was not final, but it was a vivid foreshadowing of what the final state of the city would be.

Here, then, I bring this somewhat lengthy paper to a close; and in doing so I venture to affirm that, despite one or two points on which, for lack of historic information, we are still in the dark, sufficient evidence has, nevertheless, been obtained from the page of contemporary history to substantiate the title which heads this famous prophecy, "THE BURDEN OF BABYLON WHICH ISAIAH, THE SON OF AMOS, DID SEE."

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

NOTE 1. *On the Isaianic Character of the Terms employed in the Burden of Babylon.*

The Isaianic character of many of the terms and expressions used in this burden is easily seen by anyone who will take the pains to turn over the pages of a Hebrew concordance.

The opening verse—xiii. 2—is strikingly Isaianic. The expression "Set ye up an ensign" occurs four times both in Isaiah and Jeremiah, but the Hebrew word for "ensign" occurs no less than ten times in Isaiah—eight times in the former and twice in the latter portion of the book. In Jeremiah it occurs only five times, and is met with only six times in the remainder of the Old Testament. "Lift up the voice": this expression, used as an imperative, is found only in Isaiah. It occurs again twice in the latter portion of the book; see xl. 9, lviii. 1. "Wave the hand" is found four times in Isaiah; see x. 32, xi. 15, xix. 16. It occurs once in three other books; see 2 Kings v. 11, Job. xxxi. 21, Zech. ii. 9. The word for "world" in xiii. 11, of frequent use in the Psalms, is found no less than nine times in the earlier part of Isaiah, and only four times in the remainder of the prophetical books. The word for "beauty" in xiii. 19 is of frequent occurrence in this book; it appears eight times in the former and ten times in the latter portion of the book, but never more than six times in the other books of the Old Testament.

The five Hebrew words in xiii. 21, 22, rendered "wild beasts of the desert," "ostriches," "satyrs," "wolves," "jackals," are all met with again in xxxiv. 13, 14. The word for "wild beasts of the desert" is also found in xxiii. 13. In the rest of the Old Testament it occurs thrice. The word for "ostriches" appears a third time in xliii. 20, but never more than once in any other book.

The word for "pleasant" in xiii. 22 is only found again in lviii. 13. The cognate verb occurs four times in the latter part of Isaiah, and only six times in the remainder of the Old Testament. The expression "Break forth into singing," found in xiv. 7, is peculiar to this book. It occurs again four times in the latter portion; see xliv. 23, xlix. 13, liv. 1, lv. 12; compare also lii. 9. The word for "fir-trees" in xiv. 8 is found five times in this book and in the First Book of Kings; never more than twice in the other books of the Old Testament. "Fir-trees" and "cedar-trees" are mentioned together here, and in xxxvii. 24 and xli. 19; compare also lx. 13. Isaiah has a liking for trees and their different woods. The word for "branch"—xiv. 19—occurs three times in Isaiah; see xi. 1 and lx. 21.

It is found again in Dan. xi. 7, and nowhere else. The expression "seed of evil doers"—xiv. 20—is only met with again in i. 4. The word for "porcupine" in xiv. 23 appears again in xxxiv. 11, also in Zeph. ii. 14, and nowhere else. The word for "pool" in the same verse occurs thrice in the earlier and twice in the latter portion of this book. It is only found five times in the rest of the Old Testament, never more than twice in the same book.

In Isa. ix. 4 (3) no less than four Hebrew words are used of the Assyrian oppression—viz., *'ol*, *sóvel*, *matteh*, and *shévet*. Of these, the two last occur in the Burden of Babylon (see xiv. 5), and the two first in the postscript to that burden (see xiv. 25). *Matteh* and *shévet* are also used of the oppression in x. 5, 24, *'ol* and *sóvel* in x. 27; *sóvel* is only found in Isaiah.

In view of the above, it is impossible to assent to Professor Driver's opinion that the Burden of Babylon "exhibits few or none of the accustomed marks of Isaiah's style."[1] On the contrary, it is strikingly Isaianic, and is linked by favourite words and expressions both to the earlier and later portions of the book.

NOTE 2. *On the Inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III.*

The inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III. come to us from Nimrûd, the ancient Calah; see Gen. x. 12. The most important are:

1. The Annals, contained in friezes of seven, twelve, and sixteen lines—most valuable, but much defaced. For an account of these, see Schrader's "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," English edition, pp. 234 to 237. They mention Azariah of Judah, Pekah and Hoshea of Israel, and the captivity of the Northern Kingdom.

2. The summarizing or triumphal inscriptions, in which facts are grouped according to the geographical position of the countries, and only with a partial regard to their chronological order. To this class belong:

(1) The inscription on a clay tablet, now in the British Museum, a good translation of which will be found in "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. 5, p. 120. This Clay Tablet Inscription, as the King himself informs us, is a summary of conquests "from the beginning of my sovereignty to the seventeenth year of my reign"—*i.e.*, from B.C. 745 to 729, in which latter year it was no doubt written. An unfortunate break of fifty lines, according to P. Rost, occurs in the middle of this inscription. The tablet mentions Ahaz of Judah as among the tributaries.

(2) A parallel inscription to that on the Clay Tablet, but somewhat briefer, is known as Slab Inscription No. 2. This is given by P. Rost in 'Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglatpileser's III.," p. 48. The original is still *in situ*.

(3) A summary inscription, embracing only the earlier years of the reign, written in B.C. 743 to 742, or possibly a little later. This is known as Slab Inscription No. 1. The original, cut in large, bold characters, stands in the British Museum, near the top of the stairs leading to the Basement Room. A comparison of this inscription with Slab No. 2 enables us to discern between the different events of the earlier and later Babylonian campaigns.

In addition to the above, most valuable chronological data are supplied by the Assyrian Chronicle and the Babylonian Chronicle, for translations of which see "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. ii., p. 120, and vol. i., p. 22; whilst the fragments of tribute lists given in "Records of the Past," Old Series, vol. xi., are very suggestive as to the financial policy pursued by Tiglathpileser.

[1] "Isaiah: His Life and Times," p. 86.

Art. IV.—"THE STRENUOUS LIFE."[1]

IF I may give a somewhat wide interpretation to the word *sermon*, then I have no hesitation in commending this volume as a collection of extremely practical sermons of a remarkably high degree of merit. They are the utterances of a man who is evidently inspired by lofty principles, and who also possesses both a wide knowledge of, and a keen insight into, many various conditions of life at the present time; and I feel the more justified in regarding the book in this particular light because the author himself, in its very first sentence, claims to occupy not only the position of the "preacher," but of the preacher who has a very clear and definite "doctrine" to put before his hearers.

"I wish," he says, "to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labour and strife, to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the ultimate splendid triumph."

This sentence, which gives the title to the book, may be said to describe at once its purpose and its contents. It is one repeated trumpet-call to men to *be their best* and to do their best for the sake of their fellows, regardless of the cost of toil, self-sacrifice, or misunderstanding to themselves.

If I have one fault to find with the book it is that in parts, and especially in the first address, it is a little too "militant" in tone; but this may have been inevitable in the case of one who has been a soldier, and who has taken an important part in active warfare under extremely rough conditions.

I do not wish it to be supposed that President Roosevelt too highly exalts the place of the soldier or of the "soldier-spirit" in "the strenuous life," either of the individual or of the nation—no one could speak more plainly of the duty of doing everything to avoid war and to promote peace—still, in wishing for peace it may be possible to lay too much stress upon the policy of *parare bellum*. The motives of the following sentences, which are only examples of many similar ones, may be entirely right; still, the advantage possessed by those who are in a position to apply (if necessary) the policy of force is made somewhat too prominent.

1. "If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard

[1] "The Strenuous Life," by Theodore Roosevelt.

contests where men must win at the hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by, and will win for themselves the domination of the world" (p. 20).

2. "Scant attention is paid to the weakling or the coward who babbles of peace; but due heed is given to the strong man with sword girt on thigh who preaches peace, not from ignoble motives, not from fear or distrust of his own powers, but from a deep sense of moral obligation" (p. 31).

With this single reservation I think the book may be generally and most warmly commended, and especially to those who, by religious, social, or philanthropic work, are seeking to benefit their fellow men and women.

One of the best chapters in the book is that upon "Civic Helpfulness," in which, speaking from personal experience, President Roosevelt bears testimony to the immense amount of practical good being done by religious people and religious institutions at the present time. Starting with the assumption that "the prime worth of a creed is to be gauged by the standard of conduct it exacts among its followers towards their fellows," he is sure that, tried by this standard, the religious teachers of the community stand most honourably high," and that "it is probable that no other class of our citizens do anything like the amount of disinterested labour for their fellow-men." That this is not more generally realized and admitted he believes is due to ignorance, because "to those who are associated with them"—*i.e.*, the religious teachers—"at close quarters this statement will seem so obviously a truism as to rank among the platitudes." Still, this ignorance is widespread, and he realizes that "there is a far from inconsiderable body of public opinion which, to judge by the speeches, writings, and jests in which it delights, has no conception of the real state of things. If such people would but take the trouble to follow out the actual life of a hard-working clergyman or priest, I think they would become a little ashamed of the tone of flippancy they are so prone to adopt when speaking about them" (p. 92).

The President then proceeds to adduce instance after instance from his own personal knowledge of the truth of his contention. Speaking of Christian work in the slums of great cities, he states that the misery which is found in these places "must be met, above all, by the disinterested, endless labour of those who, by choice and to do good, live in the midst of it temporarily or permanently." Of this work the world generally knows little and thinks little; it is "only those who have seen something of such work at close

quarters who realize how much of it goes on quietly and without the slightest show outside. . . . I could enumerate among my personal acquaintances fifty clergymen and priests, men of every church, of every degree of wealth, each of whom cheerfully and quietly, year in and year out, does his share, and more than his share, of the unending work which he feels is imposed upon him alike by Christianity and by that form of applied Christianity which we call good citizenship" (p. 95).

And President Roosevelt does not forget the noble work which individually and as members of various societies Christian women are doing; he speaks of women who "devote their entire lives to helping girls who have slipped and would go down to be trampled underfoot in the blackest mire if they were not helped, or who, by force of their surroundings, would surely slip if the hand were not held out to them in time. This is the kind of work the doing of which is of infinite importance both from the standpoint of the State and from the standpoint of the individual." Then he speaks plainly of the duty of those who do not take any active part in such work: they "ought to feel a sense of the most profound gratitude to those who with whole-hearted sincerity have undertaken it, and should support them in every way" (p. 100).

But Christian teachers and workers will not only obtain appreciation from President Roosevelt, they will gain much valuable advice upon the principles and methods of their work itself; for he evidently knows the life—the conditions and temptations—of those needing help just as intimately as he knows the labours of the workers. The following are only a few examples of what I mean:

(*a*) "Undoubtedly the best type of philanthropic work is that which helps men and women who are willing and able to help themselves. . . . Every man and woman ought to prize above almost every other quality the capacity for self-help, and yet every man and woman will at some time or other be sorely in need of the help of others."

(*b*) "The average individual will not spend the hours in which he is not working in doing something that is unpleasant, and absolutely the only way permanently to draw average men or women from occupations and amusements that are unhealthy for soul or body is to furnish an alternative which they will accept. To forbid all amusements, or to treat innocent and vicious amusements as on the same plane, simply insures recruits for the vicious amusements."

(*c*) "Anything that encourages pauperism, anything that relaxes the manly fibre and lowers self-respect, is an unmixed

evil. The soup-kitchen style of philanthropy is as thoroughly demoralizing as most forms of vice or oppression."

In the chapter upon "Character and Success" President Roosevelt shows a very penetrating insight into the conditions and tendencies of the present time; he sees where the special dangers lie, and how best to guard against them. He warns us against an undue exaltation of the merely intellectual—possibly there may be a greater danger of this in America than in England; on the other hand, he strongly deprecates the excessive importance now attached to bodily exercise, as seen in the altogether disproportionate devotion to various forms of sport.

"Bodily vigour," he writes, "is good, and vigour of intellect is even better; but far above both is character . . . in the long-run, in the great battle of life, no brilliancy of intellect, no perfection of bodily development, will count when weighed in the balance against that assemblage of virtues, active and passive, of moral qualities, which we group together under the name of character."

Some of the judgments uttered in the course of this chapter seem particularly useful and wise; *e.g.*: "The average man, into whom the average boy develops, is, of course, not going to be a marvel in any line; but, if he only chooses to try, he can be very good in any line, and the chances of his doing good work are immensely increased if he has trained his mind." Or the following: "It is a good thing for a boy to have captained his school or college eleven, but it is a very bad thing if, twenty years afterwards, all that can be said of him is that he has continued to take an interest in football, base-ball, or boxing, and has with him the memory that he was once captain." Or again: "All kinds of qualities go to make up character, for, emphatically, the term should include the positive no less than the negative virtues. If we say of a boy or a man, 'He is of good character,' we mean that he does not do a great many things that are wrong, but we also mean that he does do a great many things which imply much effort of will and readiness to face what is disagreeable."

In a short paper (which originally appeared in the CHURCHMAN[1]) upon "The Best and the Good," we have some extremely wise criticism upon the way in which some people, possessed of the very best intentions, often actually prevent most necessary reforms from being obtained. The paper commences with a tribute to the excellent work of Bishop Doane, of Albany, who had brought to President Roosevelt's

[1] American.

notice a letter of Archbishop Benson's in which these sentences occur: "I do not want the best to be any more the deadly enemy of the good. We climb through degrees of Comparison." These sentences form the "text" of the President's paper.

Of the Archbishop's dictum, he says: "This is really a description, as excellent as it is epigrammatic, of the attitude which must be maintained by every public man, by every leader and guide of public thought who hopes to accomplish work of real worth to the community. . . . Mere desire to do right can no more make a good statesman than it can make a good general. . . . The possession or preaching of high ideals may not only be useless, but a source of positive harm if these are unaccompanied by practical good sense, and if they do not lead to the effort to get the best possible when the perfect best is not attainable. . . . Every leader of a great reform has to contend, on the one hand, with the open, avowed enemies of the reform, and, on the other hand, with its extreme advocates, who wish the impossible, and who join hands with their extreme opponents to defeat the rational friends of the reform."

How frequently, even in recent years, have we witnessed (and suffered from) examples of the spirit and conduct here rebuked! How many reforms, both social and ecclesiastical, have been put back, some, perhaps, for a very long period, simply because the extremists, the so-called enthusiasts, would not join in seizing an opportunity of advancing just one or more steps in the direction of the goal which they were anxious to attain! Of these extremists—"men who are really striving for the best, but who mistakenly, though in good faith, permit the best to be the enemy of the good"—the President writes both strongly and wisely: "Under very rare conditions their attitude may be right, and because it is then right once in a hundred times they are apt to be blind to the harm they do the other ninety-nine times. These men need, above all, to realize that healthy growth cannot normally come through revolution. A revolution is sometimes necessary, but if revolutions become habitual the country in which they take place is going down-hill. Hysteria in any form is incompatible with sane and healthy endeavour. . . . In moving forward we must realize that normally the condition of sure progress is that it shall not be so fast as to insure a revolt and a stoppage of the upward course."

Upon the much debated question which may briefly be stated as that of "The Man *versus* the State," or, in another form, that of the value of legislation for alleviating the evils whether of the individual or society, the President speaks

very clearly in the chapter on Promise and Performance—a chapter which may be warmly commended to the study of all who seek any kind of office. Evidently in America, as in England, the art of trying to catch votes by large promises of future legislation is widely practised. President Roosevelt's advice is, accept from your public men no promises except such as you feel confident it is within their power to perform. "The man who promises an impossible good to the community may be a well-meaning but unbalanced enthusiast, or he may be a designing demagogue. In either case, the people who listen to and believe him are not to be excused, though they may be pitied. Softness of heart is an admirable quality, but when it extends its area until it also becomes softness of head, its results are anything but admirable. . . . People really fit for self-government will not be misled by over-effusiveness in promise, and, on the other hand, they will demand that every proper promise shall be made good."

It is immediately following upon this last sentence that we read what the State can and cannot effect for the individual citizen: "Wise legislation and upright administration can undoubtedly work very great good to a community, and, above all, can give to each individual the chance to do the best work for himself. But ultimately the individual's own faculties must form the chief factor in working out his own salvation. In the last analysis it is the thrift, energy, self-mastery, and business intelligence of each man which have most to do with deciding whether he rises or falls. It is easy enough to devise a scheme of government which shall absolutely nullify all these qualities and insure failure to everybody, whether he deserves success or not. But the best scheme of government can do little more than provide against injustice, and then let the individual rise or fall on his own merits."

The two final chapters upon "The Labour Question" and upon "Christian Citizenship" are among the best in the book. Both are dangerous subjects, either for speaker or for writer, because with both it is so terribly easy to deal upon second-hand information and to content one's self with a "mere glittering generality, a mere high-sounding phraseology," and to appeal in a spirit of mere emotionalism.

President Roosevelt's treatment, on the contrary, has at least the advantage of first-hand knowledge. In the first of these chapters—an address at the Chicago Labour Day Picnic—he describes to his hearers his "intimate companionship with men who were mighty men of their hands in the cattle country of the North-West"; after that he "got

thrown into close relations with the farmers"; then by force of circumstances he came into "intimate contact with the railway-men"; and, lastly, "into close contact with a number of the carpenters, blacksmiths, and men in the building trades; that is, skilled mechanics of a high order." As he deals with these various classes he tells us how, on the whole, he came to form a very high opinion of their members; and at the end of these various experiences he says it began to dawn upon him that, whatever difference there might have been in his own ideas of them, that difference "was not in the men, but in my own point of view"; and, finally, he states as his conviction that "if any man is thrown into close contact with any large body of our fellow-citizens it is apt to be the man's own fault if he does not grow to feel for them a very hearty regard, and, moreover, grow to understand that on the great questions that lie at the root of human well-being he and they feel alike."

Those who would understand intelligently the problems which lie beneath the Labour Question must realize as fundamental truths, that while (1) "different sections of the community have different needs," yet (2) "the gravest questions, the questions that are for all time, affect us all alike." Moreover, "it is just as unwise to forget the one fact as it is to forget the other. The specialization of our modern industrial life, its high development and complex character, means a corresponding specialization in needs and interests."

Neither this truth itself nor the extent of its operation is, I think, realized by Christian workers as generally as it should be. We must remember (1) all kinds of very specialized work tend to narrow a large part of a man's *interests* by directing his energy in a special direction. Thus, he is apt to regard life and the world almost entirely as they affect him, his work, or his particular trade. This is one reason for the growth of *sensitiveness*, and so of commercial combativeness among workpeople at the present day. The remedy is, of course, an introduction to a circle of wider interests. (2) Largely owing to the attention and energy of the workman being concentrated for many hours a day upon some work of very narrow interest, there comes, when the work is over, an extremely strong rebound. This rebound is often not in a healthy direction, and it is not always under reasonable control. A man let loose from his narrow task desires some other interests—some form of excitement. This he too often finds in gambling and betting or in drink. The great part played in the liability to temptation by these from the desire of some pleasurable excitement is frequently forgotten, as is this other factor—viz., from sheer want of

wider interests the inability of the working man to find this pleasurable excitement in more healthy directions.

Then the President points out another truth too often forgotten—that is, the greater *dependence* of the town workman compared with the countryman. " In the country districts the surroundings are such that a man can usually work out his own fate by himself to the best advantage." On the contrary, "in our cities, or where men congregate in masses, it is often necessary to work in combination—that is, through associations—and here it is that we can see the great good conferred by labour organizations, by trades-unions."

The value of such organizations he believes depends entirely on the manner and spirit in which they are worked. " If handled with resolution, forethought, honesty, and sanity," then it would " be hard to estimate the good they can do."

It is impossible even to mention the " many burning questions of the present " and the many questions pressing for solution which are touched upon in this speech; I cannot, however, forbear from quoting the following sentences: " Though the conditions of life have grown so puzzling in their complexity, though the dangers have been so vast, yet we may remain absolutely sure of one thing, that now, as ever in the past, and as it ever will be in the future, there can be no substitute for the elemental virtues, for the elemental qualities to which we allude when we speak of a man as not only a good man, but as emphatically a man. We can build up the standard of individual well-being, we can raise the national standard and make it what it can and shall be made, only by each of us steadfastly keeping in mind that there can be no substitute for the world-old, humdrum, commonplace qualities of truth, justice and courage, thrift, industry, common-sense, and genuine sympathy with and fellow feeling for others."

The final chapter upon " Christian Citizenship " is an address which was delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, and of which the keynote is an assertion of the truth that " the best form of philanthropic endeavour " is that in which " we all do good to ourselves by all joining together to do good to one another." Or, as in another place he states the same truth somewhat differently: " I doubt if it is possible to over-estimate the good done by the mere fact of association with a common interest and for a common end, and when the common interest is high and the common end peculiarly worthy, the good done is, of course, many times increased." Another point upon which he lays great

stress is that asserted in the saying of Lowell—viz., that for a motto in life it is far safer to adopt "All men up" than "Some men down." "Speaking broadly, we cannot in the long-run benefit one man by the downfall of another." This thought leads on to some very wise words about the dangers due to the feeling of *envy* in modern life. To envy a man his wealth is "to confess that we have low ideals." Again: "Envy is not only a dangerous, but also a mean vice, for it is always a confession of inferiority. It may provoke conduct which will be fruitful in wrong-doing to others, and it must cause misery to the man who feels it." And "it will not be any the less fruitful of wrong and misery if, as is so often the case with evil motives, it adopts some high-sounding alias."

From the extracts I have given it may possibly be thought by those who have not read the book that President Roosevelt, in his strong exhortations to men and women to do their duty "strenuously" in life, has forgotten to remind both himself and them of the means whereby alone duty can be persistently done; that while constantly laying stress upon the various moral virtues, he had forgotten the Christianity which must be their foundation and their motive power. That this is not the case the following sentences from the last two pages of the book give ample evidence:

"The Decalogue and the Golden Rule must stand as the foundation of every successful effort to better either our social or our political life. 'Fear the Lord and walk in His ways,' and 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'—when we practise these two precepts the reign of social and civic righteousness will be close at hand. Christianity teaches, not only that each of us must so live as to save his own soul, but that each must try to do his whole duty by his neighbour. We cannot live up to these teachings as we should, for in the presence of Infinite Might and Infinite Wisdom the strength of the strongest man is but weakness, and the keenest of mortal eyes see but dimly. But each of us can at least strive, as light and strength are given him, towards the ideal. The true Christian is the true citizen, lofty of purpose, resolute in endeavour, ready for a hero's deeds, but never looking down upon his task because it is cast in the day of small things; scornful of baseness, awake to his own duties as well as to his rights, following the higher law with reverence, and in this world doing all that in him lies, so that when death comes he may feel that mankind is in some degree better because he has lived."

This book is one which I believe should be read by all who have at heart the desire to help their fellow men and women.

It is true that it is addressed by an American to Americans. But it is also addressed by a man to men. It is quite possible while reading it to forget the nationality of the author. But it is impossible not to feel that human nature in America is wonderfully like what it is in our own country. There are evidently the same temptations to be faced, the same problems to be solved, the same difficulties to be overcome. In the midst of all these is the overwhelming temptation to individual and national slackness—to let things drift, to be content with being and doing less than our perfect best. It is to fight and overcome this temptation that in page after page the author pleads for the "strenuous life."

"We must gird up our loins . . . with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph; and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavour, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right, as Greatheart smote and baffled in Bunyan's immortal story."

W. Edward Chadwick.

Art. V.—THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION AND CHURCH REFORM IN SPANISH LANDS.—II.

IT may be mentioned that the Irish Council of Bishops exercise a constant supervision of the work of reform through their Spanish-speaking commissary, who annually at least visits the congregations and reports to his chiefs. The commissary has experienced uniform kindness at the hands of the Reformers, and no friction has arisen during his many visits. He has accompanied the Bishop as chaplain, has administered discipline, has attended synods, and has at all times been received with a cordiality that testifies to the perfect loyalty of both Churches—for the Lusitanian Church has its Council of Bishops—to the Bishops who stand by them in their struggles. The place of the Archbishop of Dublin has been supplied by the co-option of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Derry, whose vigorous eloquence and wise forethought have proved an invaluable help to the Churches.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.—It is natural that the great and progressive United States should take a special interest in reform work in their continent. The political Monroe doctrine carries with it an ecclesiastical

sentiment of duty to the Americans, and the chief part of work in the Latin lands is now being carried forward under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The South American Missionary Society is working fruitfully among white men of the Latin races, as well as among the natives; its ministers are under the control of the Bishop of the Falkland Islands, and God has blessed their labours. A translation of the Anglican Prayer-Book is used in its services, and it is to all intents an Anglican Mission on the lines of the Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics. In Southern Brazil the American Church has had for many years an outpost, and lately the influence of the Reformers has so extended that a Bishop—the young and eloquent Dr. Kinsolving—has been consecrated, with the territorial title of South Brazil; he is one of the American House of Bishops, and the native Churchmen are fed and nurtured as a mission of the mother Church. Questions of jurisdiction do not seem to trouble the American Episcopate, and lately the Bishops determined to consecrate Bishops for Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands, as they are convinced that the Church must follow the flag. The Bishops consecrated will be missionary Bishops, subject to the discipline of the parent Episcopate. Practically, their position will be similar to that of the Bishop of the Falkland Islands, with two outstanding differences: (1) They act not under a voluntary society, but as agents of the Board of Missions—a representative body appointed by the Church; (2) their mission is primarily to the degraded Latin races and other persons nominally under the Roman jurisdiction. They occupy territory already under Roman ecclesiastics, and are content to be considered intruders by those who believe that the Reformed Church has no duty to the unreformed dwellers in gross darkness, superstition, and immorality, because of the supposed claims to their allegiance by an authority that does not supply them with the faith of the Gospel revealed in Holy Writ.

The position of the Mexican Church of Jesus is very different. From the wreck of the work of Bishop Riley a nucleus of faithful men determined to carry forward the sacred duty entrusted to them. The Rev. Henry Forrester was sent to Mexico by the States Church, and he at once undertook the duty of Episcopal delegate with characteristic zeal and devotion. A Liturgy of native origin was needed, and by the co-operation of the American Commission of Bishops, after the labour of some years, a Prayer-Book called "Provisional Offices" was published and authorized in October, 1900. In 1901 it was printed, and its preface declares the right of a National Church to order its services as may seem

best. The book claims to maintain fidelity to Catholic doctrine and freedom from superstition and superfluity. All within its pages is said to lead to piety, for it has nothing new, all being derived from ancient liturgies and offices sanctified by the use of the faithful during a very long time, and full of the Catholic and evangelical spirit of the Christian Church. An examination of the book shows that many of its prayers and customs are derived from the Mozarabic sources, and in other respects it is more allied to the American Service-Book than either of its sister offices of Spain or Portugal is allied in form to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. Two leading points may be noticed:

1. In the Communion Office the Presbyter, standing before[1] the table, thus refers to our Lord's sacrifice: "Christ the Lord, the Eternal Redeemer, by His Cross and Passion, bore the weight of our sins, and offered the unique expiatory sacrifice by that oblation of infinite value." Like the Spanish book, it contains the invocation for the Holy Spirit "to sanctify Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine."

2. In the Baptismal Office the minister says:

"Dearly beloved brethren, let us pray and supplicate our Lord God in behalf of this infant now baptized, that when our Saviour comes in His glorious majesty to judge the world, he who to-day has been regenerated by water and the Holy Spirit may be everlastingly clothed with the robe of salvation."

The Mexican Offices[2] have not the sonorous and impressive diction of the Peninsular book, but it is a most valuable storehouse of liturgical piety, and well adapted to the needs of the faithful.

When the Prayer-Book was published and the movement consolidated, the question of the consecration of Bishops arose. The synod of the Mexican Church elected three presbyters as Bishops elect, and memorialized the American Church for their consecration. The American Episcopate was at first unwilling to consecrate three or consider the consecration of more than two of the Bishops elect, as they did not see their way to give full organization to the Church. The Episcopal delegate and the Bishop of Chicago, who had visited Mexico, were convinced that the prayer of the synod might be prudently granted. Their influence prevailed at

[1] In the Spanish Office the presbyter faces the congregation, standing behind the table, a custom in accord with the practice of the Mozarabic Church, and of some of the South American Roman Catholic churches.

[2] A reviewer in the *Church Quarterly Review* finds fault with the Spanish Prayer-Book because in the Litany it omits the clause, "Nor the offences of our forefathers." The Mexican Litany likewise omits this clause.

the special session of the Bishops, holden at Cincinnati on April 16 and 17, 1902. The Bishop of Chicago reported that:

1. The Mexican Church had agreed to adopt the American ordinal with the necessary local changes, and to make the promise of conformity in this form: "I, A. B., elected Bishop in the American Episcopal Church, do promise conformity and obedience to the doctrine and discipline and worship of the same; and I pledge myself, besides, to govern myself and the people of my district by the agreements entered into between this Church and the House of Bishops of the Church in the United States of America. So help me God, for Jesus Christ's sake."

2. The personal fitness of the candidate Bishops had been attested.

3. No one should be consecrated until he made a promise of conformity. This promise reads: "I believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God, in which are contained all things necessary to salvation, and I solemnly promise to be faithful to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Mexican Episcopal Church."

4. Separate jurisdiction had been arranged for the three Bishops elect.

5. A covenant had been made with the synod and the Bishops elect to the effect that no other Bishops should be elected without the consent of the American Bishops, and that the Bishops elect pledge themselves not to consecrate anyone else to the Episcopate without the consent of the American Bishops.

Upon receiving this Report, the Bishops resolved that, subject to the approval of a constitutional majority of the Bishops of the Church, the presiding Bishop be authorized to take order for the consecration of the three presbyters in accordance with the constitution. Only forty-three Bishops were present in Cincinnati, and their constitution demanded forty-five assents. The additional names were soon appended, but in the interval a constitutional question was raised as to the power of the special synod to increase the number to be consecrated from two to three, and in consequence action was deferred until the October meeting of the Bishops, when the entire question was to be considered *de novo*. Policy alone gave rise to the opposition, as the consecration of three Bishops would, in the opinion of some, place the Mexican Church in a position of dangerous independence.

Before the meeting of the Bishops a circular letter was sent by the presiding Bishop to his brethren, and in reply he received seventy-five communications, of which only ten approved of immediate action. His own words most fitly describe the position:—

"Nothing more can be done at the present time. The question at issue is not, 'Shall there be an independent autonomous Church established in Mexico, built upon the same Divine foundation, holding the same Scriptural belief, and organized on the same principles as our own?' This, of course, we all heartily desire; but the point to be decided is simply, 'Has the time come for the establishment of such a Church in Mexico?' A large majority of our Bishops have decided that it has not yet come, and they ask for a little more time. Our brethren in Mexico, on the contrary, believe that such a time has come. . . . I trust that any difference of opinion which may now exist will not prevent the eventual establishment of a strong and influential autonomous Church in Mexico."

Although this decision is a disappointment to many, yet it is in no sense a set-back to the final triumph of the principle of an autonomous Reformed Church in a land subject to the jurisdiction of Roman Bishops. The step advocated, when the time comes, by the Episcopacy as a whole is of supreme importance, and transcends the act of the Irish Bishops in consecrating Bishop Cabrera. We do not wonder at the delay, and agree with *La buena Lid* (the Good Fight), the organ of the Mexican Church, when it writes: "We have full confidence that the delay and the discussion causing it, as well as the attention called, and about to be called, to our Church, will redound to the advantage of our Church, and will result in a more favourable wave of sympathy than there has been in the American Church." Thus the matter stands, and all friends of reform will await with prayerful interest the final resolution of the brave and progressive Church of America.

The future of the Peninsular movement is of more pressing interest to home Churchmen. Bishop Cabrera has been consecrated for over eight years. During a time of national stress and extreme difficulty he has guided his little flock with great wisdom and discretion. The Portuguese Reformers have lost the aid of their trusted friend and counsellor, the Rev. Canon Pope. Weakness may follow the absence of a local Episcopate. The sister Churches fight a brave battle against the forces of bigotry, intolerance, and infidelity. They represent the only real attempt among the Latin race on the Continent to practise the lessons of the sixteenth century on lines acceptable to the genius of the people, and it is to be hoped that the Church of Ireland will continue its kindly interest, and when occasion arises will consecrate a Bishop or Bishops. It may be that the precedent of Lord Plunket may not be followed, and that future action will be the work of the whole

Episcopate in its corporate capacity. If so, the Bishops will need to be satisfied—

1. That the Reformers hold sound doctrine. The Irish Church makes the Thirty-nine Articles the test of sound doctrine, for it declares that "no minister of this Church is required to hold or teach any doctrine that has not been clearly determined by the Articles of Religion." This is the teaching of the Peninsular Churches, which are as comprehensive as the Church of Ireland. No man eligible for Holy Orders in Ireland would find the formularies of the Churches intolerable to his conscience. Many Anglican clergymen would not be at home in Spain any more than they would be in Ireland, for in their ears the Irish Prayer-Book has an heretical brogue.

2. Of the permanence of the movement. The best test on this point is its continued existence and progress during a season of great stress. Its growth has been restrained in Portugal through lack of funds and properly trained men, but the Church is now arranging for the training of candidates for the ministry, several devoted young men await instruction, and it is expected that a theological school will soon be opened. God alone knows what will be in the coming years, but all circumstances point to the continued growth of the Reformed Churches, who now possess property worth over £30,000, and are working in many parts of the Peninsula. When it is remembered that thirty-five years ago a Peninsular Protestant was considered as impossible as a white Ethiopian, there is every ground for hopefulness when the thousands of adherents and the 1,700 children in the schools pass in review. Whatever may be hidden from the eyes of men to-day, the duty of Churchmen is summed up in the words of the Bishop of Derry, Dr. Chadwick, as "not merely to wish well to the cause, but to give it the things of which it has need—to help with their means and their prayers those poor and brave Christians who are bearing heavy burdens, and some of them incurring strong temptations for freedom of the soul, for direct access to the Father through the Son, for the faith we profess and the Mediator whom we love."

THOS. J. PULVERTAFT.

ART. VI.—THOUGHTS ON SOME SOCIAL QUESTIONS, PAST AND PRESENT.—II.

IT cannot be denied by any impartial observer that the general progress of affairs (especially in the material and scientific world) has been enormous during the last century, or at least during our late Queen's reign; but, at the same time, I am certain it is unwise and wrong to endeavour to make out that all matters are improved and all social plans and movements are necessarily a gain. One of my chief and long-cherished contentions is with regard to the treatment and training of children, and added years have only confirmed my former convictions. The results of these changes cannot be known to the generation now living, but I venture to affirm that we can in some measure anticipate them. "Hot-house growth" and the forcing of plants is hardly considered to be conducive to long life and protracted vigour, and I believe the same truths apply to the animal as well as the vegetable world. A natural and gradual growth, not always in heat or sunshine, is required for healthy development, and can anyone say that this is now the general or prevailing treatment of children?

Precocity is rather the system which is encouraged by every means of excitement, whether of body or mind; life spent mainly with their elders, instead of in the quiet and shade of the nursery (a term and a locality now nearly obsolete), where they were left mainly to their own resources and amusements. Children now share in the conversation as well as the meals and the food of adults—a practice which, as doctors have assured us, is most injurious to their health and development, and also to their moral qualities, by indulging habits of greediness and selfishness and the liberty of choice and selection at an age when none should be allowed. To those who have been accustomed to the simpler and more natural customs of former days and the habits of obedience universally inculcated, it is a matter of astonishment to witness present plans and the behaviour which they encourage. I could give many instances of this growth of self-will and disobedience in children, now so almost universal that we may consider the command is reversed, and now stands as "Parents, obey your children." It is impossible to believe that the vigorous old age enjoyed by many of my contemporaries can be attained by those who are now living lives of excitement, with late hours and varied amusements, for we cannot expect that life can thus be used up at both ends with impunity. Again, the recent development of the employment of children as

"charitable agents" is surely another novelty of the present time which may bring forth undesirable and unexpected results.

When I look back upon my past life of simple enjoyment, without "forcing" either of mind or body, I give thanks that my early days were spent at the beginning, instead of the end, of the century. When we hear so much on all sides of the marvellous growth of sanitary and medical science, and especially of hygiene, my satisfaction is greatly lessened when I see the methods which directly counteract its beneficent influence.

Books on these subjects were not known in my early days, but I venture to think that mothers had, and exercised, a larger amount of common-sense and enforced a more implicit obedience than they do now, with all the help that they receive. A Bishop says in his recent charge: "Still more serious is the almost universally confessed weakening of parental authority, and consequent loss of home life and discipline. . . . The training-ground of character is the home." One result seems to be that simple "treats" are almost unknown to children of the present day, their life being one succession of excitements and gaieties, even including weddings, fancy balls, and all their attendant circumstances of gay and elaborate toilets and late hours. Can we wonder that they become little men and women before their time? If these methods grow and spread, Keble's beautiful lines on childhood will no longer be true, but refer only to a past age:

> "The heart of childhood is all mirth:
> We frolic to and fro,
> As free and blithe as if on earth
> Were no such thing as woe."

I may name here one modern feature often set forth in children's books, especially on the temperance subject—I mean the mischievous one of enlarging on the wickedness of drunken parents, and holding them up to condemnation before the eyes of children.[1]

Then, again, what do we at present know of the results of the excessive increase of all athletic pursuits, especially among girls? Bicycling, for instance, even for children, has become so common that the effects may well be looked for with anxiety. That it may help some to health and strength

[1] I cannot refrain from quoting a passage from a book of great interest, "Social Transformations of the Victorian Age," by Escott, which, though rather too *couleur de rose* on all matters, expresses the exact truth when he speaks of "little men and women, whose only childhood will be reached in their dotage."

is possible, but for all, or the many, its results may be doubted, and, indeed, I have heard that this opinion is maintained by some doctors. It seems to me strange that on so many of these important matters the opinion of doctors is not given or asked till perhaps it is too late, and mischief done which cannot be cured. I am often tempted to ask if the German (and I believe also the Chinese) is not the better and wiser method than ours, the medical adviser visiting and knowing his patients in health as well as in sickness, and thus acquiring a correct knowledge of their condition, and probably saving them from foreseen dangers which may be averted; "too late" must often be the result of our present system, but I suppose the preservation of health is hardly considered to be the province of our doctors—only its restoration, when that is possible.

I may add here two more matters, though in the literary rather than the social world, which we can hardly think have improved since the days when I used to read novels and witnessed plays. The enormous increase in the former class of books over those known and read fifty years ago cannot but strike those who read the almost weekly or daily reviews in the *Times* and other papers, and it is to be feared that they form the larger part of the reading of the young of the present day, and what can be the result? In one column forty "recent novels" are often announced![1] But even the *Times* says: "Sated with home fiction, good, bad, and indifferent." I will cite two opinions recently given by eminent authorities. Canon Gore says: "I believe that the current theatre is constantly representing vice and vicious habits for no high ends of art, for no high ends of combating evil, simply as an ordinary matter which we recognise and accept." In an article on "Modern Plays" the *Guardian* says: "Society surely is beginning to find out that the plan of going indiscriminately to all plays, with a view to elevating the drama, has been tried and has failed. It will be a wholesome reproach to the virtuous public if, after all, it is the actors and actresses who make the first practical effort to exercise that *moral* censorship of the stage, which the official censor may be said to have disclaimed, if he really confines himself to the maintenance of a mere material propriety." Then, again, can we say that with increased standards of education there is any sign of improvement in manners, which are certainly not taught in schools now, with or without the extra fee? No one who sees and hears children, and even older lads, in the streets at the present time can believe

[1] 1,513 were published in 1901.

in any such improvement either in behaviour or language. With regard to language or speech, we surely cannot fail to notice the increased use of slang amongst the upper classes, and especially young women and girls, such as was hardly heard in former days from our brothers. One instance may be named—the word "awfully" coming into every sentence, however inappropriate.

As regards facts chiefly relating to the Church, but, of course, connected with education, I have just read the following statements: "The confirmation-lists show a marked decrease since 1896, a slight decrease of the members of communicants' classes, a perceptible diminution in the attendance at Sunday-schools and Bible-classes, in the number of Sunday-school teachers, and in the temperance branch"; and it is added: "It is impossible not to feel some anxiety."

And the subject of the sad increase of smoking in boys and lads—and may I not add women also?—I must name as one of the matters in which we have not improved. It is indeed sad, both from a physical and moral point of view, and why is it never spoken of in schools, week-day or Sunday? When I meet one of ten years old or less with a cigarette in his mouth, I stop him to ask if he has ever thought what he will spend in this way by the time he is sixty—enough, I tell him, to provide a pension for his old age. And I must say I find my remonstrance civilly received. But, again, why do not the parents interfere in a matter like this? For reasons of physical development, the German Emperor forbids smoking under a certain age, all boys being trained for the army.

It is a modern innovation of which I can remember the beginning, even amongst *men* of the upper classes.

If I have seemed to be too fault-finding with regard to the present as compared with the past, I should like to give my cordial sanction to the improved methods of dealing with the poor now more generally adopted, partly through the influence of "Charity Organization" principles, which are, in fact, an extension of the old "Mendicity Society's" plans, so long successfully carried out. The development of "settlements" and "homes" for men and women workers is one of the excellent results of the present day, now multiplying in all parts of London and the suburbs, and this is the more interesting to me because I felt the want of some such plans long years ago, before they were thought of as practicable.

It was in the "fifties" that I wrote on the subjects of "Parish Homes" and "Unmarried Daughters" (now coming again into warm discussion) as meeting the two wants acknowledged by all. Miss Martineau had written (I think in the

Daily News) on "Associated Homes for Women" who lead lonely and unhappy lives in solitary lodgings, and I wrote also to suggest the *work* that might be found for them in the various spheres of philanthropy. Thus, more than forty years ago were plans floating in the air which are now carried out in numerous localities with assured success as "settlements" and "homes" of happy and busy workers, who are diffusing light and comfort throughout their different spheres.

On the subject of "Mothers' Meetings," of which I remember the beginning,[1] I cannot help expressing my high opinion of their usefulness, especially in regard to the reading at them. After nearly twenty years have elapsed since I left the parish where I held them, I continue to receive testimony as to the pleasure those meetings, held in my own house, gave. The mission woman says: "It was very nice the other day to hear one of our 'old mothers' who used to come there regularly say, 'I could always reckon upon one hour's peace and rest in the week; it seemed like being shut in from the troubles of the world.'" Another spoke of the reading, and said she had never forgotten "A Noble Life," though twenty years had passed since she listened to it. I found Miss Yonge's, Miss Sewell's books, and even some of Tennyson's poems, were highly appreciated by these working women, and I should like to express my conviction that it is a great mistake to read to these women childish, or even wholly religious, books, our object being to raise them to a higher level, not to descend to their lower one. Readings and lectures by the National Health Society are also most important, in view of the enormous mortality amongst children owing to the total ignorance of feeding and all other sanitary measures in the mothers. Such teaching is keenly appreciated, and how far better would prevention be than cure in these matters!

Though I have not considered that politics enter into the scope of these thoughts, I must name one object which I suppose may be said to come under this head, though I am inclined to connect it more distinctly with social work and reform—I allude to the bestowal of the Parliamentary franchise on women, which has from the first claimed my warm support. To suppose that women *can* be excluded from politics at the present day is impossible, for when they are universally employed as canvassers and promoters of the objects of both parties, who can consider it desirable that they should be? When "Primrose Leagues" and "Liberal

[1] I believe I am correct in saying that the first of these was held by my sister, who worked among the poor of Claremarket as long as sixty years ago, and a "penny bank" was started at the same time.

Federations" are to be seen and heard on every side, why are women to be debarred from the privilege of helping to obtain the results they are asked to strive for, and when the illiterate, who cannot even sign their names, are admitted to the privilege? If women are not to "meddle with politics," as has been hitherto said, then let them abstain altogether from doing so; but surely it is most inconsistent to proclaim and preach this abstention and yet employ them in the mere drudgery part of it, as is now the case. I need hardly point out the numerous social questions which have to be decided by the House of Commons seriously affecting women as well as men, and which they would help to solve in a right and just spirit; the first breach in the wall of prejudice having been made by their admission to vote in municipal matters, and for some public Boards, makes us confident that in time, whether short or long, this too will be granted, and thus almost the last of "Women's Disabilities" be done away with. That the reversal of the permission for women to sit on Vestries has been effected with regard to the new Borough Councils is indeed a lamentable and retrograde step, which we hope and believe cannot long be maintained. At the end of the year 1900 I had the satisfaction of holding a few meetings at my house with some ladies (amongst whom was the former Vestry-woman of five years' standing in Kensington, who had done excellent work), to endeavour to bring the matter before the present candidates and voters as one desirable for immediate consideration in Parliament, our action being taken in conjunction with the Women's Local Government Society, which does good work in all these questions. The only other remark that I wish to make verging on politics is, as I believe, my increasing dislike of "party spirit," as seen so strikingly in our present Parliaments, impeding so much good work, and which must make us objects of derision, or worse, to other countries, especially to those which do not adopt our system of Government. It makes one long for the time when none should be "for a party," but all "for the State," leaving, of course, room for every difference of opinion as to measures and methods, but avoiding the terrible temptation to recriminate and abuse those who differ for the object of party alone, even though all may have the same objects at heart. I cease to wonder that Russian and other statesmen glory over their immunity from the scenes they read of in our Parliaments.[1]

[1] "The country understands quite well that it is the want of earnestness in the House about everything except the party game which makes useful work nearly impossible. It is not the closure, but the unlimited toleration of frivolity—of foolishness, of empty verbosity, and of wilful

The intrusion of politics into all elections at the present time, whether of municipal, School Boards, or Guardian work, is, to my mind, one of the most regrettable signs of the times.

While naming the desirability of women's suffrage as the greater means of extending their influence in social work, I should like to add some of the posts which they are well qualified to fill in largely increased numbers at the present time. First in the list must come that of inspectors of workhouses—an appointment—which, strange to say, though begun twenty-five years ago (and which lapsed through the sad death of the first woman appointed, Mrs. Nassau Senior, after her inspection of Poor Law schools), has only been renewed recently by one for the Metropolitan District alone, although, as far as our knowledge goes, that needs her services far less than the country districts. I need not name all the reasons why women are pre-eminently qualified to inspect these institutions, now almost wholly occupied by the sick, the aged, and children, as it must be obvious to the common-sense of all that the plan is desirable, and even necessary. But I wish to extend the list of institutions far beyond these of the Poor Law; in prisons and lunatic asylums it may be said to be an urgent need for the women's departments, where, it is well known, the presence of men is not desirable. May I add that, as the present excellent inspectors of workhouses are not medical men (with the exception of two for all England), it is hardly suitable for them to be called upon to examine into the state of the sick, both as regards their personal condition and the care bestowed upon them by the nurses; and, besides these duties, there is the domestic economy of all these large institutions, which will surely be acknowledged by all to be "women's work."

Women are now being called for to act as relieving officers, for which duties they are admirably qualified as visitors to the homes of the poor, and by patient investigations of their condition; and it is most desirable that their work should be extended in this direction, as well as for inspectors of factories and for sanitary work, and on the new Boards of Education. The greatest need of all may perhaps be said to be that of our hospitals (including those for incurables and children), where efforts have been made during many years to obtain the admission of women, as members of the board of management, in the interests of both patients and nurses, who are represented at present by the matron alone to the managers or governors.

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obstruction—that has lowered, and is steadily lowering, the House in the eyes of the nation."—*Times*, July 23, 1901.

Another reform in social work which I have desired to promote is the extended employment of women as matrons at police-stations, to which women and girls of all ages are taken and placed in cells, chiefly at night, and often in a state of intoxication. We desire to see a resident matron in all such stations, as common-sense and decency demand, instead of being, as at present, in many places fetched at the discretion of the police. When this matter was brought before Parliament the reform was pronounced to be "too costly," but we hope and believe that some good has been done.

After twenty-five years of good work done by women on Boards of Guardians (now numbering one thousand), I am confident as to similar results in other spheres, and can only express surprise at the delay in bringing about this change.

Another matter for which I have been working during twenty-five years has been the discouragement of the method of election by voting in charitable institutions, a system which dies hard, but, at any rate, is now limited to old institutions, and which no new undertakings would dare to start with. I earnestly wish the society which does this good, patient work more speedy success than it has hitherto obtained. At a recent meeting the Duke of York said: "The Royal Albert Orphan Asylum was founded to provide an institute where no canvassing was required, and where cases are considered on their actual merits, and not on the activity and personal influence of the candidate's friend. I am sure that this arrangement must commend itself to everyone."[1]

Another object for which I have striven for many years, but which, alas! is still unpopular, is to show the unsuitability of all such methods as bazaars for objects of charity, to which its spirit is wholly opposed, frivolity and amusement of all kinds being thought necessary to draw out the generosity of the unwilling givers. Having written tracts on this subject many years ago, I still distribute them; but, with the sanction and patronage still granted by the highest classes, there is little hope at present that much impression will be made, though I am thankful to know that many among the clergy are cordially with me in this matter. Having alluded to this subject in connection with charity, or, as it might more appropriately be called, the collection of funds, I cannot resist saying a few more words upon it, my convictions having remained un-

[1] It is impossible to give details in support of these opinions, but two facts may be named. At a recent election 30 candidates were chosen out of 149 applicants; in another, for pensions for the blind, 50 from 263 were successful; while the widow of a clergyman stood at six half-yearly elections, polling only 153 votes. Her name was consequently struck out, notwithstanding that each effort had cost her £5 for canvassing.

changed for many years. I once had the privilege of writing an article upon it in *Murray's Magazine*, and a short paper contributed to the *Charity Organization Society's Review* was reprinted nearly twenty years ago, and has been largely circulated. Notwithstanding this, the plan, or system, continues not only to be carried on, but to grow and spread, England being the only country, I have reason to believe, where it prevails. I am at a loss to know why, in a wealthy and pre-eminently charitable community, it should be so general and so fashionable; for even those who carry it out speak of the trouble it entails, with a too frequent failure of results, the expenses sometimes absorbing all, or nearly all, the receipts.

That it falls in with the present love of excitement and amusement is probably the cause of its popularity, but that a certain amount of public opinion has been raised against it is shown by the almost entire abandonment of the term "bazaar," that of "sale of work" being substituted for it, in the hope that it will be supposed the articles are supplied by those who can give their time, instead of money, to the cause. Some of the most objectionable features, such as raffles and other inducements connected with the gambling spirit, have been in some measure, but not wholly, given up. Still, the one objection underlying all such methods is the false principle of obtaining an equivalent for what is given, which strikes at the root and idea of charity, the very essence of which is to receive nothing in return, whereas excitements of amusement, beside the actual goods purchased, are the inducements held out.

There is one other matter connected with these shows which is a puzzle to me, and I fail to find an explanation of it. Palmistry, or fortune-telling, is now common, and apparently a popular addition; but what distinction is there between these performances of fashionable ladies and those of other persons who are fined or sent to prison for doing the same thing?[1]

Since this was written I have been told of another extraordinary development in this direction, which it seems hardly credible should be seriously carried out, as I am assured it is: I allude to the practice of consulting crystals, as, I suppose, fortune-tellers, in the same way as hands are considered such. Can it be possible that in this twentieth century we are returning to the witchcraft of our heathen forefathers?

There are, I imagine, few persons who have had the oppor-

[1] I may mention here that I welcome the publication of a recent little volume of sermons on "The Power of the Spirit of God" (Elliot Stock), by a Yorkshire clergyman, which ably sets forth the objections to these so-called "charitable" methods now being almost universally adopted.

tunities I had in seeing and reading upwards of one hundred letters and appeals—a mere tithe of what had been received—sent to a well-known firm, asking for gifts of their manufacture for these sales, the bribe being in many instances an advertisement of the same goods. The letters were from all churches and denominations, Roman Catholic and Protestant, and from high and low, and hardly ever have I felt such indignation and contempt as in their perusal. Truly may it be called the degradation of charity, and it would have helped to convince many who now condone or advocate the practice. It is only of late years that the clergy have condescended to join the ranks of such advocates of ends justifying all means, and sad it is to see how heartily many now favour such plans for building churches and similar objects. Perhaps the climax of all such unbecoming—may I not say shocking?—efforts was the recent circulation of hand-bills and posters, placarded throughout the parish, announcing a "screaming farce," to be performed by amateurs, members of the congregation, for the completion of a grand new church, in which reverence was to be inculcated as the first of virtues! An almost equally unbecoming announcement has recently been made of "a successful little entertainment," consisting of music and dancing, having been given for a home, or hospital, "for the dying." With these crowning and striking facts I will leave the subject.

LOUISA TWINING.

(To be continued.)

ART. VII.—"THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY."[1]

THIS volume forms part of that "History of the English Church" which has been planned and edited by the Dean of Winchester and Mr. Hart. Four volumes are out, and three are as yet unpublished. It is not easy to divide such a series into volumes, because the necessities of size and uniformity do not always correspond to the realities of history and facts. The first volume contains the story of our Church from its foundation to the Norman Conquest—that is, a period of about five hundred years. The next volume takes us from the Conquest till the end of the thirteenth century—that is, about two hundred and thirty years. The third volume displays the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[1] "The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary." By James Gairdner.

Mr. Gairdner's volume professes to give us the history of not quite half a century. Indeed, the history that counts was transacted in less than thirty years. The following volume promises us the sixty-nine years of Elizabeth and James. The next, by Mr. W. H. Hutton, will present his view of the eighty-seven eventful years from Charles I. to the end of Anne; and then the story is to be continued till the close of the eighteenth century by the firm and accomplished hand of Canon Overton. We may anticipate much from these two volumes.

It will be seen that Mr. Gairdner's volume contains the fewest years, so that his period is presumably the most crowded with events. Perhaps it is for this reason that Mr. Gairdner's volume is so confused, and so unpardonably dull. The age of Henry VIII. was filled with great and interesting people, who have left an indelible mark upon our history. We cannot point to any three Englishmen who have left a more enduring work than Henry VIII., and Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell. Theirs was a dramatic age, filled with tragedy for those who lived in it, filled with romance and awe for those who look back on it. That new learning which was abroad overcame many limitations, and carried the men of the sixteenth century beyond the flaming ramparts of their mediæval prison into the immeasurable universe. Their conflicts make us realize how sweet it may be to look out from a safe place over the great sea lashed into fury by the winds, or to look down at the strife and tumult of a war. Mr. Gairdner does not rise to or with his subject. The greatness and the human interest of his characters are not conveyed into his writing. The importance of their lives and actions appears to be altogether missed. Instead of being presented to us as men confronted by the most serious and distressing problems, and charged with all the responsibility of our future, they are set before us as men striving either blindly or selfishly against the existing order of society. Mr. Gairdner does not seem to realize how corrupt and effete that order was in itself. The new wine of the Renaissance could not be held in the old wine-skins of the Middle Ages, and the explosion was inevitable.

"The current popular view of the English Reformation," says Dr. Sanday, "greatly needs revision and correction. The writings of such men as the late Canon Dixon, Mr. James Gairdner, Dr. Gee, Mr. W. H. Frere and others, are gradually putting us in a position really to understand what happened."[1]

[1] "Divisions in the Church." Two sermons, by the Rev. W. Sanday, D.D.; Longmans, 1902.

Now, there are various ways by which we can be put into a position to understand what really happened in the past. One way is to go back to the contemporary documents, to examine them, to arrange them, to describe what is in them—in other words, to make a calendar. This contribution to the work of history is indispensable; and it is always done with the greatest thoroughness, honesty, and skill by Mr. Gairdner. Another service to history, much rarer, but no less indispensable, is done by those who digest crude and calendared facts, who form sound and penetrating judgments upon them, who combine the facts and their judgments about them into a work of art and genius. Gibbon is, perhaps, the greatest master of this art in any language. Bishop Stubbs, in another way, is a splendid example of how raw material should be illuminated and mellowed. The Introductions to his volumes in the Rolls Series are, for most readers, more valuable than the chronicles and calendars themselves. If we desire to be just to "the writings of Mr. James Gairdner," we must always distinguish between his work as an explorer and a codifier of State Papers, and his efforts as a critic and judge of history. In the former capacity every student is indebted to him. As an historian he is not by any means so satisfying. His original writings are not large in amount, and the present volume, it is to be feared, only brings out more clearly those limitations of insight and judgment which weaken Mr. Gairdner's "Life and Reign of Richard III." In saying this I do not question Mr. Gairdner's accuracy and impartiality, but I cannot read this volume of his without dissenting from almost every judgment he makes, and even mistrusting his capacity to judge at all. "Non omnia possumus omnes," as the great poet says; and the most accurate and patient of transcribers may cause much impatience, and even propagate inaccuracy, when he aspires to be an historian.

"The current popular view of the English Reformation greatly needs revision and correction." That narrow view, not based upon documents, but on prejudices, which could see nothing good or great in the Middle Ages, which was "current," as Dr. Sanday says, in the first half of the nineteenth century, certainly wanted revision and correction. It was, I will not say revised or corrected, but replaced by another view, based on prejudice tempered by romance, which was evolved by the early Tractarians. These men so far reversed the view of their Evangelical predecessors that they could see no evil in the Middle Ages and no good in the sixteenth century. They defamed the Reformers and derided the name of Protestant. Their bias so far prevailed that it may be described as "the current popular view of the

English Reformation" during the second half of the nineteenth century. This view also "needs revision and correction," and it certainly will be revised. Romance has given place to history. Prejudice is yielding to documents and evidence. Scientific methods and the historical spirit are modifying every branch of scholarship, and they are bound to affect both the once-accepted views of the English Reformation. They will make certain childish and narrow theories about the Reformers and the Reformation untenable; but they will justify the Reformers to a large extent by showing how many of their supposed innovations were a true and sound return to early, or at least to pre-mediæval, Christianity. They will also show that a great deal of mediæval and current theology has no solid foundation at all in history.

Mr. Gairdner's views are so confused and curious that one is sometimes tempted to challenge his knowledge of any history outside the range of his own period. He deals in his Introduction with the Church under Henry VII., and he says: "No one could have had the smallest presentiment of the days that were to come." Surely the legislation and the temper of Parliament during the reigns of Edward III., of Richard II., and even of Henry V., were full of grave warnings to the Papacy and the Religious Orders. The Reformation in England was probably deferred by the French war of the fourteenth century and the dynastic wars of the fifteenth. When it came it was no sudden storm. Mr. Gairdner can even talk about the "strengthening of the Church," by which he means the Papacy, after the Council of Constance. There was a strengthening, no doubt, of the Papal status and an aggrandizement of certain Papal families, but these things were gained at the expense of the Papal office, and to the detriment of the Church as a moral influence. The Popes of that age were a byword and a scandal. Their diplomacy filled all men with distrust. The Church itself had wandered so far from its ideals that scholars like Erasmus and Colet could not recognise the Church of the New Testament in the mundane and political institution which they saw existing at the eve of the Reformation. Mr. Gairdner seems to ignore the actual state of the Church and the Papacy at the opening of the sixteenth century. So far from realizing its weakness, he thinks "it was needless speaking against a jurisdiction so firmly established," and he blames "heretics" everywhere for daring to conspire against a society which they saw to be corrupt, and which many of its loyal supporters feared was irreformable. "Repression," he says, "makes heresies all the more mischievous, and not a little dangerous besides," yet all his sympathies appear to be with those who repressed, and against

those who resisted. Similar reasoning would condemn those who resisted Charles I. and Laud. If that reasoning were valid there would be no English liberty and no Italian monarchy. "How demoralizing," says Mr. Gairdner again, "to have secret societies, with books kept underground," but how much more demoralizing to have a Church government, both corrupt and cruel, which made these courses necessary. Mr. Gairdner seems to be deluded by the current sophistries about the coercive power of the Church. "The Church," he says, "had no coercive power, but only suasion." If argument failed it could excommunicate. "After excommunication, a further step *naturally* followed." The excommunicated person was handed over to the secular power. "It was not really the Bishops who burned heretics." It was not, technically; but Mr. Gairdner forgets to add how the secular power was worried and threatened, and when possible coerced, if it did not enforce the sentences of theologians. The claim to coerce and influence the secular power was renewed in the Syllabus of 1864, and the tolerance of the secular power in Rome was complained of not so long ago by the reigning Pope.

Mr. Gairdner is no less contradictory and confused about the Royal Supremacy. In one place (p. 396) he describes it as a "new principle." In another place (p. 155) he says: "it conveyed no new powers." In the latter assertion Mr. Gairdner blunders into correctness. The Royal Supremacy was old in fact, though new in phrase. There was no need to assert it in the ancient English Church, because the Bishop of Rome had not invaded the jurisdiction of the Crown before the Norman Conquest. Edward the Confessor styled himself "Vicar of the Most High King." The early Christian Emperors exercised a Royal Supremacy. They not only summoned Councils, but presided over them. They asserted, indirectly, a cure of souls, as our own King did, in the sense of being responsible for the spiritual welfare of their subjects, but, like our Article now, they never confused Supremacy and the ministerial office.

Mr. Gairdner not only ignores the history of the early Church and the whole development of the Papacy, but he judges the Papacy of the sixteenth century by its official and conventional phrases, instead of by notorious facts. He can describe the servile hierarchies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the only restraint on despotism, forgetting that Ximenes, Morton, and Richelieu were the very effective instruments in founding the despotism of the Hapsburgs, the Tudors, and the Bourbons. Mr. Gairdner can talk, again, about the "independence of the Holy See" in an age when it

had forfeited all moral influence and was politically subservient to the Kings of Spain. By ignoring these facts his judgments about the divorce are ludicrous. He can even say that "the tribunal at Rome was a perfectly just one," when diplomatists on both sides scoffed at the partisanship of the Roman Court. Mr. Gairdner says, again: "Henry knew an impartial decision must be in the Queen's favour." Henry had cause to know that any Papal decision would be in favour of the Queen, for the sake both of the Papal authority and of the Papal status; but he also knew, for both these reasons, that no Papal decision would be or could be impartial. He did not forget, as Mr. Gairdner does, the various expedients by which the Pope tried to evade giving any responsible decision.

It is impossible to follow Mr. Gairdner through all his prejudiced opinions. Indeed, his language in some of them is so peculiar that it is not easy to attach any meaning to his words; *e.g.*, that "'accommodation'" of some sort is absolutely necessary in translating the Scriptures is a fact which does not strike the unlearned; but the New Testament itself was not written in classical Greek, or the Vulgate in classical Latin." Mr. Gairdner condemns Tyndale's Bible, because "familiar terms," such as "priests," "church," "charity," were replaced by "elders," "congregation," "love." He does not seem to realize that the dispute between the old and the new learning turned very essentially upon the mediæval meanings which in course of time and use had been read into these words, and that the Reformers were pleading for a return to their simple and original meaning. When Mr. Gairdner complains that the "do penance" of the mediæval versions, based solely on the Vulgate, "had become 'repent,'" one is inclined to ask whether he knows or understands the force of the New Testament in Greek.

Mr. Gairdner's judgments about persons are as unsatisfactory as his treatment of great principles and of scholarship. His first allusion to Knox (on p. 245) is about as unfair and inadequate as any statement can well be. The phrase "Ridley lingered for some time" in the fire is a curious way of disguising the atrocious cruelty and clumsiness of his death. The list of Mr. Gairdner's "authorities" throws a great deal of light on his opinions. He quotes official documents, of course, but he also recommends a great many Roman Catholic advocates, both contemporary and recent. By all means let them be heard, let their evidence be weighed and their views understood; but to accept them blindly as authorities is not the way to get impartial history. It is for this reason that the current view of our ecclesiastical affairs must be revised,

just as the pre-Tractarian view was revised. The process will result in something very different from that which Dr. Sanday seems to expect, if not to desire. Mr. Pollard's Life of King Henry VIII. is a fine and promising example of what a genuine revision will produce.

Mr. Gairdner seems to ignore the real interests which were at stake in our Reformation. He does not appear to see that our national life, our Imperial greatness, and the causes of civil and religious liberty, were all involved in the struggle of our Reformers. Dr. Sanday is "glad that they showed so much zeal," and he thinks "that we owe them a debt of gratitude." This is an advance upon the scurrilities of Hurrell Froude and Newman, but those who understand the liberties of England will resent the "faint praise" which condemns the heroes who did and suffered so much to obtain them. Dr. Sanday speaks well and truly of Hooker. It is a pity he does not realize that Hooker and the extreme Ritualists among us are incompatibles. The beliefs and practices which they specially desire are one and all condemned in the "Ecclesiastical Polity." There used to be—and there need be—no serious disagreement between the Evangelicals and the older High Churchmen. They could all accept the Anglican *Via Media*, as formulated by Hooker. The New Anglicans have, however, so far departed from our old historical and theological position that some of them are openly advocating a surrender to the Papal monarchy, and others put in the forefront of their teaching those very doctrines and practices for which Cranmer and Ridley were burnt, against which Hooker wrote so decisively, which even Laud and Andrewes opposed with all their strength.

ARTHUR GALTON.

The Month.

THE Education Bill has aroused new interest during the past few weeks in consequence of an amendment proposed by Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, and accepted by the Government. The effect of this amendment is to place religious teaching in the Denominational Schools under the control of the managers, subject to the tenor of the trust-deeds. It is alleged by lawyers of authority such as Chancellor P. V. Smith that this amendment does but state explicitly what would in any case have been the effect of the Bill; but this does not alter the fact that such an effect was not anticipated by many of the supporters of the Bill, and that it materially alters the position of the Clergy in their schools. Hitherto, the schools have practically been under their management, subject to two restraints: One, that in many trust-deeds an appeal on disputed points in religious instruction was left to the Bishop;

the other, that the clergyman was practically obliged to consider the wishes of those to whom he looked for subscriptions. Henceforth, in every Denominational School, he will be but one of six Managers, two of whom will be appointed by the local authority, and who may very possibly be Nonconformists. The reasons alleged, moreover, for the introduction of the amendment increase its gravity. It was expressly urged that it was desirable to enable the Laity of a parish to have some control over Clergy of extreme opinions, so as to prevent their urging such opinions upon the children. There can be no question that, as a matter of fact, the amendment has been provoked by the distrust which the Ritualistic clergy have created. The Bishops have shown themselves unable to control such extravagances, and this amendment is the layman's act of self-protection. It is very significant of the feeling among members that, although Mr. Balfour left his followers free to vote as they pleased on the subject, less than fifty members voted against the amendment. The feeling in the House is, we believe, very decided on the subject; and, though there is some talk of modifications being proposed in the House of Lords, there is very little chance of the Commons giving way.

There are two considerations which it seems desirable to keep in view on the question. In parishes where the Clergyman is in harmony with the traditional teaching of the Church of England, and where his personal influence commands the usual deference, not only will no appreciable change in his position be introduced, but it will be materially strengthened. He will in such cases have the support of the best laymen in his parish, and he will have the additional advantage of their interest in the schools being guaranteed and increased by their legal responsibility for them. It is even conceivable, in some cases, that laymen of a too ecclesiastical turn may give him more support than is desirable, and that the hold of extreme views in some parishes may for a time be strengthened. In the end, however, there can be little doubt that the discussion and publicity which will be insured by the Bill in such matters, together with the appeal to the Bishop, which will still remain, will tend to promote the cause of moderation. The other consideration to be kept in view is that this amendment is a significant indication of the direction in which opinion among the Laity is tending in respect to Church affairs. They do not like to say much, and they have not said much. But the extravagances of too many among the Clergy, and the utter failure of the Bishops to exert any effective control over them, are steadily convincing them of the necessity of asserting lay control in the Church. When that conviction is put into practice, the control in question will not be of the mild ecclesiastical character which the Church Reform League dreams of. It will be something much more direct and practical; and the House of Commons will never consent to entrust it to another body, even if nominally lay in its constitution. The gentlemen of England will maintain their hold on the Church of England, and will not be greatly concerned about theories as to the constitution of our Episcopal Church, such as the Bishop of Worcester has been urging against Colonel Kenyon-Slaney's amendment. The time is at hand when the Bishops must put their house in order, or it will be put in order for them.

But a distressing incident has at the same time shown that there are still greater dangers in the Church than those with which we are threatened by the Ritualistic school. The Dean of Ripon gave an address the other day, at a meeting of the Churchmen's Union, in which he was understood by the reporters to say that belief in the Virgin birth of our Lord was at least a matter of secondary consequence; so that the article in the Creed which asserts it might be treated as on a par with that which states the descent into hell. The Dean's habitual language is so vague and general that, except for his position in the Church, a state-

ment of his views would not be of great consequence. He has not yet published the paper he read, but he has sent a very ambiguous explanation to a Leeds paper and to the *Guardian*. Mr. Bickersteth, indeed, of Lewisham, put the matter in a striking form in a letter to the *Times*, in which he mentioned the observation of a Deacon in his parish that if in his approaching examination for priest's orders he were to express such views as those of the Dean he would no doubt be rejected, and that it seemed strange that a Dean should be allowed to question doctrines which a Priest was expected to believe. But the matter has assumed greater gravity from some letters in the *Times*, signed by anonymous Presbyters, in which an explicit claim is made for freedom to the Clergy to deny our Lord's Virgin birth; and it is even alleged that there are several Bishops who would not treat such a denial as sufficient ground for refusing to admit a man to Holy Orders. Similar latitude was claimed with respect to the Resurrection; but this is a more speculative subject, on which it is difficult to be sure of the precise meaning of the terms employed. The question of the Virgin birth is, as Chancellor Lias has justly observed in a letter to the *Guardian*, a matter of fact; and nothing so alarming—we will even say so scandalous—has occurred in the Church of late, as that men should openly claim to act as ministers in the Church of England while denying a fact explicitly asserted in the Creed, and believed from the earliest times by the whole Church, without exception.

The plea of "Another Presbyter" in the *Times* that much latitude is recognised in the interpretations placed on the Articles has no weight except on the supposition that there are no Articles or beliefs of a fundamental character. It is one thing to allow a liberal interpretation of an Article which some persons think—we believe erroneously—to imply a view of the case of the heathen which was notoriously repudiated by some of the greatest of the early Fathers, and a wholly different thing to admit the express denial of a matter of fact asserted explicitly by the Gospels, the Creeds, and every Father without exception. Since Dr. Newman introduced the Jesuitical method of interpreting Church Formularies into our Church, it is no doubt possible for men to hold such a position as that of "Another Presbyter" without conscious dishonesty. But it is requisite for the reassurance of the Laity, and for the vindication of the simple honesty of the Clergy at large, that some conspicuous protest should be made against the toleration within the ministry of the Church of such license of opinion. The position of Canon Cheyne, and the silence of his Diocesan, the Bishop of Rochester, on the subject, constitute a sufficient scandal. But if the position apparently assumed by the Dean of Ripon, and explicitly assumed by "Another Presbyter," is allowed to pass without protest, the position of the Church of England as a true branch of Christ's Church will be gravely compromised; and we must expect to see many more members of our Church seeking refuge in a Communion which, like the Church of Rome, at least requires her Clergy to believe the Creeds. As to the assertions of "Another Presbyter" that several of the Bishops would admit to Holy Orders men who avow his view, we can only say that it is slanderous, and ought not to be made anonymously. The Bishops may well think that they are not called upon to condescend to take notice of such reckless accusations; but they may be assured that it would be a great comfort to many faithful sons and daughters of the English Church if they would denounce such views and allegations as they deserve. It is satisfactory that the Bishop of London should have at length resolved to prosecute one of the most extravagant of the Ritualistic clergy in his diocese; but Lord Halifax has expressed an opinion, which will be very widely shared, that it will be a great injustice if Mr. Mydleton Evans is prosecuted and deprived for offences against the law which are, at any rate, compatible with Christian belief, while

persons like Canon Cheyne, "Another Presbyter," and, perhaps, the Dean of Ripon, are allowed to deny a fundamental Article of the Christian Creed with perfect impunity.

Reviews.

CANON AITKEN, from the immense experience he has had in dealing with the spiritual needs of others, and in teaching and instructing them, as well as from his own personal experiences, could not but write a telling book on the all-important subject of *The Divine Ordinance of Prayer* (Wells Gardner, Darton and Co.). His style is plain and clear, and his chapters are divided into short numbered sections, each dealing with one particular point. Thus in section 20 (p. 26) he deals in a few pungent sentences with the truth "that Prayer is a constant witness to the Divine Personality." He also deals with such difficulties as the one that in a time of war between Christian nations there is the "antagonism of Prayer against Prayer." There is also a valuable caution against too great familiarity in prayer. A sentence or two on this subject may illustrate the style of the writer. "The man Christ Jesus again and again addresses His Father as a son should, but He never once uses any such expression of endearment as might bespeak familiarity rather than intimacy. Intimacy is permitted to man even in his relations with the Most High, but familiarity is out of place. 'Righteous Father' and 'Holy Father' are the epithets which He feels to be in keeping with His reverent love; but we look in vain for the 'dear Father' or 'dear Lord' that one has so often heard at prayer-meetings, and that one is almost constrained to repeat in certain popular hymns, unless one determines to be silent while others are singing" (p. 205). Some things in this book may be put, perhaps, too strongly, others not strongly enough, but there is much in it full of help for the prayerful Christian.

St. Paul and the Roman Law and other Studies on the Origin of the Form of Doctrine, by W. E. Ball, LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), is a disappointing book. The study which gives its name to the book is interesting so far as it goes, but it is by no means complete or exhaustive. He includes within his study of the subject the Epistle to the Hebrews and the use made in it of the word διαθήκη, but honestly and courageously allows that he has not yet, after reading many commentaries, been "able entirely to understand the argument" (p. 20). The other studies are interesting enough, but they do not throw much additional light on the subjects treated of. There is an interesting comparison in parallel columns of the language of the Athanasian Creed and that of Tertullian (pp. 83 *et seq.*), and we are glad to find that Dr. Ball opposes the view which is held by very many nowadays, as the necessary outcome of the doctrine of evolution, that the more spiritual forms of religion have been evolved from fetishism, or some such degraded form, as human intelligence has advanced. "Investigation," he says, "invariably proves that their multiplied divinities (*i.e.*, those of Oriental religions), elaborate ceremonial, and degrading superstitions are morbid growths and excrescences upon an elder faith in a single supreme being" (p. 110).

Perhaps one of the greatest points of interest in Canon C. H. Robinson's *Human Nature, a Revelation of the Divine* (Longman, Green and

Co., 1902), is that it comes from the pen of the new editorial secretary of the S.P.G. But it is rather an unfortunate illustration of the over-production of books that is a bane of the present time, and especially trying to reviewers. Canon Robinson's previous book, "Studies in the Character of Christ," called forth criticisms and objections of various sorts to the line he had taken. He wished very much to deal with these, and does deal with them, very often very effectively, in the first pages of this volume—*e.g.*, in his treatment of the unselfishness of Christ as compared with that of other men. But it almost looks as if, when this was done, he or his publishers thought that this "sequel" did not form enough material for a second volume by the same author. Accordingly, he appears to have added to the material which he placed at the disposal of his publishers two other manuscripts to make up a volume. The second of these is a set of plain addresses given at quiet days for clergy on the exhortation at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer, with an additional address on "The Thoughts of our Hearts." These he calls "Studies in Worship." The middle section of the book is an attempt to show that if the results of Old Testament criticism, as sketched out in this book, were thoroughly established, "the Divine origin of the Old Testament would be rendered more certain and more obvious than is even now the case" (p. 9). It is always a dangerous plan to argue from supposititious cases, and particularly in regard to things Divine. Canon Robinson professes not to offer any opinion as to what he calls the *results* of modern criticism, but it is pretty clear in what direction his own opinions lead him. If we are to take the following sentences as the expression of his own opinions, it would seem as if he looked upon the doctrine of evolution as all-satisfying. "If, then, modern criticism can make the Old Testament more intelligible by rearranging its component parts, and by showing that the development of its teaching has been in accord with God's revelation of Himself in nature—*i.e.*, with the principles of natural evolution—such criticism will have conferred a double benefit upon all who are prepared to accept its conclusions. It will not only have furnished a new argument for the reality of the inspiration of the Old Testament, but will at the same time have established the most real connection between its teaching and the needs and wants of the present time" (p. 248). We wonder whether Canon Robinson has ever considered the many gaps which the doctrine of evolution by itself is unable to fill up—*e.g.*, between the mineral and vegetable or the vegetable and animal kingdoms of nature.

Messrs. Deighton, Bell and Co., of Cambridge, will shortly publish, under the title of "Words of Counsel," a course of Lectures on Christian Apologetics, delivered to the students of Ridley Hall, by the late Rev. H. W. Dearden, M.A. The Lectures have been prepared for the press by Dr. Sinker, of Trinity College, who has prefixed a brief memoir of the author.