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

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

THE CHURCHMAN

February, 1913.

The Month.

Evangelicals in the Church of England.

THE author of "Types of English Piety"—one of the most interesting and suggestive books published last year—makes a prolonged and discriminating comparison between the *Sacerdotal* and the *Evangelical* types. He then goes on to remark:

"The Evangelical party in the Church of England occupy a somewhat peculiar and anomalous position in this respect. No one can question the rich contribution they have made to our national religious life. Romaine, Venn, Grimshaw, Fletcher, Newton, Cowper, Scott, and Simeon, to mention only the later examples, are great names, and they claim their rightful place in a Church which is as Evangelical in its Articles as it is Sacerdotal in its Liturgy. Many of the High Church clergy, too, are earnestly Evangelical in the wider sense of the word, and it may be said that the Sacraments themselves are steeped in Evangelical teaching. Yet the true Evangelical principle has never found itself, so to speak, within the borders of the Church of England. It has been compelled, both in the Nonconformist ejections of the seventeenth century and in the Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth, to seek its fullest and freest expression somewhere else. Evangelical clergymen may have cordially fraternized with their Free Church brethren on the Exeter Hall platform or in the tents of Keswick. But the standards of their own Church stubbornly prevent an equal and reciprocal communion. They must be institutional first of all and Evangelical afterwards."

Their Present Task.

Much in this criticism is true and would be generally admitted. But it perhaps errs a little in certain details. If by the "liturgy" the writer means the office of Holy Communion, we may demur to the proposition that it is sacerdotal in character. The work of Cranmer and of those who helped him is hardly of that description. There is not a word in the service that the most whole-hearted

Evangelical need hesitate about. And does not the history of the last hundred years show that the true Evangelical principle *has* "found itself" within the Church of England? It may not be the dominating factor at present, but it has made good its claim to be an integral and necessary part. We shall do well, however, not to take the kindly words of Mr. Coats merely as matter for criticism, but to regard them as a challenge and an inspiration. The Evangelical principle as depicted in his eloquent and sympathetic words does not and should not need a Noncomformist environment for its full fruition. It is our task and mission to show that in the Church of England, with its historic ministry, its deeply-rooted antiquity, its traditions of art and music, its ancient buildings, the true Evangelical spirit may fully flourish. As for the obstacles to equal and reciprocal communion, we must never slacken our efforts till they are abolished for ever.

Evening Communion.

The Bishop of Carlisle has contributed to a recent issue of the *Spectator* a strongly-worded and very able defence of the practice of Evening Communion. He emphasizes the bed-rock fact that the first Eucharist was celebrated in the evening and after a meal. Those who condemn evening communions are condemning the action of our Lord and His Apostles. And when abuses began to attend this custom of evening communion, as they did in the Church of Corinth, St. Paul's remedy, as the Bishop points out, is not to change the hour of holding the service, but to rouse his converts to a sense of their guilt in eating and drinking the body and blood of the Lord unworthily. As a matter of fact, the emphasis on fasting communion—which is the real nerve of the insistence on early communions—is in the last resort a materializing of the Holy Communion. Fitness for the service depends on other than temporal and physiological conditions. To lay down hard and fast rules, where our Lord has laid down none, is to place an intolerable burden on the shoulders of the Christian communicant. To thousands of devout Christians the

evening hour is not only the most convenient, but the most profitable, time for the sacred rite, and it will be a disastrous thing if ever freedom of choice in this matter is made impossible.

Religion in Cambridge.

To all those who are concerned with the interests of Christianity in England, the state of religious belief in the Universities is a matter of profound importance. Some very reassuring words about the condition of things at Cambridge were recently addressed by Mr. Runciman, M.P., to an assembly of Young Methodists in London. "I remember," he said, "when I was at Cambridge it used to be the fashion for those of us who were about the age of twenty to regard it as the highest pinnacle of intellectual independence that we should call ourselves Agnostics. That was the Cambridge fashion of the day. I was back in Cambridge this year [1912], and I found that there was a complete change in the fashion. The young man of twenty of 1891 who would have been an Agnostic had changed into the young man of 1912, who was a simple, downright Christian, and not at all ashamed of the word." The change observed by Mr. Runciman is, we agree with him in believing, but a particular case of a more general tendency. We quote his words again: "The scientists of our younger days were men who were quite certain about their knowledge of facts, also quite certain with regard to Christianity—certain that it had no data on which to rest. I am not sure that they are not upsetting that attitude of mind, for now, if there is one thing more characteristic of scientists than another, it is that they are becoming agnostic about scientific facts, and more and more certain about theological facts."

The World Conference.

America has long been known as the land of vigorous enterprise, and she is giving further evidence of this in the scheme for a World Conference on Faith and Order. All Christian communions throughout the world which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as

God and Saviour are to be asked to unite in the Conference. The two Archbishops have appointed an English Committee to help in preparing for and arranging the Conference, which in all probability will be held in the United States. The English Committee is a thoroughly representative one, and may be trusted to deal with the matter in a practical way. We commend this great project to the sympathy and to the prayers of our readers. Christian reunion will never be reached if we are content to dream of it, with folded hands, as a beautiful but remote ideal. It is a matter that must be kept constantly before the mind of all the Churches. This can only be done by the constant reiteration of its claims in the pulpit, the press, and in great conferences such as this projected one, on the part of all those who not only join in our Lord's prayer "that they all may be one," but feel that they must do their part in securing the answer to it.

The Presence of the World.

We have long been wont to confess in Wordsworth's language that "the world is too much with us." But at the present time the dictum is becoming true in a manner more real and stupendous than ever before. So far as the saying was true of our forefathers, it was a comparatively limited and local world—a world, too, in which they took an active part, that was present with them. But to-day, by means of telegraph, telephone, frequent editions of cheap newspapers, and now, lastly, by the animated pictures of the cinematograph, it is literally the whole world that is immediately and continuously present with us. And the result is to beget in us the spectator's attitude of mind, which in the long run diminishes the sense of personal responsibility. This, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has pointed out in a recent sermon, is a great and pressing danger. If our forefathers had a little world, it was at any rate a world in which they took a personal part; they felt some responsibility for the making and shaping of it. The new conditions have introduced dangers against which we should all be on our guard; especially the danger

of regarding the whole world process, so copiously revealed to us as a great drama of which we are merely the onlookers, rather than as a great struggle for righteousness, in which we must play an active part.

"Foundations." Seven young Oxford men have published a volume of essays, and they have called it "Foundations."[1] It is an attempt to restate in terms of modern thought the fundamental beliefs of Christianity. Unless we are mistaken, it will not create the stir that was made by "Lux Mundi," certainly not that made by "Essays and Reviews," but it is as interesting and probably quite as valuable as either. It is interesting because its authors are young, because they are able, and because they all of them hold positions of prominence. It is valuable because it enables the reader to gauge the influence which the critical spirit of the age has had upon the faiths of seven brilliant young Oxford men, the influence which it seems likely to have upon thoughtful minds during the next few years. The book is called "Foundations," and the name at once suggests a danger. You cannot restate foundations, you can only tamper with them at your peril. You can explain foundation truths, but you must beware lest, in the explanation, you remove either the fundamental element in them or the truths themselves from the category of the fundamental. The tone of the book is entirely reverent; it is clearly intended to be helpful, and there is an obviously sincere desire to arrive at the truth; but the authors are too much the victims of the academic atmosphere in which they live. We should like to bring the thought of the book into the practical arena. How are these newly-adjusted foundations to be made the basis of the Christian life of a Tyneside docker, a Lancashire cotton-operative, or a Birkenhead shipwright? The sons of labour are beginning to think, and the Christian faith is the same for them as for Oxford. They will express it differently, but it will be the same faith. We are far from asking Oxford to water down the truth in the interests of

[1] Edited by R. H. Streeter. London: Macmillan. Price 10s. 6d. net.

the acceptance of the faith by the masses, but we do ask them to refrain from pressing mere theories, and to take care neither to overstate nor to understate the truth in the interests of a broad liberalism, or of the freedom of academic atmosphere. At least one essay in this book seems to have forgotten that the Oxford of to-day influences the whole country to-morrow.

Mr. Streeter's Essay.

Mr. Streeter writes on the historic Christ, and of course discusses the Resurrection. Somewhat hesitatingly, and admittedly without the approval of all his colleagues, he explains the Resurrection appearances by a theory of visions. We are not here concerned to discuss the relative merits of such theories, whether subjective or objective, but we are clear that Mr. Streeter ought not to throw over the historically based tradition of the centuries without the best of reasons. What is his main reason? He objects to the empty tomb because if Christ really rose from the grave, then His risen body must have ascended, and as the risen body was material, its ascension involves the localizing and materializing of heaven. But the Evangelists take care to emphasize the changed character of the risen body. Some at least of the old limitations have gone, and it is in some mysterious way a spiritual body. St. Paul proceeds on the same lines. We do not understand what is meant by a spiritual body, but because we do not understand, we must not force a theory and base upon it an argument which denies the faith of centuries and the accuracy of statement both of the Evangelists and of St. Paul as well. Some few years ago the Bishop of London commended a novel to the reading public. It was somewhat silly and very sensational, and the centre of the plot was a denial of the empty tomb. But the Bishop knew the Victoria Park of his earlier days, and the concrete facts of the empty tomb meant much then, and we could understand his commendation. In Oxford it may do little harm (we are not so sure about it) to broach such a theory as Mr. Streeter's: if it is true it must be broached; but we want to say to Mr. Streeter and to Oxford that a theory

of this kind tends to damage the faith of thousands and to make more difficult the Evangelistic labour of hundreds of his fellow clergy, and this being so, we do not feel that he had the right to send it forth on such slender evidence even if it does, as it doubtless does, help the "reduced" Christianity of those who, against Huxley and the huge majority of Christian men, believe that miracles are *a priori* possible.

Mr. Moberly on the Atonement.

We turn with interest to the work of the one layman amongst the seven. It is by Mr. Moberly, son of Professor Moberly of "Atonement and Personality," and Mr. Moberly writes on his father's subject, the Atonement, and he writes with filial piety along the lines of his father's view. Mr. Moberly differentiates the Catholic or Evangelical view of the Atonement from the Liberal and Rationalistic, and he works his way by a process of elimination to what he seems to consider a comprehensive position. It is the theory of vicarious penitence. With slight variations he follows in the footsteps of his father and of McLeod Campbell. Christ's perfect penitence gave, as Campbell put it, "a perfect answer in humanity to the judgment of God on the sin of man." Frankly, we believe this theory to be absolutely unsound. It is unscriptural, not only because there is no sign of it in Scripture, but because it is ruled out by Scripture teaching, and specially by the teaching that centres round the word "propitiation." And it is contrary to reason. Mr. Temple, in another essay, claims for a position that he lays down, that "it makes sense." Moberly and McLeod Campbell both admit that Christ's perfect penitence is, as of course in His case it must be, without sin. But surely consciousness of sin is at the root of penitence, and the theory breaks down. For ourselves, as we must choose between modern theories, we will follow Canon J. G. Simpson, in his so-called old-fashioned theory of the Atonement in preference to the modern thought of "Foundations." Modern thought is not always nor necessarily right.

The other Essays.

Of the rest of the book we must say little. Mr. Rawlinson and Mr. Temple present perhaps the most attractive reading, although much that they say is open to criticism. Mr. Brook writes on the Bible and does not shock us seriously, mainly because he seems to leave problems unsolved. Much of the book seems to approach the territory sacred to such criticisms as that of Professor Kirsopp Lake and Herr Schweitzer, and now and again we get little seizures of such territory. The book is called "Foundations," but those that it presents are so inchoate, so shifting, so doubtful, that we are not enamoured of them. We may be old-fashioned, but the *J'y suis, J'y reste* attitude has attractions for us in matters fundamental, and though we are grateful for an attempt to help the modern mind to understand fundamental truths, we fear this book has gone a little too far to appease the changing tastes of a restless age in its presentation of the great facts of the Christian revelation.

The Province Asia in the First Century.

By the REV. M. LINTON SMITH, M.A.,
Vicar of Blundellsands.

WE are familiar with the illustration of the New Testament from the remains of classical antiquity; an attempt is made in the present article to reverse the process, and to show how the New Testament throws light upon the political, commercial, social, and religious life of a Roman province in the first century of our era.

The evidence will be drawn mainly from the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse; nor, in the light of the conclusions of such scholars as the late Dr. Blass and Dr. Harnack in Germany, and Sir William Ramsay in our own country, is any apology needed for the assumption that these are documents of the first century.

The word "provincia" was not primarily a local term, but denoted the sphere of duty of an official, and so in some cases boundaries were elastic—*e.g.*, Cicero, as Governor of Cilicia, being prevented by pirates from approaching his province by the sea route, travelled overland, and held his first assize ("conventus") at Iconium, far beyond the natural and geographical boundary of Cilicia. The convenience of the arrangement brought Iconium within his "provincia" or sphere of duty; but the tendency was setting strongly towards definite local boundaries to the provinces, which, under the early Empire, became such definite units that they began to supersede the old distinctions of race and language. The Acts and St. Paul's letters bear witness to this. Such phrases "the Phrygo-Galatic region" (Acts xvi. 6), and the "Galatic region" (*i.e.*, of Lycaonia and Phrygia), and "Phrygia" (*i.e.*, within the province Asia, Acts xviii. 23), show how essential the provincial name was along with the older district name; and the fact that St. Paul could address the Lycaonians of Iconium, Derbe, and

Lystra, and the Phrygians of Antioch, in common as Galatians, without fear of offence, is further evidence.

This quiescence of national spirit is perhaps most strikingly exemplified in the case of the province with which we are dealing. Remember the variety of races included within its borders, some of them with memories of ancient greatness—Mysians, Lydians, Phrygians, Carians. Of these races all but the Lydians still preserved their native speech in the remoter districts, and even Lydian was spoken in Cibyra, a Lydian colony in South-West Phrygia. Not only were there these earlier races, but all along the coast were the older Greek colonies, and on the main lines of the interior the more recent Macedonian foundations—the Antiochs, and Laodiceas, and Seleuceias—and yet Strabo chooses as the Greek equivalent of "provincia" the word ἔθνος (nation), ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος being the equivalent of Asia provincia.

The tendency to denationalize received a check at the close of our period, and the recrudescence of the national spirit received growing recognition in the later provincial rearrangements from the time of Hadrian onward; but during the first century feelings of gratitude towards the power that had given peace prevailed over national sentiment.

The power which had imposed this peace was foreign: in the language of the Apocalypse (xiii. 1), it was "a beast rising out of the sea"; and this power was backed by military force, for it "was like to a leopard, with the feet of a bear and the mouth of a lion." But the province had also a local origin and a local organization; roughly it represented the dominion of the Attalid Kings of Pergamum. It was organized with a κοινὸν, or commune representative of its various cities. The Pergamene origin of the κοινὸν is suggested by the formula of resolution, "It was resolved by the Hellenes of Asia." And in this aspect the province is represented as "another beast coming up out of the earth"—*i.e.*, autochthonous—"with two horns like a lamb"; for there was no military garrison in the province, as it was not a frontier State. It exercised "all the authority of the first

beast," and "made the earth and all that dwell in it to worship the first beast." This brings us face to face with the main function of the κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, the fostering and promotion of that religious cult which gave unity to the whole—the worship of Rome and the Emperor.

The worship of Rome began at Smyrna in 195 B.C., but the unifying influence of this central cult dates from its adoption by Augustus, and the foundation of the first temple of Rome and Augustus at Pergamum (probably in 29 B.C.). Smyrna established her claim to a similar foundation under Tiberius in A.D. 26. Ephesus also received the honour of such a temple under Claudius or Nero. The only reference to the Emperor cult in the Acts is in the account of the riot at Ephesus, in which some of the Asiarchs—*i.e.*, representative members of the κοινὸν—are depicted, rather unexpectedly at the first sight, as friends of Paul, anxious to preserve him from bodily harm; but in the forty years which elapsed between that event and the publication of the Apocalypse at the close of Domitian's reign, the situation was completely changed, and the writer of the latter looks upon the Emperor cult as the bitterest foe of the new faith. At the same time he gives us more information as to the means used to extend the cult and increase its influence than any other author.

We have already seen that the commune "maketh the earth, and all that dwell therein to worship the first beast"; it regulated the imperial worship, arranged the ritual, ordered the building of temples, fixed festivals and holidays, and the like; it ordered statues to the Emperor, "saying to them that dwell upon the earth that they should make an image to the beast." This was certainly the case with regard to the statue of Augustus at Pergamum, and is most probable in other instances. But the writer goes farther, and charges the commune with spreading the cult among the vulgar by the use of trickery. It "doeth great signs, that it should even make fire come down out of heaven to the earth in the sight of men." "And it was given to him to give breath to the image of the beast, that the image

of the beast should speak" (xiii. 13, 15). And these proceedings are connected later with a definite individual—"the false prophet that did the signs before the beast, wherewith he deceived them that received the mark of the beast, and that worshipped his image" (xix. 20).

Such allusions as these are not to be hastily dismissed as the hostile imaginings of a heated controversialist; and when we remember the part played by magic generally in the life of Ephesus, the gain made by the owners of a girl with ventriloquial powers at Philippi (Acts xvi. 16 *ff.*), the presence of a magus, Elymas Barjesus, in the train of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, and the part played at this very period by that arch-charlatan, Apollonius of Tyana, we shall be ready to admit that we have valuable light thrown on the methods of the commune.

Along with something closely akin to fraud went force. There is little or no reference to mob violence in the Apocalypse, but there is much to organized persecution; the ventriloquial utterances of the image of the beast ordered "that whosoever should not worship the image of the beast should be slain" (xiii. 15). But apart from the comparatively small number of those who were put to death for non-compliance with the commune's orders, considerable pressure was brought to bear by a systematic boycott of the recusants. "He maketh all, small and great, rich and poor, freemen and slaves, that there be given them a stamp upon their right hand and upon their foreheads, and that none be able to buy or sell save he that hath the stamp, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name" (xiii. 16, 17). The stamp or mark (χάραγμα) of the beast is clearly something which was a plain and obvious proof of loyalty. Professor Deissmann, arguing from the evidence of the papyrus business-documents discovered in the Fayyum, all of which were stamped in red ink with the name and year of the reigning Cæsar as a certificate of registration, suggests that the figure in the Apocalypse is prompted by this practice, the official stamp being known as χάραγμα, and that a test of loyalty, such as burning incense to the Emperor, was exacted from all

who required such registration of their business transactions; but far-reaching as would be the effects of such an ordinance, many would still escape it, and it seems more likely that men were liable to be called upon to produce some such certificate of sacrifice as those (technically known as "libelli") which have come down to us from the Decian persecution of the third century. Be that as it may, the commune was able to establish a boycott of all who refused to join in the State religion of Emperor-worship.

It is interesting to watch this strong centralizing force at work among the heterogeneous elements which the province presented. The true helper of the Roman against the Oriental was the Hellene; but the Hellene was an ally whose love of independence and intrigue made him a singularly difficult person to work with; his skill in making his governor's life a burden is as painfully felt by the Turkish governor of the present day as it was by Cicero when he wrote ("Ad Fam.," iii. 1, 4) complaining of the "perversitas" of the Greeks under his rule. True, the comparison between a modern Turkish governor and a Roman proconsul must not leave out of sight the great difference between their respective equipment for their post. We could scarcely apply to the Turkish system of the present day, degenerate descendant of the effete Byzantine organization, the language which M. Waddington applies to the Roman officials — that among them we can find examples occasionally of cruelty, occasionally of rapacity, but never of incompetence; but, at the same time, the task of the proconsul of the first century was made more difficult by the comparative independence and thorough organization of Greek city life.

That the independence of the Greek free cities should be an object of suspicion to the Roman Government is only to be expected. A State which deprived its own citizens of the right of free association, save under the narrowest limits, would naturally fear the independence of the Greek, and try to check it at every turn. And so we find a very watchful eye kept upon the city governments, and a steady repression of their more

democratic manifestations. This aspect of Roman administration is brought before us in that vivid account of the riot instigated by Demetrius and his fellow-guildsmen at Ephesus. The very position of the γραμματεύς, or Secretary of State, is testimony to the waning power of the more democratic element in the constitution. The ἐκκλησία had practically lost its power of initiative, "though still in name at least the supreme and final authority in the city"; but, as Canon Hicks says in his edition of the "Ephesian Inscriptions in the British Museum," "it was more and more left to the Secretary to arrange the business of the Assembly. Together with the Strategoi, he drafted the decrees to be proposed. He had the decrees engraved. He took charge of the money left to the people of Ephesus." "Further, it is clear that he acted as a channel of communication between the Roman provincial administration and the municipality" ("H.D.B.," i., col. 7236, Ramsay). But the pressure of Rome's strong hand is felt even more in his speech, which we have in a highly condensed form. After gaining the hearing of the crowds by his assertion of the city's devotion to the worship of Artemis, he reminds his audience that any case of law might be brought before the regular assizes (ἀγοραῖοι = "conventus") under the presidency of the proconsul for the time being; and then, recalling to them the right of the lawful assembly (ἔννομος ἐκκλησία) to decide on other matters (ἐπιλύειν), he brings the mob to their senses by warning them of the possibility of serious consequences from their hasty and tumultuous action. What were these possible consequences, the fear of which exercised so pacifying an influence? Now the technical Ephesian term for "ordinary" meetings of the assembly was νόμιμος (= Athenian κυρία; we do not know the Ephesian equivalent of συγκλητός, the Athenian term for extraordinary meetings), but the word used in the speech is ἔννομος (lawful). Professor Ramsay has suggested that, as may be inferred from other sources, the extraordinary assemblies were practically abolished by the Roman administration. Certainly they could not be held without the express

sanction of the Roman authorities. At Prusa, early in the second century, Dio Chrysostom thanks the governor, Verenus Rufus, in the most fulsome terms for having permitted such an assembly to be held; and the Secretary at Ephesus is warning his excited hearers that they run the risk, as the result of their irregular meeting (*συστροφή*), of having the right to the regular and, by this time, only lawful Assemblies suspended; for the Roman authorities would not be slow to seize the opportunity afforded them, by what might be called a riot (*στάσεως ἐγκαλεῖσθαι*), still further to curtail the rights of the popular body.

If the freedom of the Greek cities was a hindrance to the unification of the province, another feature of their life went far to neutralize that difficulty, and that was their insensate rivalry one with another, which laid them open to control by the empty flattery of high-sounding titles. There is an amusing instance of this in the Acts; the description of Philippi (xvi. 12) as "the first city of its division of Macedonia" has been a standing difficulty, for by other writers Amphipolis is said to have held that position. But could any doctor who has practised for six years in Liverpool admit for one moment that Manchester held the superior position in South Lancashire? No more could St. Luke, who had practised for six years at Philippi, allow the superiority of its neighbouring rival.

Four cities in Asia claimed the title of *πρωτὴ τῆς Ἀσίας*: Smyrna was "first in size and beauty"; Ephesus, first as landing-place of the proconsul and seat of much of the provincial government; Pergamum, as the official capital; while Sardis claimed the proud title of "first metropolis of Asia, Lydia, and Hellas"—and so the rivalry went on among the other cities of the province, as elsewhere. Small wonder that Dio Chrysostom warned the citizens of Nicæa and Nicomedia, as they squabbled over similar empty honours, that their Greek follies (*Ἑλληνικὰ ἁμαρτήματα*) were the laughing-stock of their Roman masters.

We must now turn to trade and commercial life. A glance at

the map will show that the peninsula of Asia Minor stretches like a bridge between the mass of the Asiatic continent and Southern Europe. It must always have been traversed by the main lines of land traffic between East and West, and its western extremity must have been the terminus of such routes, not only because it lay nearest to the shores of Europe, and offered excellent harbourage, but also because the river valleys of the Hermus and the Mæander offered the readiest means of access to the coast from the plateau of the interior. In early times the main trade route entered the peninsula from the east, across the passes of Anti-Taurus, was deflected northward by the attraction of the great Hittite capital, Pteria, in North Cappadocia, and then passed in a south-west direction till it entered the Hermus Valley. While the Royal Road, as it was termed, was the chief line of communication, Sardis flourished as the capital of Lydia, with control of the traffic that passed along the valley at its feet; and Phocæa formed the natural terminus of the road seawards, Smyrna having been crushed by Alyattes and the Lydians in the seventh century B.C. But when, during the fifth century, the energy of the Tarsians made the Cilician gates available for wheeled traffic across the Taurus, the southern route, descending from the plateau by the valleys of Lycus and the Mæander, grew in importance, and Iconium, Apamæa, and Laodicea ad Lycum commanded the road which found its ports in Miletus and Ephesus. The Royal Road lost much of its traffic, Sardis became a city which lived upon its past—"having a name to live when it was dead," as the writer of the Apocalypse says—and such traffic as passed along it was commanded at the very descent from the plateau by the Pergamene foundation of Philadelphia, and passed under the crumbling cliffs of the Sardian acropolis, fit symbol of the city's decay, to the great port of Smyrna.

In modern times the process has been reversed; the English-owned line which runs from Smyrna up the Mæander and Lycus valleys to Dineir (Apamea) has had its field of supply cut off by the first section of the Baghdad Railway running

from Constantinople through Iconium to the Taurus—a line in which is connected with the west coast by the Smyrna-Cassaba Prolongement, running up the Hermus Valley, climbing the plateau near Ala Sheher (Philadelphia), and joining the main line at Afium Kara Hissar.

The importance of the cities of the province was practically regulated by their relations to trade. Pergamum might be the official capital, but it lay away from the main lines, and Ephesus largely fulfilled the functions of the chief city. Sardis might have a long and eventful history, but Smyrna far outshone her ancient oppressor; and of all the cities of the province that felt the shattering effects of the various earthquake shocks during this period, it was Laodicea alone that "had need of nothing," and proudly declined the imperial help offered towards restoration.

It was not only land-borne traffic that swelled the wealth of Asia; the harbours of the coast, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, and Halicarnassus, to say nothing of the lesser ports, were filled with merchantmen. Three centuries before this time, according to Canon Hicks, there was daily communication between Cos and Alexandria; and when once Pompey had cleared the Levant of the Cilician pirates, the sea-borne trade increased by leaps and bounds. The story of Paul in the Acts is full of references. He sails from Troas, and runs before the wind to Samothrace and Neapolis; he could take passage in a pilgrim ship from Corinth, which would call at Ephesus to pick up more passengers for the Jewish feasts, much as the steamers chartered by Cook and Sons to carry pilgrims from Bombay to Jeddah for the Mecca Hajj might call at the ports of the Persian Gulf to complete their living freight *en route*; we have the elaborate description of the coasting voyage down the eastern shore of the Ægean on his last journey to Jerusalem; and it was in a ship of Adramyttium that he sailed a prisoner from Cæsarea on his voyage to Rome.

But this traffic, whether by land or sea, passed for the most part in one direction—westwards; the attraction of Rome was felt in every corner of her dominion. The nearest town to the

marble quarries of Eastern Phrygia was Docimeion, eight miles to the north-east, but the headquarters of the trade, and the town from which the marble took its name, was Synnada, twenty miles away, but on the road to Rome. And the trade that poured Romewards through such a port as Ephesus is reflected in the description by the Ephesian writer of the Apocalypse in the lament of the merchants over the fall of Rome, "because no man any longer buyeth their cargo, cargo of gold and silver and precious stones and pearls, and linen and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all citrus wood, and every ivory vessel, and every vessel of very precious wood and bronze and iron and marble, and cinnamon and spice, and incense, and ointment, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and cattle, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men."

It seems strange that, with this frequency of communication, the organizing genius of the Roman Government never instituted a public post. Augustus established a service of imperial couriers, one of whom, according to Mommsen, meets us in the Acts, Julius, the centurion of the Augustan cohort, *i.e.*, of the corps of special Imperial messengers, who took charge of Paul on his way to Rome; and the "tabellarii" of the tax-farmers and great business houses of the Empire recall the great epistolary activity of the early Church, which has given us more than one-third of the New Testament. But a public post was not yet conceived.

Within the cities the various trades were organized into guilds; even unskilled labour, as we should term it, was so treated, for inscriptions speak of the guild of street porters at Smyrna. We have already had a specimen of boycotting. An inscription of Magnesia ad Mæandrum shows us the bakers of the city on strike, and repressed by the Roman governor's stern edict: "I forbid them either to meet together in a union (ἑταιρεύειν) or to show audacity in thrusting themselves forward (does this refer to picketing?); they must obey in all ways the regulation made for the common good, and provide

the necessary supply of bread to the city without fail." It seems most probable that in some of the smaller trading cities, like Thyatira, the political organization coincided with the commercial, and a man held his citizenship, not as a member of a tribe, but of a trade guild. But the clearest instance that we have of the influence of these guilds is in that episode to which we have already referred—the riot at Ephesus. The first trouble for the new faith (apart from Jewish opposition) arose when it touched the most sensitive spot in civilized man, his pocket. It had been so earlier at Philippi; it was when the masters of the hysterical slave-girl with ventriloquial powers "saw that the hope of their gains was gone" through Paul's intervention that they dragged the missionaries before the magistrates on a charge of "majestas." It was so later in Bithynia, where Pliny complains that among the effects of the new religion it had sent down the demand for hay and fodder, and so spoiled the market. In Ephesus, when Paul's teaching began to affect the sale of the silver votive shrines, Demetrius, a silversmith, and probably master of the guild, called his fellow-craftsmen together into the guildhall, and inflamed them by a speech in which he lightly touched upon the real cause of offence, and then appealed to their religious zeal and their civic pride in the great goddess Artemis. Roused by this shrewdly conceived oration, the craftsmen poured out into the street (εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον, Cod. D.), and, gathering the crowds of loafers as they went along, rushed into the theatre, "the greater part of them," as St. Luke sarcastically remarks, "not knowing for what cause they had come together." And from this trade grievance there arose a disturbance which threatened to rouse the suspicions of the Roman Government, and to issue for the city in the loss of the much-prized remnants of its independence.

Turning to the general life of the province, we can see reflected in the pages of the Apocalypse the rumours which then, as now, ran through the bazaars of Levantine cities: rumours of trouble upon the eastern frontier—of Parthian invasions, the king upon the white horse, the Parthian monarch, followed by

massacre, famine, and death, the natural companions of the invading force (vi. 1-8); the loosing of the four angels at the River Euphrates, followed by the invasion of the demonic horsemen (ix. 14-19); the drying up of the Euphrates, "that the way might be ready for the kings that come from the sunrising" (xvi. 12); rumours of a "Nero redivivus" (Tac. "Hist.," II. 8; Suet., "Nero," 57; and the Sibylline Oracles, originating in Asia at this period), "one of the heads as though it had been smitten unto death, and his death-stroke was healed" (xiii. 3); "the beast that was, and is not, and is himself the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition" (xvii. 10).

And in the Acts we have the life of St. Paul as the peripatetic philosopher, working at tent-making for his livelihood during the morning, and so lifting himself above the reproach of being a mere κάπηλος (huckster of knowledge) and then discussing with all comers in the lecture-hall of Tyrannus "from the fifth hour to the tenth" (as Cod. D. has it)—*i.e.*, when the hours of work were over. This last detail receives interesting confirmation from the epigram upon a sundial found at Herculaneum:

> Ἐξ ὧραι μοχθοῖς ἱκανώταται αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὰς
> Γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι ΖΗΘΙ λέγουσι βρότοις—

a sentiment which throws much light upon ancient ideas as to life and labour.

Such are some impressions which may be gained from the New Testament of the life of an age and country in which the East and the West were assimilated one to the other as closely as has ever been the case—a condition of affairs which made the Province Asia the readiest to receive that faith which, Eastern in origin, was to sway the Western world; and modern Europe still feels the impress which Asia laid, both in doctrine and organization, upon the religious system which found there its first true home.

The Church and the Poor.

A SERIES OF HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

By W. EDWARD CHADWICK, D.D., B.Sc.

II.

The Early Church.

IN this paper I purpose to deal briefly with the philanthropic work of the Early Church—that is, during the period extending from the close of the New Testament to, say, the end of the third century. I do not intend to discuss at length disputed points of Church organization—*e.g.*, to what extent the various officials of the Church combined economic with spiritual functions; for instance, how the Bishops were responsible for the distribution of the alms of the faithful, at what period this responsibility began to be general, and when it ceased to be so.[1] Not that such questions are unimportant, but they are beside my present intermediate purpose. What I would rather do is to try to show for what particular classes of people the Church considered herself to be responsible, and consequently to what objects her funds were specially devoted.

It has been maintained, and with a considerable measure of truth, that by an outsider the Church might in those days have been regarded as a benefit society, the members of which were united by certain definite religious convictions. Certainly the philanthropic side of the Church's work during this period was an extremely important factor in the sum total of her energies.[2] I need not remind my readers that, owing to the careful investigations of many competent scholars, our knowledge of the nature of the Church's activities during this period has much increased.

[1] ποιμαίνειν, in Acts xx. 28, may have a temporal as well as a spiritual reference. *Cf.* Jude 12; 1 Tim. iii. 3. See Harnack, "Mission and Expansion of Christianity," vol. i., p. 157; Uhlhorn, "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," p. 161: "The relief of the poor was more and more concentrated in the person of the bishop"; yet see p. 123.

[2] Harnack, "Expansion," vol. i., p. 149.

New materials have been brought to light, and old materials have been both studied and interpreted with much greater care.[1]

Upon one point I must again insist, because this is my chief object in all I am writing—namely, that we cannot separate the practical life of the Church from her doctrinal convictions. We cannot do this in any period of the Church's history. The study of doctrine and the study of conduct or ethics must be pursued together. While the doctrine believed inspires and rules the conduct, the actual conduct is not only the best of all explanations given to the doctrine, it is actually the proof of the sincerity of the doctrine professed. The creed of those days was not formulated as it was by the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, but the principles or doctrines taught by Christ, in which that creed was implicitly contained, were the foundation and rule of the Church's life. I refer to the principles enunciated in such sayings as these: "One is your teacher, and ye are all brethren; and call no man your father on the earth; for One is your Father which is in heaven. . . . He that is greatest among you shall be your servant"[2]; and also: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another."[3]

Two very striking testimonies to the way in which these principles were obeyed may be given. Neither are from Christians—indeed, both are from men who regarded Christianity from a very unsympathetic point of view. The first is from Lucian, the well-known author of the "Dialogues," who writes thus of the mutual relationships existing between members of the Church: "Their original law-giver had taught them that they were all brethren, one of another. . . . They become incredibly alert when anything occurs which affects their common interests. On such occasions"—when a possibility arises of their rendering useful service to their own members—"no expense is grudged."[4]

[1] The nature and wealth of these may be seen in the notes to Harnack's chapter on "The Gospel of Love and Charity," "Expansion," vol. i., p. 147 *et seq.*

[2] Matt. xxiii. 8 *et seq.*

[3] John xiii. 34.

[4] Harnack, "Expansion," vol. i., p. 149.

The second testimony is that of the Emperor Julian, who, though belonging to the fifth century, evidently speaks of the Christian system as this had long been in existence. Of Julian, Harnack writes: "The excellence of the Church's charitable system, the deep impression made by it, and the numbers it won over to the faith, find their best voucher in the action of Julian the Apostate, who attempted an exact reproduction of it in that artificial creation of his, the Pagan State-Church, in order to deprive the Christians of this very weapon. The imitation had, of course, no success."[1] Harnack also gives these two quotations from a letter of Julian's: (1) "These godless Galileans feed not only their own poor, but ours; our poor lack our care." (2) "This godlessness (*i.e.*, Christianity) is mainly furthered by its philanthropy towards strangers, and its careful attention to the bestowal of the dead." In the failure of Julian's project we have another proof that the Christian system of philanthropy was no mere carefully thought-out utilitarian scheme. It was the expression of a deep-seated belief in certain doctrines and principles, especially of a belief in the binding nature of such commands of Christ as to "love one another, even as I have loved you";[2] and to "be merciful even as your Father in heaven is merciful."[3]

The principal source of the charity distributed in the Early Church was the offerings made at the weekly Sunday Eucharist.[4] Of the collection and distribution of the voluntary contributions to the funds of the Church, Justin Martyr writes: "The well-to-do and willing give as each purposes; the collection is deposited with the president, who succours orphans, widows, those who are in want owing to sickness or any other cause, those in prison, and those on a journey."[5] The administration of the alms apparently lay finally with the president;[6] but in the distribution of these he would be assisted by the deacons, who would be expected to be

[1] Harnack, "Expansion," vol. i., pp. 161, 162. *Cf.* "Cambridge Medieval History," vol. i., p. 108 *et seq.*

[2] John xiii. 34.

[3] Luke vi. 36.

[4] Harnack, "Expansion," vol. i., p. 155 *et seq.*; Uhlhorn, "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," p. 141 *et seq.*

[5] "Apolog.," c. 6.

[6] Harnack, vol. i., p. 157, note 1.

familiar with the circumstances—that is, with the needs—of each member of the community.

Harnack states[1] that there were ten objects upon which the funds at the disposal of the Church seem generally to have been expended: (1) The maintenance of officials and teachers,[2] especially where their work for the Church withdrew these from their ordinary avocation.[3] (2) The support of widows and orphans, who were from the first special objects of philanthropy.[4] (3) The sick, the infirm, and the disabled. These, again, have always been objects of solicitude; moreover, the work which Christ Himself did on their behalf gave them a very special claim to help. (4) Prisoners and those languishing in the mines (to which many of those suffering for their faith were committed). The cruelty with which those in such positions were in those days treated is notorious. Both these classes must be visited and consoled, and gifts of food were often taken to them; not infrequently prisoners were ransomed by a payment of money.[5] (5) The burial of the poor; for in those days special importance was attached to an honourable burial, and to see to this became one of the tasks of the deacons.[6] (6) The (occasional) freeing of slaves—though this was the exception rather than the rule—as part of the more humane treatment enjoined by the Church towards these.[7] (7) Care for those visited by great calamities; as, for instance, those suffering from persecution or from an epidemic of the plague.[8] (8) The provision of work for the unemployed. This need was intensified by the fact that many converts to Christianity could no longer continue to follow their old avocations.[9] (9) Care of, and provision of hospitality for, brethren on a journey. These would be mainly of two classes: those travelling on behalf of the faith—*i.e.*, missionary teachers and evangelists—and those travelling in search of work.[10] (10) Churches in poverty

[1] Harnack, "Expansion," vol. i., p. 153.
[2] 1 Tim. v. 18, 19; 1 Cor. ix. 7 *et seq.*
[3] Harnack, "Expansion," vol. i., p. 158, note 2.
[4] 1 Tim. v. 16.
[5] Harnack, *ibid.*, p. 162.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 165. See quotations from Julian, Aristides, and Apost. Const.
[7] Harnack, *ibid.*, p. 167.
[8] Euseb., H. E., vii. 22; ix. 8.
[9] *Vide infra.*
[10] Rom. xii. 13; 1 Pet. iv. 9; Heb. xiii. 2, etc. By Clement of Rome φιλοξενία is joined to πίστις, cap. x. and xii., and to ἐυσέβεια, cap. xi.

or in peril. This was a practical recognition of the truth that, though congregations or local churches might be many, and placed in very different circumstances, the Church itself was one.[1]

It is obviously impossible for me to dwell upon all these spheres of philanthropic activity or all these objects of love and care, many of which have their counterparts in our Christian social work to-day. Upon a very few points, however, I would touch briefly. First, I would notice how the more we study the charitable work of the Early Church, the more are we struck by the wisdom, the remarkable skill, and common sense displayed both in the teaching about it and in its organization.[2] For instance, in the "Didache" the severest penalties are threatened against those who, not being in actual need, shall accept alms; we are also taught that most careful investigation must be made before help is given.

The provision of work for the unemployed, and of hospitality for those seeking work, were matters which very soon claimed the careful attention of the Church. This is evident from the twelfth chapter of the "Didache," which runs thus:

"(1) But let everyone that cometh in the Name of the Lord be received, and then proving him ye shall have complete understanding. (2) If indeed he that cometh is a wayfarer, help him as much as you can, but he shall not remain with you more than two or three days unless there be necessity. (3) But if he willeth to settle among you, and is a craftsman, let him work and [so] eat. (4) But if he have no craft, according to your understanding provide that a Christian shall live with you without being idle. (5) But if he will not act thus he is one who maketh merchandise of Christ; beware of such."

Here we see combined (as they are combined now) two of the most difficult problems which meet the Christian social worker at the present time—those of (1) vagrancy and (2) unemployment. These two problems generally resolve themselves into one—how to help the honest seeker after work, and how to discriminate between him and the idle vagrant, whose object is

[1] From the time of Acts xi. 27 *et seq.*

[2] Dobschütz, "Christian Life in the Primitive Church," pp. 296, 297. "The finest achievement of the Churches is their organization of Christian charity," etc. (*cf.* Uhlhorn, p. 125).

to live upon the charity of others. We are also well acquainted with those who try to make use of a profession of Christianity[1] (or Churchmanship) as a means of enlisting the sympathy of those who are at once credulous and tender-hearted. The above is by no means the only reference to the subject in early Christian literature; for instance, in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies we read: "For those able to work, provide work; to those incapable of work, be charitable." Occasionally in those days the problem was complicated, because converts felt compelled to give up avocations which they could not conscientiously continue.[2] For such people the Church felt bound to provide either different work, or at least to provide the necessaries of life. The care of "brethren on a journey" was from the first, and long continued to be, a very important part of the Church's philanthropic work. A survival of it was found in the *hospitia*,[3] which, either as a part of the monasteries or as separate buildings at intervals along the great high roads, formed resting-places for wayfarers.

Few problems are of greater complexity and need more careful handling than that of "the right to work." I cannot enter upon it here further than to say that all Christian workers should realize it to be a part of their duty, whenever possible, to find work for the honest seeker after work. Owing to the much greater complexity of modern industry, and to cycles of good and bad trade (and corresponding cycles of unemployment), the problem is on a far larger scale, and one of much greater difficulty to us than it was to the early Christians. Still their example, the earnestness with which they pursued this object, and the care they expended upon it, may be a most useful inspiration to ourselves.[4] Among the various ways of giving help this is generally by far the most permanent and efficacious, and the one most likely to have the best effects upon the moral character of the recipient.

[1] This practice is as old as the "Didache," xii. 5: χριστέμπορός ἐστι.
[2] Cyprian, Ep. ii.
[3] The ξενοδοχεῖα.
[4] Harnack, "Expansion," vol. i., p. 176: "The Church formed a guild of workers. . . . The Churches were also Labour Unions. . . . Their attractive power was consequently intensified."

It is certainly a very great pity that those who have been responsible for the government of this country during the last six years have made no really serious attempt to deal with the crying evil of vagrancy. In 1906 a full and admirable Report,[1] expressing the unanimous opinion of a body of Commissioners thoroughly qualified to deal with the subject, and which embodied excellent recommendations, was presented to Parliament. Then the Poor Law Report of 1909[2] revealed not only the extreme diversity of treatment adopted by various Poor Law authorities in their dealing with tramps, vagrants, and wayfarers, but it showed how thoroughly incapable, if not how inhuman, some of these authorities were in the way they behaved to those who sought admission to the casual ward. In spite of both these Reports, no new legislation has even been attempted;[3] and still to-day the idle vagrant and the honest seeker after work are alike relegated to the tramp ward of the workhouse. Probably there is no matter connected with the help of the poor which more urgently calls for a wiser treatment than this.

Attention is frequently called in early writings to the effect upon those outside the Church of witnessing the care which the Christians bestowed upon those needing help; for instance, upon the sick, and upon those visited by some calamity[4] beyond their own control. Eusebius notices this in a description he gives of the conduct of the Christians during a plague which occurred in the reign of Maxentius Daza[5]: "The Christians were the only people who amid such terrible evils showed their fellow-feeling and humanity by their actions. Day by day some would be active in attending to the dead and burying them, for there were numbers of these to whom no one else paid any attention; others gathered into one place all who were afflicted by hunger throughout the whole city, and gave food to them all. When this became known people glorified the Christians' God, and,

[1] Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy, vol. i. [Cd. 2852].
[2] See Minority Report, part ii., cap. i., E.; also cap. v., A., iv. e.
[3] With the single exception of "the Labour Exchange," an indirect method.
[4] Harnack quotes Heb. x. 32 *et seq.* [5] Harnack, "Expansion," i. 173.

convinced by the very facts, they confessed that the Christians alone were truly pious and religious."[1] Undoubtedly there were times when more converts were won over to Christianity by witnessing conduct of this kind than were won by appeals directly addressed to the intellect through preaching and teaching.

This experience has counterparts in two directions at the present time: first, every parish priest with experience could point to instances in which the careless, even the godless, have been actually converted through deeds of self-sacrificing kindness done to them or to their friends in times of sickness, misfortune, or bereavement; secondly, by means of the work being done by the Medical Missions, now connected with all our great Foreign Missionary Societies, the way is often paved for an entrance for the heathen into the Church. A man or woman cannot be for weeks in a Christian hospital without to some degree coming under the influence of Christianity.

A study of the philanthropic work of the Early Church raises another question which is much debated at the present time—namely, whether religion and what usually comes under the comprehensive name of "relief" should be connected, and if so, what should be the nature of this connection. To-day the trend of opinion is towards their being separated as far as possible. We are told that clergymen and district visitors are not efficient administrators of charity; and also, that it is not wise for those whose work should be mainly spiritual, and who seek to obtain a spiritual influence, to run the risk of lessening this by mixing the spiritual with the material in their work. We are further assured that where the clergy or Church-workers give relief, people are bribed to attend a place of worship, or at least are induced to make a profession of religion from impure motives. But to divorce religion from charity is the very opposite of the practice of the Early Church. Indeed, it is not too much to say that by the early Christians the power (even the existence) of the spiritual was expressed by their use of the material. Indeed, as

[1] Euseb., H. E., ix. 8.

far as we can judge, those who continued to be responsible for the Church's system of charitable relief during the age with which we are dealing must have had in large measure the threefold qualification of the seven deacons, the men first chosen to discharge this office. They must have been men of unblameable reputation,[1] so little is recorded against them; they must have been men "full of Spirit,"[2] or they would never have persevered among the trials to which they were subjected; they must also have been men possessed with a large measure of common sense and skill.[3] Some of these men may not have been able to formulate their theology with the accuracy, or in the technical terms, of the Greek Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, but they evidently did their utmost to see that the responsibilities of the various relationships of life were rightly discharged, and that the possessions and opportunities of life were wisely used, Christianity has been defined as the highest form of common sense perfectly sanctified. This description is certainly applicable to Christ's treatment of men. It seems to be not inapplicable to the conduct of the early Christians towards the poor and those in need of help of various kinds.

That certain people with a spiritual avocation give charity unwisely is no valid argument against the connection of charity with religion. Christianity should actually help us to perform every kind of action more wisely. The true remedy is not divorce, but greater efficiency; a larger measure of the "Spirit of wisdom and understanding"; a greater knowledge of human nature, a deeper insight into its processes, also into its temptations and its weaknesses.[4]

Those who distributed charity in the Early Church had, generally speaking, one immense advantage over those engaged in the same work to-day, especially in large poor town parishes. Certainly in the second and third centuries the proportion of merely *nominal* Christians would be far less than is the case

[1] ἄνδρας . . . μαρτυρουμένους. [2] πλήρεις Πνεύματος.
[3] πλήρεις . . . σοφίας.
[4] I need not at the present time insist upon the value of some knowledge of at least elementary psychology to the Christian worker..

with us. Also the officials and Church-workers would know the members of the Christian community far more intimately than the average Christian worker at the present time is able to know these.[1] In those days when the numbers of the Christians were comparatively small, the deacons would know, and would be able to explain to the Bishop, both the circumstances and the character of those needing charity far more accurately than the average Christian worker could explain these to-day. The investigation in those days was probably far more thorough than it often is at the present time. It is generally owing either to their inability or their failure to make this that Christian workers are censured for foolish, indeed, sometimes for actually harmful, giving. Investigation is not only a far more difficult task than the average worker imagines, but it demands far more time and labour than the average worker is prepared to bestow upon it.

One question which we should at least attempt to answer is, What was probably the extent of poverty in the age of which we are speaking? Outside Rome, Uhlhorn believes that it was not great, and he gives reasons for this opinion. After stating these, he adds: "All this considered, we may well declare that in the earlier ages of the Church there was no pauperism of the masses except in Rome. . . . Independently of great calamities and times of famine, distress was confined to cases of individual poverty. . . . The duty of the Church was thereby essentially facilitated. In the presence of a poverty thus confined to individual cases, its almsgiving could also be of a strongly individual character."[2]

But even allowing for the comparative ease of its task, the charitable work of the Early Church demands our admiration; and undoubtedly, as I have already shown, the excellency with which it was performed was no unimportant factor in the victory

[1] In the next age we shall see how largely institutional methods superseded personal dealing. This was probably inevitable when the number of applicants for charity very greatly increased.

[2] Uhlhorn, pp. 104, 105. Eusebius states that 1,500 widows and indigent persons were supported by the Church in Rome (Euseb., H. E., vi. 43). The cost may have been anything between £5,000 and £10,000.

of Christianity over heathenism.[1] We must admire the motives from which the work was done, and the methods according to which it was pursued, for both were inspired by the strongest Christian convictions. The care of the poor was no mere appendage to the work of the Church; it was an essential part of that work, and it was carried out with a skill and a thoroughness which it should be our endeavour to imitate.

Peace.

By H. G. KEENE.

WORN by disaster, solitude, decay,
The veteran sadly draws precarious breath,
And, with lack-lustre vision, seems to say:
"There is no harbour for the soul but death."

And yet he knows full well his fight is done,
And surely it is time his care should cease;
He has attempted if he has not won,
And even victory leaves no gift but peace—

Peace, which the wise man for himself can make,
By resignation to the chastening rod;
Peace, which the world can neither give nor take,
The Spirit's inward joy, the peace of God.

[1] "It was as a charitable organization that the Christian Church carried to a victorious issue its mighty contest with the Roman Empire, the heathen religions, and its own sects" (Dobschütz, "Christian Life in the Primitive Church," p. 378).

Calvinism.

By the REV. RICHARD MERCER WILSON, B.A.,
Curate of Delgany.

WHEN Principal Fairbairn[1] remarks that Calvin's theology was less original and less effective than his legislation, he seems to overlook the peculiar service rendered to the Reformation by the "Institutes." What the "Institutes" did for the sixteenth century,[2] Dr. Lindsay truly says, "was to make the unseen government and authority of God, to which all must bow, as visible to the intellectual eye as the mechanism of the medieval Church had been to the eye of sense." This was virtually to save the Reformation. The circulation of the "Institutes" was European. Written originally in Latin, the work was subsequently published in French, in Italian, in Dutch, in English, in German, and in Spanish. The opening sections of the "Institutes" deal with the knowledge of God, and of ourselves as comprising the sum of true wisdom. The knowledge of God is naturally implanted in the human mind. But man in his present fallen state needs, and is given, "another and a better help"—the Divine revelation in the Scriptures. Before treating of Calvin's view of Scripture, however, it may be well to consider his doctrine of the Fall. Calvin has been much misrepresented concerning the total depravity of human nature. His position might not inaccurately be described in the words of our Article IX., that "man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil." Calvin distinguishes between the natural and spiritual elements of God's image in man. The image of God not only "comprehends everything relating to the spiritual and eternal life,"[3] but it "extends to everything in which the nature of man surpasses that of all other species of animals."[4] "As the gratuitous gifts

[1] "Cam. Mod. Hist.," vol. ii., p. 366.
[2] "History of Reformation," vol. ii., p. 157.
[3] "Institutes," book i., chap. xv., 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, 3.

bestowed on man were withdrawn, so the natural gifts which remained were corrupted after the Fall. Not that they can be polluted in themselves in so far as they proceed from God, but that they have ceased to be pure to polluted man, lest he should by their means obtain any praise."[1] Accordingly Calvin grants "that the image of God was not utterly effaced and destroyed,"[2] though it was terribly corrupted. "The Lord has left many gifts in the possession of human nature."[3] Examples of this are to be found "in physics, dialectics, mathematics, and other similar sciences." And "if we reflect that the Spirit of God is the only fountain of truth, we will be careful, as we would avoid offering insult to Him, not to reject or contemn truth wherever it appears." Man's fall, however, involves his utter inability to renew himself, as is plainly declared in Holy Scripture.

In the Word of God Calvin, in common with the other Reformers, found a sure and infallible guide. Yet it would be a serious misrepresentation of their position to say that it involved simply the substitution of one external authority for another. No doubt the Reformers did set the authority of the Scriptures over against that of Popes and Councils. But to stop short at this statement would be misleading. For the Romanist is very different from the Protestant conception both of Scripture and of infallibility. Medieval theologians regarded the Bible as a sort of spiritual law-book; and, apart from the authoritative method of interpretation imposed by the Church, it was impossible to reach a saving faith. For the Reformers, on the other hand, the Scriptures were a personal rather than a dogmatic revelation.[4] In the Bible God spoke to them as a man speaks to his fellows. And saving faith was not intellectual assent to certain propositions, but personal trust in a personal Saviour whose life and work manifested the gracious character of God.

As to the authoritative character of Scripture, the Reformers

[1] "Institutes," book ii., chap. ii., 16.
[2] *Ibid.*, book i., chap. xv., 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, book ii., chap. ii., 15.
[4] Dr. Lindsay, "Hist. of Reform.," vol. i., pp. 453-466.

emphasized the fact that its recognition was awakened by the witness of the Spirit within the believer; the soul enlightened by the Spirit of God responding to the same Spirit speaking through the pages of Holy Writ. Calvin did not regard as valueless the consent of the Church, but he insisted that "our conviction of the truth of Scripture must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, judgments, or reasons—namely, the secret testimony of the Spirit."[1] This is superior to reason. "For, as God alone can properly bear witness to his own words, so these words will not obtain *full credit* in the hearts of men, until they are sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit." Bishop Welldon[2] is at fault in describing this as a "narrow and rigid theory, which was peculiar to Calvin." It was a position common to all the Reformers; and it has been reaffirmed[3] by modern writers of acknowledged repute.

Calvin's doctrine of the Church is almost identical with our own. By the Church is meant "all the elect of God, including those who have departed this life."[4] But it is also a visible society. "Wherever we see the Word of God sincerely preached and heard, wherever we see the Sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ, there we cannot have any doubt that the Church of God has some existence."[5] And "we are never to discard it so long as these remain, though it may otherwise teem with numerous faults."

This visible Church, which is similarly described in our Article XIX., is governed by officers of Divine appointment—pastors (bishops or presbyters), teachers (prophets), elders, and deacons—partly clerical and partly lay office-bearers. The rights of the layman are fully recognized in Calvin's system.

"Ministers are legitimately called according to the Word of God, when those who may have seemed fit are elected on the consent and approbation of the people."[6] One main duty of

[1] "Institutes," book i., chap. vii., 4.
[2] The *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1908, pp. 969, 970.
[3] See, *e.g.*, Dr. Denney's "Studies in Theology," pp. 205-220.
[4] "Institutes," book iv., chap. i., 2. [5] *Ibid.*, 9.
[6] *Ibid.*, book iv., chap. iii., 15.

Church officers is the exercise of discipline. Discipline is the nerve of the Church. It is "altogether distinct from civil government,"[1] and belongs not to an individual but "to the consistory of elders, which is in the Church what a Council is in a city." Nowhere is Erastianism more strenuously and consistently combated than in the writings of the Genevan Reformer. Lutheranism, Anglicanism, and Zwinglianism were all, more or less, dependent upon the State. Calvin's theory furnished the only effective system in the Reformation age for the organization of an oppressed Protestant party. And his ideas worked well in the French Church, where the State was hostile, as in the Church of the early centuries.

Calvin's sacramental theory is in marked agreement with the position of the Church of England. Sacramental views were the main cause of division between the Reformed, or Calvinist, and the Evangelical, or Lutheran, positions, and the Thirty-Nine Articles express the doctrine of the former. Calvin defined a Sacrament to be an "external sign by which the Lord seals on our consciences His promises of goodwill towards us, in order to sustain the weakness of our faith, and we in our turn testify our piety towards Him." In common with all the Reformers he taught that the efficacy of the Sacraments depends upon the promise of Christ contained in their institution. As regards the Lord's Supper, he rejected Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation, and Zwinglianism. He differed from Luther and Zwingli in his conception of substance. They thought of substance as something extended in space; for Calvin the substance of a body lay in its power,[2] so that he could say, wherever anything acts, there it is.

Accordingly he asserted a real because active presence of Christ in the Supper. "By the symbols of bread and wine, Christ, His body and His blood, are truly *exhibited*[3] to us." Yet this participation is spiritual and by faith. "It is enough for us that Christ, out of the substance of His flesh, breathes

[1] "Institutes," book iv., chap. xi., 1, 6.
[2] *Cf.* Leibnitz, "Pensées de Leibnitz," p. 106.
[3] "Institutes," book iv., chap. xvii., 11 (Latin, *exhibere* = hold forth).

life into our souls, nay, diffuses His own life into us, though the real flesh of Christ does not enter us." Calvin denies "that it can be eaten without the taste of faith," a position afterwards taken up by our Article XXIX. It is interesting to notice how directly the influence of Calvin's Sacramental doctrine on the Church of England can be traced. Dean Overall is generally credited with the authorship of the portion of our Catechism relating to the Sacraments, which was added at the Revision of 1604. But this tradition has been proved ill-founded.[1] All that Dean Overall did was to remodel the Little Catechism of Dean Nowell, already for years in use in the Church of England. Nowell's merits were, however, little more than those of a compiler. His catechism was practically identical with the Short Catechism of 1552. Its authorship is usually ascribed to Poynet of Winchester. Now Poynet had no *distinct* section concerning the Sacraments, which he touched on with great brevity; so to supply this deficiency Nowell had recourse to the Genevan Catechism, published in 1541, an examination of which will do much to confirm this result.

We come now to Calvin's doctrine of election. We have deliberately chosen to put this point last, by way of protest against the widely prevalent but completely mistaken views as to the relation of this subject to Calvin's system. It is an error to describe predestination as the "central doctrine" of Calvinism. "It is brought in, not at the head of his system, but towards the close of his third book as a corollary from his exposition of the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration and sanctification."[2] So little is it a peculiarity of Calvinistic theology, that it underlay and invigorated the whole Reformation movement. One might as well speak of the doctrine of justification by faith as specifically Lutheran.[3] *All* the Reformers asked and answered the question, "What shall I do to be saved?" Likewise were they agreed on the question of

[1] Groves, "The Little Catechism of Dean Nowell."
[2] Dr. Orr's "Progress of Dogma," p. 292.
[3] See Professor Warfield's splendid article in the new Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia.

predestination. And it was Melancthon, not Calvin, who "gave it a formal place in his primary scientific statement of the elements of the Protestant faith."

Yet, though not the formative principle of Calvinism, this doctrine of absolute predestination, with its twin idea of preterition, is undoubtedly "the head and front of the offending of his system." It is not, however, a new doctrine of Reformation times, similar to the new application of justification by faith. It has its roots in Augustine. Perhaps it will be sufficient on this point to notice that Professor Mozley, who has carefully examined this question,[1] quotes with approval the following words: "Those who suppose that St. Augustine differs from Calvin in his doctrine of predestination do not really know the doctrine which St. Augustine held, and suppose it to be different from what it was." Bishop Browne[2] must therefore be regarded as at fault in stating that Augustine's views were materially different from Calvin's. Coming more directly to the subject, we find that, whereas Bishop Browne seems to attribute Calvin's statement of this doctrine to his love of system and logical precision, Calvin himself explicitly lays down that "to desire any other knowledge of predestination than that which is expounded by the Word of God is no less infatuated than to walk where there is no path."[3] This is the first principle of investigation. And in Scripture he finds that the origin and cause of election is not placed in the virtues and vices of men, but in the good pleasure of God. "The Lord finds nothing in men themselves to induce Him to show kindness, it is owing entirely to His own mercy, and accordingly their salvation is His own work."[4] "If we cannot assign any reason for His bestowing mercy on His people, but just that it so pleases Him, neither can we have any reason for His reprobating others but His will. When God is said to visit in mercy or harden Whom He will, men are reminded that they are not to seek for any cause beyond His

[1] Mozley's "Baptismal Regeneration," p. 204, n.
[2] Browne on "Articles," pp. 410-415.
[3] "Institutes," book iii., chap. xxi., 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, book iii., chap. xxii., 6.

will."[1] The will of God is the ultimate cause of all that is. And predestination is the viewing *sub specie æternitatis* what actually happens in time. It is, however, an error to represent God's will, with Calvin, as an arbitrary will.[2] He expressly repudiates the heathenish fiction of absolute power.[3] Nor is he guilty of the arrant dogmatism of which he is sometimes accused. He declares that God's will is holy and good, though we may not know or fully understand the reasons for what actually takes place in the government of the world; and, refusing to countenance the idea that "everything must be perverse which is hidden from the flesh," he is not ashamed to acknowledge with St. Paul that the judgments of God are "unsearchable."

By many the doctrines of election and reprobation are regarded as subversive of all human responsibility and moral obligation. Such would do well to consider the use which Calvin made of this doctrine. For him its special value lay in its comfort, as giving assurance of salvation to the Christian believer. Human nature being corrupt, what assurance has any man of salvation save in the Divine purpose to rescue him? "Ignorance of this principle detracts from the glory of God and impairs true humility." "Predestination duly considered does not shake faith, but rather affords the best confirmation of it."[4] Far more than with any of the other Reformers, the Christian life is regarded in Calvin's system as one of self-denying effort and struggle. "If the end of election is holiness of life, it ought to arouse and stimulate us strenuously to aspire to it, instead of serving as a pretext for sloth."[5] Nor is reprobation an excuse under which the ungodly may shelter themselves. "Though their perdition depends on the predestination of God, the cause and matter of it is in themselves." "None perish without deserving it, and it is owing to the free goodness of God that some are delivered." Calvin is here at one with

[1] "Institutes," book iii., chap. xxii., 11.
[2] Professor Walker is at fault in describing Calvin as addicted to Scotist doctrine.
[3] "Institutes," book iii., chap. xxiii., 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, chap. xxiv., 9.
[5] *Ibid.*, book iii., chap. xxiii., 12.

Augustine and St. Paul, regarding predestination as higher than free-will, and refusing even to rest in the unsatisfying acknowledgment of an insoluble antinomy. To the objection that the doctrine of election destroys all exhortations to a pious life Calvin rightly replies that it is plainly taught by St. Paul, the fervour and steadfastness of whose preaching none can dispute.

We have said that predestination is not, as it is commonly regarded, the formative principle of Calvinism. One lamentable result of this popular misconception has been the overlooking of Calvin's real contribution to the development of Christian doctrine. Professor Warfield, in his introduction to Kuyper's work on the Holy Spirit, enumerates three gifts of the first value to the Church's thought and life which have come from the Genevan Reformer. From him the presentation of the work of Christ under the schema of Prophet, Priest, and King has passed into a Christian commonplace. To him we owe the whole conception of a science of "Christian Ethics"; he was the first who outlined its idea, and developed its principles and contents. To him also we owe the first formulation of the doctrine of the work of the Holy Ghost; he developed it especially in the broad departments of "Common Grace," "Regeneration," and the "Witness of the Spirit." Baldly stated, this sounds like an exaggeration; but "it is simply true that these great topics received their first formulation at the hands of John Calvin, and it is from him that the Church has derived them."

What the fundamental principle of Calvinism really is, this has been well stated by many writers. We quote the words of a most able article by Professor Warfield. "The fundamental principle of Calvinism lies in a profound apprehension of God in His majesty, with the inevitably accompanying poignant realization of the exact nature of the relation sustained to Him by the creature as such, and particularly by the sinful creature. He who believes in God without reserve, and is determined that God shall be God to Him in all his thinking, feeling, willing—in the entire compass of his life-activities, intellectual, moral,

spiritual—is, by the force of that strictest of all logic which presides over the outworking of principles into thought and life, by the very necessity of the case a Calvinist."[1] Carrying up all things into the sovereign will of a gracious God, Calvinism is a splendid and helpful, though necessarily imperfect, monism. It is "the only system in which the whole order of the world is brought into a rational unity with the doctrine of grace." As regards its present position, it must be confessed that its star is not in the ascendant. But it has done noble work in the past. "The spiritual indebtedness of Western Europe and of North America to the educative influence of Calvin's theology is well-nigh measureless."[2] "His system, passing like iron into the blood of the nations which received it, raised up in the French Huguenots, the English Puritans, the Scotch, the Dutch, the New Englanders, brave, free, God-fearing peoples."[3] And it will help us to face, with hope of conquest, the spiritual dangers of our time. As a recent writer has said, "It is deep enough, and large enough, and divine enough, rightly understood, to confront them and do battle with them in vindication of the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the world, and of the justice and love of the Divine Personality."[4]

[1] New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopædia, vol. ii., p. 359.
[2] Professor Walker's "Calvin," p. 248.
[3] Dr. Orr's lecture on Calvin in "The Reformers," p. 293.
[4] W. Hastie, "Theology as a Science," pp. 97, 98.

The Ethical Teachings of St. Matthew, V. 38-41.

By the Rev. M. C. ELPHINSTONE, M.A.,
Vicar of Eynsford.

THE passage is confessedly difficult. The majority of Christians, if pressed, would find themselves unable to reconcile its teaching, as they understand it, with the dictates of common sense.

The verses appear to inculcate the doctrine of non-resistance, or, at least, of non-resistance by physical force. To say that in the present evil world this would be an impracticable policy is no sufficient answer. "Impracticability" is an ambiguous word. We judge non-resistance to be "impracticable" in the sense that it would be incompatible with the preservation of the present social order. But we cannot truly say that non-resistance would be "impracticable" in the sense that we could not practice it if we chose. It is for the Master to command, for us to obey. At the worst we should only become martyrs to His cause; and nothing is more certain than that the calculations of worldly wisdom have often been falsified by "the foolishness of God."

Accordingly we must regard with an *a priori* suspicion every interpretation which betrays an effort to mediate between the claims of a so-called "literal" meaning and the supposed interests of society. The saying either is or is not a rule for the practical guidance of Christians. If it is so, motives of prudence must not be allowed to stand in the way of our full and frank acceptance of the resulting obligation.

It has indeed been urged that, since our Lord is addressing Christian disciples in their private capacity, or as members of His Church, the State is exempt from the prohibition. The limitation is, however, arbitrary; it is not required or even suggested by a sound exegesis. Moreover, like most attempts at compromise, it is a failure; it does not achieve its object. A rule of private non-resistance would hardly commend itself as less absurd than a rule of non-resistance by the State.

If the saying is intended as a general command, we have no right to restrict the sphere of our obedience. To admit that Christ's rule cannot be kept without exceptions is to annul its Divine authority. Though the rule be Christ's, yet, if the occasions for keeping or relaxing it are to be settled by fallible men, the duty of observance in any given case depends on authority not Divine, but human. We may be told that the exceptions will be made agreeably to other teachings of our Lord. But the very plea is an indirect assertion that He has given us inconsistent orders, and in this event the supreme authority of all His commandments, including the alleged ordinance to refrain from the use of force, is utterly destroyed.

In reality, compromise is impossible. Taken as a rule for our behaviour, the verses cannot be reconciled with the accepted code of morals. They actually oppose it. They do not merely advocate non-resistance ; they put a premium on crime. " Resist not him that is evil. On the contrary, do not stop there. If a ruffian on a lonely road takes your purse, point out to him that he has forgotten your watch and chain."

The truth is that the saying was never intended for a direct rule of conduct. The Sermon on the Mount cuts deeper ; it goes down to principles, and to principles of universal application. Our Lord desired to expound a new and nobler kind of righteousness than that of the official Jewish teachers. The religion of the day made righteousness depend on a literal observance of Old Testament laws and glosses thereon. That He should have met the error by enacting fresh rules, as external and mechanical, as liable to misinterpretation and abuse, as those which they were to replace, is inconceivable. He worked in another way. The Jews had been as children ; Christ's followers were to put away childish things. Children live by rule, grown men by principle ; so He replaced precept by principle, the letter by the spirit ; righteousness of life was henceforth to be sought, not in blind obedience to a system of minute regulations, but in the cultivation of a righteous character. The Sermon on the Mount is the proclamation of this " new

commandment," and every maxim and injunction it contains must only be interpreted in due subordination to the main drift of the whole discourse.

The section, v. 17-48, more particularly concerns us. Our Lord had come to fulfil the law—a law in itself partial and imperfect, but fitted to educate the Israelites for higher things. He wished His disciples to live by the principles which underlay it, that they might thus achieve the purposes for which it had been revealed. He chose as illustrations of His meaning the laws of murder, of adultery and divorce, of perjury, of retaliation, and of neighbourly love, with its obverse. In each of these cases His teaching brought out the principle on which the enactment had been based. Murder had been prohibited to restrain anger; adultery to restrain lust; perjury to restrain falsehood; the right of vengeance had been restricted to retaliation in kind, that the thirst for it might be kept within bounds; the command to love one's neighbour had paved the way to universal love. These principles were now to become the golden rule of the disciples' lives. All those underlying tempers which had led to the need for law—anger, lust, the double standard of truth which produces falsehood, vengefulness, the narrow and selfish spirit which hinders the full development of love—were to be eradicated from the heart. The concrete examples our Lord gives of this "new temper" in operation are employed as illustrations of *the inward spirit* which should actuate Christians. We may be righteously wrath, but we must not cherish personal resentment. We may make solemn oaths, since oaths are necessary where falsehood is rife; but we must have in our minds no shadow of untruthfulness, such as would require an oath to insure the accuracy of our assertions; the Christian's word should be as good as his bond. The objection that in the matter of divorce the Church has received and acted upon our Lord's words as a binding rule is without weight. His statement was primarily made, not as a rule, but to declare the principle at the root of the old law of marriage and divorce. God intended that the marriage tie should be indissoluble; if the

ancient code had granted the husband a regulative permission to divorce his wife, the very legislation pointed forward to an absolute principle; in Christ's view the wife might only be put away where the bond was in its essence already non-existent.

It is true that our Lord's method of teaching was liable to misapprehension. His figures of speech might readily be mistaken by unimaginative hearers for literal directions. He was, indeed, by no means careful to guard against temporary misunderstanding, and because His doctrine was spiritual, it was peculiarly liable to thoughtless or wilful perversion. Speaking the deepest truths to a mixed audience, He used the only method which could both arrest their attention and, in the end, carry home the lesson. We may well believe that some, perhaps all, of His hearers accepted, at the moment, His metaphorical language in a literal sense. Such was His frequent experience even at a later period and with His most intimate companions. But in days to come they would attain a deeper knowledge, and would finally obtain a more thorough grasp of His meaning than if He had used words simpler to understand but less suited to promote inquiry. And if, when He had left the earth, literalists and fanatics should pervert His lessons, His disciples, themselves guided by the Spirit of truth, could correct their extravagancies and point out the fallacies of their reasoning. Our Lord's justification is, in fact, the prevalent Christian opinion on the matters to which He refers. In the case of warfare, for instance, Christian common sense has relegated obedience to the letter of St. Matthew vi. 38, 39 to the weaker brethren—abnormal or over-scrupulous individuals and sects. A sound moral instinct has led the Church to conclusions which accord with the true lessons of the passage.

The enunciation of the law of retaliation under Divine sanction had included several high moral purposes. One of its objects was to inculcate mildness and humanity.

1. Strict limitations were placed on the right of private vengeance. The amount and kind of retribution which might

be claimed were carefully defined, and, in some cases certainly, the law contemplated that there should be a trial and judicial decision.

2. The law of retaliation is said to have been more clement and equitable in its details than the similar laws of other countries. (This, however, is not an essential point, for, whether improved or not, it was *approved* by God as a temporary measure.)

3. Its very anomalies were calculated to bring about a further advance. As a matter of fact, the later Jews themselves relaxed its pressure. For example, they argued that since commutation of the death sentence was expressly forbidden, money payments might, without a breach of the law, be accepted in satisfaction of minor offences.

Our Lord expands the law in this connection, carrying the work of the Old Dispensation to its logical end. His disciples, far from nourishing revenge, must put away the very desire for it. The sin of resentment must be unknown among them.

In verses 39*b*-41, our Lord adds to the injunction of verse 39*a*. (Verse 42, though connected in thought with the preceding verses, is yet not strictly parallel with the three other supposititious cases.) Refusing to imitate his enemies, the Christian must counter force with love, oppressive exaction with self-sacrifice. He is to "overcome evil with good." Throughout, his duty is represented as it would be in practice if determined by no other consideration than the promptings of forgiving affection. The action portrayed is neither more nor less than the result of the inward desire put into effect without let or hindrance. Christ is depicting ideal conduct, if by that phrase is meant not the best conduct conceivable, but conduct which exactly corresponds to the idea which moulds it; and it would also be in every instance the best conceivable conduct if men could live, as it were, *in vacuo*, with no other duty than to follow the immediate inclinations of a generous heart, heedless of ulterior consequences.

The order of the verses confirms this interpretation. To treat them as literal directions would involve an anticlimax;

most men would find it less troublesome, so far as their worldly convenience was concerned, to give a litigious neighbour double the trifle he claimed than to endure a blow without retaliating, and simpler still to go two miles with an official instead of the one he had demanded. But, taken as we take them, they lead to a climax. It is often much harder to retain a Christian *spirit* in the face of some petty annoyance than under great provocation; the man who will show a forgiving temper with respect to some outrageous wrong or insult will have a far more severe struggle to keep from resentment towards the grasping fellow who is always wanting to "have the law of him," and will perhaps be furiously angry if he considers his assessment for income tax unduly high.

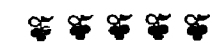
As has been already noticed, verses 39*b*-41 do much more than form a commentary on verse 39*a*. While that saying, taken alone, would prescribe an attitude of mere acquiescence, the passage as a whole commands an active duty. The offender is not only to have what he wishes, but to be put in the way of getting as much again.

This fact leads us away from the letter to the deeper meaning. Before us lies a new law of retaliation. The old law, enforced in the circumstances supposed, would compel the aggressor himself to be smitten on the cheek, to have his own coat taken from him, or himself to be impressed for a mile. The new law makes the punishment *vicarious;* the victim not only endures the wrong, but also bears the punishment due to the culprit. The shadow of the Cross lies athwart the passage, and our Saviour's death is the only fitting commentary. His enemies compassed His death, and thereby, according to the principles of their own jurisprudence, themselves incurred the death penalty. But, from another point of view, His death was voluntary. He gave His life that the sin of the world which crucified Him might be done away and the penalty remitted. And every Christian must take up the cross and follow in His steps.

The old law of retaliation was at once the faint reflection and the perpetual reminder of that more awful law of retribution which decrees that sooner or later every sin shall find us out and work its own punishment. But another mysterious law exists whereby Christ could suffer for men's sins, partly abolishing and partly transforming their consequences. And this law, as we dimly see, applies to us also. If the wicked are to be won from sin and the sorrows which march in its train, the victory must be mainly due to the toil and suffering, on their behalf, of Christ's disciples. The spirit of revenge once destroyed within us, we can indeed help our enemies. Not necessarily by letting them have their way; this would be a mere incitement to further wickedness; punishment itself is often the truest sign of a forgiving temper. No, not thus, but by the harder, more wearisome task of winning them back to goodness. The disciple is permitted to share with his Master vicarious suffering for others' sin.

The old law of retaliation is based on Nature, and is inherent in the constitution of the world. "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth," is the inexorable ordinance of Providence for the government of man. When God promulgated it to His chosen people, He was thereby asserting the principle that man, the free moral agent, should co-operate with Himself in carrying out His purposes.

The new law of retaliation is based on grace, and is inherent in the constitution of Christ's Church. "Self-sacrifice for others" is a golden clause in the charter of the new dispensation. Christ offered Himself for our sake upon the Cross. It is not merely our duty, but our glorious privilege, to bear His Cross and drink His cup. It is in the very spirit of the Sermon on the Mount that St. Paul has written for the Galatians and for us, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."



Plainness of Speech.

By the Rev. G. S. STREATFEILD,
Goddington Rectory, Bicester, Oxon.

IN taking *plainness of speech* for my title, I have no thought of defending the A.V. translation of 2 Cor. iii. 12 as against that of the Revisers. I use the phrase in the conventional sense that is attached to it. We connect it in our own mind with the words of our Lord, "To the poor the Gospel shall be preached"; we think of the simple language of His own teaching, which the "common people" heard so gladly. Such is the duty of the Christian minister—to speak so as to be "understanded of the people." His aim and ambition is to make plain the way of truth.

"I call that a good sermon which does no harm," said an archdeacon of the eighteenth-century creation to a candidate for Holy Orders. Doubtless the archdeacon would have set his seal to the sentiment of a well-known clergyman of the same enlightened period, who left on record his belief that, "mankind in general, if left to themselves, have little or no propensity to that most horrible of all vices called zeal." Our conception of the ministry and its responsibilities is very different from that of the archdeacon; and if our ideal of preaching were no higher than his, we should say "Least said, soonest mended," and look upon the opportunity of preaching as a thing to be avoided rather than welcomed. Our settled purpose, on the contrary, is to do all possible good by the sermons we preach.

My theme is the duty of *plainness of speech*; and it seems to me that there are three principal ways in which we may fail in this respect, and so fail to accomplish that whereto we are sent when we enter the pulpit; we may fail, namely, in our language, in our articulation, and in our subject-matter.

1. And first of language. We may clothe our thoughts and the message that we give in language that fails to make our

meaning clear. Both in the construction of our sentences and in the choice of our words, we must do our best to be *plain.*

To begin with, much of our *plainness of speech* depends on the structure of our sentences. The preacher should be sparing of parenthesis. Punctuation should have strict attention, and, whether the sermon be delivered with or without manuscript, commas, semi-colons, colons, full-stops, should be in their right place and be given their true value. The note of interrogation should be frequently heard, since it helps to make the message real and personal. Sentences should be, for the most part, short and crisp. Nothing, probably, tends more to drowsiness in the pew than the lengthy period. "That sentence," writes Mark Twain, "is Germanic, and shows that I am acquiring that mastery of language which enables a man to travel all day in one sentence without changing cars." Such mastery is the very last that the preacher should wish to cultivate. "Inharmonious periods" the pew will pardon, but long, involved periods it cannot away with. The educated dislike them: to the uneducated they are often a blank. "Read over your composition," said an eminent critic to a learned, but exuberant, writer, "and, whenever you meet with a passage which you think particularly fine, strike it out." I have heard and read sermons which would have been all the better had the preacher followed such advice. Simplicity of style is one of the great secrets of pulpit power. If sometimes, with good reason, the preacher is over the heads of his people in his matter, he should never be over their heads in his language and grammar.

And, as in the construction of his sentences, so in the choice of his words, the preacher cannot be too careful to be simple and unpretentious, especially in addressing an unlearned congregation. The vocabulary of the ordinary rustic is surprisingly limited. It sometimes turns out that the commonest words convey either no meaning, or quite a wrong one, to the uneducated man. Dr. Jessop, when a young curate, tried to console a farmer, who had suffered loss upon loss, by pointing out to him that these things were the dispensations of Providence. On this the poor

old man's face brightened, and he said with a smile, "Ah! yes, sir, I know that's right enough. That old providence has been again' me all along, but I reckon there's One above will put a stopper on him if he goes too far."

How pathetic to think of the pains with which the vicar laboured to impress his flock with the duty of consulting the *context!* Not once, nor twice did he use that word in the endeavour to make his meaning perfectly clear; and then that an old woman should have been heard to mutter as she left the church, "Bother them contexes! Give me the blessèd word!" Since I made the acquaintance of that aggrieved parishioner, I have never used the word *context* in a country church. Even bishops may be deceived. "I hope," said a certain diocesan to the vicar in the vestry, "I wasn't in any way above your people in what I said this morning." "As you ask me, my Lord, I am bound to say that I think you were a good deal above them." "Surely not," replied the bishop, "I cannot think that it was so." "Well," said the vicar, "here comes my churchwarden, a man of more than average intelligence. Ask him yourself." "I hope," said the bishop, after an exchange of courtesies, "that I made myself plain in my sermon, and that there was no difficulty in understanding me." "None at all, my Lord," was the reply, "and if at any time your Lordship should be drawin' inferences from them premises as you alluded to, I should be happy to lend my horses for the job." The bishop's premises were not his premises. We are apt to talk of analogy, similitude, theory, hypothesis, paradox, destiny (to give a few specimens of pulpit words), taking it for granted that such terms cause no difficulty. Nor would they to a vast majority of worshippers in a West-end church, but they convey little or no meaning to quite as large a proportion of country folk.

Careful, too, should we be in the illustrations and metaphors we employ amongst the unlearned. Archdeacon Julius Hare may have been a successful preacher before the University of Cambridge, but he was hardly such in his own parish, the quiet, agricultural village of Hurstmonceaux. "He spoke of the

danger of men 'playing at nine-pins with truth,' and they thought he was warning young labourers against beer and skittles. He likened fiery controversialists to men who 'walked about with lucifer matches in their pockets,' and the farmers thanked him for the zeal with which he watched over their farm-yards and stacks." Homely illustrations as could be, but beyond their power of application without comment or paraphrase.

2. Plainness of articulation. There are various ways in which defective articulation may weaken the Word that we preach. To begin with, I would say, avoid eccentricity. Eccentricity inevitably defeats the end at which it aims. It is so with eccentricity of pronunciation. The first word of advice I would give to the preacher is: Be natural, be yourself, eschew peculiarities of every kind. In the days of my youth there was an elderly clergyman in the northern parts of Lincolnshire who had conceived the brilliant idea that if he adopted the accent, the pronunciation, the vocabulary of the local preacher, he would have a better chance of drawing his parishioners away from the primitive chapel to the village church. Failure, I need hardly say, attended this strange device. The villagers were neither impressed nor attracted by the fact that their pastor besought them from the pulpit to "keep their sens from all evil waäys," and to use all diligence to "enter in at the straäit gaäte." The school children did not become models of industry because they were exhorted to "taäke paäins with their lessins," nor were fewer apples missed from the orchards because they were reminded that the Bible said "Thou shalt not steäl." It might be racy of the soil to talk to the people of their "addlins" (earnings) and their "clats" (household stuff), but instead of adding charm to his message, it only exposed the preacher to the charge of buffoonery. That, you will rightly say, is an extreme form of eccentricity; but, in its degree, the charge of buffoonery will be brought against eccentricity of every kind. And I suppose most of us have listened to preachers who have allowed themselves to slip into tricks of pronunciation which have seriously marred the effect of their message.

But eccentricity is not the only thing which has to be avoided in our articulation. There are preachers who so drop their voice at the end of their periods that every sentence is clipped and mutilated, and the unlearned hearer, whose slow-moving brain fails to supply the closing words, is defrauded, and kept out of his own. Again, there are preachers who give one the impression that they have never heard that if you take care of your consonants, the vowels will take care of themselves; and so *commandments* become *commanmence*, *steadfastness* becomes *steadfassness*, *gifts giffs*, and so on. I have even heard a text given out from the Book of Axe! Such lapses, even if they do not obscure the sense, are an insult to the English language.

A still graver fault is committed by those who mumble. I remember a sermon which opened with the really striking and impressive words, "The pulpit is the preacher's throne." The preacher, as he spoke them, looked forth with a mild, benignant smile upon his hearers. It was the first and last time that his eyes were raised from the manuscript. The monotonous voice grew feebler as the discourse proceeded, till it become a mumble, conveying no articulate sound to those who sat more than half-way down the church—not a large one. Whatever might be said of the pulpit, anything less suggestive of royalty on that occasion than the preacher himself cannot well be imagined. A Boston vicar, who flourished in the thirties and forties of last century, prided himself on his powers of elocution, and used to tell the following story in support of the claim. One Christmas morning he was taking duty for a neighbouring incumbent, but in the afternoon occupied his own pulpit. As the fates would have it, he preached the same printed sermon that his curate had preached in the same church, to very much the same congregation, three or four hours earlier in the day: "And if you'll believe me" (here was his point), "if you'll believe me, they didn't know it was the same." It may sound vainglorious, but I have listened to discourses which have prompted the unspoken thought, "If he had only let me preach it for him, it wouldn't have been half a bad sermon."

In striking contrast to the mumbler stands the shouter; and the latter may be as inaudible as the former. Whilst the voice of the mumbler does not reach halfway down the church, that of the shouter reverberates through the aisles, and is lost in its own echoes. There are preachers, moreover, of this class so ignorant of acoustics that, finding their voice returning with muffled sound to their own ears from every part of the building, they will raise, instead of moderating, their tones, to the complete stultification of their message.

There are two extremes which one has observed, the one as objectionable as the other—I mean the extreme of slowness and the extreme of rapidity. It cannot, perhaps, be said that the preacher who drawls is necessarily lacking in "plainness of speech," but he is not making the best use of speech—

> "Sweet sleep enjoys the curate in his desk,
> The tedious rector drawling o'er his head."

And if the curate sleep, how much more the congregation! On the other hand, the gabbler grossly offends against the principle of plainness of speech. There are many degrees in which this fault may be committed. There must be very few of whom it could be said, as it was of one whom I personally knew, that his greatest triumph as a reader was to run "caterpillars innumerable" into one syllable; but there are many whose message would be more effective if they gently applied the brake.

Is it sufficiently borne in mind by those responsible for the training of ordination candidates that men are very differently constituted, that, while one has a natural gift of elocution, so that, without formal instruction, he intuitively masters the principles of accent and intonation, instinctively knows, whether reading or speaking, how to give his message with persuasiveness and effect, another is so deficient in the dramatic and histrionic sense, that, left to himself, he will say what he has to say without force, expression, or vitality, and with an apparent lack of interest and enthusiasm, which cannot fail to be contagious? If a "good delivery" is not a natural gift, great

pains should be taken to instruct candidates for the ministry in the elementary principles of elocution.

3. I pass on to speak of plainness of speech in respect of matter. In ordinary preaching abstruse argument and technical theology should be avoided. There are occasions, no doubt, when the preacher is justified in delivering learned disquisitions, and plying his audience with argument not easy for even the well-educated to follow. One glance at a long row of Bampton and Hulsean lectures, as well as other volumes of profound divinity by Churchman and Nonconformist alike, on my own bookshelves, proclaims the fact that some of the deepest and best of our theology has emanated from the pulpit. But these may be taken as the exception that proves the rule. Plainness of speech is the rule, and the exceptions are comparatively few. Even the educated prefer plain and simple preaching as their staple fare. They come to church not to listen to argument, but to have their souls fed.

I am speaking, be it remembered, for the days in which my own lot is cast. Fashions change. From undeniable evidence we know that in the seventeenth century things were different. Our forefathers of that period would have been as intolerant of our fifteen to twenty minutes sermonettes as we should be of the hour-glass discourse that they loved to listen to. Nor is it only as to length that the twentieth century differs from the seventeenth. A preacher who to-day treated an ordinary congregation to quotations from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew writers would make himself ridiculous. In the days of Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Barrow they were expected and appreciated, and this even by rustics. In 1642 Dr. Edward Pococke, a pattern parish priest, as well as the greatest scholar of his time, was appointed to the Rectory of Childrey. His predecessor was in the habit of quoting scraps of Latin and Greek in the pulpit. That Dr. Pococke did not obtrude his erudition in this way seems to have been nothing less than a grievance. "Who is your minister?" asked a visitor to the parish. "Our parson," was the reply, "is one Mr. Pococke, a plain, honest man; but,

Master, he's no Latiner." Quotation from the classics was held to distinguish the scholarly from the illiterate preacher; and congregations were not satisfied with the possession of learning; they must have the display of it. "When the Church," says Canon Overton, "was restored with the monarchy the people looked upon it as their positive right to be regaled, if not edified, with sermons which had a good sprinkling of foreign languages in them."

That this taste was not universal may be gathered from the diary of John Evelyn, who writes under date May 20, 1687: "Our new curate preached, a pretty, hopeful young man, yet somewhat raw, newly come from college, full of Latin sentences, which in time will wear off." Evelyn, devout as he was cultured, did not go to church to hear Latin sentences and University logic, but to hear the gospel of the grace of God; and we doubt not that Sir Roger de Coverley, who strictly forbade his chaplain to quote from the ancient classics at table, would have insisted upon the same reserve in regard to the sermons he listened to. Is there a single churchgoer at the present time who would not enthusiastically side with Evelyn on this point?

To-day, as a general rule, the plainer the fare the better it pleases. The food is valued according to the amount of nourishment it contains. This is true of educated and uneducated alike. When F. D. Maurice was preacher at Lincoln's Inn he had barristers and benchers for his audience. It is matter of common knowledge that his great learning and philosophical attainments were regarded as far from an unmixed blessing by a large proportion of his hearers. Many gave expression to their discontent. "We have been taxing our brains to the utmost all the week, and we don't want them taxed on Sunday." A simpler diet is what they needed, and what, as a matter of fact, they desired.

And if it is a mistake to provide erudition for the educated, *a fortiori* how fatal is the folly in the case of the illiterate! Have we not heard of the Oxford don (the tale has been told

of Dr. Routh) who went into the country to take duty for a friend?—how he discoursed on the Descent into Hades, and how, half-way through his sermon, he raised his eyes from the manuscript before him, archly shook a finger at his flock, and said: "But at this point I can hear you say—there you have Irenæus against you." And we are quite sure that, instead of saying any such thing, they were fast asleep, or that, if they were thinking of anything, it was of their Sunday dinner.

The greatest compliment, or what I took as such, ever paid to me as a preacher, was paid by a washer-woman. It happened thus: A laundry-woman from the country was, for the purpose of convalescence, the humble guest of one of my Hampstead parishioners. In her native haunts she was a "Primitive," but as a point of honour, whilst in my parish, attended my church. This she did for three consecutive Sundays. Before leaving for her home, she opened her heart to her generous friend. "I had no idea," she said, "till I went to your church that the Church prayers was so beautiful. I'm sure I've quite enjoyed 'em; *and as for the sermons, why, anybody might ha' preached 'em.*" I knew what she meant; she had understood them, and I thanked God.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, in connection with a parliamentary petition which came before a Committee of the House of Commons, gave the following advice to one of the counsel employed: "This you must enlarge on when speaking to the Committee; you must not argue there as if you were arguing in the schools; close reasoning will not fix their attention; you must say the same thing over and over again in different words. If you say it but once, they may miss it in a moment of inattention." Not bad advice to the preacher, especially if he ministers to a rural flock. One of the most effective preachers to country folk that I have ever known, and who used to say that, when he went into the pulpit, he was as much bent on business as any of his farmers when they went to market (there doubtless lay the *main* secret of his effectiveness) on being remonstrated with for his frequent reiteration in the pulpit,

replied: "It's the last blow of the hammer that drives the nail *home*." For "plainness of speech" I never heard his equal. There was no danger of those who had sat under him saying to one another as they went home from church, "Whatever was he driving at?"

In thus pleading for simplicity in preaching, I am not prepared to say that care should be taken never to say anything that cannot readily be grasped by the average listener. On the contrary, it may have a salutary effect upon the congregation for the preacher to be, occasionally, a little above them, whether in subject or argument. Richard Baxter made it a rule in every sermon he preached to say something that was above the capacity of his audience. Such passages would arouse their curiosity, deepen their humility, and strengthen their sense of mystery in things Divine. True it is that there is another side to which Dr. Johnson, with his usual bluntness, calls attention, "They consider it a compliment to be talked to as if they were wiser than they are." Be it so: it may do them good to be thus put on their mettle; it may set them in the way of deserving the compliment of being reckoned among the wise.

Our main purpose, however, will be to give our message in language that cannot be misunderstood. When Ezra and his fellow-teachers stood upon the pulpit of wood in the street that was before the watergate, "they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." Here is a lesson for the preacher taken from the Old Testament. We turn to the New. Circumstances have greatly changed, and the tongues which St. Paul had in mind are no part of the Church's present heritage, but there is still much for the preacher to learn from his words to the Corinthians, "Unless ye utter by the tongue speech easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken, for ye will be speaking into the air. . . . In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue." By every means it is for the preacher to cultivate "plainness of speech." Thus

will he "keep the simple folk by their right"; thus will he make the way of salvation plain before the feet of his hearers, proclaiming Him who is Himself the Way in such language as the simplest can comprehend. "An highway shall be there, . . . the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein."

Finally, to glance generally at the preacher's office, let those who are privileged to exercise it aim at realizing the poet's ideal:

> "Would I describe a preacher, such as Paul,
> Were he on earth, would hear, approve, and own.
> Paul should himself direct me. I would trace
> His master-strokes, and draw from his design.
> I would express him simple, grave, sincere;
> In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain,
> And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
> And natural in gesture; much impress'd
> Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
> And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
> May feel it too; affectionate in look,
> And tender in address, as well becomes
> A messenger of grace to guilty men."

The Missionary World.

THE first month of a fresh quarter brings a wealth of missionary literature to hand. Comment on the contents of the three quarterlies alone would fill up all our space. All the long articles in the *East and the West* are by Anglicans, three of them C.M.S. men. The Rev. G. Hibbert-Ware's paper on "The Training of Indian Clergy" should be read in every mission field, and—if it is not too daring to say so—in every theological college of the West. His account of the training experiment being made by the Bishop of Madras, at Nandyal, so far with complete success, is full of suggestion. One simple expedient removes half the difficulties which have been found almost insuperable before. The class do all their reading in English (part of the scheme consists in teaching them to work from books which they can have anywhere, rather than from lectures which are available only at college), and all their writing in Telugu. By this means, the best literature is made use of by the students, and they are trained to spiritual expression in their own tongue. Further, as they learn in one language and express themselves in another, mere memorizing without apprehension of the text becomes impossible.

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The *Moslem World* is packed with matter on Islamic questions by such well-known men as Drs. Shedd, Potter, and Donald Carr, of Persia, Professor D. B. Macdonald, of Hartford, Dr. St. Clair Tisdall, the Rev. C. G. Mylrea, of Lucknow, and others. Dr. Zwemer's new work at Cairo will enable him to do closer work as editor than was possible when he was stationed at Bahrein on the Persian Gulf. The review is doing good work for the great cause which it represents.

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The *International Review of Missions*—youngest and largest of the three—starts its second year with a strong number. The type is enlarged, sixteen pages are added, and the cover has a lighter and more pleasing tone. The outstanding feature of

the number is "The Missionary Survey of 1912," which occupies eighty-two pages. The *Record*, in a critique published on January 10, commenting on the comprehensiveness of the survey and its literary power and attractiveness, says it is "a real masterpiece. Nothing in the least like it has ever been done before." Such a broad and convincing presentation of the whole situation should aid in the development of thought and prayer and work for missions. Members of missionary committees, in particular, will welcome this aid in their efforts to relate their personal outlook to the outlook and work of others. The closing section, in which the writer sums up the impressions left upon his own mind by his protracted investigations, is already proving of high value as a basis for discussion in conferences, and as a guide in united intercessory prayer. Other topics arising out of this number of the review must wait until next month.

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Missionary expectation needs to be focussed to a centre; none will avail but Christ. In the *Missionary Review of the World* for January, Dr. Campbell Morgan has an article on "The Cross of Christ, the Heart of Religion, the Centre of the Missionary Message." In *China's Millions*, Mr. Walter B. Sloan writes simply and thoughtfully on "The Vision of the Glorified Lord." He sees in this the sole "possibility of deliverance and victory," and urges upon us the duty of faith in Him who is the Living One—

"The circumstances of our time may seem more difficult and pressing than those of the past. The greatness of the world's need is being brought home to our generation; we are slowly beginning to recognize the inadequacy of the Churches' response. We must see again, in view of our present condition, the ascended Lord—He who transcends all time, He who is the Lord and giver of life, the once offered Sacrifice, the exalted Son of God, holding the destiny of all things in His hands.

"It is not enough to go on patiently and diligently with our tasks if our hearts are fearful and discouraged. We must enter afresh into the fellowship of Him who has the keys of death and Hades, and trust Him to overcome every obstacle, to prepare the way of His kingdom, and to come again in power and great glory."

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Some of us, ever since the Student Conference at Liverpool in 1896, have watched with interest and thankfulness the splendid service rendered to the cause of missions by Dr. Harlan P. Beach, now Professor of Missions at Yale University. He has lately visited South Africa, and in the *Missionary Review of the World* he discusses the problems of the native Church there. Those who are discouraged by the pressure of problems in other mission-fields will find in a study of South Africa a cordial for their fears. Nowhere are the problems of environment, of leadership, and of propaganda so acute, or the multiplicity of unrelated agencies so perplexing. Yet there are not wanting grounds for hope. A strong life is stirring among the African Christians themselves, and while this for the present may accentuate certain difficulties, it affords the only hope for their solution. In those large circles where prayer centres round "Africa and the East" the needs of South Africa should not be ignored. One special feature of interest is the large part which continental societies—French, German, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish — take in the work. We are slowly learning to appreciate the value of the lessons we can learn from these little known fellow-workers of ours. One of the biggest debts we owe to the Edinburgh Conference is for new relations initiated there between British and continental missionary enterprises.

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All missionary societies have been hearing a call to move forward as to their central arrangements. The London Missionary Society has so far made the most radical changes in the organization of its headquarters' work. Dr. Wardlaw Thompson remains as leader and counsellor, and the Rev. A. N. Johnson holds his portfolio as home secretary still. The two foreign secretaries will henceforth be the Rev. Frank Lenwood, recently of Benares, and Mr. F. L. Hawkins, who has already made his mark in missionary circles in London. The Rev. Nelson Bitton, well known as a China missionary and an able writer, has been appointed organizing secretary

on the home side. There is a note of hopefulness and courage in the Society's utterances on finance. The *L.M.S. Chronicle* contains a translation of some moving letters from Malagasy Christians, written in response to the Committee's congratulations on the recent Jubilee of the re-establishment of Christianity after the dark days of persecution in the island, when so much martyr blood was shed.

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Inasmuch as most readers of the CHURCHMAN are regular readers of the C.M.S. magazines, they perhaps claim less comment in this place. Dr. Stock's article on the "New Indian Church Commentaries" in the *C.M. Review* should not be missed. It should be read in conjunction with Professor Hope Moulton's brilliant article in the *International Review of Missions*—a review of the "Historical Catalogue" of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In the "Mission Field" in the *C.M.S. Gazette*—a section which is a storehouse for teachers and speakers—we note a reference to the Centenary of American Missions in India, which falls on February 13. The share of America in the evangelization of India is far greater than we in Great Britain generally recognize. It is one of the strongest links binding us to the great nation in the West.

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Those who have entered upon a ministry of intercession for the various deputations in the East are called to be faithful in the fulfilment of their task. The pressure and strain of the long-continued work are great, and more than human strength is required. We would specially name Dr. Mott in his work on behalf of the Continuation Committee, and Mr. Bardsley and Mr. Baylis of the C.M.S.

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At a time when a spirit of readiness to face the claims of Christ is so prevalent in the colleges, and when doors for evangelistic work are widely open, it is earnestly to be desired that the Student Christian Movement should be released from

its present financial restrictions. A special effort is being made in the week between February 8 and 11. Some may be able to aid with new or increased subscriptions or donations; all can unite in prayer. The current number of the *Student Movement* gives a list of ninety-two "volunteers" who sailed for the field in 1912.

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The outrage committed on Lord Hardinge at his entry into Delhi is finely dealt with in an article in the *Spectator* of December 28. The disappointment caused by the possibility—it is certainly not more—that the action was the result of an organized conspiracy is compared to the feeling of a convalescent who has had "a disquieting relapse." The tendency to depression must be met with "the utmost range of his self-possession, determination, and courage." Lord Hardinge's dictum, "Let the procession go on," is taken to illustrate the attitude of the Government and of the Civil Service. We are not in India for our own pleasure or for our own profit; we are there because India needs us, and we must perform our trust whole-heartedly, not measuring our accomplishments by gratitude or applause. The *Spectator* notes that the outrage has drawn "expressions of horror and indignation" from the Indian people.

G.

Peniel.

By Rev. ROBERT F. DRURY, M.A.

"I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me. . . . And He blessed him there."—Gen. xxxii. 24-29.

I WILL not let Thee go except Thou bless me!
The conquest, Lord, is Thine,
Defeat is mine.
Henceforth must I prevail by power divine.
The morning breaketh, Day's precursors run
Athwart the sky, soon peers the rising sun.
I will not let Thee go!

I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me!
For I must meet the foe that I dread most.
The hostile host
Whose strength defied me 'ere this Pentecost.
But now I hold to Thee for grace to love
And suffer, and the might of God to prove.
I will not let Thee go!

I will not let Thee go unless Thou bless me!
This spot becomes a milestone on the way.
"At break of day
He blessed him there, and brought him 'neath His sway."
Have now Thy way with me, be Thou my King,
And he, who wrestled long, shall henceforth cling.
I will not let Thee go!"

Discussions.

[*The contributions contained under this heading are comments on articles in the previous number of the* CHURCHMAN. *The writer of the article criticized may reply in the next issue of the magazine; then the discussion in each case terminates. Contributions to the "Discussions"* must *reach the Editors before the 12th of the month.*]

"EVANGELICALS AND THE PROBLEM OF RITUALISM."

(*The "Churchman," January*, 1913, *p.* 8.)

SOME years ago I happened to be at a church in an obscure part of London, the Vicar of which was what many would call an ultra-Protestant. I noticed that the Communion table stood out in the middle of the apse, and he informed me that he habitually stood behind it at the Communion Service, facing the congregation. I said with a smile: "I should not have thought you were the man to adopt the Papal position!" For is it not the fact that the Popes themselves have never adopted the Eastward position, but have continued to celebrate, when they do so, facing the people?

This Westward position is now suggested by the Dean of St. Aidan's College, in last month's CHURCHMAN, as one device for winning undergraduates to Evangelicalism, and counteracting the influence of the Sacerdotalists. I wonder what we Evangelicals would have said if High Churchmen, when they began their innovations sixty years ago, had happened to adopt this Westward position. I can imagine the denunciations from every Protestant platform of the new practice of the priest presuming to stand in the Lord's place, thus separating himself from the people, instead of humbly receiving the sacred tokens of Divine Love as one of them. I can imagine a fresh application of 2 Thess. ii. 4, where the "man of sin" is described as "sitting as God in the temple of God," words that have often been applied in controversial speeches and writings to the Papacy. I can imagine the suggestion being made that Evangelicals should adopt the Eastward position as a protest against such assumption, and also as identifying the minister with his people!

For on points like these our opinions are often merely conventional, and even accidental. Let me try another imagination. Suppose that a century ago Evangelicals had begun to decorate their churches with familiar texts, as they do sometimes decorate other buildings—the Mildmay Hall, for instance. And suppose that, when symbolism began to be indulged in, the idea had occurred of putting a cross up at the east end. I can imagine the response having been: "Oh, yes! and put under it Gal. vi. 14, or the first verse of 'When I survey.'" Then suppose the old-fashioned "high and dry" men of those days, not

liking this, had put up the Decalogue instead. I can imagine the Evangelical outcry, "They want to substitute the Law for the Gospel!"

I hope these little paradoxes will be excused. There is one thing which I cannot imagine, and that is that Mr. Dewick's proposal will be adopted. Our younger Evangelicals do not wish to mark themselves off so ostentatiously as a definite and narrow party. If they did, they might more reasonably follow another of Mr. Dewick's counsels—viz., get the architects to alter the arrangement of the churches. Let the old three-decker come back, standing in the very centre of the Eastward view, and effectually hiding the holy table. That will be the surest way of diverting attention from an "altar." And incidentally it will restore intelligibility to Cowper's lines, which I find modern readers quite fail to understand:

> "Sweet sleep enjoys the curate in his desk,
> The tedious rector drawling o'er his head,
> And sweet the clerk below."

But Mr. Dewick is quite right when he says that "every new custom or ceremony adopted by the Anglo-Catholic party has been denounced by Evangelicals, but in many cases, after the lapse of a few years, these denunciations have given place to imitation." It is amusing to notice this even in very small things. For example, in my younger days Evangelicals always remained on their knees for the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but gradually High Churchmen taught them to stand up. No sooner had standing become almost universal in Evangelical churches than High Churchmen reversed their practice and went back to kneeling, which example we have again now followed!

On the other hand, let us not forget what High Churchmen have borrowed from Evangelicals. Hymns for instance. Devotees of "A. and M." have often sneered at Tate and Brady's versified Psalter, in happy unconsciousness that Tate and Brady, bound up with most Prayer Books, remained the only admissible selection for a "good Churchman" long after Evangelicals had been bold enough to sing "When I survey," and "Rock of Ages," and "All hail the power."

And let us recognize a far more important fact, that the substance of what a century ago was almost exclusively Evangelical teaching has permeated the Church. However serious the errors of the Sacerdotalists, many of them are now preaching Christ as the Saviour of sinners, which High Churchmen, even in my own younger days, certainly did not—as a body, at least. Most of their sermons, down to the middle of the nineteenth century, were mere moral essays, with now and then a strong insistence on the Church and the Sacraments. One would not then hear from them definitely "Gospel" sermons such as I have heard in recent years when, almost by chance, I have found

myself in an advanced church. The fact is that there is now a school of High Churchmen with whom spiritual interests are the first consideration. They adopt high ritual, not for its own sake, but because they really believe that it is spiritually helpful. And it is worth noting that they dislike much of that "moderate" ritual which Evangelicals are now imitating. They detest anthems and elaborate music; they advocate more simplicity in worship; they are even talking about putting the choir in a west gallery again! And they can use short extempore prayers in mission and intercession services. I for one profoundly disagree with parts of their teaching; but if in the essential matter of salvation by Christ alone they are, however imperfectly, walking in the steps of the old Evangelicals who cared above all for the souls of their people, I am not eager to complain if, on our side, some of the younger men are imitating them in what, after all, are only external matters.

EUGENE STOCK.

"THE PRAYER-BOOK DICTIONARY AND THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC."

(*The "Churchman," January*, 1913, *p.* 29.)

IN an article under the above heading in the CHURCHMAN for January, objection was taken to the title of "fraud Rubric" being applied to the two Rubrics which appeared for the first time in the Prayer-Book published by the Government in 1559, dealing respectively with the "Ornaments of the Church and its Minister," and with the "accustomed place" for the officiant at Morning and Evening Prayer. The question is of importance, since on its solution depends whether the Ornaments Rubric of 1552, or that of 1549, was the one legally authorized "by the authority of Parliament" at the Reformation Settlement under Elizabeth. At first sight it must seem strange how any question of that kind could arise under the 1 Eliz., c. 2. For the Act begins by reciting that the book *remaining at the death* of Edward having been abolished by Mary, "to the great decay of the true honour of God," Mary's repealing Act was therefore repealed—not, however, as a whole, but "ONLY concerning the said book"—so that the First Book of Edward still stood entirely repealed. "The said book" thus legally reinstated was a schedule annexed to the 5 and 6 Ed. VI. (just as "the annexed book" was to the last Act of Uniformity), and was revived, as such, together with the statute of which it formed part. For, as the law then stood, the repeal of a repealing Act reinstated the original Act on the Statute Book. "Therein"—*i.e.*, in this Second Book of Edward—the Elizabethan Act made certain "alterations and additions" which were not made by Orders in Council, nor by Royal prerogative, but were directly "appointed by this statute." Clearly, therefore, we must look to the statute itself to find what those "alterations and

additions," so made, actually were. They are specified in Section 3 as consisting of "one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added at the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise." No alteration of any Rubric was authorized or permitted by that statute, unless (perhaps?) it could be shown that the Queen had "taken order" under the Act by means of a "Commission under the Great Seal for causes ecclesiastical." By these words of Section 3 the two Rubrics of 1552 were explicitly re-enacted under penalties, and no Sacrament, or Creed, or Prayer in the entire book had any other legal warrant. Yet a suggestion was made at p. 37, *supra*, that the words "none other or otherwise" merely meant "that no other book was to be employed": and this under the mistaken impression that in the first Act of Uniformity the same words (though in a different immediate context) had meant nothing more. That opinion, however, is a mistake with regard to both cases alike. "Otherwise" means "in other ways"—*i.e.*, with a ritual environment "other" than "such order and form as is *mentioned* in the said book." Ritualists similarly claim that, so long as "no other book was employed," incense, altar lights, and pre-Reformation customs remained lawful under the first Act of Uniformity. But the Archbishops ruled in 1899 that this was inadmissible, and that beside excluding other *books* "the words 'none other or otherwise' are clearly meant to exclude all variations," rubrical or textual.

Under these circumstances the burden of proof lies on those who contend that the omission and alteration of the two Rubrics above mentioned was not merely permissible, but had actually been "made by the statute" itself, which does not mention them, and which explicitly forbade any additional changes from the text of 1552 to be introduced. Not a particle of such evidence has ever been produced. The printed books issued by the Crown were not enacted at all: what was enacted was the schedule to 5 and 6 Ed. VI., with only the specified "alterations and additions" mentioned as made "therein," none of which in any way related to the two Rubrics in question. It is claimed (p. 36) that "the proviso must have been intended to make some change possible." No doubt; but a change from what? The re-enacted Rubric of 1552 had made it penal to wear in Divine service either "alb, vestment, or cope." The necessary and immediate result of that would be to throw out of ritual use those three dresses. Waste and "embezzlement" had resulted from the use of those same words in the same book under Edward. All such goods, legal and illegal alike, were by the common law of England already "held in use" by the churchwardens as trustees and responsible custodians of all Church goods. The mere fact that certain of the ornaments had become illegal for a "minister" even to "have," did not alter the tenure of parish property which the proviso required to continue to "be in use"

still, though no longer permissible for *ritual* use by the minister in Divine service. An intimation was therefore given by the proviso to those officials that the discarded goods were to "remain" and be still held in trust "until" the Royal Visitors came round to discharge the wardens, in the Queen's name, from further responsibility, and also to direct in her name what was to be done with such things as could no longer be ritually employed. That change alone it was which the proviso was "intended to make possible."

But it is further urged (p. 36) that the new "Rubric [?] simply repeated the substance of the proviso." On the contrary, there is not a word in the proviso (Section 25) which relates to any ritual use by the clergy. Every single word in the "fraud Rubric" which even hints at such use in Divine service is entirely absent from Section 25 of the Act, and has been interpolated by the unknown author of the printed substitute. This may be shown in two ways: First, by printing the statutory Rubric passed by Parliament alongside of the "fraud"; secondly, by printing the statutory Rubric as one single paragraph with the proviso, proving that they can be read together as one consistent statement.

Statutory Rubrics of 1559.	*Elizabeth's alteration.*
The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such places of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversie therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.	The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chappell, or Chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the Place: and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.
And here is to be noted that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither Alb, Vestment, nor Cope: but being Archbishop, or Bishop, he shall have and wear a Rochet: and being a Priest or Deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.	And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by Authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edw. VI. according to the act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book.

It will be seen that the second "fraud Rubric" went beyond the "proviso," as forming Section 25, of the Act, which was "set in the beginning" of the printed Prayer-Book of 1559—

1. By requiring that "the minister shall use" the ornaments.
2. By adding that they were to be used "in the Church."
3. By specifying "times of ministration."
4. By substituting "as were in use" for the words "as was in this Church of England."
5. By recognizing a distinctive dress for "the Communion," apart from "all *other* times in his ministration."

—besides *falling short* of the proviso by omitting all reference to any "other order" being taken by the Commissioners.

If the *statutory* directions had been printed in full, all would have been plain. The two combined directions would then have read:

"And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but being Archbishop, or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet: and, being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only. Provided always, and be it enacted, That such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in the Church of England by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, *until* other order shall be therein taken *by the authority of the Queen's Majesty*, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm."

It will be seen that no contradiction was here implied or involved, seeing that the discarded ornaments might still be made use of by any *other* persons or in any *other* way than the one forbidden, and that even the "retention" of these things was merely temporary and provisional "until" other order could be taken by the Queen's Commissioners.

With the "fraud Rubric" such a combination would, of course, be quite impossible. It ordered a difference to be made between the dress of ministration at all "other services" from that prescribed for the Communion. It forbade, therefore, the surplice ever to be worn at Holy Communion, a practice which the First Prayer-Book did not permit, while it authorized the Romish incumbents to wear their distinctive sacrificial vestment at the Reformed "Supper of the Lord!"

No mere proviso could have power to revoke or repeal the enactment to which it related. No action corresponding with the "fraud Rubric" resulted from it. Not one of Elizabeth's Bishops officiated as directed by the First Prayer-Book, or ever used a pastoral staff. Elizabeth herself never permitted the ritual of 1549 to be adopted in her chapel, nor was the cope introduced under the new Act until the death of Henry II. of France. International courtesy then led to a fancy service resembling a dirge being celebrated in copes. This was not under the Act of Uniformity. Even under the tremendous strain to which Elizabeth was subjected by the wrecking on March 13 of her first Bill for Uniformity by the Committee of the House of Lords (who, under the guidance of the Bishops, struck out the first Protestant service-book), Elizabeth boldly replied by having her first Easter Communion celebrated by her own chaplain, clad in "surplice only," at a table removed from the east wall, which bore no crucifix, lights, or other "altar"-like decorations, and thus proclaimed her preference for the ritual standard of 1552. It was not until October that panic seems to have seized the Queen, who realized her imminent peril from the accession to the throne of Scotland of the wife of Francis II., the new King of France. Then, but not till then, were introduced the crucifix with lights burning before it at Evensong, the table was put back against the east wall, and the new device of clothing the Epistoler and

Gospeller in copes to match that of the celebrant was adopted with the deliberate design of misleading the 'Catholic" powers as to her intentions. She even pretended to be about to introduce these things in every parish church, and also to marry the Archduke. Both pretences were abandoned as soon as they had served their purpose. But none of them are evidence of the meaning of her Act of Uniformity; quite the contrary. The cope was never worn in the manner directed by the First Prayer-Book, but the surplice at Holy Communion was enforced everywhere by every authority in Church and State from 1559 downwards, as I have shown in "Were Mass Vestments worn under Elizabeth's Act?" and in direct violation of the rules of the First Book of Edward. The "fraud Rubric" confessedly had no "authority of Parliament": that was definitely ruled in the Ridsdale Judgment, and without that "authority" its substitution for the statutory Rubric of 1552, no less than the entire suppression of the latter, was nothing less than a fraud. The same remark applies to the Rubric which substituted the "accustomed place" of Marian usage, and disallowed the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon and Chancellor, or other "deputy" of the Bishop, which the statutory Rubric of 1552 had recognized.

Another evidence of fraud is that many of the ornaments of 1549 could not possibly be "used" ritually under the Second Prayer-Book. The oil vessels for unction at Visitation of the Sick, or in Infant Baptism; the pyx in which the consecrated bread was carried out of church; the "corporas" on which that bread was consecrated could not "be in use" in the ritual sense. The two Archbishops ruled that "if no ceremony be prescribed, the so-called 'ornament' has no place."

Then, again, the thirtieth injunction, by prescribing the usages of the "latter year of the *reign* of King Edward" flatly contradicted the language of the "fraud Rubric." For that regnal year, which commenced on January 28, 1553, the "seventh year of Edward," witnessed the exclusive use of "surplice only," the cope being then forbidden by name. In the extract from Soames, given on p. 33, he erroneously dates this as Edward's "fifth" year—a double mistake. For the Act was passed April 14, 1552—*i.e.*, in the sixth year of Edward—and for the first ten months of that year did not come into force at all. He also states that the injunctions were issued by "a Commission under the Great Seal," whereas they state on their forefront that they were "ministered to her loving subjects" by the Queen herself, "by the advice of her most honourable Council"—a totally different body from the "Commissioners under the Great Seal for causes ecclesiastical, who alone were authorized to take other order in the matter of ornaments." Soames wrote in 1839 before the rise of ritualism, and had no share of the "new light" which subsequent litigation and the foreign State Papers have since furnished.

The statement that the proviso was "due to the Queen" (p. 33) is

unwarranted. Parker's account (Parker Correspondence, 375) refers only to Section 26, which did not deal with ornaments, but only with additional rites and ceremonies. The difference between taking "other" order (*i.e.*, giving administrative directions) and "publishing" some document containing "further" orders should not have been overlooked.

As to the "Interpretations" so-called, Canon Harford has justly remarked that there is "no real evidence that they were ever published, enforced, or obeyed by anybody" (Dict., p. 520, note 2). On p. 704, note 2, he also disposes completely of the foolish notion that copes were worn in "the latter year of King Edward's reign."

From internal evidence the spurious "Rubric" is convicted. The author of it supposed that the "authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward II." governed and prescribed the ornaments which "were in use" in that year. But not only was that not the case, but the Act (which passed only in the last week of that year) had for its express object to put an end to, and to render penal, the use of the (non-parliamentary) ritual of that year which was legally continued till Midsummer Day in the third year. The statutory proviso, on the contrary, merely asserts that the existence of the simplified ritual of 1549 rested solely on a parliamentary basis, and the reason for such an "Erastian" insistence I have shown in "Craving for Mass Vestments," pp. 66-73. The very words "according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book" show that the so-called Rubric must have been of later date than the passing of the Act, and would have been quite superfluous if, like the rest of the book, it were itself of statutory authority.

J. T. TOMLINSON.

Notices of Books.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI, AND JONAH. By H. G. Mitchell, D.D.; J. M. Powis Smith, Ph.D.; and J. A. Bewer, Ph.D. Edinburgh: *T. and T. Clark.* Price 12s.

The present volume is contributed by three American scholars. Dr. Mitchell comments on Haggai and Zechariah, Dr. Smith on Malachi, and Dr. Bewer on Jonah.

After giving a concise and lucid account of the doings of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius I. (Hystaspes) as a historical background to the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, Dr. Mitchell carefully examines and rightly sets aside Koster's revolutionary theory which denies the historicity of Cyrus's decree and the return of the exiles in his reign. In a subsequent chapter, the genuineness of the Book of HAGGAI is accepted, and we are told that "the book is so brief that it seems almost ridiculous to suspect its unity" (p. 28).

Nevertheless, we read on p. 36 that "only about two-thirds of it can be attributed to the prophet." The emendation of *ḥemdath* (= desire) to *ḥamudoth* (= treasures) in ii. 7, and the rendering of *kevod* (= glory) by "wealth," seems unwarrantably to *limit* the Divine promise to a mere *material* blessing.

More than half of the volume is devoted to ZECHARIAH. The prophet's life, style, and teaching are carefully discussed, and the genuineness of the first eight chapters of his book is accepted. As it is well known, scholars have held divergent opinions as to the date and authorship of the remaining six chapters. The first impulse to question Zechariah's authorship of chapters ix.-xiv. was given by the citation in St. Matt. xxvii.9. The Evangelist, quoting Zech. xi. 13, ascribes it to "Jeremiah the prophet." More than a century before Astruc published his "Conjectures" on Genesis, an English scholar, Joseph Mede (1638), in trying to remove the difficulty, had ventured to suggest that from internal evidence *Jeremiah* must have been the real author of Zech. ix.-xi. Mede's suggestion has been adopted and modified by subsequent scholars, the vast majority of whom holding that the last six chapters are *pre*-exilic. Professor Mitchell, however, ascribes these six chapters to four different authors, and assigns to them dates ranging from 333 to 217 B.C. Apart from the fact that the Canon of the Prophetic books, at any rate, must have been closed at such a late date, the consideration of the following facts will show conclusively that the Professor's verdict is untenable: (1) There is no trace of *late* Hebrew in these chapters; (2) as in Hos. vii. 11, the two dominant Powers are Egypt and Assyria (x. 10, 11); (3) the Israelites of the Northern Kingdom are still an existing Power (ix. 10, xi. 14); (4) teraphim and diviners (x. 2) are still consulted by the people, and there are idols and false prophets in the land. In the Greek period such things would have been impossible. Dr. Mitchell's attempt to explain these difficulties away seems to us arbitrary and fanciful.

Dr. Powis Smith's introduction to MALACHI is excellent. He rightly rejects the Maccabæan date proposed by some: "The Book of Malachi fits the situation amid which Nehemiah worked as snugly as a bone fits its socket" (p. 7).

Dr. Bewer tells us confidently that the Book of JONAH is not history. "It is a story with a moral, a parable, a prose poem, like the story of the Good Samaritan" (p. 4); and it "was written between 400 and 200 B.C." (p. 13). "Luke A. Williams," on p. 5, ought to be "A. Lukyn Williams." The volume is both learned and suggestive, and the standpoint is that of a Higher Critic, though not extreme. The Hebrew student will find the notes on the Hebrew text most useful. The attempt to explain away the Messianic prophecies is unsatisfactory. K. E. KHODADAD.

THE PRAYER-BOOK DICTIONARY. Edited by the Rev. Canon Harford and the Rev. Canon Morley Stevenson, with the Rev. J. W. Tyrer as Assistant Editor. *Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd.* Price 25s.

The preface by the Lord Bishop of Liverpool to this great work is in itself almost a sufficient review of it, and certainly sufficient recommendation. We are able thoroughly to endorse the opinion of Dr. Chavasse when he says that the Editors and writers can be credited with a great measure of success in their attempt to realize a threefold aim—viz., comprehensiveness

of range, fairness in controversial questions, fulness and accuracy of data. The scope is, indeed, extraordinarily wide, embracing the origins, history, use, and teaching of the several authorized editions of the Book of Common Prayer within the Anglican Communion, as well as Church structure and fittings in relation to worship, and the legislative, judicial, or administrative authorities now or formerly exercising powers in the Church. But the Editors are to be congratulated on the fact that this comprehensiveness has not been obtained at the expense of adequate fulness of treatment.

That the presentation of facts is not unbalanced and one-sided is revealed at once by a glance at the list of contributors, in which are to be found such well-known and representative names as those of the Bishop of Durham, the Rev. T. A. Lacey, Dean Wace, Prebendary Wakeford, Provost Staley, and the Bishop of Ripon.

Each contributor has been allowed complete freedom in the expression of his convictions and opinions, but at the same time, in all articles on controversial topics, it is good to see that there is also a fair-minded statement of the grounds on which others have been led to different conclusions.

One great feature of the work is the prominence which has been given to ethical and practical subjects which deal with the effective working out of the Prayer-Book system in the conduct of Church services and in the work of the Parish. These are so excellently treated and full of suggestiveness that they should serve to make the dictionary a valuable book of reference for the parochial clergyman. Moreover, the incumbent will find that the articles on matters of legal interest and importance are clearly expressed and illuminating. The book is thoroughly well equipped with valuable synopses and a subject index, while a liberal system of cross-references makes its contents especially easy of access.

"The Prayer-Book Dictionary" is a volume which we can cordially recommend to students and teachers and parochial clergy alike, and even to choir-masters. It has supplied a long-felt need. It will be surprising if the closing prayer of the Bishop of Liverpool's preface is not answered—that the book "may tend to confirm the faith and the loyalty of many, to remove ignorance and prejudice, and to commend the truth."

CIVILIZATION AT THE CROSS ROADS. By J. N. Figgis, Litt.D. London: *Longmans and Co.* 1912. Price 5s.

No one who heard Dr. Figgis deliver his Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge four years ago will be likely to forget them. If they were effective and profoundly arresting when delivered from the pulpit of Great St. Mary's, they were not less so when published in volume form, under the title of "The Gospel and Human Needs"; for those lectures were a deliberate challenge to much that passes as current Christianity, which, as the preacher showed, was a poor thing, inadequate to meet the needs of human life, because emptied of that which makes Christianity a living vital thing. What has too long been forgotten by the fashionable neologism of the times is the Central Fact—the "cruciality" of the Cross, as Dr. Forsyth terms it. Liberal theology has largely broken down there, in so far as it has attempted to substitute a code of ethics for the redemptive process which is at the root of the religion of Jesus Christ. In the present volume—which is to be

regarded as a continuation of the earlier book—Dr. Figgis hammers home the great cardinal truth that the early Evangelicals never once misunderstood nor forgot—namely, that if the world is to be brought back to the feet of Christ, it can only be achieved in one way—the re-awakening of the sense of sin (grown now an unfashionable doctrine), and the re-erection of the Cross as the central fact of the world's spiritual history. The book is starred with wise words, with words of caustic irony, and with words of penetrating criticism; but the criticism, the irony, the wisdom, all point to one great theme—Calvary. And herein lies the chief value of the book, as Dr. Figgis undoubtedly meant it to be. We are not concerned, for the present, to examine Dr. Figgis's statements or conclusions in reference to the hundred and one problems that arise in the course of these four lectures; with some we are in quick sympathy, with some we cannot agree. He may be depicting the disease of the age in too lurid colours for aught we know; but of this we are sure, that, in his main contention, he is indisputably right. And that is why we hope the book will be read and pondered by every thinking man who feels (and who does not?) that the heart of modern civilization beats feverishly, that all is *not* "right with the world," and that our pursuit after this and that ideal substitute for God can bring no peace nor abiding satisfaction. Amid our "sick hurry and divided aims," the words of Him, in Whom we see the human face of God, come with a strange power, an enduring authority. We find our *selves* only in finding *Him*. E. H. B.

MISSIONARY METHODS: ST. PAUL'S OR OURS? By Roland Allen, M.A. The Library of Historic Theology. *Robert Scott*. Price 5s. net.

Mr. Allen goes for us all with hammer and tongs, and it makes us like him all the better for it. That he has a message for the Church is beyond doubt, and no one who feels any responsibility in the missionary enterprise can afford to disregard his argument, which is thus: St. Paul established self-supporting independent Churches (not missions) at strategic centres, leaving them to work out their own salvation, while he himself broke fresh ground elsewhere. They decided who should be baptized, they ordained their own clergy, they had complete control of their own finance. He laid the elemental foundation, and trusted the Holy Spirit in them for all the rest. Never, if he could possibly help avoiding it, would he exercise his authority. "He deliberately preferred strife and division, heartburnings and distresses and failures, to laying down a law." Six months' work sufficed to leave behind a complete Church, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating, Spirit-led.

Without mercy Mr. Allen points out the chasm of difference which separates our modern methods of leading-strings from all this. Our missions are exotic, dependent, and of a fixed common type; we have no faith in the ability of our converts to do anything by themselves; everything makes for a permanent foreign domination. We hand them a Western liturgy and a fully developed, ready-made theology, and put them under a monarchical foreign Bishop. "We have managed their funds, ordered their services, built their churches, provided their teachers. We have nursed them, fed them, doctored them. We have trained them, and have even ordained some of them. We have done everything for them except acknowledge any equality. We have

done everything for them, but very little with them. We have done everything for them except give place to them."

It is a book to be reckoned with and to be weighed; for if Mr. Allen is only partly right, there must be great changes and at once.

A Tremendous Awakening; or, My Dead Prayer-Book brought back to Life. By B. H. Mullen, M.A. London: *Sherratt and Hughes.*

The manuscript of this book was completed two years ago. Since then it has been submitted to various friends of the writer, who have urged its publication. A well-known Evangelical clergyman, the Rev. E. W. Moore, Incumbent of Emmanuel Church, Wimbledon, thus writes of the book: "I have read your manuscript with great interest and, I hope, profit. It cannot, I think, fail to be useful. With your main position I am thoroughly in accord—that is, that sanctification is a definite experience, an act of God received by faith, and not to be confused with the gradual advance to maturity which follows."

The Latin Works and Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli, together with Selections from his German Works. Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D. London: *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* Price 9s. net.

Zwingli is one of the most interesting and fascinating characters connected with the Reformation movement, as he is also, certainly, the most fearless in his attitude towards the Church of Rome. His religious views are perhaps more misrepresented in the present day than those of any other of the prominent reformers. Dr. Jackson is therefore rendering most invaluable service to all English-speaking students of Church history in enabling them for the first time to obtain a direct and first-hand knowledge of Zwingli's teaching. He is well acquainted with his subject, having already published "Selections from Zwingli" (1901), besides being the author of a life of "Huldreich Zwingli" in the able and scholarly "Heroes of the Reformation" series. Thus he is eminently fitted for his present task. A new and most valuable edition of Zwingli's works has since 1903 been appearing in Switzerland, edited by two eminent Swiss scholars, and Professor Jackson is fortunate in having obtained their permission to consult this work in the preparation of his English translation. Dr. Jackson prefaces this first volume with the "Original Life of Zwingli," written by his great friend Myconius, which has not been translated into English since 1561, and this is followed by a number of Zwingli's poems and writings covering the years 1510–1522. The translators have evidently bestowed much time, effort, and patience on their work, with the result that the style is most popular and entertaining. In 1522 Zwingli published his treatise on "Liberty Respecting Food in Lent," in which for the first time he definitely assailed the recognized teaching of the Medieval Church. It is a remarkable proof of his originality and independence of thought that at this early date, not much over a year after Luther had publicly burned the Papal Bull at Wittenberg, Zwingli had already so fully adopted the fundamental position of the Reformers in their determination to bring every current doctrine or ceremony to the touchstone of the Scriptures. "Food," he declared, "can never become

bad except it is used immoderately; for a certain time does not make it bad, but rather the abuse of men, when they use it without moderation and belief. . . . Let each one fast as often as the spirit of true belief urges him. But according to the law of Christ we are free at all times" (p. 80). "Show me," he appeals, "on the authority of the Scriptures that one cannot fast with meat" (p. 88).

The same appeal to the final authority of the Scriptures lies at the basis of Zwingli's petition for "priests to preach and to marry," and also of his lengthy but powerfully convincing argument in reply to the admonition of the Bishop of Constance, with which this volume closes. We shall look forward with much interest to the appearances of the succeeding volumes which Professor Jackson is preparing to complete Zwingli's treatises in English.

C. SYDNEY CARTER.

PRIMITIVE CHURCH TEACHING ON THE HOLY COMMUNION. By the Rev. E. M. Goulbourn, D.C.L., D.D. New Edition. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 1s. 6d. net.

This book was first published in 1874 as an appendix to the writer's Commentary on the Communion Office. It has chapters on Fasting Communion, Non-communicating Attendance, Auricular Confession, the Doctrine of Sacrifice, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It is needless to say that the book is beautifully written, and that the tone is devotional throughout. The counsels as to Fasting Communion are very sane. The condition of the spirit is regarded as of primary importance, and the body as strictly ancillary. People should communicate at whatever hour of the day their spirits are most prepared. On Non-communicating Attendance, Mr. Scudamore's well-founded conclusions are adopted. The sacrificial teaching of the office is discussed with reference to the Sin-offering, the Burnt-offering, the Peace-offering. With regard to the oblation of the bread and wine, Dr. Goulbourn rightly points out the sacrificial idea present to the mind of the Early Church, but his language about our Prayer-Book needs to be slightly modified in view of Bishop Dowden's recent thesis. Dr. Goulbourn's book could be very usefully recommended to confirmation candidates.

"LOTUS BUDS." By Amy Wilson-Carmichael. London: *Morgan and Scott.*

If you have a friend who is fond of children, and whom you wish to win for the Missionary cause, you must give such a one "Lotus Buds." The sheer delight of the opening chapters will capture *any* woman's heart, and as your friend reads on and learns how these happy children are ensnared and enslaved by the horror of "marriage" to the heathen Temple, it will be strange indeed if sympathy is not roused, prayer offered, and aid given. For the "Lotus Buds" are the little girl children of India in all their freshness and innocence as they come from the hands of God, yet dedicated to the Temple-life and doomed to a life of shame. Very pathetic is our authoress's pleading, and wonderfully captivating is her book. It is most beautifully illustrated with charming photographs taken by one whose work proclaims him an expert, and these greatly enhance the value of the volume. Authoress, photographer, and publishers are to be thanked and congratulated on the production of a beautiful book.

To Whom shall We Go? By the Rev. L. Ashby, M.A. *Elliot Stock.* Price 2s.

Sixteen short sermons on diverse topics by a former Missionary in North India. Bishop Ingham has written a foreword, commending them as a message for this day and generation. They are very full of Scripture quotations, and are illustrated by incidents from the Mission Field. They are simple and evangelical, and many will find them helpful.

The Christ-Age in Recent Literature. By W. E. Mosher, Ph.D. New York: *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* Price 5s. net.

Faith, Freedom, and the Future. By P. T. Forsyth, D.D. London: *Hodder and Stoughton.* Price 5s.

These two books may be conveniently considered together, for the problems that arise out of them have an intimate connection. Dr. Mosher chooses ten well-known novelists and dramatists, all of European celebrity, whose works he proceeds to analyze, on the ground that they, one and all, display pronounced interest "in the Christ-figure and the message of Christ." Dr. Forsyth, on the other hand, deals with the new issues evoked by a certain attitude towards Christianity as manifested in the Free Churches. The two books are unlike in this respect that they busy themselves with diverse interpretations of the same question, but they so far converge in that, in both, the same note of interrogation confronts us: "What think ye of Christ?" The treatment is, of course, radically different; the answer given to the query is not less different; but the lines of inquiry meet in a single Figure. On the answer that we give to that query the future of religion, and therefore of the higher civilization, must inevitably depend.

The solution of the problem proposed—namely, the significance of the Christ-message to this age—is, despite all seeming variations, not dissimilar, as far as novelist and dramatist can be said to offer any solution at all. The Christ of the advanced thinker in the literary arena is, in the main, a purely human one. He crosses the stage of human history, a figure infinitely tender and pathetic, with a message full of suggestiveness, to pass out again leaving us with the consciousness of a great ideal, a wonderful hope, a world-wide example. But He is *not* the Christ of the Gospel; *not* the centre of the spiritual life as hidden with God, *not* the sure warrant of man's reconciliation and redemption. What we have to ask is, however, quite plain and quite equally inevitable: Is Christ the ideal Man only, the transfiguration of humanity, with its destiny still a surmise, or is He the completion of that destiny, the focus of a system of ends, the centre of a redemptive reality that turns upon the twin notions of Sin and Grace? The distinction is not a theological one; it is simply vital. And it is well that we should clearly understand that, in regard to this matter, religion to-day stands at the cross-roads of experience and of belief. Dr. Forsyth, in his brilliant (if at times one-sided) book leaves us in no doubt. The Christ he postulates is the Christ who, infinitely human in His historic setting, is yet the Incarnation of God's purpose in the world. He will not for a moment allow us to forget or evade the centrality of Redemption, the actuality of that single eternal fact. The "Ecce Homo" of the novelist and the dramatist *is* posited, in a living nexus of spiritual relations, the "Ecce Deus" of faith.

If, in the course of his most careful and suggestive pages, Dr. Forsyth seems to forget the part that Institutional Christianity, the Christianity of Catholicism (we use the word in its widest sense) has played in history, that is, perhaps, only to be expected; he writes as a convinced Independent. But it is, no doubt, somewhat of a blot on an otherwise admirable work. None the less, we cannot take leave of it without a word of heartfelt satisfaction that so eminent a teacher and preacher has, with an accent not to be mistaken, vindicated the Evangelical position, and, by so doing, cleared the way for a fresh re-statement of the truth whereby the Church lives.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

THE BOOK OF RUTH. By R. H. J. Stewart, S.J. *David Nutt.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

A literal translation of the Book of Ruth, with introduction and full grammatical notes. We do not agree with the author's methods of giving students nothing but predigested food. Such food tends to the decay of the mental teeth. The notes are full—too full, perhaps, because of frequent repetition; while "daghesh" is consistently misspelt "dagesh." Still, the author proves that he has considerable teaching powers by his clear explanations of various constructions, and he deserves a word of real praise for the short —all too short—introduction. Its six pages are undoubtedly the best part of the book.

MINISTER'S DIARY. London: *Hodder and Stoughton.* Price 2s. and 3s.

A diary well fitted for the busy parochial clergyman, and not too cumbrous for his pocket.

THE HOLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By R. M. Johnston, M.A. London: *Constable and Co.* Price 6s. net.

This cleverly and ably written book adds one more to the numerous attacks on the Christian Faith. Under the guise of "historical" criticism, Mr. Johnston seeks to rewrite what he considers "the essential facts of Christianity" "in terms of dispassionate historical observation." This "dispassionate" attitude is presumably displayed in a number of unsupported dogmatic assertions, which prove Mr. Johnston's position to be virtually that of the avowed modern sceptic.

Thus prophecy and miracle are curtly dismissed as the result of "religious emotion, concentration, and introspection." Moses is, of course, a "legendary" character. Jehovah is merely the tribal Jewish god, and His cult on a par with those of Persia or Babylon; while Christianity as regards its "myths and legends" is remarkably parallel to Buddhism! Mr. Johnston is in doubt how to regard the Founder of the Christian religion—whether as a mere unhistorical myth, "the tendency of present-day scholarship," which, he asserts, "has much to recommend it," or whether as the real historical Person of the Christian tradition. He "reluctantly" accepts the latter as the more probable, although, of course, "almost all the incidents in the life of Jesus, as recorded in the Christian books, can be described as typical myths." Amongst these "myths" Mr. Johnston includes the Virgin Birth, the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ, whilst the institution of the Lord's Supper is a "pious fraud"! "The same religious myths which had done duty for Zoroaster and for Buddha, that were inextricably bound up with the cult of the deities of Asia and Egypt, from Cybele to Isis, were made to serve for the new God." The Gospel writers—of course, fabricators who "contradict each other—distort facts and insert miracles and pure myths."

A rapid and able summary of the development, life, and thought of the Christian Church down to modern times is skilfully compressed into a few short chapters, and Mr. Johnston illustrates from American Church life what he considers the modern religious tendency, in which "miracle and myth are slowly being abandoned. The belief in hell disappeared quite rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in another fifty years the belief in heaven may quite conceivably have gone too." Legend and mystery, Mr. Johnston declares, "are of the essence of religion," and "all that Comte lacks" is a legend to make him "The originator of a new religion." Voltaire in the eighteenth century prophesied the speedy and certain extinction of Christianity; Mr. Johnston is, however, a little less venturesome. He can trace its decline with "reasonable accuracy," but he hesitates to say "what stage that decline has reached."

There is nothing new in all this. In spite of all the supposed and elaborate parallels drawn between Christianity and other religions, modern missionary enterprise and progress proves conclusively that Jesus Christ is the one and only Catholic man, and His religion that alone which appeals to and adapts itself to all ages, countries, and peoples. The Christian Faith has survived the virulent persecutions of its early growth, the corruptions and superstitions of the Middle Ages, the inhuman cruelties and sufferings inflicted for its professed defence by its misguided and fanatical adherents, the blatant scepticism and infidelity of the eighteenth century, and it is not likely to be seriously affected by the attacks of modern rationalists, or even of "dispassionate" historical critics like Mr. Johnston. Mr. Lecky's statement still remains incontrovertible when he says "that it was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which through all the changes of eighteen centuries has filled the hearts of men with an impassioned love, and has shown itself capable of acting in all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions . . . and has exerted so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of [Christ's] active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and than all the exhortations of moralists" ("History of European Morals," ii. 88). C. SYDNEY CARTER.

Received: QUIET TALKS ABOUT OUR LORD'S RETURN. By S. D. Gordon. London: *Fleming H. Revell Company.* Price 2s. 6d. net. Another volume of a very helpful series. THROUGH THE GATES INTO THE CITY. By Isabella C. McCleod Campbell. London: *Morgan and Scott, Ltd.* Price 1s. net. THE CHURCH AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC. By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. London: *Macmillan and Co.* Price 4d. UNDER THE YOKE. By Ivan Vazoff. London: *William Heinemann.* Price 6s. ARTHUR T. PIERSON: A BIOGRAPHY. By Delavan Leonard Pierson. London: *James Nisbet and Co., Ltd.* Price 6s. net. Will be very welcome to the many whom Arthur Pierson helped. THEOPNEUSTIA. By L. GAUSSEN, D.D. London: *Chas. J. Thynne.* Price 1s. 6d. net. SONGS OF GOD AND MAN. By Anna Bunston. London: *Herbert and Daniel.* Price 3s. 6d. net. HIS SANCTUARY. London: *E. Marlborough and Co.* Price 1s. net. PENNELL OF BANNU. By A. L. London: *C.M.S.* Price 6d. Worth many times its price. The story of a remarkable man. SELECTION OF TEXTS FROM THE TAUCHNITZ EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By the Countess of Strafford. London: *Elliot Stock.* Price 3s. 6d. net. THE CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN THE EAST. London: *Student Christian Movement.* Price 2s. net. THE UPAS TREE. By Florence L. Barclay. London: *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* Price 3s. 6d. net. A new novel by Mrs. Barclay, bearing some signs that she is writing too fast. Not so interesting or so true to life as her earlier books. SUNDAYS AT THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE. By M. G. Archibald, M.A. London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.* Price 3s. 6d. net. LESSONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT. Part I. By the Rev. A. S. Hill Scott, M.A., and the Rev. H. T. Knight, M.A. *Oxford University Press.* Price 3s. 6d. net. OUR EMPIRE. Price 2s. 6d. GOLDEN SUNBEAMS. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 1s. 4d. THE HERALD OF MERCY ANNUAL. Price 1s. TWINKLE TWINKLE STORIES. By William Henry Harding. Price 2s. 6d. net. OPALS FROM SAND. By Mary H. Steer. London: *Morgan and Scott, Ltd.* Price 1s. 6d. net. AIDS TO THE RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE YOUNG. London: *Sherratt and Hughes.* Price 3s. 6d. net. THOUGHTS BEFORE HOLY COMMUNION. By L. H. M. Soulsby. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 1s. net. JUDGE FAIRLY. By the Rev. W. Lockett. Price 1s. 6d. net. COMMUNION WITH GOD. By M. Le M. D. A GUIDE TO ECCLESIASTICAL LAW. By Henry Miller. London: *Chas. J. Thynne.* Price 1s. net. THE TESTING OF MICHAEL TREMAYNE. By Grace Pettman. Price 1s. IN ROYAL SERVICE. By M. C. Ramsay. Stirling: *Drummond's Tract Depot.* Price 1s. LETTERS TO HIS CHILDREN ON CONFIRMATION. By the late Rev. F. J. A. Hort, D.D. Price 6d. WANTED A MAN. By the Rev. E. W. Moore, M.A. London: *The Religious Tract Society.* Price 1s. net. MARTIN SPADE. By Violet T. Kirke. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 1s. 6d. CHURCHMAN'S BIBLE-READING MANUAL AND KALENDAR. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 4d. DEVOTIONAL HOURS WITH THE BIBLE. By J. R. Miller, D.D. London: *Hodder and Stoughton.* Price 5s. A welcome addition to the work that Dr. Miller has done for devotional reading. MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT. By Charles Dickens. London: *T. Nelson and Sons.* Price 6d. THE BURDEN OF THE BALKANS. By M. Edith Durham. London: *T. Nelson and Sons.* Price 1s. net.