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THE

CHURCHMAN

NOVEMBER, 1904.

ART. I.—THE THIRD EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

THE observation was made in a former article that the two small Epistles of St. John have their chief interest from such light as they throw on the life of the Church at the time and on the mind of the writer in connection with it. In both respects the observation, true of the Second Epistle, is much more obviously true of the Third. In fact, while the letter to the "Elect Lady" has not those marks of a private letter, which consist in references to actual incidents and mutual relations, the letter to Gaius is full of them. It is a little picture of persons and circumstances alive with the feelings they create. In the remarkable dearth of information in the period to which it seems to belong, it is like an island of light in a land that is shrouded in mists. It reminds the present writer of an effect in natural scenery which, though seen long ago, he never forgets, and which he may be pardoned for recalling here. From a familiar point of view a wide prospect lay before him, but under a leaden sky, the earth as in a mist, and every object indiscernible. Suddenly there was a rift in the clouds, and a stream of sunshine fell upon a single spot, where a homestead, trees, and moving forms were clearly seen—a vivid picture framed in encircling gloom.[1] A like effect he finds in this Third Epistle of St. John. After the last words from St. Paul and St. Peter there is silence in Scripture through the following decades, while the Gospel was steadily making way in the world, and Christian Churches were passing through their second genera-

[1] The place was Birdlip Hill, a spur of the Cotswolds, "the high, wild hills of Gloucestershire," where the elevation commands the plain below, the Severn valley, bounded by the heights of the Forest of Dean and the Malvern Hills—a scene of richness and beauty, at that moment shrouded from view, save in the one little area of light described above.

tion. In this period, near the end of the first century, St. John's little letters break the silence, telling of things that are happening—samples of what may be taking place elsewhere. The Second Epistle shows the activity of heresy in outlying Churches in Asia; the Third indicates the movements within the Churches themselves.

We see, first, the occasion of the letter—and a very interesting occasion it is. Certain "brethren" have been on some mission for extension or edification of the Church in some locality apparently within St. John's sphere of influence. On their return to the place from which they went forth, where the Apostle is resident, they are received (like Paul and Barnabas at Antioch after the first missionary journey), and make their report "before the Church" (ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας) of their acts and experiences. As they proceed, it is plain how their work has been assisted and their hearts comforted by the generosity and love of Gaius, and, on the contrary, how they have been thwarted and distressed by the self-will and arrogant conduct of Diotrephes; also, perhaps, how much the work of Demetrius needs the assistance of authoritative commendation and support. St. John returns from the assembly with his mind full of what he has heard, and hence the letter which we have. The persons named in it pass under the light only for a moment, but their characters remain for ever, striking illustrations of human nature in the Christian Church as it was then, as it always is.

The mention of things passing in the Church in missionary action and mutual communication, though slight and incidental, is none the less suggestive of the methods by which the Gospel was quietly extending and establishing itself in the midst of the heathen world. The Churches already formed are missionary centres for fresh advance. From them brethren go forth to places whence calls have come or where doors are open. Other Churches or Christians, wherever they find them, are their hosts and helpers, and set them forward on their way. In a few brief words the letter depicts the character of these movements, their motives and aims, and the duty and happiness of a common interest and contributory participation in their work. It is said to Gaius:

"Beloved, thou doest a faithful work in whatsoever thou doest towards brethren, and strangers withal, whom thou wilt do well to set forward on their journey worthily of God; because that for the sake of the Name they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles. We therefore ought to welcome such, that we may be fellow-workers with the truth."

The motive and mind of the missionary, the duty of others to help, the practical methods of doing so, the partnership in the great cause—all are here in expressions as distinct as they

are simple. "For the Name's sake"—there is the missionary spirit in its source and in its power. No need of explanation: the one word tells everything, and has done so from the first, when the Apostles rejoiced that they were "counted worthy to suffer dishonour for the Name" (Acts v. 41)—"the Name which is above every name," than which "there is none other name under heaven given among men wherein we must be saved." It is the power of that Name in the hearts of believers which should make them partners with those who go forth for its sake. Practical partnership is in methods which time and circumstances determine. In that age it was to receive them (*ὑπολαμβάνειν*) in the way of welcome, support, and supply, as on such missions taking nothing from any but the faithful, and then to forward them (*προπέμψαι*) on their way. So St. Paul admonished Titus in his charge in Crete: "Set forward Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting to them"; and he adds with reference to the like services: "Let our people also learn to maintain good works for necessary uses, that they be not unfruitful" (iii. 14). Here St. John for such kind of service appeals to a higher motive in its participation in a glorious cause, "that we may be fellow-helpers to the truth," as the Authorized Version renders it, or, as the Revised Version, "fellow-workers with the truth." The latter rendering, preferable as translation, has also the deeper meaning. In the one case the fellowship is with the agents in their work for the truth; in the other it is fellowship with the truth itself in the work which it achieves by its own force and virtue. Such was felt to be its power in that early period when Christianity was noiselessly rooting itself in the great centres of population and striking its offshoots in the country places. Not by public preaching to crowds, but in the varied intercourse of social life, by the contagion of conviction, and the examples of moral change, the Word awoke men's souls, answered their secret questions, and met their conscious needs. Preachers and teachers of the Word relied on its inherent power, and all who took part in its advancement felt it their glory and joy that they were fellow-workers with the truth.

This diffusive and communicative spirit which animated the Christian societies, combined with their strong internal union and phenomenal brotherly love, made the Church throughout the empire the expanding and prevailing power which it proved to be. Such was the history upon the whole, but with a very mingled character in the actual course of things. Tendencies of the natural man—inherited dispositions and traditional ideas—survived within the Church, and here

and there were roused into activity, with their accustomed consequences of contention, jealousy, and division. The apprehension of this is shown in the Apostolic writings by exhortations, warnings, and reproofs. It is human nature, says St. Paul, carnal and unregenerate. "Whereas there is among you envying and strife and division, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?" Party spirit, so strong in Corinth, might appear elsewhere, personal ambition anywhere. It seems to be a flagrant case with which St. John has to deal. The letter which he writes to commend in one man the faithful love which assists the truth condemns in another the schismatical egoism which obstructs it. The contrast is striking. They are typical instances of the opposite casts of mind, and the strong impression which they make is manifest. Thus, the letter, brief as it is, affords a threefold study of character. The estimate of the men and the notice of their action make us well acquainted with Gaius and Diotrephes, and no less does the unreserved expression of feeling help us better to know St. John.

In the first part of the letter, relating to Gaius himself, there is an attractive and peculiar charm. At once in its opening words the reader finds himself in an atmosphere of truth and goodness, and in the warm sunshine of love unfeigned:

"The Elder unto Gaius the beloved, whom I myself (ἐγὼ) love in truth. "Beloved, I pray that in all things thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth. For I rejoiced greatly when brethren came and bare witness unto thy truth, even as thou walkest in truth. Greater joy have I none than this, to hear of my children walking in the truth."

Here is no conventional style. It is all, as one may say, so natural. The occasion of writing is a pleasant incident—brethren arriving, who bring good tidings of one beloved, concerning whom, perhaps, anxiety had been felt. There is a touch of some such feeling in the joy that ensues, and a tone of fatherly tenderness as well as of genuine personal affection. The prayer, that "thou mayest prosper in all things (περὶ πάντων) and be in health," is just such a prayer as we may naturally make for those we love; and this Apostolic example is a warrant for so doing. But the example must be taken as a whole. Health and prosperous success are not here, as they are with many, the sum of well-being. They are subordinate to a higher thought—that of the essential thing for man, present to the writer's mind in joyful assurance, "even as thy soul prospereth." That assurance is caused by the reliable witness to character and consistent action (as it is said)—"to thy truth, even as thou

walkest in truth." Then follows the fervent ejaculation, a revelation of the inmost heart: "I have no greater joy than to hear of my children walking in the truth." The pointed expression, *τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα*, equivalent to "my own children," marks the spiritual relationship in which Gaius is included. The love in truth, the walking in truth, or in the truth, have in the mind of the writer their definite meanings. We know what kind of love and what manner of life they intend, as there was occasion to point out when they occurred in the Second Epistle; and they derive force from the sense of the dangers that were abroad, and the faltering or failing of many. This settled faith and consistent walk is the fulfilment of St. Paul's words to these same Asiatic Churches: "As ye received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in Him, rooted and built up in Him, and stablished in your faith, as ye were taught" (Col. ii. 6, 7).

In Gaius this walking in the truth was further illustrated by active service and generous aid to its missionary work, as testified by men who were engaged in it. They had received his help, and, it appears, would need it again for undertakings that were before them, and the promotion and support of these is one purpose of the letter. An effort for this object had already been made, but had failed of its effect from a cause to which it is now necessary for the Apostle to advert.

"I wrote somewhat to the Church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not." He had then written, not as now to a particular person, but to the Church. Christians in the place in question were an organized community, which could be so addressed; and St. John had written in the exercise of his care of the Churches, and, as the word "somewhat" shows, in a mild and moderate tone. But there was one on the spot who carried things with a high hand, and would not admit the Apostle's authority, perhaps did not even communicate the letter, and certainly set at nought its admonitions. What possessed the man? The spirit of self, in self-exaltation and self-will. The spirit of self is the essence of sin, being in its nature separation from God, and in its effect separation from man. It has many forms—self-indulgence, self-interest, self-conceit, and other varieties. That which is ascribed to Diotrephes is expressed by the description, *ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν*, rendered in the Authorized Version and Revised Version, "who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them." This gives the disposition and habit of the man. The disposition is natural, in some natures strong, and indulged as habit it becomes character. Such character is not strange to us. We may have seen it in others, others may see it in us. It easily finds

occasions, not only in public life, but in smaller circles—municipal, social, domestic. There is room for it in religious communities. In ecclesiastical history it has been the cause of tyrannies, conflicts, and schisms. Its movements were felt in the little company of the first disciples in disputes as to who should be greatest; and their Master, not only for their sake, but with foreseeing eye, made it the subject of His most touching instructions both by precept and example. The frequency and earnestness of these exhortations is a warning that there is danger in this direction among adherents to His name and cause—a danger in their case the more subtle from the facility of adopting spiritual language and a religious tone to disguise dictation and self-will. The surprising thing is the occurrence of these moral aberrations in the earliest stage of Christianity, when men became Christians by spontaneous choice, with prospects of probable peril, and without the later complications of worldly motives and prevalent custom, and while the Apostolic authority was still a present fact. In what a degree these characteristics of the old human nature could survive baptism and reappear in the life of the Church was part of the pastoral experience both of St. Paul and St. John.

In the case of Diotrephes the offence was very pronounced. Loving to have the pre-eminence among them, or, as Wycliffe renders, "to bear primacie in hem," he receiveth us not. In the change of expression from singular to plural, there is an accession of force and dignity, the writer associating other leaders with himself, and speaking as a ruler in council. The rejection is quietly stated. "Not receiving" is a phrase which has its meaning from the nature of the claim refused. Spoken of a ruler, it is repudiation of authority; spoken of brethren, it is denial of fellowship. Both offences were found in this contumacious and schismatic person. There is no blame in respect of faith, no intimation of false doctrine or of connection with the rising heresy mentioned in the Second Epistle. The fault is personal in character and habit. He had local influence and a sufficient following, was used to have things his own way, and resented interference with it. We might have supposed him to be an able man, but his ungoverned talk and violent proceedings are characteristics, not of strength, but of temper; and if he has little reverence for the Apostle, the Apostle has evidently a very poor opinion of him. The letter speaks of him as "prating against us with evil words, and, not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the Church." He does so at least in intention and effort, and the present tenses, *κωλύει ἐκβάλλει*,

imply no more than that. But things will not be left as they are. Whatever measures may be taken in the meantime to stay the mischief and restore order, St. John expects to visit the place himself, and implies that his presence will be decisive. The words and deeds will not be passed over: "I will bring to remembrance the works which he doeth." The language is less effusive, but not less determined than that of St. Paul, speaking in the prospect of a like corrective visitation to the disordered Church at Corinth, when he declares his "readiness to avenge all disobedience," and says, "To them that have sinned heretofore, and to all the rest, if I come again I will not spare" (2 Cor. x. 2-6; xiii. 1-3). The two men were very different in themselves and in their use of words, but the power which St. Paul calls "the proof of Christ speaking in me" would beyond doubt be equally felt in any Apostolic action of St. John. In the few words which announce the judgment of the Apostle, we also know something of the spirit of the man. In the "prating against us with evil words," and in "when I come I will bring his works to remembrance," there is a touch of human feelings which we understand. At least, they are indications of character. Like the severe epithets, the shutting of doors and withholding of greetings, in the Second Epistle, they reveal in the writer a susceptibility of sterner moods than those of contemplation and love. So he can speak and feel when there is a cause, though it is his habit to say no more than there is need.

The letter quickly passes from this painful topic to end with one word of holy instruction, one of cordial commendation, and one of affectionate hope:

"Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good." There is a lesson in men's ways—even in those just mentioned. Example is a great factor in life, because of the natural instinct of moral imitation, the inclination to do what is done by others. But there is also the responsibility, as in other things, so in this—to refuse the evil and choose the good. The character depends on the relations with God. "He that doeth good is of God" (ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν). His principles and life are from the source of all good. "He that doeth evil hath not seen God"; that light has never reached his soul. The men to trust are believers tried and proved. Demetrius is such. You can rely upon him. He is an established character. All men bear witness to him. So, one may say, does the truth itself, as illustrated by his life and teaching; and we add our own testimony, true, as thou knowest, in greater things than this. But who is Demetrius? and why this accumulated testimony? These are questions

for us, not for those who would receive the letter. They knew the man and his mission, and were doubtless sensible of the importance and difficulties of the work which these energetic testimonies were intended to strengthen and support —a work in which he either was actually engaged, or, more probably, which he came to undertake with this commendatory letter in his hand.

Now all is said that must be said, and the letter is brought to an end, not because there is little to say, but because there is too much. Manifold are the interests in the writer's mind, and the subjects on which he would like to communicate with his friend—but not, he says, with ink and pen. It appears that St. John wrote with reluctance. He had not the facilities of literary habit. His Gospel, even, is said to have been put in writing only after strong pressure from "his fellow disciples and bishops." So both these Epistles are cut short, and in each case the "many things" are deferred to an anticipated coming and a time of meeting. In the Third Epistle that is not distant or uncertain. The contemplated journey into the country of Diotrephes and Gaius is on the eve of being undertaken, and will give opportunity for necessary correction of the one and for happy intercourse with the other. "I hope to see thee shortly (ἐνθεως, speedily), and we shall speak face to face" (στόμα πρὸς στόμα λαλήσομεν).

With this pleasant prospect the letter ends.

The two Epistles complete our knowledge of St. John's Apostolic ministry. "For the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" he was an exile in Patmos. His special part in that testimony we know from the Gospel to which it was at last consigned. The teaching which he founded upon it we learn from his First Epistle. The Epistles to the Seven Churches show his knowledge of those under his peculiar charge in their circumstances and spiritual conditions. For his subsequent work among them we derive our information from these two short letters. That information is considerable, for there is nothing exceptional in the particulars mentioned, which are of a nature to show the general habits. Such are the intense and constant insistence on the truth, the stern denunciation of anti-Christian heresy, the watchfulness over its aggressions and warning of its approaches, the interest in missionary movements, the action taken on reports received in quick encouragement of loving services and reprobation of schismatic conduct, the firm lines of good and evil, the observation and estimate of character, the sympathetic spirit, the anxious love for his own children, the joy in evidences that their souls prosper and that they are walking in truth, the journeys taken as he is able for visitation of churches, the

correspondence and intercourse of personal affection. This is the mind—these are the ways of a true shepherd of Christ's flock, of one who heard, recorded, and fulfilled the final charge: "Lovest thou Me? . . . Feed My sheep."

Thus, at the close of the first century, the Apostolic age was ended, under gathering clouds, but also with the gentle lights and tender colours of a holy sunset in the last ministry and unrecorded death of the disciple whom Jesus loved.

There is a natural inclination to identify the Gaius of this Epistle with one whom we knew before: "Gaius, mine host, and of the whole Church," as St. Paul calls him (Rom. xvi. 23). It is so pleasant to meet an old friend after a lapse of years and in unexpected circumstances. In both cases, too, there is the same generous and hospitable character, and a like neighbourhood to schismatic disturbance. In the "Speaker's Commentary" Bishop Alexander dwells on these points, and concludes: "The supposition, then, that the Gaius of this Epistle is the Corinthian Gaius is, at least, not improbable." But the name Gaius (Latin, Caius) was most common. The characteristics were proper to the first Christians, and not rare amongst them; and there is a difference between the Corinthian party spirit and the ambition of Diotrephes. Time and place are against the supposition. Between the Epistle to the Romans (A.D. 58) and the probable date of St. John's Epistles there is an interval of some thirty or thirty-five years. St. John's pastoral connection was in proconsular Asia, and he appears never to have visited the Western Churches. It is most improbable that in advanced old age he should contemplate a journey from Ephesus to Corinth, and speak of it as in the ordinary course of things. It is still more so that he should designate a friend, and presumably a convert of St. Paul, who was a distinguished member of the Church in the previous generation, as one of his own children (τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα), the testimony to whose walk in the truth rejoiced his heart.

T. D. BERNARD.

ART. II.—THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE BIBLE.

I VENTURE to think it would be well if it were more clearly realized that the question of the trustworthiness of the Bible is the great practical issue which is brought before us by recent criticism, and that this question may be practically decided without entering into many points of detail, on which critics may remain for a long time divided. It is independent, for instance, and confessedly independent, of much of the current theories respecting the composition of the Pentateuch. It is not indeed true, as is so often alleged, that the dominant theory on that subject is one upon which all competent scholars are agreed. A powerfully written book, recently published by Professor Sayce, entitled "Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fallacies," in which, in view of the most

recent research, he explicitly rejects, and even scorns, that theory, is alone sufficient evidence to the contrary. A most interesting and important investigation, of which the first-fruits have just been published in the *American Journal of Theology*, is now being conducted by Dr. Redpath, the Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford, into the use in the Septuagint of the Greek words which correspond to Jehovah and Elohim. This investigation tends to show that in the Hebrew manuscripts used by the Septuagint translators there were material differences in the use of those words from that of the existing Hebrew manuscripts, on which the Jehovistic and Elohistic theory is based. But if so, the original basis of the distinction between the Jehovistic and Elohistic narrators would disappear. Dr. Redpath suggests another explanation of the phenomenon—namely, that when the Jews had come to shrink from using the Divine name Jehovah, an Elohistic recension of the Bible was provided, and that these two recensions, the original Jehovistic and the popular and Elohistic, are both represented, and perhaps combined, in our present manuscripts. It seems a somewhat startling thing that German and English scholars can have gone on for about a hundred years elaborating theories on the basis of a phenomenon in the present Hebrew text, without taking the trouble, which is now being taken by Dr. Redpath, to ascertain whether that phenomenon is supported by the oldest evidence which, with the exception of the Samaritan Pentateuch, we possess respecting the original Hebrew text. But it is enough to mention these facts in order to show that it is altogether premature to assume that the current critical theories respecting the composition of the Pentateuch are established. But even if they were, and if it were further established, as most of the critics maintain, that the Elohistic and Jehovistic documents were written at a late period of Jewish history, and not by contemporaries of the events narrated, there would still, apart from questions of inspiration, be no sufficient ground in that fact for doubting their trustworthiness. Histories are now being written of the early periods in our own history which may be actually more accurate than any contemporary memoirs we possess, because they are composed after a comparison of those memoirs, and after an investigation of original documents. In the same way, Dillmann recognises that the narrators of the Pentateuch, whoever they were, appear to have had access to older documents, and were, consequently, in possession of materials for writing true histories; and if, in addition, they were under the guidance of inspiration in using those early narratives and documents, we have all the ground we could

desire for accepting their authorities. Let it be laid down, therefore, that the modern critical theories respecting the text, even if they were true, do not in any way destroy the ground on which the trustworthiness of the Scriptures, as ordinary historical narratives, rest. The account given by St. Luke of his procedure, under, as we believe, inspired direction, may still apply to every one of the historical writers of the Old Testament. If contemporary documents ever existed recording the events narrated in the historical Scriptures, the writers of those Scriptures may have composed them with the same advantages as any other historians. When, indeed, it was not supposed that writing was known in patriarchal times, it involved a degree of faith at which we may well marvel, to suppose that Moses was enabled by inspiration, hundreds of years after the event, to write such minute accounts of the lives and doings of the patriarchs. But now that we possess a whole code of laws drawn up under the authority of a King who was contemporary with Abraham, there is no difficulty in believing that Moses was in this respect in a position similar to St. Luke.

The question of the trustworthiness of the Bible may thus be taken entirely out of the region of mere literary criticism, and we may inquire whether, on broad historical principles, there are any sufficient grounds for questioning the uniform belief of the Jewish and Christian Churches in the truth of the Scripture narrative. We are justified in putting the question in this form, and throwing the burden of proof on the side of those by whom that belief is questioned. We have the spectacle before us of a nation of extraordinary tenacity, of undoubtedly great antiquity, coming before the world with a set of books, which it declares with unanimity to have been handed down among them from generation to generation, to have been preserved as sacred treasures by their great leaders and teachers, and to contain an account of their history which corresponds with all the extant memorials of their race. Such a nation, coming forward into the world with such documents in its hand, must be regarded in the court of historical inquiry as a witness, not only *primâ facie* credible, but needing overwhelming evidence to refute. It is not the witness of a single man, it is the witness of a succession of men of the highest authority among their own people, the witness of successive generations, the witness of a unanimous consent, of traditions, of customs, of laws and ceremonies. The documents, in accordance with the usual requirement of a court of law, are produced from the proper custody, and those who produce them are characterized by a substantial unanimity in the account they give of them and in their

interpretation of them. What would be the first question which common-sense would put to anyone who came forward to impugn their historical authority? It would surely be to ask him to produce any positive evidence of the inconsistency of the books with known facts. You question, one would say, the trustworthiness of this witness, who has been believed for long ages. Are there any facts you can adduce which contradict his statement? Now, if a critic who questions the trustworthiness of the Bible is asked this question, what must be his answer? It must be that he can produce no facts whatever which are inconsistent with the substantial truth of the Old Testament narratives. On the contrary, the main course of historical investigation has afforded extraordinary corroboration of some of the most perplexing passages of Old Testament history.

A crucial instance is afforded by the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. Thirty years ago, as Professor Sayce reminds us, Professor Nöldeke pronounced that that chapter had been proved to be unhistorical; the political situation supposed by it was incredible and impossible, and the whole story was a fiction, based on the Assyrian conquest of Palestine in later days. It is now known that the circumstances described in that chapter are in entire harmony with the circumstances of the Babylonian history of the time, as they have been revealed by contemporary documents, and even that the names of the Kings mentioned in it have been handed down correctly. The exact preservation of these foreign names of ancient date leads, says Professor Sayce, to two conclusions. On the one hand, the narrative in which they occur cannot have been handed down orally; it must have been copied from a written Babylonian record, and been written from the outset in Hebrew, as we find it to-day. In other words, the Biblical writer had before him a Babylonian chronicle, from which he extracted just as much as related to the subject of his own history. Now, this is a crucial case, and one might almost think that that chapter, which has been such a source of perplexity to mere literary criticism, was providentially inserted in order to furnish in due time evidence in corroboration of the rest of the patriarchal narratives. But this is only an example of what is everywhere the case. There may be some discrepancies in detail, as yet unexplained, between the records of the Hebrew books and the records of the monuments; and it is not to be assumed at once that, in case of such discrepancy, the monuments must be right and the Hebrew records wrong. But although for fifty years the soil of Egypt and of Mesopotamia has been ransacked for ancient records, and incalculable numbers of them have been

unearthed, the general result has been to confirm, and not to invalidate, the truth of the Hebrew narrative.

The position could hardly be better described than in a passage in Dr. Driver's recent commentary on Genesis. He is discussing the question of the historical character, or, in plain words, the trustworthiness, of the narratives of the patriarchs. He says (p. 58): "How far, in the existing narratives, the original historical nucleus has been modified or added to . . . it is, of course, impossible to determine exactly. An objective criterion is seldom obtainable, and subjective impressions of what is probable or not are mostly all that we have to guide us." The methods of the criticism which Dr. Driver represents could not be better summarized. "An objective criterion is seldom obtainable"; in other words, as I have said, no definite objective facts can be produced to invalidate the truthfulness of the Scripture narrative. "Subjective impressions of what is probable or not are mostly all that we have to guide us." Of what value, we may well ask, are subjective impressions of what is probable or not probable in such distant ages? What critic, under the guidance of subjective impressions only, would have thought it probable, five years ago, that we should find an elaborate code of laws, comparable to that of the laws of Moses, actually contemporary with Abraham, and that we should have an English translation of it on our tables? Dr. Driver says, a little later on, that in the time of the patriarchs religion "must have been in a relatively rudimentary stage," but, "at the same time, the patriarchs often expressed themselves in terms suggesting much riper spiritual capacities and experiences, and in some cases, indeed, borrowed evidently from the phraseology of a much later age." St. Paul, on the contrary, recognised in the history of Abraham the cardinal religious principle which it was his mission to assert, and the question really involved in Dr. Driver's "must" is whether God did actually speak to the patriarchs. If He did, if there were an absolute communication between God and man, who shall venture to say that the religious conviction so produced "must have been" merely rudimentary? The subjective impressions of Oxford and German professors, respecting what must have been the limits of the communications between God and man in the time of Abraham, are not worth much. Ask the critic, in a word, for objective criteria to prove the unhistorical character of the narratives in Genesis, ask him for the definite evidence on which he impugns the most venerable witnesses in history, and he frankly confesses he has none, and he falls back on subjective impressions. Those who believe these ancient witnesses have also their subjective impressions. They are

penetrated, in the words of Dr. Lock, the editor of the series in which this commentary appears, by "the extraordinary truthfulness to human nature and to Oriental life" which these narratives display, by "the consistency of this book with the subsequent history and religious thought of later Judaism;" and they have a still stronger subjective impression that, as he mildly puts it, "the fact of inspiration once admitted on the higher level of moral and spiritual tone may well carry its influence over into the details of fact, and turn the balance, when otherwise uncertain, on the side of trustworthiness." One would think it really might. If inspiration has any weight in the balance at all, it really might be expected to turn it in favour of such trustworthiness. Such, however, I submit, is the main point in this great issue. The Scriptures are in possession of the ground; they have been unchallenged witnesses for some two thousand five hundred years. If you are to disparage their trustworthiness, it can only be by some objective criterion, and this you cannot produce. If you appeal to your subjective impressions, we must take the liberty of regarding your conclusions as subjective also, and as destitute of objective validity.

The case is similar with the account of the creation in the first chapter of Genesis. It comes before us with very solemn authority; it is appealed to by our Lord as revealing the true constitution of man. If you are to overthrow its authority, it is for you to prove its inconsistency with science. But that inconsistency cannot be said to be proved when high scientific authorities, such as the late Sir William Dawson and Professor Dana, maintained the harmony of the two. It is certain that there is at least a most marvellous general correspondence between the account in the first chapter of Genesis and the revelations of natural science. That fact alone constitutes a miracle, and creates an immense presumption in favour of the belief that apparent discrepancies in minor matters will be cleared up by subsequent investigation. Above all is the case the same with respect to the general course of Jewish history, as to that succession of the Law and the Prophets, which has been believed without a break by the Jewish and Christian Churches till within fifty years ago. Nothing less than absolute demonstration is required to justify our belief that the whole Jewish nation since the time of Ezra, and every Jewish writer without exception, were under a delusion respecting the real course of their national history. I asked a great Jewish authority in London why the orthodox Jews did not reply to the theories of the critics on this cardinal point, and he replied, with a smile, that there were some things which were too absurd and incredible to be worth refutation. That

was the natural feeling of a Jew who was sensible of the continuity of his national life. The broad fact would seem to be that the only arguments which can be adduced against the substantial trustworthiness of the Jewish Scriptures are the subjective impressions of European critics in the nineteenth century respecting what is probable or not in Oriental antiquity, and in the dealings of God with men in those days. In the true balance of history, such subjective impressions are surely as light as a feather.

I will only add one word respecting the trustworthiness of the New Testament history. It should never be forgotten that in this field the subjective impressions which were dominant in Germany fifty years ago have been absolutely overthrown. It is now recognised by the vast majority of competent authorities that the Gospels are contemporary records, and the Acts of the Apostles, when put to the test of objective criteria by such an historical inquirer as Professor Ramsay, have been proved to be marked by the most surprising accuracy in details. Let us, then, be encouraged to hold with a firmer faith than ever to the plain historical truth of the wonderful and gracious narratives the New Testament Scriptures contain. Let us not be for a moment deterred by subjective impressions of philosophers as to what is probable or not in the most mysterious regions of God's supreme revelation of Himself—in His Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension. In those sacred and mysterious regions we are never safe except in accepting the plain testimony of truthful and inspired witnesses. It may well be that much that they tell us is beyond our comprehension, and there may be difficulties respecting it which will remain unsolved on this side of the grave; but if we can regard them as trustworthy, as faithful and true witnesses, we have a solid foundation on which our faith can rest, and on which the Christian creed and the Christian life can be built. Let it be the first point in our thoughts that that foundation stands firm, that the Scriptures alike of the Old and the New Testament may be unfeignedly believed, and that criticism will be true and valuable in proportion as it starts from that first principle.

HENRY WACE.

Art. III.—OUR LADY OF PELLEVOISIN.

THE last appearance of St. Mary in France is said to complete the cycle of her visits to that country, which began with La Salette. A notice of this appearance has been written by Monseigneur Bauron, Apostolic Protonotary, and Rector of a parish in Lyons, and it has received the printed approval of the Bishop of Moulins, the Bishop of Mans, the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons, and Pius X.[1] The story which it recounts is as follows:

Estelle Faguette, having to give up her intention of being a nun owing to her health, entered the service of Madame Arthur de La Rochefoucauld, who had built in her grounds a grotto dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes. After ten years' service, she became so ill that her death was expected. On Sunday, February 13, 1870, she requested Madame de La Rochefoucauld to send in her behalf two candles—one to the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, the other to the altar of Notre Dame de Lourdes, in the Church of the Gésu. The candles were sent and lit on Monday, February 14. That same night there appeared to Estelle the devil, making horrible grimaces at her, and threatening her so that she was greatly terrified. But immediately the Holy Virgin appeared at the foot of her bed, more beautiful than any painter has represented her, with a white veil having three folds in it, a tunic fastened by a cord to her waist, and on her breast a piece of white linen. Directly the devil saw the Holy Virgin he turned his back without daring to speak, and Mary apostrophized him: "What are you doing here? Don't you see that she is wearing my livery and that of my Son? You know," she said, turning to Estelle, "that you are my daughter." And then Estelle remembered that since she was fourteen she had been enrolled as "a child of Mary." The Queen of Heaven then told her that she would have to suffer for five days in honour of the five wounds of Christ, and that on the following Saturday she would either die or be healed. If she lived she was to publish Mary's glory, The apparition then showed to her a slab of white marble, which was an *ex voto*, and told her to erect it at Pellevoisin.

The following night—that is, Tuesday night—the devil again appeared, but he could not come so near to her as on the first night. At once the Holy Virgin appeared again, and told Estelle that she should be cured on the following Satur-

[1] "Notice sur Notre Dame de Pellevoisin." Par Monseigneur P. Bauron, Protonotaire Apostolique Curé de S. Eucher, à Lyon. Paris: G. Beauchesne et Cie, 117, Rue de Rennes.

day, after which she was to publish her glory. On Wednesday night the devil was so far off that she could only see his gestures of rage. The Holy Virgin at once appeared, and said to Estelle: "I am altogether merciful, and I am the mistress of my Son. Your good actions and fervent prayers and a letter that you wrote to me last September have touched my motherly heart. I showed your letter to my Son. Be faithful and publish my glory." On Thursday night the devil was hardly visible. The Holy Virgin again appeared, and repeated the words: "I am altogether merciful, and the mistress of my Son. I desire that you publish my glory." On Friday night there was no devil, but Mary exhibited the slab of marble, which now had an inscription on it, written by herself, declaring that Estelle had invoked Mary, and that she had obtained her cure. Again Mary desired her to "publish her glory," and disappeared at half-past twelve. The following day, Saturday, Estelle wrote a prayer of thanksgiving to St. Mary, and was altogether cured of her illness.

After Estelle's cure the apparitions ceased for eight months. Then St. Mary returned as Estelle was kneeling at ten o'clock in the evening and reading a pious book. Never had human eye seen anything so ravishing. Her robe was as white as the priest's alb; round her waist was a cord, the ends of which reached her feet; her arms were hanging by her sides, and from her hands there fell, as it were, drops of parti-coloured rain. Looking at Estelle, she said: "Patience; you will have suffering, but I am there; I will come back." The next night she appeared again at one o'clock, and this time she had a garland of roses round her, white, red, and yellow, some full-blown and some in bud, exhaling a delicious perfume. Addessing Estelle, she said: "You have already published my glory; continue to do so. My Son's heart has so much love for mine that He cannot refuse my demands. I am come particularly for the conversion of sinners." At the same time she brought a quantity of blank writing-paper which, Monseigneur Bauron explains, was for the encouragement of the "good press" in writing about the Holy Virgin. The next night, July 3, 1876, she reappeared, telling Estelle that it was for the purpose of "concluding the festival." Estelle asked what festival, for she did not know that on that day there had been a great gathering at Lourdes of thirty-six Archbishops and Bishops, and vast crowds from all parts of the world, to exalt the glory of the Immaculate Virgin, at which Cardinal Guibert placed the crown of her universal royalty upon her brow.

After three months Mary appeared again, and took the little piece of white linen which she was wearing on her

breast, and showed that it had upon it a red-coloured heart, from which bright flames were springing, and above it a cross surrounded by a crown of thorns, the heart gaping from a wound with a lance, and drops of blood and water falling from it. This Estelle recognised as the scapular of the Sacred Heart; and the Holy Virgin announced: "I love this devotion." After a pause she added: "This is the place in which I will be honoured." "Here," says Monseigneur Bauron, "was the end and object of all these apparitions—" namely, the revelation of the scapular of the Sacred Heart and the superiority of Pellevoisin to La Salette, Lourdes, and Pontmain, Pellevoisin having become "the porch of heaven."

But the apparitions did not yet cease. The next day the Holy Virgin appeared again to show how the scapular was to be worn—namely, on the breast, as she had worn it. Five days later she appeared again, and sadly exclaimed: "What have I not done for France? How often I have warned her, and yet she refuses to hear! I cannot hold back the arm of my Son any more; France shall suffer!" On the next occasion the Holy Virgin said nothing, but Estelle noticed that a statue of Nôtre Dame de Lourdes which stood on her mantelpiece disappeared during the presence of the Mother of God, just as if they were identified the one with the other, and reappeared when she went away. And this took place during each of the apparitions that followed. On the next occasion the celestial visitant assured Estelle that she had chosen her, and she covered the scapular of the Sacred Heart which was on her breast with her hands, in order to show how she loved and protected it. By the time of the next appearance Estelle had made a scapular like that which had been shown her. The Holy Virgin smiled, and desired her to make many more on the same model. At the last appearance, which took place on December 8, 1876, the Holy Virgin desired Estelle to remember her words, as she would see her no more; but she would always be near her, though invisible. Estelle was frightened by seeing on the left of the Virgin a crowd of strange shapes threatening her with gestures full of rage. Mary told her that she had nothing to fear, and offering her the scapular to kiss, desired her to go to the Bishop and show him the copy which she had made, and tell him to help her in every way in his power; for there was nothing more pleasing to her than seeing her children in this dress, and she would pour out graces on all who wore it, or who helped in propagating it. The Archbishop of Bourges at once established a *confrèrie* in honour of Our Lady of Pellevoisin, under the title of the All-Merciful Mother; the members were to wear a scapular with the

Sacred Heart on one side and Our Lady of Pellevoisin on the other. The usual indulgences were attached and afterwards enlarged by Leo XIII., who raised the *confrèrie* to the rank of an *archi-confrèrie*, and at the same time gave a plenary indulgence to all who made a pilgrimage to Pellevoisin on September 9, on which day the scapular had been revealed to Estelle; and at a later date it was arranged that by means of the scapular fifteen plenary indulgences might be obtained, as well as an indefinite number of indulgences for seven years, and for two hundred days, and for sixty days. The number of persons wearing the scapular is now 1,200,000.

The reasons of these alleged appearances are not hard to discover. They are: (1) religious, (2) political, (3) local, and, in the present case, (4) ritual.

1. The Church of France, having lost its hold on almost the whole of the nation, is pitifully anxious to confirm the faith of those who do still call themselves "practising" Christians. The most popular objects of worship among them at the present time are St. Mary and the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It is supposed that tales of the appearance of St. Mary in different parts of the country will strengthen the people's trust in her, and serve to revive a decaying religion. After St. Mary, the next most popular object is the Sacred Heart, which does not mean the love and tenderness of Christ, but the physical organ of the body, the worship of which was introduced by a nun named Margaret Alacoque at Paray-le-Monial about 200 years ago. The alleged appearances of St. Mary, including those at Pellevoisin, are calculated to encourage both of these popular devotions.

2. Monseigneur Bauron does not conceal the political purpose of the new apparition. Estelle, in her sickness, he says, is a striking image of France, which, "with the light of the Catholic faith, has lost its freedom of worship, its members being paralyzed by unjust laws, and condemned to famine or exile; but," he continues, "the Virgin will come to recover from Satan the nation of the Franks, which is consecrated to her, and has belonged to her Son since the baptism of Clovis, and is the kingdom of Mary, of whose glory it is bound to remain the zealous apostle, and to build her temples" (p. 50).

Again: "What honour for our country! how great desire is shown on the part of the Divine Mother to snatch it out of impious hands which are ruining and degrading it! . . . The chastisements announced are multiplying under our eyes, and take all sorts of forms—loss of fortune, diminution of public credit and of national influence, disorganization of families, corruption of manners, impoverishment of blood, diminution of birth-rate, abasement of character, hatred of

classes, religious ignorance, degradation of souls, etc. France will suffer, and is suffering already, on account of her resistance to the warnings of Heaven and her obstinacy in not listening to her Queen and Protectress. We must have courage and confidence, because Mary will bring us back our better times" (p. 92).

"The apparitions of the Holy Virgin at Pellevoisin have for their object the social restoration of France in its providential mission, and also the salvation of souls. . . . Mary makes herself the Apostle of the Sacred Heart and the missionary for the conversion of France. . . . Mary declares herself all-powerful with God and merciful to sinners. To obtain her protection and favours it is enough to make appeal to her Immaculate Conception and her title of Mother. Alone she will deliver us from the serpent which embraces the world with its folds, whose head is raised in the territory of France. . . . That the devil is reigning over a part of France is a fact which strikes the eyes. Now Mary wants to recover possession of her kingdom, to convert her people, and to bring them back to God. From 1830 to 1850 France has perhaps been more impious than ever; she blasphemes, she turns religion into ridicule, she does not observe the Sunday rest nor abstinence on the appointed days, and she makes war on the Church. Who shall warn her of the peril that she runs? Who shall deliver her from the spirit of Satan, which animates her, and inspires her with the spirit of the Gospel? This is the mission which Mary deigns to take upon herself" (p. 166).

After La Salette and Lourdes France was pardoned; she became again the well-loved daughter, but she has to expiate the faults from which her Protectress has obtained her absolution. She is defeated; her territory is invaded. The Government, faithless to its mission, falls. There is disorder, pain, anguish, anarchy, degradation, revolt. How much it costs not to have followed the counsels of the Virgin of La Salette and Lourdes! At last a flag embroidered with the Heart of Jesus is bathed in the blood of the Zouaves at Patay. "Thus the anger of Jesus was turned aside, and Mary makes haste to tell us of it. . . . Thanks to the supernatural intervention of the Immaculate Virgin, France returns to God. She has lifted her eyes to her Patroness and Advocate. With the miraculous medal, she has rested her hopes in the power of her Protectress. . . . France has not altogether made answer to these appeals of the Holy Virgin. She remains under the domination of Satan and of the Masonic lodges, and cares little to please God, whose very name she repudiates. . . . Official France is not in conformity with the soul of the

nation. Amid the social struggle it is easy to distinguish the supernatural action of Mary, who is gradually crushing the infernal power of her enemy. . . . The enemy is watching at the death-bed of France, whose members and powers it has paralyzed. Mary shows herself at Pellevoisin. 'What are you doing here?' she says to Satan. The devil is driven out by the Immaculate Virgin. Grateful, like Estelle, France runs to kneel at Montmartre, at Paray, at Lourdes, at Pellevoisin, and she publishes to the universe the love of the Sacred Heart and the glory of Mary, her Protectress and Queen" (p. 175).

"This is the ineffable mystery of Pellevoisin: France, being forgiven, will be delivered, thanks to Mary, from the domination of Masons and Jews which Satan has spread over her territory. She will still have to suffer, but it depends on us to shorten the length of her trial by prayer and confidence in our Mother. After her trial France will recover her place at the head of the nations, and her *rôle* of Soldier of God and Knight of Mary. More brilliant and braver than ever, she will spread throughout the whole earth the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and will receive from the Immaculate Virgin an invisible assistance, which will render her victorious over the obstacles which the devil will still seek to raise against her" (p. 178).

3. The third cause for the different appearances appears to be jealousy, which one place not unnaturally feels in respect to another when it sees the spiritual importance and the material advantages secured by it; *e.g.*, by Lourdes, as they had previously been enjoyed in a less degree by La Salette, as the result of Mary's apparition. "Safety," cries Monseigneur Bauron, "will come from Pellevoisin, and yet the eyes of France are not turned towards it!" (p. 93). "Pellevoisin is the complement of Paray-le-Monial" (p. 137). "Mary makes the tour of her kingdom in her apparitions. She showed herself in the capital, on the south-east at La Salette, in the south-west at Lourdes, on the north-west at Pontmain. Now at last she appears, as a Queen, in the centre of her kingdom, which has never been defiled by the foot of a stranger. . . . Pellevoisin closes in a magnificent way the series of the miraculous manifestations of the Immaculate Virgin. Pellevoisin realizes the Divine plan. Above all places, Mary will be honoured at Pellevoisin. Small as is the village, *there* shall be sung the hymn of triumph and of thankfulness" (p. 180).

Monseigneur Bauron does not fail to advertise the ease with which Pellevoisin may be approached by pilgrims. In 1878 Monseigneur Coullié, Bishop of Sidon, had been obliged to hire a carriage and travel for five hours over a desolate

country, and had to be healed from his fatigue by the intercession of Our Lady of Pellevoisin; but now the railway passes close by, a magnificent hotel, called Nôtre Dame, has been erected, and "pilgrims can find there in the quiet of the country the comforts and enjoyments of a delicious residence" (p. 182).

4. Beside the three purposes which all the apparitions served, there is one peculiar to Pellevoisin, which may be designated as a ritual reason. In the other cases the method by which the devotion recommended should be carried out is not named. On the present occasion St. Mary is represented as exhibiting a scapular, offering it to Estelle to be kissed, and commanding her to make another like it. As soon as she had done this, St. Mary appeared again, and said with a sweet smile: "You have not lost time; you have been working for me. You must make a great many more scapulars." On this Monseigneur Bauron says: "The dominant idea of this apparition is that we must make many scapulars on the model of that which Mary showed. We must keep this in mind and put it into practice. It is no loss of time to be thus occupied, for the work is done for the Holy Virgin, and for the diffusion of the devotion which she loves, the devotion of the Sacred Heart of which the scapular is an emblem" (p. 102).

And elsewhere he says: "Here is the object of all these apparitions—the revelation of the scapular of the Sacred Heart." Pope Leo XIII., when Estelle presented to him the scapular that she had made, took it into his hands and promised that it should be the one scapular of the Sacred Heart for the whole world. On one side it represents the bleeding Heart, and on the other a figure of the all-merciful Virgin within a circle of roses. Enormous indulgences are granted for wearing this scapular, and the Monseigneur tells us, not without pride, that there are already 1,200,000 people wearing it. Pius X. has added his approval in a letter written on April 7 last by Cardinal Merry Del Val.

It is a characteristic of a decaying faith to have recourse to such miracles as these, and to make use of such external means as wearing the scapular in place of inculcating spiritual religion. It is not thus that the Church of France will save herself in her present trials.

In a letter written some years ago, and now republished, Monsieur Hyacinthe Loyson denounces the whole system, recalling the words of the Ephesian artificers in the Acts of the Apostles, and declaring that the old paganism was superior to the new; for there the people only aimed at making money, whereas here they seek also to cause a political embroilment, and they abuse things so much more sacred.

F. MEYRICK.

ART. IV.—THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

BY an unfortunate oversight I omitted to mention, in speaking of the Confusion of Tongues, one explanation of that event, which seems to point in the right direction, though it is scarcely sufficient by itself. It is that when the people were collected together from all sides to build a great common city, and began to try and hold intercourse with one another as they built, it was found that by lapse of time and distance their language had become so different that they could not sufficiently understand each other, and utter confusion arose.

I now take up my work at the chapter containing

JACOB'S BLESSING.

"Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter days" (Gen. xlix. 1), and then follow his words of blessing.

That is quite untrue, we are told nowadays. The words are an invention of a later age. Jacob never said them: they were put into his mouth in the time of the Judges, or, perhaps, of David. He could never have uttered the last two clauses of ver. 7. It is tolerably certain that the author was a poet of the tribe of Judah, for he ranks that tribe evidently as the premier one.

It is not, however, at all clear that we are bound to accept all this. We are dealing with a book that does not claim to be a complete history, but which is in itself leading us by a kind of philosophy of history—doubtless not entirely realized by the author, but inspired by its Divine Source—up to the formation of a "peculiar people." In that case, we can well imagine the head of his family, with an intimate knowledge of the characteristics of his twelve sons, looking forward to the development of a federation, as we should call it now, of twelve tribes under the headship of one, each tribe at the same time retaining its own peculiar attributes. This seems just as probable a theory as the other, if we once allow any kind of inspiration at all, such as will include some knowledge of the future.

Much has been made of the idea that this chapter has in it reminiscences of the Song of Deborah, or *vice versâ*. But if this be so, how is it that in Gen. xlix. 13 it is said that "Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea," while in Judg. v. 17 it is Asher who "sat still at the haven of the sea"? The statements are clothed in the same language, but they are different. Why is Judah made so much of in

Gen. xlix., where there is good reason for it, if Jacob uttered the words, because of the part which Judah took with regard to Joseph, Jacob's favourite son, while Judah is not mentioned in Judg. v.? Why is Issachar made "to prefer ease to independence" in Gen. xlix. 14, 15, whilst in Judg. v. 15 Issachar is made to be most eager in the fight for independence? Why in Gen. xlix. 14 should Issachar crouch down between the sheep-folds, whilst in Judg. v. 16 it is Reuben that sits among the sheep-folds? There is just that independence which proclaims variety of origin. There is also a certain amount of personal allusion to the founder of the tribe—*e.g.*, in the case of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi—which would scarcely have found place in a composition such as this, if it had been of a later age. We are glad, by the way, to see that Dr. Driver allows that, at any rate in a limited way, the words of Gen. xlix. 10 are Messianic.

We have now reached the end of our treatment of the difficulties and objections that have been raised to the authenticity and historicity of the Book of Genesis. Putting on one side a very few isolated clauses, such as that "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31), which, it is admitted by all critics alike, may have been later additions to the text, having first of all, perhaps, been marginal notes at the side of a manuscript, it is contended by the present writer that, granting that previous sources may have been used, there is nothing in this book which requires us to give it any later date than that which has always been assigned to it in earlier times, and to which the Jews of our Lord's day, as well as those before them, and our Lord Himself, also attributed it.

Further still, if it be allowed that it bears traces of having been compiled from various sources, those sources, it is contended, though their style and language may be different, can in no sense be said to be contradictory. If such were the case, how is it that, with all the attention that has always been paid to it, such contradictions have not been found out before? An attempt has been made to show that such contradictions and discrepancies are capable of explanation, and they have, so far as is possible, been treated one by one. And, in fine, if it be a *mosaic* cunningly put together by the fitting in of each fragment to make a whole, it is artistically done, and can still be called *Mosaic* in another sense.

It is sometimes said: After all, you must take a wider and more general view, and look for general principles. Of course a general view and general principles must be looked for. But these can only be arrived at by inductive methods and by the study of details. That is why I venture to think any-

thing like the present investigation is important. The treatment of the details must come first; afterwards generalizations can be arrived at; and, after that, if the generalizations are not borne out by a further examination of the details, they cannot command our assent.

One of the great dangers of the present school of Biblical critics seems to be their subjective treatment and handling of the books of the Bible. They first of all lay down what they imagine to be the possibilities of any particular age in history, and then if the narratives referring to the period do not agree with their preconceptions, so much the worse for the history concerned: it is an invention of a later time. I may take an illustration of this from another period of Scripture history. The social and religious life of the Hebrew nation and its environment in the days of David are held to have been such that any outburst or production of religious poetry such as is contained in the Psalms cannot have been possible. *Ergo*, David did not compose any of the Psalms attributed to him. Such a style of argument would certainly not carry weight in any other subject than Biblical Criticism. It is enough, surely, in answer to say: (1) That we do not know enough about the conditions of life in David's time to make such an assertion at all; and (2) that in all ages, even if such an assertion were generally true, men in advance of their age and with great and wonderful gifts have constantly in the world's history been raised up by Divine Providence to occupy certain spheres and do certain work; and David may have been one of these.

I should like to restate here a view which I think is extremely probable as to the Hebrew names of God which occur in the Old Testament. I propose to deal only with those four, and particularly with the last two of the four, which rank by themselves—El, Eloah (with plural Elohim), Jah, Jehovah, if I may be allowed for the moment to use the old form. The rest of the names, like Shaddai, Elyon, etc., are more or less of the nature of epithets.

It has been often asserted that Eloah is a form connected with El, and perhaps of later origin, giving more dignity than the simpler form. If this be so, then it is equally possible that Jah was the earliest form and Jehovah also a more magnificent name. There are reasons for supposing that Jah was like El, the more primitive form. If we look outside the Scriptures it has, perhaps, its analogue in the Assyrian Ea or Aa, who is "the hero of the earlier episodes of the Creation story" (King, "Seven Tablets of Creation," p. xxxvii). In the Scriptures themselves Jah is evidently

treated as an ancient name of God: "Jah is . . . my father's God, and I will exalt Him" (Exod. xv. 2; compare Isa. xii. 2; Ps. cxviii. 14). "His name is Jah" (Ps. lxviii. 4).

Jehovah, then, may be an intensive form of Jah, and may have primarily been יהיה, and not יהוה. This would account for the connection implied between the name and the verb היה, *not* הוה. It is asserted that הוה is older than היה; but occurrences of היה are to be found earlier than any of הוה. Whichever may be the earlier form, it seems to me quite clear that when the Pentateuch was written in its present form, and even before that, there was not much distinction made between י and ו, for we have, for instance, Peniel and Penuel in two successive verses in Genesis (xxxii. 30, 31), both ascribed to J. This will allow us, then, not to attach much weight to the variation between ו and י in Exod. iii.; and יהוה may be a later form which took the place of יהיה, when, perhaps, הוה became the common form of the verb, and not היה.

If יהיה is the original form of the name, then:

1. It may be taken as an intensive form of יה, for which intensive form we have analogies in the proper names of persons, such as Chalcol (1 Kings iv. 31), Bakbuk (Ezra ii. 51), Harhur (Ezra ii. 5; Neh. vii. 53). If that were so, then a Jew need not hesitate to utter the name Jah, while he would not utter the name Jehovah; whereas if Jah had been a contraction from Jehovah, the same treatment would surely have been given to it.

2. It may still actually occur in the Hebrew Bible. In Isa. xxxviii. 11 יה יה occurs where one Divine name would give the best sense, and subterfuges have to be adopted to explain the form away—either (*a*) that it is a dittograph, or (*b*) that we must insert with the Revised Version something between the two names: "I shall not see the Lord, *even* the Lord in the land of the living." There are two other places (Isa. xii. 2; xxvi. 4) where, with Isa. xxxviii. 11 before us, it might reasonably be contended that יהיה originally stood. The combination "Jah Jehovah" does not seem a very happy one, even though we meet with the combination "Jah Elohim" in Ps. lxviii. 19, for the one name there may be interpretative of the other. It seems more easy to imagine that, as in Isa. xxxviii. 11, so in these two passages, יהיה stood at first, and that when that form of the name ceased to be used and was generally forgotten, and יהוה was substituted for it, in these two passages יהיה may have been written יה יה, and so יה יהוה became the established reading.

In bringing this series of articles to a conclusion, the im-

pression remaining on the mind of the writer is that he has found nothing in the Book as a whole to disprove the traditional view that it belongs to the period to which it was assigned—the age of Moses. At any rate, he thinks that what he has said deserves some consideration. There is so much that is at all times fashionable with the men of a particular time, and which is accepted by many because it is fashionable. This is not the way in which the problems of Biblical criticism should be handled. Before a new theory is accepted, it should be subject to the most searching criticism, and in a case where the faith of many is involved, at any rate reserve and caution should be exercised. It is better about such things to withhold assent and to keep the mind in suspense for the time than to accept on the authority of others, however famous, dogmatic statements as to what is really still *sub judice*.

ART. V.—STUDIES ON ISAIAH.

2. *THE Futility of Human Calculations (continued).*—Apply chap. vii. 1-17 to our own history. In how many instances, from the Spanish Armada downwards, do we see the Divine Hand overruling the most carefully-planned schemes for our overthrow! Even our own national sins and follies, our errors in policy, our neglect of the most ordinary precautions, have not overthrown us, because, on the whole, as a nation, we have not forgotten that the Lord was our God. That has been a source of moral strength which has raised up for us deliverers in the hour of peril. As long as faith dwells among us that "hour" will ever produce its "man." During the whole struggle with Napoleon, though we had one of the keenest and most brilliant of mankind as our antagonist, though he possessed and controlled the vastest resources ever yet known, and though we committed numberless follies and even insanities, the Divine Hand was stretched out over us. He raised up deliverers who were never daunted either by the valour or numbers of their foes, nor of the still more appalling short-sightedness and folly of their masters, the British people. Our greatest captain, Wellington, in particular, was cautious and provident in the hour of adversity, and yet knew how to strike boldly and decisively when the hour of triumph was within his reach. Of no people may it be more truly said than of the people of this land, "Not by their own power or the might of their hand have they gotten all this wealth, but

by the favour of the Lord God alone."[1] And as with nations, so with individuals. Do your duty, and leave the rest to God, is the policy of the true Christian. Not that he may be thoughtless, reckless, improvident: it is his duty to take all proper care and pains. But that once done, he must be content to leave results in higher hands. Time spent in "worrying" is time worse than wasted—it is time deliberately misspent.

3. *The Futility of Human Contrivances* (chap. viii. 1-8).—Passing over for the present the prophecy of Immanuel, which will be considered in connection with the similar prophecy in chap. ix., we proceed to the consideration of the policy pursued by the Jews in relation to the confederation which caused them such alarm. Ahaz, as we know, was resolved to ask the aid of Assyria; and though he paid a heavy price for it, he obtained it. The Assyrian monarch actually assisted him by invading Israel (2 Kings xv. 29).[2] On the other hand, there were those, as we have seen, who preferred alliance with Rezin and Pekah, and the expulsion of the Davidic dynasty. Isaiah remains apart from both parties, and takes his stand on religious principle. He emphasizes his position, as Hosea (chap. i.) and Ezekiel (chaps. iv., v., xii.) did, and as he himself did at the time of Sargon's expedition to Ashdod (chap. xx.), by his actions. The child Maher-shalal-hash-baz ("haste to the spoil, speed to the booty") was a type of the speediness of the deliverance which Isaiah had prophesied. The significance of the type was enhanced by the "great roll" in which the prophecy concerning the child was to be written, and by the trustworthy witnesses (one of them a priest) carefully selected to testify to its importance. The people, the prophet further declares, were unwilling to wait God's time (typified by the waters flowing slowly into the pool of Siloam), and so urged an instant reconciliation with the invaders. They would, therefore, instead of a softly-flowing stream, bring on themselves a mighty river, namely, the fierce and destroying, yet majestic, onset of the hosts of the King of Assyria (*cf.* chap. x. 28-34). Judah is likened to a man half drowned by the rushing flood; and then, with a rapid change of figure, Assyria is likened to a devouring bird, whose wings, in con-

[1] See Deut. viii. 17, 18.

[2] This invasion of Israel appears by the monuments to have taken place in the reign of Ahaz. The numbers in the Old Testament, for some reason or other, appear frequently to have gone wrong. Thus Hosea's conspiracy is declared in 2 Kings xv. 30 to have taken place in the *twentieth* year of the reign of Jotham. But in ver. 33 Jotham is said to have reigned only *sixteen* years. See also 2 Chron. xxvii. The error goes back as far as the LXX. Version.

sequence of Judah's sin, will overshadow even Immanuel's land—the land even of the promised deliverer (chap. viii. 7)—and so delay the deliverance which God had promised. Ever so is it with those who trust alone to human policy. A singular parallel is afforded by the history of the United Provinces. At the moment of their death-grapple with the mightiest Power in the world, which combined the resources of Spain, Italy, and the Indies, not unnaturally, after repeated and most disastrous defeats, they determined to seek the aid of France and then of England, that they might to some degree approximate to the strength of their foe. But, as the Rab-shakeh said to Hezekiah, these powers were but "as the staff of a broken reed, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it." The rulers of England and France were actuated by no such high and noble aspirations as those which sustained the great leader of the Dutch and Flemish patriots, William, surnamed "the Silent." Each "fought for its own hand," and demanded an exorbitant price for its assistance; and Holland had to work its deliverance alone, and almost unaided. Nor has our own country, in the hour of its greatest peril, been able to trust to foreign alliances. More than once England has stood alone against the civilized world. When William of Orange brought over Dutch troops and Dutch statesmen with him to vindicate British laws and maintain the British constitution, they proved to be almost as great a danger as assistance to his cause. Even in the late war, waged as it can scarcely be denied to have been, in favour of freedom, fairness, and "the open door," we were threatened once more by an European coalition. We have had alliances enough and to spare. Sometimes they have been beneficial, sometimes otherwise. But it is not alliances for a common object of which we now speak. It is the dependence on outside support in the hour of peril, instead of on the Divine Protection and on the justice of our cause. The refusal of Ahaz to "tempt" the Eternal by asking a sign, and his recourse to Assyria, brought about two results, neither of which he expected or desired. Judah first became Assyria's vassal, and then narrowly escaped the subjugation and deportation which had previously been the fate of Israel. So with ourselves. Our alliances have been as much for the benefit of other nations as of our own. But in the hour of peril we have found that "there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O God."

4. *The Folly of Chauvinism: True and False National Pride.*—The prophet's rebuke next (in chap. ix. 8-21, which takes up the subject left unfinished in chap. viii. 8) assumes the form of a denunciation of the arrogance and boastfulness

of Ephraim, the chief member of the Israelite confederation. First, this boastfulness is painted in strong colours (vers. 8-12). Then follows a picture of the state of society which is at once the cause and consequence of such an attitude towards God and man (vers. 13-17), and, lastly, the prophet describes the condition of abject desperation to which Israel's sin reduced her (vers. 18-21). And each section of the prophet's indictment is summed up in the warning words, "For all this, His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still."

We may thus read the lessons here placed before us. Ephraim and its capital have boasted "in pride and stoutness" (lit., *greatness—i.e.*, the false, not the true, greatness) "of heart," that notwithstanding the reverses that have fallen upon them (this would seem to point to the expedition of Tiglath-pileser recorded in 2 Kings xv. 29, and the prophecy would in that case have been written *after* it), all the devastation and destruction which had taken place, including the removal of the Gileadites and the tribe of Naphtali to Assyria, should be repaired, and that Israel would more than maintain her position among the nations. But these expectations were doomed to disappointment. Rezin and Tekah shall be "hoist with their own petard." The rebellion they tried to foment in Judah shall be their own fate. Syria shall rise in revolt behind them, and Philistia shall attack them in front.[1]

Yet still (ver. 13) the obstinacy of Israel is not subdued.[2] Therefore a further chastisement is in store. Two classes of society will be involved in the same destruction: the rulers, typified by the lofty, spreading, elegant palm-branch, and their flatterers, typified by the reed of the marshes—the "reed shaken by the wind." A clique of false prophets, fawning and prophesying lies, veering about with every breeze of court favour, collected around the men of influence, as we see in the case of Ahab (1 Kings xxii.), and as we see in Russian courtiers just now. Sometimes, as in the case of Oded and his prophecy (2 Chron. xxviii. 9-15), there are gleams of a better feeling among the Israelites. But, on the whole, the mind of Israel is only too correctly expressed in the latter part of ver. 16. Therefore the Eternal One "shall not rejoice

[1] This was probably in connection with the invasion of Judah by the Philistines recorded in 2 Chron. xxviii. 18, 19. It is not *said* that Israel was invaded; but it is extremely probable that the raid extended to Israel also.

[2] It is by no means improbable that in the allusion to the "word" (ver. 8) which hath been sent to Jacob, and which has "fallen upon Israel," Isaiah has in view the prophecies of Hosea and Amos (especially Amos i.).

in their young men, nor have mercy on their fatherless and widows, because every one of them is a 'hypocrite' (or, rather, *profligate*) and an evil-doer, and every mouth speaketh folly" (ver. 17). No more serious state of things can exist in a nation than lack of religious principle among its young men. We have a vivid illustration of this in the degradation and disaster which befell our own country in the miserable recoil from Puritan austerity during the reign of Charles II. The youth were corrupted by the infamous literature of the day, and it took a century to undo the evil effects of that deplorable period. The "folly," we must bear in mind, is not folly in the abstract, but that "folly in Israel" which is connected in the Old Testament with the most abominable deeds (Gen. xxxiv. 7; Judg. xx. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 25; 2 Sam. xiii. 12, 13). Such doings, and the mutual hatred and suspicion which they sow between brethren, kindle the Divine wrath until the land is consumed. Brother's hand is turned against brother (ver. 19). The greed (ver. 20) which they have displayed only defeats its own object. It leads, not, as had been hoped, to prosperity, but to the most frightful depths of want and starvation. Israel plots against the security of Judah, and only brings about similar plots in his own bosom. How can the Lord's indignation be turned away from such a people as this?

The lesson we may learn from this section is threefold: (1) To beware of falling into that national Chauvinism which insists upon idolizing itself, and loves to sing its own praises; which refuses, like official Russia at the present moment, to recognise disaster, and strives to hide it by hollow boastings; (2) to cultivate a true instead of a false imperialism; and (3) to beware of faction. It is remarkable how the ambiguity of the word "imperialism" brings about a difference in the way in which the thing connoted by it is regarded. Imperialism in its most exact meaning signifies *military tyranny*. It is the kind of despotism which comes on a society bereft of its moral strength by luxury, dishonesty, and party spirit. The nation which abuses its freedom falls under the hand of the *imperator* or General, and a military dictatorship succeeds to the epoch in which society is rent asunder by the struggles of unpatriotic factions. The history of Rome supplies us with the most notable instance of this, and the last century presents to us two further instances of it in France, under Napoleon I. and III. But the word is used in another sense in the present day. It is applied to British rule. It is undoubtedly wrongly so applied. The free principles of British rule have nothing in common with military tyranny, and it is unfortunate, since men, as a rule, are governed more by

phrases than thoughts, that we should have no other word beside "Empire" to denote British expansion. British imperialism means, not the rule of the dictator, nor of the sword (save in those countries under British sway which are not yet ripe for freedom), but the rule of the people at large. It is, as has been said, "government *by* the people and *for* the people." Such an "imperialism," however unsuitable the word may be in itself, need not disturb us. British rule, on the whole, has made for freedom all over the world. It has reposed on the ascendency of free institutions. And now that circumstances make it possible, it is proposed, and, as I must believe, wisely proposed, to have a central legislature—I will not say for "imperial" purposes, but for the benefit of the British community as a whole. There is therefore a true and a false "imperialism." The British people has enjoyed the blessings of Parliamentary institutions for some six centuries and a half. However much we may federate—and federation seems to be the order of the day—this nation, we may believe, will always consult the whole people before taking action. Yet we must remember that there is such a thing as the tyranny of majorities, probably the worst, because the most capricious and changeable, of all tyrannies. The voice of the British legislature should always be raised on behalf of all; should aim at the greatest amount of freedom for every man, woman, and child within our borders, which is consistent with the freedom and happiness of the rest. But if a tyrannous majority should insist on sectional legislation; if one populous portion of the Empire should consider its own interest to the detriment of other portions less populous or influential; if political leaders should learn to "give to party what was meant for mankind"; if religious bigotry should be carried to the excess of depriving any section of the community of religious liberty or of its rights, then bastard imperialism will have taken the place of genuine, dissensions will arise, the judgment of God will be pronounced against this people, and, as before in the eighteenth century, the British Empire will be rent asunder, British influence in the world will be diminished, Britons will prey upon one another and devour the sources of their own strength, and one of the greatest securities for the peace and progress of the world will have passed away.

The spirit of *faction* is also rebuked. We are told how God will punish those who undertake to guide the people, but also refuse to be taught by experience. The leader and his flatterers (vers. 14, 15) shall be alike destroyed. The men of experience and high rank, as well as the sycophants who fawn on and deceive them, shall be "cut off in one day,"

because they aim at leadership, and lead amiss. Throughout the whole body politic discussion and discord penetrate (ver. 18) like a fire. There are *local jealousies.* Manasseh (ver. 21) is against his brother Ephraim, and both of them against Judah. There are also *personal injuries.* "No man spares his brother" (ver. 19). Rapine is universal, but it only leads to want. Misery is the natural result of dishonesty and wrong. Even the natural man can see that. It is the mission of the prophet to point him to the fact that it is the operation of the moral law Divine, infraction of which draws on a nation the "wrath of the Lord of Hosts" (ver. 19). Nor is the punishment simply vicarious. The young men are not only suffering for the sins of their fathers, according to a law clearly visible in Nature, as well as proclaimed on Sinai, but "*every one* is profane and an evil-doer." And like the repeated strokes of a hammer there comes, after each successive count in the accusation, the terrible refrain, "For all this His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still." What a constantly recurring feature is this of the history of nations! And the quicker and more brilliant the intellect, the more danger there is of its being led away in the direction of the intrigues of factious men. Stolid, military Sparta wrested the power in Greece from the hands of intellectual but fickle and restless Athens, and, splendidly endowed though Athens was, she never recovered from the shock. In modern history Antwerp remains a conspicuous instance of the effects of self-interest, puffed up by vanity and the flattery by inferiors of those who supposed themselves "to be somewhat." While the guilds were wrangling during the celebrated siege, the enemy was advancing, and Antwerp was lost to Protestantism and Belgium to Holland from the day of the capture until now. "Yet the people" of that country did not "turn unto Him that smote them," neither did they "seek the Lord of Hosts." The same spirit of wrangling and self-interest which had been nearly fatal to their efforts after liberty continued to be fostered among them when they had obtained it. Calvinist and Remonstrant continued to fan the flames of hatred. The head of one man who had nobly served his country fell on the scaffold.[1] Others were torn to pieces by the fury of a mob.[2] More than once the wheel "came full circle": the oppressors became the oppressed, the slayer was counted among the slain. And so Holland, which, like Judæa, had once the opportunity to be mistress of the world, sunk down into a third-rate power, because she preferred gain to

[1] John Olden Barneveldt. [2] The De Witts.

godliness, and violence and injustice to the way of peace and truth. Is there no lesson for us English people in this? Are we in no danger of having our passions played upon by dexterous partisans, who would tempt us to "snatch on the right hand, and be hungry," to "eat on the left hand, and not be satisfied," instead of cultivating the spirit of brotherhood first among those to whom God has most closely joined us—those of our own race—language, and faith, and next among the peoples of the whole world? One severe lesson has been vouchsafed to us—our breach with our American fellow-subjects, and great has been the loss, not only to ourselves, but to humanity thereby. Let us beware of anyone, however "ancient and honourable," if he be under the influence of the "prophet that speaketh lies." Mutual jealousies, the clash of conflicting interests, we may see, since the fact is stamped in ineffaceable characters over the histories of mankind, are fatal to the history of nations, for they make them unfaithful to their trust. If "the people are as the fuel of fire, no man spareth his brother" (ver. 19), the "wrath of the Lord of Hosts" will surely be upon us.

The following words of Shakespeare well illustrate this passage:

> "And if you crown him, let me prophesy:
> The blood of English shall manure the ground,
> And future ages groan for this foul act;
> Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
> And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars
> Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound;
> Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny
> Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
> The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls."
>
> "Richard II.," Act IV., Scene 1.[1]

This "prophecy" was terribly fulfilled, as Shakespeare well knew, in the Wars of the Roses. So does all tyranny and injustice bring its Nemesis. As Tennyson puts it in "Harold"—

> "The voice of any people is the sword
> That guards them, or the sword that beats them down."

"They shall eat, every man, the flesh of his own arm,

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[1] The fine passage in the "Third Part of Henry VI.," Act II., Scene 5, where a son who has killed his father and a father who has killed his son are introduced to depict the miseries of civil war, may be adduced, though I have long thought, and am glad to find that Lord Tennyson is of the same opinion, that, except a few passages, "Henry VI." is not by Shakespeare.

Manasseh, Ephraim, and Ephraim, Manasseh, and they shall fall together on Judah. In all this His anger hath not been turned away, even yet is His hand stretched out."[1]

J. J. LIAS.

(To be continued.)

ART. VI.—REPORT ON PHYSICAL DETERIORATION (*continued*).

THE last section of the Report which we considered in our previous article was that dealing with the "Effects of Alcoholism."

The next section (No. IV.) examines the assertion that there has been, and still continues, a "Depletion of Rural Districts by the Exodus of the Best Types"; in connection with this is considered the further assertion that "the evil is aggravated . . . by the drifting into the country of the debilitated town population, which is crowded out by the inrush of more vigorous elements."

The country districts, from the physical point of view, undoubtedly produce the best specimens of the race. What the effect of town life is upon the mental powers seems at present to be a question upon which more evidence is needed before any opinion can be given.

The strong are attracted to the towns by higher wages; and it is found that in those occupations for which physical strength is a necessity the majority of the workers are country-bred, and have grown to maturity in farm or outdoor work. This applies to "navvies, pig-iron carriers in blast-furnaces, bleaching-powder packers, cement workers," etc. A further proof of this fact was stated by one witness thus: "Thirty years ago it was the commonest thing for a farm labourer to carry 2¼ cwt. of corn up a ladder; now you very seldom see it."

It is to procure reliable data as to what extent this physical deterioration is proceeding that the committee so strongly urge the institution of an anthropometric survey.

But, whatever be the rate or extent of this deterioration, there cannot be any controversy as to the expediency of

[1] Precisely the same principles may be applied to the more contracted conflicts of each separate portion of the British Empire, and of each class in each portion.

NOTE.—The "critical note" on pp. 35, 36 of the October No. of the CHURCHMAN should have been inserted here. It refers to chap. ix. 8-21.

arresting it. For, could the influx of strong, healthy men into the towns be stayed, the urban populations would then of necessity be driven to produce conditions of life under which they could, within their own limits, bring up a population capable of doing the hardest work. But how to prevent the present influx is, so far, an unsolved problem. Most of the remedies suggested are of the nature of counter attractions. They may come under the head of efforts to increase an appreciation of country life. Among these, the giving to men the opportunity of acquiring small holdings, and lending them money to build houses upon them—a method which has been tried with success by the Worcestershire County Council—may be mentioned. Another consists in making it easier to obtain allotments.

It was also suggested that something might be done through the children in the schools; that they might be taught to take an interest, not only in books, but in the life of the fields; that they might be taught gardening; how to keep bees; the making of cheese and the management of a dairy, and the possible improvements in these; and that we might instil into them the taste for an active life and the delight in physical energy (Article 195).

The difficulty of obtaining cottages is another cause of the rural exodus. Landlords assert that it is impossible to comply with building by-laws and erect cottages, except at a considerable loss. Sanitary authorities demand the repair of insanitary dwellings, and it is often found to be cheaper to remove these than to repair them.

On the other hand, the following statement of Mr. Rowntree deserves attention. In order to get people to move out of the town, "we are building cottages a mile from the city boundary, each cottage having a garden; and we find that we can build an artistic cottage, thoroughly well-built of the best materials, with a large living-room and scullery, bath, three good bedrooms, and a garden, to let at 4s. 6d. a week, the tenant paying rates, to show 4 per cent. on capital" (Article 198).

It is not stated, but we presume that this 4 per cent. includes the value of the land. Yet, even if this be so, cottage property, which only shows such a return when let, can hardly be regarded as a remunerative investment, and we fear that 4s. 6d. a week, plus rates, is more than most agricultural labourers could afford to pay.

At the close of this section reference is made to the object of the "Garden City Association," which, though not designed with a view to arresting physical deterioration, may yet, if successful, have a considerable effect in that direction. We

must not stay to consider the scheme at length, for full information can be found about it elsewhere. Briefly, its objects are; "to induce manufacturers to remove their plant and their workpeople into newly-developed areas in the country, where every hygienic safeguard will be applied to the aggregation of an industrial population, and that aggregation so controlled within due limits that rural conditions may be permanently associated with urban life" (Article 200).

Section V. of the Report examines the "Alleged Tendency of superior stocks in all classes towards a diminished rate of Reproduction" as one of the possible causes of physical deterioration.

That the birth-rate is diminishing, if in varying degrees, in all countries of Western Europe appears to be an established fact. However much this fact may be deplored, there are—at any rate, in this country—two compensating considerations: (1) The average age at which people marry is higher; (2) there is a diminution in the number of illegitimate children. Both these movements should tend rather to the improvement than to the deterioration of the next generation.

As an example of the "disagreement of doctors," it would be difficult to beat the evidence adduced in this section.

There is a long quotation from Professor Karl Pearson, who laments "a lack of leaders of the highest intelligence" in all professions and in all classes of society. He believes that "the mentally better stock of the nation is not reproducing itself at the same rate as it did of old; . . . we stand at the commencement of an epoch which will be marked by a great dearth of ability."

On the other hand, Professor Cunningham, who seems to give very good reasons for his view, thinks "this statement a pure assumption." Dr. Arthur Shadwell does not think "there is ground for the belief that the more capable among the working classes are not reproducing themselves at least in the same proportion as those less capable of bringing into existence persons physically fit."

A Mr. Gray, who is described as a "capable witness," put forward another aspect of the question. In urban centres two movements seem to be at work contemporaneously: (1) A decreasing *birth*-rate among the higher classes; (2) a decreasing *death*-rate among the very poor. This latter may be due to improved sanitary organization, also probably to improved facilities—say through the Poor Law—of obtaining adequate medical attention. In forming any conclusion both these movements should be remembered.

The conclusion of the Committee on the whole of the evidence was that a judgment upon the subject cannot be

pronounced until, by a proper census, adequate information is obtained.

In Section VI. we pass to the subject of "Food." Here there was at once a strong consensus of opinion as to the effect of improper or insufficient food in the production of physical deterioration. As the "right feeding of the young" is dealt with at length in Section VII., food is here considered "in relation to the people at large."

It is most difficult to condense the contents of this section, every word of which should be pondered by those who visit among the poor. Strong evidence was given that "a large proportion of British housewives are tainted with incurable laziness and distaste for the obligations of domestic life" (Article 217); also to the growing method of resorting to various kinds of tinned foods, also to changes wrought by alteration in the relative cost of certain articles—*i.e.*, the cheapening of tea. More than one medical witness spoke of the widespread use of tea and white bread and jam, instead of oatmeal and milk.

It is not always that the amount of food is insufficient; it is frequently that there is a want of *proportion* in the elements of the diet necessary to produce energy for work. And "where the amount available for expenditure upon food is limited, it is of special importance to procure the proper materials, and it is in selection that the defects of English habits come out so prominently."

Witness after witness drew attention to the evil results of the tea-drinking habit, which seems to be growing among the poor, and it was stated that "a very large proportion of the young men rejected for the Army had been refused on account of ailments brought about by this practice."

Much, of course, depends upon the nature of the mixture which is called "tea," whose constituents and method of preparation are described as "boiling water poured on too large an amount of poor tea-leaves, and left to stand until the tea—a dark and nasty mixture—has become almost a stew." This mixture, which by another witness was described as "tea-poison," is drunk to the extent of three or four pints in the course of the day.

Evidence was also given to show that even among those with ample resources there is a very general disinclination to spend sufficient money on food, this being the case especially with women. Money that should be spent upon food is expended in personal adornment, on pleasure—*i.e.*, different forms of cheap excitement—upon betting and gambling, and upon drink.

As a remedy for these conditions there is evident need of

"training of a socially educative character among girls and young women." Some teaching is no doubt given in the elementary schools, but it was regarded as of little value—first because it was often unpractical, and secondly, because of the early age at which children leave school. It was suggested that, at least, something might be done at Mothers' Meetings, and by lectures of a very simple and practical kind. Another suggestion made was that continuation classes for domestic instruction might be organized, at which attendance should be made compulsory for girls—other than domestic servants—who have left school, say on two evenings in the week. "The teaching of cookery should be directed to the selection, economy, and preparation of the material best suited to the needs of the poorer classes, and care should be taken to use only such apparatus and utensils as under favourable circumstances are likely to be found in the houses of the poor." The instruction should have direct reference to the wants of the children concerned, and should vary for urban and rural schools. "The work should be thoroughly practical, and, where possible, the material cooked should be eaten in the presence of those who have cooked it."

The final article of this section states that the Committee believe that if these methods are pursued, and if public opinion can be enlisted in their favour, in a few years much might be done "to reduce evils which are not only a standing reproach to certain classes of the nation, but constitute a serious menace to its general well-being."

Section VII., upon "Conditions attending the Life of the Juvenile Population," is by far the longest in the whole Report, filling thirty-two pages out of eighty-four. It is divided into eight subsections, some of which are again subdivided.

The Committee evidently felt, like so many social workers, that too much importance cannot be laid upon the conditions of the child-life of the nation, for upon the up-bringing and education of the children the future welfare of the nation depends. Hence they have made the most careful examination into these conditions, and especially in those quarters where they might be suspected of most needing improvement. To all classes of women-workers among the poor this section should prove of great value. To show how comprehensive is its survey of child-life, I will notice very briefly the various subsections, and also the subjects treated in those which are further subdivided.

Subsection I. deals with "Infant Mortality." This part of the Report is very painful reading, and unfortunately this terrible waste of life does not, with all our increase of knowledge and improvement of sanitation, appear to be decreasing.

In certain parts of London and in some of the Lancashire towns the infant death-rate exceeds 200 per 1,000. This terrible death-rate is by no means "necessarily connected with poverty." Ignorance and carelessness are apparently much more potent factors. Amendment of the Registration Laws seems to be needed, and the Committee felt that the subject of "Infant Insurance" demanded very careful consideration.

Subsection II. deals with "Hereditary Taint." This subject is very briefly treated, for there seemed to be little agreement, even among experts, as to the part played by this in physical degeneration.

In Subsection III. we pass to the "Employment of Mothers late in Pregnancy, and too soon after Childbirth." Here there was at once agreement that "the factory employment of mothers has a bad effect on the offspring, both direct and indirect." The Lancashire towns of Blackburn, Preston, and Burnley, seem to be the worst offenders; in each of these the married or widowed among the women factory-workers exceed 30 per cent. of the whole. The reasons given for their employment are various. Some of the reasons seem justifiable —*e.g.*, death of husband, or inadequacy of his wage; for other reasons it seems difficult to find justification—*e.g.*, "preference for factory over domestic work, money to spend on excursions, holidays, and amusements." The conclusion to which the Committee came may be stated thus: they felt that while the present condition of things must be condemned, on the other hand, further prohibitive legislation, unless most carefully arranged, might entail very considerable hardship; indeed, might even lead to a serious increase of moral danger.

Section IV. is upon "Decrease in Breast-Feeding—Defective Milk-Supply." "A decrease at the present time in the first is generally admitted to be the case in all classes of society—at any rate, in the urban districts . . . with the poor this is generally due to inability. In some cases, however, it is due to unwillingness, because it interferes with their going to work." As to the causes of this inability, "the medical profession are in ignorance." Under these circumstances the question of the milk-supply naturally becomes of the greatest importance. To an examination of present conditions, and to the suggestion of possible improvements of this, twelve long articles are devoted. But we must not stay to examine these now.

Section V. deals with "Parental Ignorance and Neglect." As the title indicates, we have to deal with two factors, the first being want of knowledge on the part of parents, the second being indifference, which sometimes amounts to posi-

tive callousness. It is not always easy to say in any particular set of circumstances which of these two factors had been the most productive. The Report speaks of the many deaths among small children from "overlaying"; but where bed-clothes are scarce, and there are few wraps, a child may be put to sleep with the parents to secure for it warmth, and in ignorance of the danger of suffocation. Another matter on which there is much ignorance is the need of sufficient ventilation in both living and sleeping-rooms for health. Again, many of the mothers among the poor have little or no knowledge of the symptoms of "slighter ailments," or how to take those precautionary steps which prevent slight ailments developing into serious ones.

After Section VI., which deals with "Feeding wrong in Time, in Kind, and Proportion," we come to a section which suggests certain "Remedial Measures for the above Adverse Conditions." Among these the highest praise is bestowed upon the methods employed by the "Manchester and Salford Ladies' Public Health Society"—a society which has now been in existence for twenty-five years, and whose object is "the discovery of all those conditions that are adverse to public health, and especially the bringing within the knowledge of the mothers among the poor such information as will enable them to do their duty by their children. A brief account of the work of this society will be found in paragraph 297.

In Section VII. we pass from the consideration of infant life to that of the "School System." This section is divided into two main divisions, the first being upon the "Medical Inspection of School-Children." As to the value of a regular and systematic inspection of the health of the children in the elementary schools, there can hardly be two opinions. It must prove of value to the children themselves, as well as to the authorities and the nation generally, because it will supply these latter with an amount of knowledge which cannot fail to be of great use. The second sub-section deals with a highly controversial subject—the "Feeding of School Children." A *résumé* of the evidence obtained from the various witnesses examined is given under three heads: (*a*) "The Extent to which Underfeeding Prevails at Present"; (*b*) "Existing Voluntary Methods of Providing Food"; (*c*) "Proposals in Regard to the more Systematic Feeding of School-Children."

(*a*) "The Extent of Underfeeding." That a very large number of the children attending the schools in the poorest parts of our large towns are habitually underfed seems to be proved. The estimate submitted to the Committee put the

number for London at 122,000, or 16 per cent. of the elementary school population. The estimate for Manchester was 15 per cent. By other witnesses the first of these figures was considered far too high. But, even if 20,000 children in London—perhaps the lowest possible estimate—are sent to school underfed, the case is sufficiently serious. The question arises, What is the cause of this underfeeding? And more than one witness attributed it, at least partially, to "laziness and neglect of the parents."

(*b*) "Existing Voluntary Methods of Providing Food." Several of these are described in some detail. In certain cases the meals are provided absolutely free; in others by means of tickets given beforehand; in some cases there is at least an attempt at discrimination between the children; in others all are charged a very small sum. A satisfactory means or method of discrimination seems to be the chief difficulty, so much investigation being needed before any satisfactory decision can be made.

(*c*) "Proposals in Regard to the more Systematic Feeding of School-Children." It is here that we find ourselves plunged into the midst of controversy. On the one hand, as the Report says, "there was a general consensus of opinion that the time has come when the State should realize the necessity of insuring[1] adequate nourishment to children in attendance at school; it was said to be the height of cruelty to subject half-starved children to the processes of education, besides being a short-sighted policy, in that the progress of such children is inadequate and disappointing, etc." (Art. 348). On the other hand, those who have wide experience of relief-work of any kind know, not only the dangers, but the positively inevitable evils to character which ensue from relieving people from responsibilities which Nature intends them to discharge. And the effects of removing these responsibilities are widespread; to quote the words of one witness: "It weakens the sense of self-respect and self-reliance both of parent and child."

The problem before us at the present time is, then, to insure that the children are fed, without taking the responsibility from the parents. How is this problem to be solved? When one witness advocates "the judicious feeding of school-children so as not to pauperize parents," we fully agree, but we ask, How are you going to do it? When another witness advises that "parents should be prosecuted for neglect," we feel we have at least a practical suggestion, and we fully

[1] The Committee did not in any way commit themselves to an opinion as to *how* this adequate nourishment was to be secured.

endorse both this and his further opinion that "a few prosecutions would have a salutary effect." About one thing we feel perfectly certain: that the money which the lowest classes on the aggregate spend upon drink would many times over feed their children. And from practical experience we are forced to believe that by far the largest proportion of the money which is expended upon the relief of these classes ultimately, however indirectly, finds its way into the till of the publican. We only hope that in this matter of the feeding of the school-children no step will be taken which tends still further to weaken the national character.

The last subsection treating of child-life deals with "The Risks of Contamination during Adolescence." This is a subject which should come home with peculiar force to the clergy and to all who are engaged in Sunday-school work. We must not enter into this subsection, which treats separately of the dangers (*a*) to girls and (*b*) to boys, and which also describes the various means suggested by different witnesses to overcome these. We can only commend this part of the Report to the careful study of our readers. But the opening sentences of the subsection strike us as so eminently wise that we cannot refrain from quoting them. "The Committee are impressed with the conviction that the period of adolescence is responsible for much waste of human material and for the entrance upon maturity of permanently damaged and ineffective persons of both sexes. The plasticity of the physical organization, the power it possesses of yielding rapidly towards degenerative or recuperative influence, appears to terminate at eighteen, and the records of the years preceding that age are, in the great majority of cases, decisive for self-improvement or the reverse. Unfortunately, it is a period of which too little account is taken. With the classes under consideration, education in the ordinary sense of the word is over just when, in its full significance, it becomes most necessary. Parental direction is almost entirely absent, and in lieu of it very little supervision is exercised in any other quarter over physical or moral development."

We have exhausted the space at our disposal, and that without saying a word upon Section VII., which deals with "Special Subjects"—*e.g.*, "Eyes and Ears," "Insanity," "Vagrancy and Defective Children," or upon Part III., which contains the valuable "Summary of Recommendations," or upon the six most valuable Appendices, among which will be found an excellent *memorandum* by Mr. C. S. Loch, "Relating to Some Recent Investigations as to the Number of 'Poor' in the Community."

We think, however, we have shown, as was stated at the

last meeting of the British Association, that we have here one of the most valuable reports which for a long time has been presented to the nation. It should be most carefully studied by all who have at heart the welfare of the poor, and especially by those who are called to work among them.

W. Edward Chadwick.

Art. VII.—A PRINCE OF MYSTIFIERS.

"A MIDDLE-AGED spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion and dark-coloured brown hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, gray eyes and a large mole near his mouth."

So runs the description of Daniel Defoe in the *Gazette* of January 10, 1702. His pamphlet, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," had been adjudged a libel on the High Church party, and a reward was offered for his apprehension, with the result that he was not only pilloried, but imprisoned in Newgate for the best part of two years.

But Defoe, the political writer, the party hack, the hired satirist, has little interest for the reader of to-day, and if these were all his claims to remembrance the wave of oblivion which has engulfed so many of his tribe would have rolled over him long ago. The "middle-aged spare man" with the "hooked nose" and the "sharp chin" was, however, far more than this: he was a prince of mystifiers, and in this title lies his true distinction. His special power lay in producing fiction which his readers took for fact. Lord Chatham, we are told, believed in the authenticity of the "Memoirs of a Cavalier"; the "History of the Plague" was considered by the medical profession a highly valuable account of the ravages of that disease; and Gildon, a contemporary writer, says that every old woman bought "Robinson Crusoe" and left it as a legacy with the "Pilgrim's Progress," the "Practice of Piety," and "God's Revenge against Murther."

But the best illustration of his gift for what has been called "forging the handwriting of Nature" is the short tale known as "The Apparition of Mrs. Veal," a tale which his biographer, Mr. William Lee, designates as "perhaps the most perfect fiction of its kind that ever was written."

A curious but strongly-marked feature of the school of iconoclastic criticism is its assumption that a fact, historical or literary, as the case may be, is deprived of all claim upon our interest by the disproving of the statements that have grown up around it. Mr. Minto, in his "Life of Defoe," appends the

following remark to his passing allusion to the "Apparition of Mrs. Veal": "Mr. Lee has disposed conclusively of the myth that the tale was written to promote the sale of a dull book by one Drelincourt on the 'Fear of Death,' which Mrs. Veal's ghost earnestly recommends her friend to read."

And so, apparently, all interest in Mrs. Veal is at an end for ever.

But though Mr. Lee may have "disposed conclusively" of the legend concerning the origin of the book, he has, by the very fact of so doing, indirectly suggested two questions, deeply interesting and very difficult to solve: firstly—What led Defoe to puff Drelincourt's book if he was not hired to do so by the publishers? and secondly—Did the publishers, who afterwards bound that puff with Drelincourt's book, do it with their eyes open, or were they genuinely convinced of the sincerity of Defoe's narrative?

What first induced Defoe to write his tale is nowhere recorded, but it was published in pamphlet form on July 5, 1706, by R. Bragg, at the Black Raven in Paternoster Row, with the title, "A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal the next day after her Death, to one Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury; the 8th of September, 1705."

Drelincourt's book was not published by Bragg, but by a man named Robinson, at the Golden Lyon in St. Paul's Churchyard. Its title ran as follows: "The Christian's Defence against the Fear of Death with seasonable directions how to prepare ourselves to die well. Written originally in French by the late Reverend Divine of the Protestant Church in Paris, Charles Drelincourt. Translated into English by Marius d'Assigny, B.D." The third edition of the book had already been exhausted when Robinson obtained permission to prefix Defoe's pamphlet to the new issue, dated September 30, 1706, and a book of such established popularity certainly needed no puff to increase its sale.

What Defoe's motives for this curious transaction were, may be guessed, though they cannot be proved. A needy writer, with indifferent health and a wife and children to support, he was ready to catch at any means of making money, and instead of "The Apparition of Mrs. Veal" being used to enlarge the sale of Drelincourt, may it not have been that the popular Drelincourt was puffed in order to promote the sale of "The Apparition of Mrs. Veal"? Books which profess to unlock the mysteries of the future life have always been dear to the human heart, and the number of editions through which this volume passed both in England and abroad proves that it may be looked upon as "The Gates Ajar" of an earlier and more decorous religious age.

In the ninth edition, a copy of which may be found in the British Museum Library, the following account of it is given :

Charles Drelincourt was born at Sedan in the year 1595, his father being the Secretary of the Duke of Bouillon. He studied both at Sedan and at Saumur, was ordained as a Protestant pastor in 1618, and in 1620 went to Paris where he remained until his death in 1689. D'Assigny, his translator, speaks of him in glowing terms. "He was very faithful and zealous," he says, "in respect of his own Congregation and others, his Judgment being always desired in Matters of Moment. Our Eminent Divine, after a long Experience and Practice among departing Souls and in Houses of Mourning, at the request of some of his Congregation, who mightily approved of the proper and reasonable Arguments that he made use of to fortify dying Persons against the apprehensions of Death suitable to their Conditions and Temper, published this Book of Consolation. About twenty Editions have been printed in France and one at Avignon in the Pope's dominions, with a suppression of the Reverend Author's name. How many impressions have been published in Holland, Germany, and elsewhere, I cannot determine. We find it translated into several languages, but was not in our Mother Tongue, until at the request of the Author's Son, now Dean of Armagh in Ireland, I translated it into English. What Reception it met with among us, let this 9th Edition declare." A footnote adds : "This Book is of very great use to Divines for Funeral Sermons and is very fit to be given away by well-disposed Persons at Funerals and of excellent use to every Christian Reader."

It was, then, to this well-known and widely-circulated book that Defoe chose to allude in his tale, and whatever the publisher's belief may have been, M. d'Assigny, Bachelor of Divinity, expresses himself as perfectly convinced of the writer's sincerity :

"And now I cannot but take some notice here of the high Esteem and Commendation that a late Apparition too well attested to be slighted, hath given of this book. An exact Account of it you have in the printed Relation hereunto prefixed. It comes to us clothed with all the Appearance and Circumstance of Truth, that may reasonably be expected in this case, so that none but an unbelieving Sadducee or a profane Atheist will offer to question the Reality. As we live in such an incredulous Age that will not believe God and His Divine Oracles, though attested by the working of miracles, concerning the future state of the Righteous and Wicked, but requires a new testimony and evidence, as the Return of Souls from the Dead to witness the Happiness of Heaven and the

Torments of Hell and the Immortality of the Soul, who knows but to render men more inexcusable God may condescend that a Departed Soul, or its good Angel in its stead, may appear to declare these infallible and undoubted Truths to an unbelieving world?"

To question the good faith of such remarks as these seems almost impossible, but what are we to say of Defoe's preface to the tale of "The Apparition of Mrs. Veal"?

"This Relation is Matter of Fact and attended with such circumstances as may induce any Reasonable Man to believe it. It was sent by a Gentleman, a Justice of the Peace at Maidstone in Kent, and a very intelligent person, to his friend in London, as it is here worded: which Discourse is attested by a very sober and understanding Gentlewoman, a kinswoman of the said Gentleman's, who lives in Canterbury within a few doors of the House in which the within named Mrs. Bargrave lives; who believes his kinswoman to be of so discerning a Spirit as not to be put upon by any Fallacy, and who positively assured him that the whole Matter as it is related and laid down is what is really true and what she herself had in the same words (as far as may be) from Mrs. Bargrave's own mouth, who, she knows, had no reason to invent and publish such a story, nor any Design to forge and tell a lye, being a Woman of much Honesty and Vertue and her whole life a course, as it were, of Piety. The Use which we ought to make of it is to consider—That there is a Life to come after this, and a Just God, who will retribute to every-one according to the Deeds done in the Body and therefore to reflect upon our past Course of Life we have led in the World; That our Time is short and uncertain and that if we would escape the punishment of the Ungodly and receive the Reward of the Righteous, which is the laying hold of eternal life, we ought for the time to come to turn to God by a speedy Repentance, ceasing to do evil and learning to do well, to seek after God early if haply He may be found of us and lead such lives for the future as may be well-pleasing in His sight."

Defoe, the inventor of the tale, cannot possibly have believed in its truth; but, besides the desire of making money, there is another possible motive for this handling of sacred subjects. Better than anyone else, he understood the art of imparting an air of truth to his fiction by adding to it little touches of fact, and that the apparition should commend a book so well known as Drelincourt's "Fear of Death" would not only draw attention to the story, but insure for it a certain amount of credence. The more it is studied, indeed, the more we see that Mr. Lee's verdict—"a perfect piece of

fiction "—is well deserved, and the doubts said to be thrown on it by Mrs. Veal's friends and relations, who did all they could to "Null or Quash it," are a master-stroke of genius.

"Mrs. Bargrave is my most Intimate Friend," so the tale begins, "and I can avouch for her Reputation, for these last 15 or 16 Years on my own Knowledge; and I can confirm the Good Character she had from her Youth, to the Time of my acquaintance. Though since this Relation she is calumniated by some People that are friends to the Brother of Mrs. Veal who appeared; who think the Relation of this Apparition to be a Reflection, and endeavour what they can to Blast Mrs. Bargrave's Reputation, and to laugh the story out of Countenance."

Mrs. Veal and Mrs. Bargrave lived at Dover, and had been friends from childhood; many and great were their trials, for Mrs. Veal, who was "a maiden gentlewoman," had no near relation but an unsatisfactory brother, and was, moreover, troubled with fits; while Mrs. Bargrave was married to an unkind husband, who neglected and even ill-treated her. In these circumstances their friendship was a great consolation to them, and Mrs. Veal would often say:

"Mrs. Bargrave, you are not only the best, but the only friend I have in the World, and no Circumstances of Life shall ever dissolve my Friendship." They would often condole each other's "adverse Fortunes, and read together Drelincourt upon Death and other gocd books, and so, like true Christian Friends, they comforted each other under their sorrows."

This close companionship was, however, not destined to last; through the influence of friends, Mrs. Veal's brother was given a place in the Customs at Dover, and this prosperity withdrew her a little from Mrs. Bargrave, who eventually left Dover with her husband, and settled in a house at Canterbury.

"In this House, on the 8th of September, 1705, she was sitting alone in the Forenoon, thinking over her unfortunate Life and arguing herself into a due Resignation to Providence though her Condition seemed hard. 'And,' said she, 'I have been provided for hitherto and doubt not but I shall be still, and am well satisfied that my afflictions shall end when it is most fit for me': and then took up her sewing-work, which she had no sooner done than she hears a knocking at the Door; she went to see who it was there and this proved to be Mrs. Veal, her old Friend, who was in a Riding-habit: at that moment of Time the clock struck twelve at noon. 'Madam,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'I am surprised to see you, you have been so long a stranger,' but she was glad to see her and offered to salute her, which Mrs. Veal complied with till their

lips almost touched, and then Mrs. Veal drew her Hand across her own eyes, and said, 'I am not very well,' and so waved it."

Mrs. Bargrave took her into the parlour and gave her a seat in the arm-chair, and Mrs. Veal said that she was going on a journey, and had come to ask pardon for her "Breach of Friendship," and reminded her of the conversations that they had had in old days and of the books that they read together, and what comfort in particular they received from Drelincourt's book, which was "the best," she said, "on that subject ever wrote."

She then asked Mrs. Bargrave to fetch Drelincourt and some other books from upstairs, and Mrs. Bargrave on returning brought some verses which she asked Mrs. Veal to read, but Mrs. Veal said holding down her head would make it ache, and desired Mrs. Bargrave to read them to her. When the reading was over she asked Mrs. Bargave how she thought she looked, spoke of her fits, and mentioned how she wished some of her things disposed of at her death.

"Talking at this rate, Mrs. Bargrave thought that a Fit was coming upon her, and so placed herself in a chair just before her Knees to keep her from falling to the Ground if her Fits should occasion it. For the Elbow-chair, she thought, would keep her from falling on either side. And to divert Mrs. Veal, as she thought, she took hold of her Gown-sleeve several times and commended it. Mrs. Veal told her that it was a scower'd silk and newly made up."

Mrs. Bargrave then asked her if she would like to see her daughter, and on her saying that she should, she went out to ask a neighbour to fetch the child. On her return, she found Mrs. Veal "without the Door in the Street, in the face of the Beast-market on a Saturday (which is Market-day)."

Mrs. Bargrave tried to detain her, but she declared that she must be going, and "walked from Mrs. Bargrave in her view, till a Turning interrupted the sight of her, which was three-quarters after one in the afternoon. Mrs. Veal died the 7th of September at twelve o'clock at noon of her Fits, and had not above Four Hours senses before her Death, in which time she received the Sacrament."

On the next day Mrs. Bargrave was "mightily indisposed," but on the Monday she sent her servant to the house of Captain Watson, a cousin of Mrs. Veal's, with whom she had told her that she was staying, to ask after her. The servant came back with the message that they had heard nothing of her, whereupon Mrs. Bargrave paid a call in person, and told Mrs. Watson that Mrs. Veal had been with her on the previous Saturday, though Mrs. Watson declared that if she

had been in Canterbury they must have known it. While they were talking, Captain Watson came in, bringing the news of Mrs. Veal's death. Mrs. Bargrave then narrated her story in full, and mentioned "what gown she had on, and how striped and that Mrs. Veal told her it was scower'd. Then Mrs. Watson cried out: 'You have seen her indeed, for none knew but Mrs. Veal and myself that the gown was scower'd.'"

The Watsons being thus perfectly convinced of the truth of Mrs. Bargrave's story, she went home, and in the course of the next few days was besieged with inquiries on all sides. The writer of the account, having heard, he says, of the apparition, went to see her, and was fully informed by her of all that had passed, with many interesting details. She asked her, she said, if she would drink tea with her: "Says Mrs. Veal, 'I do not care if I do; but I warrant you this mad fellow' [meaning Mrs. Bargrave's husband] 'has broke all your trinkets.' 'But,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'I'll get something to drink in for all that;' but Mrs. Veal waved it, and said, 'It is no matter; let it alone;' and so it passed." Mrs. Bargrave also informed him that she went out to a neighbour's the very moment she parted with Mrs. Veal, and told her what ravishing Conversation she had had with an old Friend, and told the whole of it. Drelincourt's 'Book of Death' is, since this happened, bought up strangely."

The writer then goes on to draw his conclusions from the facts he had heard narrated:

"Mrs. Veal's often drawing her Hand before her Eyes, and asking Mrs. Bargrave whether her Fits had not impaired her, looks to me as if she did it on purpose to remind Mrs. Bargrave of her Fits, to prepare her not to think it strange that she should direct her in the disposing of her things. Her love and care of her that she should not be affrighted appears in her whole management, particularly in her coming to her in the Daytime and in waving the Salutation."

For Mrs. Bargrave "to hatch such an Invention without jumbling the Circumstances," would, he says, prove that she must be "more Witty, Fortunate, and Wicked than any indifferent Person I daresay will allow." For his part he is quite convinced, and he winds up his account with a declaration of his belief: "This thing has very much affected me, and I am as well satisfied as I am of the best grounded Matter of Fact. And why we should dispute Matter of Fact because we cannot solve Things of which we can have no certain or demonstrative Notions seems strange to me. Mrs. Bargrave's authority and sincerity alone would have been undoubted in any other case."

Defoe died in 1731, but editions of Drelincourt, prefaced

by his account of Mrs. Veal, followed one another from the press. The edition dated 1766, published by T. Luckman, "near the Cross, Coventry," is extremely interesting, as it professes to correct and amend the former account. The writer of "The Apparition of Mrs. Veal" is here described under the name of the Rev. W. Payne, "late Minister of St. David's, Exon"; and the publisher prefaces the tale with the following remarks: "The account of Mrs. Veal's apparition to Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury was communicated to me by a gentleman, who transcribed it from the Rev. Mr. Payne's manuscript, who penned it from Mrs. Bargrave's lips seventeen years after the facts took place, in which space of time, had there been any possibility of collusion or falsehood in the matter, it would doubtless have been discovered and detected."

He goes on to correct various statements made in the first account and adds some new particulars, as that Mrs. Bargrave's maiden name was Sodowick, and that her father was a minister of Dover, and her dissolute husband a barrister. He enlarges upon Bargrave's cruelty to his wife, and says that on his coming home on the night of the apparition he shut her out into the garden, where she stayed all night, and that she said afterwards it was a mercy she had not known that Mrs. Veal had been a ghost, or she should have died of fright in the darkness. He gives much detail also with regard to the sceptical attitude of Mrs. Veal's brother, and says that he took such umbrage at the cross-examination to which he was subjected by the then Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Stanhope, that when he came to be married some time afterwards he refused to have the ceremony performed by him. But these additions are no improvement to the story; and the fact that the date is changed from a few months after the event is supposed to have taken place to seventeen years is a proof of greater timidity on the part of the writer. Mrs. Veal is said by Defoe to have appeared on September 8, 1705, in a pamphlet published on July 5, 1706; and the publisher either so entirely shared his audacity, or was so firmly convinced of his sincerity, that the pamphlet was added to Drelincourt's book on September 30, 1706. In those days, we may conclude, there was no Psychical Research Society, or if there was such an institution, it was terribly remiss in its duties! A circumstantial account of a ghost is published only nine months after its appearance, and no one goes to Canterbury to examine into the matter, or to discover if Mrs. Bargrave and her dissolute husband, Captain and Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Veal's brother of the Dover Customs, and all the other actors in the

story, were creatures of flesh and blood or only the visions of imagination.

Whether Defoe's performance was a monetary success or not, there is no doubt that it was a perfect achievement from the artistic point of view. No one seems to have shown either doubt or disapproval; and the identity of the eminent divine, Charles Drelincourt, was not more fully established than that of Mrs. Veal, nor his pious words more highly prized than those of the much-tried "maiden gentlewoman" who ministered Christian consolation to her friend after she had departed from the body.

What the effect of this success was upon Defoe himself we have no means of telling, unless a passage in the "Serious Reflexions," which formed a kind of sequel to "Robinson Crusoe," may be taken as an indication: "This supplying a story by invention is certainly a most scandalous crime, and yet very little regarded in that part. It is a sort of lying that makes a great hole in the heart, in which by degrees a habit of lying enters in. Such a man comes quickly up to a total disregarding the truth of what he says, looking upon it as a trifle, a thing of no import, whether any story he tells be true or not."

The hole in Defoe's heart must indeed have been very great! He was a prince of mystifiers; and he made such a fine art of "this sort of lying," that his "stories by invention" commanded the complete belief of his readers. Even now, in this more critical age, it is difficult to open his works without falling under the sway of his genius. Mrs. Veal never existed; she never had a striped and scower'd riding-gown, nor did she ever sit in Mrs. Bargrave's elbow-chair, and adjure her unhappy friend to seek consolation in Drelincourt's "Fear of Death"; and yet, on a sunny Saturday in Canterbury, "standing in the face of the Beast-Market" (for Saturday is still market-day in that ancient city), it is necessary "to pass the Hand across the Eyes," as Mrs. Veal so often did, before one can believe that she is not still visible, bidding farewell to Mrs. Bargrave, and walking down the street till a turning interrupts the sight of her at three-quarters after one in the afternoon.

MARY BRADFORD WHITING.

Notices of Books.

Short History of Ancient Peoples. By ROBINSON SOUTTAR, M.A., D.C.L. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., D.D., Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. Second Edition. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xxxv+728. 12s.

We are glad to see that Dr. Souttar's work has so soon run into a second edition. A new chapter has been added, summarizing the results of recent discoveries in Egypt and elsewhere, the section on Mr. Arthur Evans's Cretan finds being particularly useful. It is not so long since the history of culture and civilization was supposed to begin with the classical era of Greek literature, and the civilizations of an earlier date were scarcely regarded as civilizations at all. To what an extent the ancient world has been opened up to us may be seen from the present volume, which is likely to take the place of the once familiar but antiquated Rollin, and is one of those books which are eminently suitable for "use in families." It contains excellent accounts of the great empires of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria; as also of the rise and fall of the Phœnicians. In the chapters on Jewish history the Old Testament period is treated from the traditional standpoint. Greece and Rome divide between them the latter half of the work, which ends with the death of Augustus. This survey of antiquity has been carefully planned and put together. It cannot, perhaps, be expected that so many ages and nations could prove equally attractive to a single writer, and some periods are naturally described with a more sympathetic pen than others. It may be noticed that Dr. Souttar considers Cleon to have been a much maligned person, while admitting that he misled the Athenians more than once. His admiration for Julius Cæsar is unbounded, but he is unfair to Alexander the Great, and the far-reaching effects of Alexander's influence are rather inadequately appreciated. Professor Sayce contributes a most readable introduction, in which he speaks highly of the "judgment and lucidity" Dr. Souttar has displayed in the task he set himself. The completeness of the index deserves mention, and amongst the maps there is a very good one of the Roman Empire as Augustus left it.

Christian Apologetics: A Series of Addresses delivered before the Christian Association of University College, London. By GEORGE HENSLOW, M.A.; HENRY WACE, D.D.; D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt.; R. E. WELSH, M.A.; GEORGE T. MANLEY, M.A.; CECIL WILSON, M.A. London: John Murray. Pp. xxii+133. 4s. 6d.

The circumstances under which these addresses were delivered attracted at the time a good deal of attention. It will be remembered, too, that Lord Kelvin's speech at the close of the first meeting, when he declared his conviction that "scientific thought is compelled to accept the idea of Creative Power," led to a notable controversy in the *Times*. The addresses, with the speeches that followed them, form a volume which will be found of much service, since its contents embrace a considerable

portion of the field of Christian evidences. Professor Henslow, lecturing on "Present-day Rationalism," with special reference to Darwinism, illustrated by numerous extracts from recent writers the prominence given to natural selection in modern unbelief. His argument against natural selection was the best part of his address, and will be considered by some readers more convincing than his exposition of what he holds to be the true Darwinian doctrine. The subject allotted to the Dean of Canterbury was "The Book of Genesis," while Professor Margoliouth dealt with the compilation of the Synoptic Gospels. We do not altogether share the latter's faith in "the analogy of Moslem traditions" as the key to everything, and in this case the analogy is sometimes pressed too far. A very able discussion of "Materialism or Christianity?" by Mr. Manley, a Senior Wrangler and a missionary, claims particular notice as a forcible statement of the whole case. In the course of his remarks he touched upon the aspects of Agnosticism as a Creed, observing that "ignorance of God is no longer humbly confessed as a shortcoming, but paraded as a necessity, and sometimes even as a virtue; it is the very apotheosis of ignorance." The two remaining lectures are upon "The Witness of Human Experience" and "Some Evidences of the Resurrection." Some valuable personal testimonies will be found in the speeches of the chairmen at these meetings, amongst whom there were Sir Robert Anderson, Sir Dyce Duckworth, and Sir Thomas Barlow. The volume has been well edited by Mr. Seton, the secretary of the Association.

A Short Handbook of Missions. By EUGENE STOCK. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. viii+214. Price 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.

Packed as it is with all sorts of information, skilfully arranged under the three heads of "The Work," "The Work Done," and "The Work to be Done," Mr. Stock's handbook is simply indispensable to everybody interested in foreign missions. So comprehensive is it that it contains a chapter, with copious statistics, on the missionary work of the Greek and Roman Churches. One notable feature in the development of Protestant missions during recent years is the increase in the number of single women employed by the various societies. Their number now reaches a total of nearly 4,000, and has multiplied threefold since 1886. The growth of the China Inland Mission, founded in 1865, is also remarkable. At the present time it has 811 agents, including 327 men, and stands next in this respect to the Church Missionary Society. Much of its success is probably due to its being governed by a director "in the field," who is independent of the Home Council. Mr. Stock writes very severely about Lord Curzon's criticisms in his "Problems of the Far East," and condemns the policy of the British Government in closing the door to missionaries in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Many interesting particulars about the organization of native Churches are given. Hopeful as the prospect appears in other quarters, Mohammedanism still continues to present a seemingly impenetrable barrier. When a book like this can be had for a shilling, ignorance on the subject is inexcusable.

Pro Patria. Sermons on Special Occasions in England and America. By CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Dean of Ely. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. vi+182. Price 3s.

A good paper on "Practical Religion in Village Citizenship," read at the Nottingham Church Congress, is included in the present volume. The sermons are on social subjects, with the exception of two preached at Cambridge in memory of founders and benefactors and a panegyric of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon. The text prefixed to this last, "What thanksgiving can we render again unto God for *him* for all the joy?" professes to be taken from 1 Thess. iii. 9, and is a remarkably free adaptation of St. Paul's words. In America the Dean seems to have found himself at home, expounding at Harvard the "Creed of Christian Socialism," which apparently consists of forty-four articles, all of them being duly set forth in order. A real Socialist would say that these discourses are deficient in backbone, but they are full of philanthropic sentiments gracefully expressed.

The Faith of a Christian. By A DISCIPLE. London: Macmillan and Co. Pp. x+301. Price 3s. 6d.

"Every man's faith, if he really has one, is in a special sense his own. Before he can really possess it, it must have passed through a medium—his own mind and thought—which has converted it from dogma to idiom. The translation of dogma into idiom is as necessary as the translation of the Scriptures into the living languages of mankind." This extract from the preface indicates the author's idea. He endeavours to state in an unconventional form his own conceptions of the reasonableness of Christianity, apart from the question of its authority, and to show that the Christian faith offers the most likely solution of vexed problems. The book is extremely interesting throughout, and may be of much use to educated people whose religious opinions are in a state of flux. A chapter on "Man's Knowledge of God" contains a powerful indictment of pantheism, as involving the total obliteration of all distinction between truth and error, right and wrong. In the fourth and fifth chapters, which relate to our Lord's life and work, the writer explains the reasons why a sinless life presupposes a birth out of the ordinary course of nature, and also enters at length into the causes which rendered the resurrection of Christ a necessity. Several objections urged against the truth of the Atonement are answered by arguments drawn from observation and experience. Some portions of the volume are too purely speculative, such as the section on "God and the Universe," and part of that on the Trinity; and there is more than one important question that is not touched upon at all. But the work does not claim to be a formal treatise, nor does it aim at being more than a justification of the author's acceptance of Christian doctrines which have been recently assailed from fresh standpoints. Though we are not prepared to endorse every expression he uses, much that he says deserves careful study, and should prove a corrective of the loose and inexact talk so common in connection with religious truth.

Handbooks for the Clergy. Lay Work and the Office of Reader. By Huyshe Yeatman-Biggs, D.D., F.S.A., Bishop of Southwark. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. xi+152. 2s. 6d.

The present dearth of clergy relatively to the population is considered by the Bishop of Southwark to indicate possibly "God's method of forcing us to use in a more recognised form, and with fuller confidence, those forces of lay ministration which have all along been part of the Church's heritage." It would have been well if the historical side of the question had received fuller treatment, for three-quarters of a page on lay ministrations in the Church of the first four centuries cannot well be considered an adequate allowance. There is also a brief reference to Archbishop Parker's scheme in 1561; but that was merely a temporary arrangement, and English Church-people did not take kindly to it. The office of a reader, as sketched in these chapters, differs materially both from primitive and Reformation precedents, and it is admitted on page 23 that "deacon or sub-deacon might more truly represent what, under authority, our readers are beginning in all directions to be." The handbook contains selections from the rules framed in various dioceses at home and abroad. Its author advocates the creation of a permanent profession of "Readership," which young men, "earnest and devout, but not educated enough for the priesthood," could adopt as their "life vocation," encouraged to do so by the prospect of an old age pension. How pensions are to be provided is not made clear. In fact, when we come to details, there is a certain vagueness in many of the suggestions made. It would seem that the Bishop desires to have readers divided into classes, some of them holding purely parochial licenses, with liberty to administer the chalice and bury the dead, while others could be employed in a wider sphere than a single parish, licensed to preach in the churches of the diocese. Sir Arthur Charles, it will be remembered, gave a legal opinion that the Twenty-third Article and the Canons of 1603 made it illegal for a layman to preach in consecrated buildings or to minister the Sacraments. Since the publication of this volume a report presented to the Southern Convocation has appeared in reference to the subject, and the strictures upon it in the House of Laymen showed that the notion of lay curates was far from meeting with general approval. The further proposal that organists and choirmasters should be licensed by the diocesan is too impracticable to be entertained. But the Bishop of Southwark's book serves as a record of what has been attempted during recent years, and is pleasantly written.