Vol. xxvii., No. 87, New Series. **MARCH, 1913.**

THE CHURCHMAN

A Monthly Magazine and Review

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CONTENTS.

THE CHURCHMAN

March, 1913.

The Month.

The Future of the Church of England.

In the January number of the *Church Quarterly* an anonymous article discusses the position and future of the Church of England, taking as its text the Charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered to his diocese last year. After noting the expansion of the Church throughout the world, the writer turns to the Church in England, and proceeds most interestingly to examine the position. He expresses surprise that the Oxford Movement, with all its earnestness and activity, has not more obviously strengthened the Church of England, but he finds reasons for the fact. The mass of Englishmen have an almost unconquerable strain of Protestantism in them. Where the Oxford Movement has weakened this strain it has tended to drive people in the direction of latitudinarianism, and even of indifference, rather than of enhanced Church life. He gives other reasons for the alleged failure of the Movement, but this is the most interesting and thought-provoking. The writer is obviously in no sense a mere partisan. There are plenty of signs of his fairness and moderation in the article, as, for instance, his commendation of the work done both by Pusey House and Wycliffe Hall in Oxford. His fairness makes this allegation all the more worthy of consideration. The Oxford Movement in its developments is still with us. If it is responsible in any degree for the indifference and looseness of to-day, it has seriously damaged the Church of England, and, indeed, religion generally in England.

The Oxford Movement.

We are most anxious not to be unfair to the Oxford Movement. We willingly admit that the Church has learnt much from it. But its ideals and our own in the sphere of real religion differ seriously, sometimes beyond the point of reconciliation. It has created a clericalism which has cost the Church the sympathy of thousands. It has tended to make the religion of Christ sacramental and sacerdotal rather than spiritual. In that it has to some extent displaced the Bible as the ultimate authority in matters of faith and practice, in that it has obscured the great truth of the individual's free right of access to God, we venture to assert that it has gone contrary to that freedom that is almost instinctively dear to the great mass of the people of our country. So long as its adherents maintain this particular attitude, they will never be the force that they might be in winning England for God. As it is always a fact that *corruptio optimi pessima est*, so we cannot help feeling that the anonymous writer has considerable show of reason for his contention that the Oxford Movement must be numbered amongst the causes of the rationalism and the indifference of to-day.

Remedies.

The writer of the article is no pessimist; he believes that there is plenty of hope in the outlook, but there is also plenty for us to do. The clergy must teach and preach better, and they must learn courageously and really to grant to the laity a full share in ecclesiastical life and administration. Again, we must win the educated classes. Questions of criticism and of science must be thoughtfully and fully faced. The religion of the more educated classes, and therefore ultimately of all classes, depends upon the capacity of the clergy to handle the problems of to-day aright. The clergy must themselves be better educated, must be taught to be better students. This will not be accomplished merely by demanding a pass degree in Arts from all future ordinands. Graduation is not necessarily education; sometimes, indeed, the preparing of half a dozen subjects for examination purposes not only does not

teach men to think, but so entirely tires them that it tends to have a precisely opposite effect. The problem of clerical education is a difficult one, but the most pressing need really seems to be the extension of the time over which it is spread. The writer of the *Church Quarterly* article certainly seems to see this point when he spends the last page or two of his article in emphasizing the importance of devoting our attention to the schools which we already possess, and the children whom we are educating in them. In two directions we find a call to the Evangelical School. It has schools few but excellent. Those we have need larger help, and we need more schools. It has means for training numbers of the right kind of clergy, and of training them well. But money is needed for the purpose, and, though it may be unwelcome to us to be told the fact, it is a fact that but few seem to be willing to help our schools, our colleges, and our ordination funds, as their importance and their splendid opportunity demands. The children of to-day and the clergy of to-morrow may make or mar the spiritual welfare of our country. If Evangelicalism really understood the issue, it would not be left to a few generous souls to provide the means for the education of both. If the test of relative generosity be applied, it does sometimes seem as if Evangelicals do not really care as much as those of other schools. We believe the truth is, they do not really understand.

Religious Unity.

We wish to commend to our readers a recently-published book on "Religious Unity." The writer of it is the Rev. Herbert Kelly, until recently Warden of the Society of the Sacred Mission, and still, in our judgment, the personal embodiment of the ideals of that remarkable body. Kelham stands for a narrow Ecclesiasticism, miscalled Catholicism, the predominance of which in the Church of England would be disastrous. Kelham stands, too, for a strenuousness and a virility which attempt in season and out of season to impress their influence upon the Church. This book, however, suggests something in the nature of a change. Mr.

Kelly tells us that up to 1908 he was living in a water-tight compartment—we should be inclined to add very water-tight. In that year he was, as he puts it, over-persuaded to attend the summer camp of the Student Christian Movement at Baslow. Baslow became a revelation to him, and we believe that he would admit that he caught there a vision of real Catholicism. The vision meant for him a reconsideration of his whole position. The book before us represents his thinking in print. We do not propose to review it at this moment or to criticize it; we hope to do so later. We do, however, ask that it should be read, and read in the right spirit. Mr. Kelly puts that spirit exactly when he writes the following paragraph:

"I am in this paragraph giving only my own personal opinion, when I say that I have learnt to doubt whether any great measure of Church reform can be carried through till we can bring to it from somewhere a new mind, in earnest over principles and ends, less absorbed over narrow personal and local sections, less nervously jealous over formalities."

The book is an appeal to Protestantism—using the word in its truest sense—to accept what has sometimes been called the fuller vision of the Catholic faith. We fear that we shall not be able to accept the implications involved in the phrase and in the book; we fear that Mr. Kelly is asking for much more than he realizes. But we do feel that the book, and especially the spirit of it, will help us to approach our greatest differences in a way that must in the long-run lead to a better understanding of our respective positions, and a clearer view of what is really essential in each. The title of the book is, "The Church and Religious Unity."[1]

Degrees in Divinity.

It is now some time since we referred to the question of opening the Divinity degrees at the older Universities to Nonconformist candidates. In the interval considerable progress has been made, but the goal is by no means yet reached. At Oxford the statute enacting the alteration has been amended by the addition of words which

[1] London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 4s. 6d. net.

connect the degrees definitely with *Christian* theology. With such a safeguard as this we are in the fullest sympathy. The statute, so amended, has still to secure the approval of Convocation. Cambridge is now committed to the opening of the degrees, and consideration is at present being bestowed on the alterations, if any, which should consequently be made in the statutes for the Lady Margaret and Regius Professorships of Divinity. At Durham the question was closed for the time being owing to the veto exercised by the Bishop in his capacity as Visitor to the University. It is not improbable, however, that, in consequence of the happenings at Oxford and Cambridge, it will be in due time reopened, and that the Bishop, who in a recently-published letter has declared himself in sympathy with the opening of degrees to Nonconformist Christians, will (to quote his own words) "give careful and respectful attention to whatever may be thus laid before me."

Lenten Meditation.

The present issue of the CHURCHMAN finds us in the middle of the Lenten season, a time, for those who pay attention to the order of the Church's seasons, of thought and self-examination. At such a period it is not unusual—in fact, is is rather conventional—to deplore the rush and strain of modern life, and to think how much more congenial solitude and the simple life would be to quiet introspection. And the resulting conclusion is, that meditation such as Lent demands is difficult, if not impossible, for the modern man. On this topic a recent leading article in the *Times* has spoken with the greatest wisdom and good sense, and the substance of its words would have made an excellent Lenten pastoral for Churchmen generally. The writer deals with the contention that modern life imposes far more nervous strain than civilized mankind has ever known before. The telephone, the telegraph, the taxi-cab, all invented with the idea of making life more smooth and its work more easy, are supposed to be the fruitful cause of weariness and nervous breakdown. In the wilderness, where these things are unknown, thought might

flourish and quiet meditation be a pleasure. The only way to possess our souls is to escape from our distracting environment. Now, to think thus, and on the plea of such a thought to excuse one's self from any attempt at quiet reflection, is both misguided and untrue.

The Real Need.

The writer of the article frankly questions the whole proposition that life, either in desert solitudes or the more primitive conditions, say, of the Middle Ages, was more conducive to thought than are the conditions of the present day. "An Italian citizen," he says, "of the fourteenth century, who lived in constant dread of seeing his home destroyed by ruthless *condottieri*, and found neither safety nor quietude from the cradle to the grave, would have thought modern London a place of holy calm." It is well to recall our Lord's words: "The kingdom of God is within you." It is our attitiude to life that matters, and not the special character of the environment. The question is, whether we are to be the masters or the victims of our surroundings. The telephone, the telegraph, and the motor, are so many means for doing the work of life with greater speed and expedition, if we only use them so. They do assist, at any rate, in the securing of that greater opportunity for thought and quiet which we profess so greatly to desire. That the conditions of present-day life are more complex may readily be granted; to unravel the complexity demands energy and spirit. To escape from them wholly is a futile expedient. *Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.* The man who earnestly wishes to refresh and steady his soul by thoughts of God and eternity can either find or make the opportunity now as well as yesterday, in a London suburb as well as on a northern moor.

National Education.

The announcement by Lord Haldane of the intention on the part of the Government to bring in an Education Bill compels Churchmen to face once again the problem of national education. Much will

depend on the spirit in which the discussion is approached from both sides. There are certain vital points on which the Churchman will feel that he cannot willingly either make surrender or admit of compromise. On the other hand, there is always the possibility of a genuine Nonconformist grievance in the single school areas. Nor will anyone maintain that the present condition, in which "provided" compete with "non-provided" schools, can be regarded as a final and ideal system. The central point of the problem lies here. Can the Churchman and the Nonconformist—both of whom wish to have the education of the country based on a Christian foundation—can they agree on a "Bible teaching" satisfactory to each? We have no sympathy with "undenominational" religion as a mode of belief for men and women. But we do think there is sufficient common ground between some of the great historic Nonconformist bodies and the Church of England in their reverence for Holy Scripture, and in their conception of the truths therein contained, for them to stand in firm alliance against any scheme of purely secular national education. The question is, Will they seek such ground with an earnest wish to find it?

The Opium Question.

The Peking Correspondent of the *Times* has recently been writing some articles revealing in a clear light the new perplexities attending the Opium Question in China. The attempt to stop the practice of opium-smoking has enlisted the warm support of the best philanthropic opinion in England and of the most enlightened patriots in China. That England should have assisted in forcing the drug on the people has always been a peculiarly repulsive thought; but now the growing and using of the drug in China is on the increase, and the present Government seems powerless to stop it. It seems also to be the case that much of the opposition to the importation of opium from India rises, not from moral fervour, but from a desire to protect home production, and that if no Indian opium be imported it will simply mean increased

production in China. Supposing China were whole-heartedly against the practice, then the £10,000,000 worth of opium at present lying in the treaty ports might well, on high grounds of humanity, be forbidden to enter; but if the detention of this at the ports simply serves to fill the pockets of the Chinese growers with greater riches, the problem is not so easy of solution. It is simply one more form of the appeal from China for Christ. The traffic will not be stopped till the craving is stopped, and it will need a higher power than that of Government edicts to produce this necessary condition.

The Question of Armenia.

The final issue of the war between Turkey and the Balkan States is not yet in sight, but it seems likely that, with the possible exception of the city of Constantinople, Turkey will be confined to Asiatic soil. The question arises, What will be the attitude of Turkey, defeated and expelled from Europe by Christian forces, towards Christian Armenia? A recent correspondent in the *Daily Chronicle* has pleaded earnestly that this matter should not be forgotten. For more than twenty-five years the Armenians have been subjected to a continuous series of brutal and bloodthirsty massacres. It is true that some who are well conversant with the East hold that the faults are not all on one side. Mr. Lionel James in his thrilling book, "With the Conquered Turk," draws a lurid picture of the way in which unscrupulous Greeks and Armenians in Rodosto exploited the miseries of the hapless Turkish refugees, who with their wives and children were in the last throes of destitution. "Is it to be wondered," says Mr. James, "that the simple and slow-thinking Turk has at times risen in his wrath and exterminated in their hundreds these parasites?" It may be that Armenians have not been without blame, but the commission of inquiry that went to make investigations after the Sassun massacres in 1894 found that there was no justification for the barbarities then practised. The Eastern Question can never be regarded as settled so long as Armenia is left at the mercy of the Turks.

The Teaching of Jesus on Divorce.

By the Rev. G. ESTWICK FORD, B.A.

IN considering the effect upon social life resulting from the estimation in which marrriage has been held, we are struck by a very remarkable similarity between two sets of social conditions which we should naturally expect to have but little in common. In America at the present time facilities for divorce are so abundant that marriage need be no more than a mere temporary convenience; and the moral results of this degradation of marriage are obvious. On the Continent of Europe in the Middle Ages a still more deplorable laxity prevailed. In a report of the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation, July, 1898, the Bishops say: "We speak strongly and justly of the laxity with respect to marriage in our own day, but it is simple fact that greater laxity prevailed in former times, and was recognized by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Western Church." On the same occasion Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London, remarked that whilst it was perfectly true to say that a valid marriage properly contracted was indissoluble, yet during the greater part of the Middle Ages it was almost impossible to say what a valid marriage was. As a matter of fact, what were supposed to be marriages were dissolved with great rapidity and ease—a rapidity and ease of which we have no idea at present. Here again the natural result inevitably followed; and in the Middle Ages conjugal chastity became a theme of universal ridicule.

The question will naturally be asked, What common cause can we discover to account for so similar a laxity in two so diverse societies? There is but one cause: it is the failure to observe the teaching of Jesus Christ on the subject of marriage and divorce. Ignoring the law of Christ which forbids divorce except for the cause of unchastity, modern society in America and elsewhere has debased marriage almost to the level of concubinage at will. Disregarding or misunderstanding the

one exception which Jesus had explicitly made, the rulers of the Church in the Middle Ages decreed marriage to be absolutely indissoluble, and were compelled, by that very hardness of the human heart of which the Divine Legislator had taken account in framing His enactment, to introduce a system of nullifying marriage *ab initio* for a variety of causes, thus producing a condition of things even worse than that occasioned by indiscriminate divorce, seeing that the cause of separation was to be found, not in any conduct, however trivial, arising after marriage, but in circumstances or actions preceding marriage.

And as we consider the astonishing variety of opinion concerning the causes which should justify divorce, as it is displayed, for example, in the evidence before the Royal Commission which has recently been sitting, we cannot help feeling the need for some authoritative guidance, if such can be found, to show us the right way through the labyrinth of conflicting opinions. For us who are members of an avowedly Christian nation there should be no doubt as to whether such guidance is available. Jesus Christ has given a law to His Church on this very subject. If we can clearly ascertain the meaning of that law, we may find in it the guidance we need, and on the basis of it frame our national law. If it be said that all those who unite to form the nation are not necessarily Christians, and therefore should not be compulsorily subject to the law of Christ, the answer is simple: We cannot as a Christian nation debase our standard of legislation in order to accommodate it to a lower moral type within the nation.

Our Lord is reported in the Gospels as having on at least two occasions dealt with this subject; and in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians there are certain sentences which have quite naturally been regarded as throwing light upon Christ's teaching, by showing how that teaching was understood by St. Paul. If we first consider St. Paul's remarks, and dispose of them, we shall the better be able to concentrate our attention upon the teaching of Jesus.

In 1 Cor. vii. the Apostle gives his converts various directions with regard to marriage, speaking for the most part on his own authority ;[1] but there is one charge which he delivers to them not from himself but from the Lord. It is, "That the wife depart not from her husband (but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband); and that the husband leave not his wife." With this we must take the general statement of principle in ver. 39, "A wife is bound for so long a time as her husband liveth." In both these places we have a statement of the Divine ideal of marriage, which the Lord Jesus emphatically reasserted as the rule of life for His disciples. In the former of the two passages no reference is made to the putting away of a wife or husband, whether for adultery or for any other cause. We read only of a wife departing from[2] her husband, and a husband leaving[3] his wife. In neither case is the word employed which in the Gospels is used by our Lord to signify divorce.[4] As a matter of fact, the Apostle is not dealing here with the subject of putting away a wife or husband. He has already, in the second verse, recommended marriage as a remedy against unchastity ; and assuming that his converts after marriage will remain chaste, he warns them against throwing off the marriage bond at their own caprice, in violation of the principle laid down by the Lord Jesus Christ. For it must be remembered that St. Paul is here writing, not as lawgiver, but as pastor and teacher. He is evidently not here concerned about the law of divorce, but about the sanctity and permanence of the marriage bond according to the teaching of the Master ; and he is exhorting both husbands and wives to realize in their married life the ideal set before them by their Lord. The question whether or no it might be permissible to obtain a divorce on the ground of adultery is not under discussion at all, and therefore we cannot rightly draw any inference on that subject from what St. Paul here says. In the latter passage (ver. 39) it seems clear that the question with which the Apostle is dealing is that of a second marriage.

[1] Vers. 6, 12, 25, 40. [2] χωρισθῆναι. [3] ἀφιέναι. [4] ἀπολύειν.

The Christian rule is repeated, but it is explained that this rule operates only during the lifetime of the husband. As soon as he is dead the widow is free to marry again whomsoever she pleases. Here again it is abundantly evident that the question of the lawfulness of divorce for a particular cause does not arise; and it would be exceedingly precarious to base any argument for the absolute indissolubility of marriage upon the bare reference of the writer, in such a context, to the general law of Christian marriage which both he and his readers knew to be binding upon them. There is therefore nothing here, nor is there anything elsewhere in St. Paul's epistles, to show whether he did or did not consider divorce, on the ground of adultery, to be in accordance with our Lord's teaching; and so we are free to approach with an open mind the study of the words ascribed in the Gospels to our Lord.

Of the two utterances of Jesus Christ on this subject, one occurs in the Sermon on the Mount, and is reported by St. Matthew alone; the other arose out of a question addressed to the Lord by certain Pharisees, and is reported by St. Matthew (xix. 1-9) and also by St. Mark (x. 2-12). St. Luke xvi. 18 is regarded by some as a third and separate utterance, by others as derived from the same source as the words in the Sermon on the Mount.

In all these passages the Divine ideal of marriage as an indissoluble union is clearly and emphatically asserted; but in both the places in St. Matthew the general rule laid down by our Lord is qualified by one exception: marriage is declared to be indissoluble "except for the cause of fornication." It is significant that the phrase expressing the exception is not the same in both places, as would probably have been the case if it were an interpolation; but the variety of expression where there is so little room for variety, seeing that in each case the phrase in Greek contains only three words, does certainly suggest that the writer of the Gospel has not only recorded the substance of what was said, but has also given the very words that fell from the lips of Jesus on each occasion.

The fact, however, that St. Mark and St. Luke omit the words containing the exception has led many writers to the conclusion that these words are an interpolation, and that the rule laid down by our Lord affirmed the absolute indissolubility of marriage. Others, accepting the words as genuine utterances of Jesus Christ, have nevertheless arrived at the same conclusion by maintaining that the word πορνεία does not mean adultery, but that it refers to immorality preceding marriage. According to these writers, our Lord permitted marriage to be declared null and void *ab initio* because of such immorality, but maintained the absolute indissolubility of all marriages that were not thus invalidated.

We have therefore to examine in the first place the evidence which has been brought forward in support of the assertion that the words παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας in St. Matt. v. 32, and μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ in St. Matt. xix. 9, were not spoken by Jesus Christ, but were interpolated in both places by the author or editor of this Gospel; for it is recognized that the alleged interpolation is not the work of a copyist, but belongs to the original text. We can scarcely hope to get a fairer or fuller presentation of the case for the interpolation theory than that which is given us by Archdeacon Allen in his "St. Matthew" in the International Critical Commentary, and by Dr. Gore in the October number of the *Birmingham Diocesan Magazine* for the year 1910. It will therefore suffice if we discuss the evidence adduced by these distinguished writers. The following is a summary of the Archdeacon's argument based on St. Matt. v. 32:

(1) It is open to question whether the exception is not an addition of the editor of the Gospel, representing (*a*) Jewish custom and traditions, and (*b*) the exigencies of ethical necessity in the early Christian Church.

(2) The similar exception in xix. 9 is clearly an interpolation; there is therefore a presumption that the exception has been interpolated here.

(3) St. Mark x. 11 and St. Luke xvi. 18 seem to preclude any such exception, as also does 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11.

Now, if for the present we defer the consideration of (1) until we come to deal with the Bishop's argument, and if we assume, for the moment only, that the statement of the general principle in St. Luke xvi. 18—for St. Mark certainly does not refer to the same occasion—by no means necessarily implies that the words of the exception were not spoken by our Lord, it will appear that the cogent part of the above argument is to be found in (2)—viz., the strong inference that the exception in ver. 32 is interpolated, based on the alleged certainty that the exception is an interpolation in xix. 9. Let us therefore at once examine our author's criticism of this latter passage.

After admitting that at first sight St. Matthew seems more likely to be original than St. Mark—for the Jews, having regard to Deut. xxiv. 1-4, did not question the legality of divorce, but only debated about the reasons that should justify it—Archdeacon Allen goes on to say that the writer of St. Matthew is clearly editing St. Mark, and that the words "for every cause" and "except for fornication," which he has interpolated, *are really inconsistent with St. Mark's narrative.* The Pharisees, he argues, put their question about the lawfulness of divorce in order to test Christ, knowing probably from previous utterances of His, such as His remarks on clean and unclean meats, that He would reply in words which would seem directly to challenge the Mosaic law. Christ asks them what Moses commanded, and, on their stating the law of Deut. xxiv., refers them to the prior and higher law in the Creation narrative which set forth the ideal of indissoluble marriage, the exception in the Mosaic law being "an accommodation to a rude state of society." All this our author regards as logical and consistent; but, on the other hand, how hopelessly inconsistent, he pleads, is the narrative in St. Matthew! According to this Gospel, Jesus begins by affirming that, from an ideal standpoint, marriage is indissoluble; then, when the reader is naturally expecting Him to reaffirm in this most absolute sense the sanctity of marriage, He asserts instead that πορνεία constitutes an exception, sides with one of the two rabbinical schools of interpretation, and

thereby acknowledges the validity of the law of Deut. xxiv., thus interpreted, which immediately before He had criticized as "an accommodation to a rude state of social life." This inconsistency, the Archdeacon argues, shows that St. Mark is here original, and that the offending passages in St. Matthew are interpolations.

But where, we may well ask, is the inconsistency? The fact of the matter is that it is wholly of Archdeacon Allen's own creation. With sublime unconsciousness he has wrapped it up in the words which he puts into the mouth of our Lord, and then has triumphantly brought it to light, to the discomfiture of the writer of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. For, in truth, our Lord said nothing whatsoever about the Mosaic law of divorce being "an accommodation to a rude state of social life." These are Archdeacon Allen's words; but Jesus Christ did not use any such words as these, nor are the words ascribed to Him in the Gospels capable of any such meaning. What He really said was entirely different. His words are, "For your hardness of heart Moses wrote you this commandment." It was not the degree of civilization and refinement about which our Lord was speaking, and in respect of which the world of His day might be supposed to have made considerable advance as compared with the times of Moses; but it was the moral condition of men and women, especially in the matter of sexual morality, to which alone He was referring. And were the Jews or the Gentiles in the time of our Lord less hardened in selfish licentiousness than they were in those bygone days?[1] Let the searching "He that is without sin among you," which shamed out of the Temple the accusers of the woman taken in adultery, supply the answer; let the scathing indictment which St. Paul pronounces against Gentile and Jew alike[2] reveal to us how fearfully hard and how sorely infested with the weeds of cruel

[1] Edersheim has aptly shown us how the most delicate social refinement coexisted with a deplorably low standard of sexual morality among the upper classes of Jerusalem in the time of our Lord ("Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," book ii., chap ii., pp. 130, 131).

[2] Rom. i.–iii.

lust was the soil of men's hearts upon which the seed of the Gospel had to be sown. Jesus Christ was legislating for mankind on one of the most vital questions that concern human society. He had to deal, not with ideal conditions, but with human nature as he found it actually confronting Him; and although with all intensity of emphasis He reasserted the Divine ideal as the standard which it was quite possible to attain, and which Almighty God commanded men to live up to, nevertheless His wisdom and His mercy alike forbade Him to embody that ideal of duty in an inflexible marriage law to be imposed upon mankind, when human nature was, and was likely to continue, of such a character as would render ideal legislation of this description a sure and certain means of inflicting injury of the most frightful description upon the innocent and the defenceless. Far from being inconsistent in the fact of making this exception to the indissolubility of marriage, Jesus was most truly and profoundly reasonable and consistent; for how could He annul the exception which man's licentiousness had rightly necessitated, when that licentiousness was in His days even more pronounced and more aggressive than in the days of old?

We need not linger longer over this writer's position. The contention that we have been discussing is admittedly the keystone of his argument, and we have seen how wholly inadequate it is.

The evidence adduced by the Bishop of Oxford in favour of the theory of interpolation requires rather fuller treatment, especially as we must include with it certain points left over from the previous writer's case. The following is an outline of Dr. Gore's argument:

1. It is a certain conclusion of criticism that both the compiler of the first Gospel and St. Luke knew and used St. Mark's Gospel in practically its present form. The additional words in St. Matt. xix. fundamentally alter the character of the Marcan account, and render it altogether less intelligible.

2. The wonder expressed by the disciples at our Lord's

decision is barely intelligible unless He had been announcing the utter abolition of divorce.

3. The first and third Gospels use in common some document other than St. Mark's Gospel, and from this each takes another saying of our Lord about marriage (St. Matt. v. 32 ; St. Luke xvi. 18) ; but here, too, St. Matthew differs from St. Luke in inserting the exception, and, looking at the matter critically, we must conclude that the interpretation thus given is a real departure from the original.

4. Various passages in the Gospels make it evident that where the version given by St. Matthew differs materially from that of St. Mark or St. Luke, the first Gospel is probably less reliable than the other two.

5. It appears to be the case that the Gospel according to St. Matthew was compiled in some Jewish-Christian community, probably in Palestine, where the old Jewish feeling had been allowed to assert itself so far as to modify in respect of marriage the original strictness of our Lord's rule ; the exception clause representing what the compiler of this Gospel imagined the Lord must have meant ; the outcome, however, being a total misrepresentation of what He actually said.

6. The Church has indeed handed down to us the words containing the exception as words of Jesus, but has steadily ignored their natural force ; and at least one other instance of such conduct on the part of the Church is the handing down to us the Epistle to the Hebrews stamped as canonical " on the understanding that one particular passage (Heb. vi. 4-8) is not to be allowed its natural force."

The detailed consideration of these points is reserved for a concluding article.

(*To be concluded.*)

Evangelicals and the Problem of Ritualism.

By Rev. J. R. DARBYSHIRE,
Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

MR. DEWICK'S article on "Evangelicals and the Problem of Ritualism" in the January number of the CHURCHMAN is one that deserves very earnest consideration from Evangelicals who would wish the principles which they maintain to exercise a lasting and beneficial influence in the Church. The *Record*, in noticing that number in which the article appeared, was content to urge that "Mr. Dewick must be a sanguine man"; the *Church Times* accorded his suggestions ampler notice. One can only hope that this is not significant. Mr. Dewick's article deserves to be followed up in two ways. We stand sorely in need of a patient and painstaking inquiry on the lines of the introductory paragraphs of the article in question. What is it in Evangelicals that has caused them to lose the sympathy of large classes of Churchmen? Further, Mr. Dewick's "sanguine" suggestion of the "westward" position should not stand alone. We need an Evangelical "Parson's Handbook"—a manual of proper conduct of Divine service in accordance with Evangelical principles.

If I venture upon a few suggestions here along these two lines, I only do so because some pages of what follows were actually in writing before the January number of this periodical came into my hands.

I.

In former times alienation from Evangelicalism sprang undoubtedly from the fact that a rigid Calvinism survived longer amongst Evangelical teachers than was beneficial to the interests of the party; an unhappy timidity of human enjoyment, a baseless prejudice against general culture, and in some cases an inhuman austerity of manner, characterized the Evangelicals, and contrasted unfavourably with the attractive acceptance of culture and humour on the part of some, at least, of the propagandists

of the Oxford Movement. The result has been that when Evangelicals have gradually emerged from this gloomy attitude, the only way towards being more in keeping with the times has seemed to be the half-reluctant adoption of the apparently more innocent practices inaugurated by men of another school. A little more music, a little more elaboration, a little more ceremonial. This involved two weaknesses: First, the practices adopted were generally accepted, as Mr. Dewick well puts it, because they were "nice." They corresponded, at best, only partially with the development of Evangelical thought; they were in no real way the expressions of Evangelical principles—very little liturgical authority warranted the majority of them; they seemed to be nothing but—again I quote Mr. Dewick—the "sincerest flattery" of the "Romanizers." Who of us does not know the result of this? The Anglo-Catholics spoke of us as "coming on very nicely," or jeered at the adoption of some of their discarded rituals. I remember once being given to read an essay written by an "Anglo-Catholic" on the "Worship of the Plate." They led us gently on, carefully discarding what we reluctantly acquired, much as the *jeunesse dorée* of Piccadilly discard a fashion when it penetrates to the clerks of Cheapside. In the second place, the ritual so adopted was incomplete in itself, and usually very poor in æsthetic appeal. The prejudices of the old clashed with the ambitions of the young; Evangelical principles rightly forbade the diversion of money from spiritual objects to the maintenance of elaborate accompaniments of worship, and we were exposed to some ridicule by the inferior and sometimes gaudy "improvements" of our churches, and the meaningless introduction of semi-choral services. What beauty can lie in a service where the minister speaks his part, and an indifferent choir sings the responses to the necessary but inartistic accompaniment of the organ? What consistency is there in a sung confession and a spoken absolution, or in a spoken Lord's Prayer with a vociferous sung Amen, or, once again, in spoken responses to the versicles, but gaudy and sometimes even jovial *Kyries* in the Communion Service?

These attempts at "brightening" our services, this adoption of "the beauty of colour" in our churches, have defeated their own object. "It is," in truth, "a good thing to demonstrate that Evangelicals are not tied to a rigid uniformity in the externals of worship," and to clear "the ground from secondary controversies and help to concentrate attention on the doctrinal foundations." And these changes were not concessions of Evangelical principles to Romeward tendencies; they were attempts to meet the needs of contemporary culture.

We should, indeed, appreciate the recognition which they imply, both that Evangelicalism is not a mere negation of beauty and attractiveness in religion, and that the growing elaborateness of contemporary civilization demanded a corresponding development of the conception of worship. But I do urge that many people have been rather alienated than attracted by the form of the development, not always because they suspected the changes to be indicative of doctrinal concessions, but often because they found in them no real æsthetic appeal, but even sometimes an appearance of vulgarity. It is quite certain that many who have abandoned Evangelicalism did so because Evangelicalism appeared to them to be synonymous with vulgarity and ill-breeding, and there is little doubt that this misconception has been fostered.

Old-fashioned Evangelicals were, no doubt, austere—they were not alone in that—but they were also dignified. We later Evangelicals have abandoned our austerity and sacrificed our dignity. There is a sting in the truth of Mr. Dewick's words: "If Evangelicalism is to win the allegiance of the best type of English Christianity, its public worship should be normally grave and simple in form."

Our worst errors of policy in this matter of "ritual" have been the abandonment of gravity and simplicity in our services. But does this mean that I would recommend a wholesale abandonment of choral music, a sweeping condemnation of all the ritual that has been adopted? By no means. Mark Mr. Dewick's "normally." Evangelicalism prevails in certain

churches where a certain amount of ritual is eminently desirable, when a full "Cathedral Service" is the best expression of gravity and simplicity. It is a pity for Evangelicals to condemn without defence a sung Litany or the possession of a set of frontals. The purport of this first part of what I have to say has not been to decry ritual, but to point out some of the weaknesses that have characterized our adoption of ritual in the past.

II.

Mr. Dewick sets one the wise example of offering a constructive policy. He takes, certainly, a bold step with his suggestion. It will help to a clearer formation of a broad constructive policy to state at once the twofold division of ritual. There is in ritual, on the one hand, symbolism which brings with it the danger of teaching false doctrine by ornament or gesture—this is significant ritual; on the other hand, there is non-significant ritual—ceremonialism which may tend to obscure doctrine by the emphasis of the merely external. The problem before us is, therefore, both quantitative (how much ceremony should we admit) and qualitative (what symbolism is appropriate to our principles). Yet the two merge into one another. The cope, for instance, is a purely ceremonial vestment, yet it is hard to believe that Queen Elizabeth, when she desired its retention, had no ulterior purpose beyond mere display. Certain it is that an Evangelical to-day who from the purest motives of conciliation took to celebrating in a cope—waiving for a moment its limitation to cathedrals and collegiate churches—would be regarded as trying to insinuate sacerdotal ideas.

The problem, therefore, is to determine a ritual which shall conserve a dignified simplicity without, on the one hand, distracting attention from the fundamental spirituality of worship, or, on the other, obscuring the great truths of personal access to the Father in Jesus Christ, and the impossibility of further propitiatory sacrifice, by a ritual that suggests another interpretation of the Gospel.

Mr. Dewick very justly reminds us of the danger of focussing the attention upon an "altar-like" table, but it is to be remembered that the Holy Table inevitably occupies the position in our churches upon which the centre of interest must be fixed. The difficulty is to hit the happy medium between extravagant and falsely emphatic adornment and an appearance of meanness. If the high steps and costly adornments, of which Mr. Dewick speaks, express a conception of the Eucharist which we cannot accept, must we not confess that in some of our churches the dimness of the bare Table set behind an elaborate lectern seems to betoken a disproportionate emphasis on the ministry of the Word, obscuring that of the Sacraments? Whether the suggestion of the westward position finds favour or not, it would be quite in keeping with ancient precedent and true doctrine to place the Table standing some way out from the wall, and it would, without doubt, greatly enhance the dignity of its appearance.

In former times the Holy Table was generally covered with a large cloth or "carpet" of some rich material, which hung freely down on all four sides—a good example in velvet survives in Kelshall Church, Hertfordshire—and it is only of comparatively recent date that the tightly-fitting cloth was introduced, in imitation of the "Catholic" innovation of mere "frontals." Nothing could be more mean than a Table so covered set against the wall and unadorned with cross, flowers, and lights. But a Table free of the wall and handsomely covered in a freely hanging "carpet" has an impressive dignity of its own. What I suggest as a revival of old Evangelical use (where it would be possible) has actually been adopted in some very advanced churches. The "Altar" at the House of the Sacred Mission at Kelham is so "vested." May I congratulate the authorities of Kelham on their good sense at reviving for themselves what their friends once laughed us out of? There is no denying the dignity of the effect. At Kelham, of course, the raised steps, and cross, and six lights give the appearance of an "altar." But Evangelicalism stands for the conception of a Table. The sug-

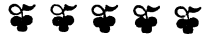
gested arrangement would make a cross and flowers a little difficult of arrangement, but the rear wall might be so adorned and arranged as to meet this difficulty where it was deemed desirable to do so.

Another abandoned point of Evangelical ritual which might advisably be restored is the use of a large and visible white cloth at the time of the Holy Communion. I do not know what underlies the adoption of the invisible cloth barely covering the top of the Table, but it is surely clear that the easily seen white cloth would add to, and not detract from, the solemnity of a service which was either a celebration or a service preparatory to the celebration. Those who have seen a Scotch church set out for the Communion will readily appreciate the solemnizing effect of the white cloth visibly spread.

Many other suggestions might be made as to the conduct of service. It is widely recommended nowadays that singing should not form part of Morning and Evening Prayer (unless an introductory hymn be found advisable in some cases) until after the Absolution. This, at least, Evangelicals should welcome; but, indeed, the cultivation of unaffected reverence in the natural voice should form part of the preparation of every Evangelical hoping to enter the ministry. The whole question of Church music demands reconsideration by Evangelicals. There is a fallacy prevalent that only indifferent tunes can be popular, and sometimes a rash adoption of tunes connected with revival meetings may be observed in our churches. In some cases, also, the Psalms have been entirely sacrificed to the organist's desire to introduce chants which have the doubtful charm of harmonic novelty, or high notes which exhibit the best boy's powers at the cost of reverent or appropriate renderings, to say nothing at all of the loss of congregational singing. It is, perhaps, too late to deplore the submission to the crusade against galleries, which swept away the western organ-loft, where the instrument was of practical utility and could have a good effect.

It may be urged that, having started to further Mr. Dewick's

plea for a restrained and appropriate ritual, I have merely become a *laudator temporis acti.* That has not been my purpose. There were many abuses of slovenliness and carelessness which the last twenty or thirty years have seen removed; for instance, one can but rejoice at the greater care generally taken to insure seemliness and order in the celebration of the Holy Communion, as evidenced in the adoption of the "Credence" table, and in the practice of reverent treatment of the vessels after the service. I submit, however, that some features of old-fashioned Evangelicalism were unnecessarily and unhappily sacrificed for the substitution of a poor and worthless imitation of some "High Church" innovations. I would plead that now that we have learnt—or must I merely say are learning? —to be on our guard against irreverence or unnecessary offence, many of these discarded features might well be restored as likely to promote a presentation of Churchmanship that preserves a grave and simple decency and order without suggesting conceptions of worship alien to the spirit and principles of Evangelicalism.



The Church and the Poor.

A SERIES OF HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

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

III.

From Constantine the Great to Charlemagne.

In my last paper I gave a brief account of the charitable work of the Church during the period which extends from the close of the New Testament to the so-called "conversion" of the empire under Constantine the Great. That event—one of far-reaching consequences for good and evil—marked the beginning of a new era in the life of the Church: one during which if her influence, or rather, perhaps, her power, became very much greater, her temptations became greater in like proportion. Up to this time, speaking generally, the line of demarcation between the Church and "the world" could be clearly drawn; henceforward that was no longer possible. While the Church now entered much more into the world, the world still more surely penetrated the life of the Church.[1] It is, of course, impossible to understand either the work or the difficulties of the Church during this new era without at least some background of historical knowledge, some conception of the political conditions amid which her life was lived. I have not space here to sketch those conditions even in the barest outline; but those who would understand, or would try to form an estimate of, the way in which the Church endeavoured to discharge her duty to the poor during this period must make some study of its general history. This epoch of the Church's history is specially important, not only because within it were formulated those great doctrines which are embodied in the

[1] Hobhouse's Bampton Lectures, "The Church and the World," p. 111 *et seq.*: "The Church . . . became fashionable and worldly, and her spiritual standard was inevitably lowered. The evidence for this statement is bewildering in its abundance and variety."

Nicene Creed, but because there were also then established certain principles and ideals of conduct which persisted at least until the eve of the Reformation.[1] It is a little difficult to divide this long stretch of history into natural or even convenient sections. For our present purpose the first five hundred years may be divided into the following three parts: First, from the conversion of Constantine to the fall of the Western Empire in A.D. 476; secondly, from that time to the death of Gregory the Great in A.D. 604; and, thirdly, from then to the coronation of Charlemagne in A.D. 800. We must, of course, continue to confine our attention strictly to the special subject we have in view, and in regard to that only so far as the Western Empire, or Western Europe, is concerned.

From an economic point of view, the century and a half between the conversion of Constantine and the fall of the Western Empire was one of constantly increasing stress, and this stress became even more acute during the second of the three periods which we have just named.[2] Until the conversion of the empire, it must have been almost always possible for the Church to deal individually and adequately with the needs of those among her members who required material assistance. Up to this time the number of Christians was comparatively small,[3] and certainly, considering her resources, the liberality of the Church was great. Also during this period, except in Rome itself, poverty was neither extreme nor widespread. Now each one of these conditions was to be entirely reversed. The number at least of nominal Christians grew rapidly; and, partly owing to the economic stress, and partly because merely nominal Christians are never so liberal as real Christians, the resources of the Church could not keep pace with the growing demands which were made upon them. In the aggregate, no

[1] On this point, see the following article.

[2] See Uhlhorn's "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," book iii., chap. i., "A Perishing World," p. 219 *et seq.*

[3] Uhlhorn, p. 137: "The Churches were still small and like a family; each Christian knew all others . . . even Cyprian, in a town like Carthage, knew all the members of the Church."

doubt, the wealth of the Church increased enormously, and great estates were from time to time bequeathed to her; also, to a great extent, she was freed from the burdens of an excessive taxation; but even these advantages were more than counteracted by the terrible conditions amidst which her work had to be done.[1]

Thus the charitable work of the Church during this age was infinitely more difficult than in the preceding age. Uhlhorn has shown how the task which lay before the Church was of a twofold nature. She had "to stand with her aid and her comforts at the deathbed of the old world"; at the same time "she had to stand with her help and her service at the cradle of the new age."[2] She had to try to assuage "the appalling misery," "the wholesale wretchedness," which marked the passing of the dying empire; and, contemporaneously with the performance of this task, we see Christian charity so doing its work as undoubtedly to become one of the main educational agencies for the young German nation—one which was helping to win the various barbarian peoples to the Church.

We must not forget that this was the age in which monasticism passed over from the East to the West, and during which it began to flourish in Italy and Western Europe.[3] From this time down to the age of the Reformation the monasteries played a very important, and to a great extent a beneficial, part in the charitable work of the Church. Doubtless the system of charity associated with them, or rather administered by them, especially in the later Middle Ages, was the source of many evils; but, on the other hand, the monasteries performed a task which needed to be done, and which, especially during the earlier Middle Ages, no other agency could have performed. No doubt, even in those earlier days, it was not always from the highest motives that men fled from the troubles and oppres-

[1] Uhlhorn, p. 249: "There is not a preacher of the time in whose sermons we do not find an echo of the tremendous distress which surrounds him."

[2] Uhlhorn," p. 233.

[3] "Cambridge Medieval History," vol. i., p. 531 *et seq.*

sions of the outside world into the comparative peace and security to be found within the walls of a monastery. But the monastic life, at any rate in its ideal, was far from being a selfish life. Benedict of Nursia,[1] the true founder of Western monasticism, inculcated the value of work, and by work the monasteries obtained the means for a very extensive system of benevolence. Among the tools of the spiritual art, Benedict reckons feeding the poor, clothing the naked, and burying the dead. According to his rule, the *cellarius* must see to the care of the children, the sick, the strangers, and the poor.[2] "In times of scarcity, and during the irruptions of the barbarians, it was frequently the monasteries that preserved the miserable remnant of the population from starvation."[3]

Only those who have studied carefully the history of those times can realize what the conditions were in Western Europe during the fifth and sixth centuries. Taxation had increased to such an amount that people even committed suicide to escape its burdens. Population was rapidly decreasing, and, owing to the constant incursions of Goths, Lombards, Vandals and Huns, not only life, but even such property as remained was utterly insecure. "A few rich . . . lived in luxury, and ate from gold plate on silver tables . . . but beside them were the countless numbers of a proletariat suffering the want of the commonest necessaries. In every town there were crowds of beggars; they filled the high roads, and went from place to place; they lay by hundreds in the public places, and especially before the churches, naked, hungry, freezing with cold, sick and emaciated, calling on the passers-by for assistance, trying in every way to excite compassion."[4]

By far the most striking personality in those days was

[1] Benedict was born about A.D. 480; he was educated at Rome; lived for some time as a hermit at Subiaco, where later he founded monasteries. He removed to Monte Cassino about A.D. 530, where he is believed to have composed the "Benedictine Rule," and where he died probably about A.D. 543.

[2] Uhlhorn, p. 359.

[3] Uhlhorn, p. 360. On "The Institution of the Endowed Charity" during this period, see Loch, "Charity and Social Life," p. 218 *et seq.*

[4] Uhlhorn, p. 243.

Gregory the Great, who seemed to concentrate in himself the best characteristics of both Christianity and the empire. Few men have lived a fuller or a more many-sided life, and few have realized to such an extent the opportunities which their position offered them for doing the work that needed to be done. Gregory was born in Rome about A.D. 540. He sprang from an ancient senatorial family; his father is termed "Regionarius," and therefore possibly was an official charged with the secular business of one of the ecclesiastical regions of Rome.[1] He was evidently a rich man, and inhabited a handsome palace on the slope of the Cælian Hill. I cannot stay to describe in detail the world of Gregory's childhood and youth.[2] Certainly the miserable condition of Italy during that period could hardly be exaggerated. It did not matter what power was in the ascendant, Goth or Greek or Lombard or Vandal, the people suffered from all. One barbarian army after another ravaged and pillaged the country, but the populace seems to have suffered even more from the rapacity of the imperial commanders and their soldiery, who sought to drive the barbarians out, than it did from the barbarians themselves. In addition to the horrors of war, the people experienced those of pestilence and famine. Mr. Dudden thinks that "quite early in life Gregory had begun to develop such qualities as prudence, foresight, capacity for administration, tenacity of purpose, and ability to rise above difficulties apparently overwhelming."[3] Soon after he was thirty years of age, we find Gregory in the position of Prefect of the City of Rome.[4] The position was one of great responsibility, for practically the management of the city was under the Prefect's control. Among other things, he had to see to the supply of grain and the distribution of free food for the people;[5] also under his direction and supervision there was a large body of deputies, secretaries, notaries, clerks, and ushers.[6] At that

[1] Dudden, "Gregory the Great," vol. i., p. 6.
[2] This is very fully described in Dudden, vol. i., chap. ii.
[3] Dudden, vol. i., p. 101.
[4] Dudden, *ibid.* (who quotes Joh. Diac., "Vita," vol. i., p. 4).
[5] The *annona civica.*
[6] "Cambridge Medieval History," vol. i., p. 50.

time Gregory's position must have been one of almost overwhelming anxiety. Inside the city he had to face a soldiery constantly on the verge of mutiny, and a population utterly disorganized, suffering from extreme poverty,[1] and which, in addition, was liable to constant outbreaks of plague. The city was also crowded with refugees, because outside the barbarians were devastating and pillaging the country.[2]

After filling the post of Prefect with conspicuous success, Gregory's deeply religious nature suggested to him a higher vocation. He became a monk[3] and upon the death of his father he devoted nearly all the patrimony he inherited to charitable purposes, keeping but a small share for himself. With this wealth he founded several monasteries, including that of St. Andrew on the Cælian Hill. In A.D. 578 Gregory was ordained "Seventh Deacon" of Rome, being then charged with the superintendence of one of the seven "regions" of the city.[4] From A.D. 579 to A.D. 586 Gregory was *apocrisiarius* to the Pope—that is, his permanent ambassador at the Court of Byzantium. Then, to his great delight, he was recalled to Rome, and became abbot of St. Andrew's Monastery.[5] Four years after Gregory's return, in addition to its many other grievous troubles, Rome was visited by a terrible outbreak of the plague. In February of A.D. 590, Pope Pelagius died, whereupon, at once and without hesitation, Gregory was elected in his place; and if ever there was a time, even in the history of the papacy, when it was essential to have a capable administrator, it was when Gregory was admitted to the office. He was, of course, a remarkably many-sided man—a very considerable scholar, a great preacher, and a most capable ecclesiastical ruler. But it is only with Gregory as an administrator in the philanthropic work of the Church that I can deal here. What he accomplished

[1] There seems to have been a famine in A.D. 570, 571.
[2] The Lombard invasion was in A.D. 571.
[3] Probably about A.D. 574.
[4] Dudden, vol. i., p. 120.
[5] As to how far Gregory's foundation was affected by the Rules of St. Benedict, see Dudden, vol. i., p. 107 *et seq.*

in this particular sphere of activity is astonishing, especially when we remember that to it Gregory could devote but a small portion of either his time or his energies: for, in addition to his ecclesiastical and patriarchal responsibilities, he was practically responsible for the defence of Rome against the Lombards; indeed, frequently he had to take the leadership in military affairs.[1]

The social conditions which Gregory had immediately to face were terrible. The city was then thronged with indigent refugees. In addition to having to feed these, a large part of the regular population were actually famine-stricken; there were hardly any wealthy men left in Rome—in fact, there was little beyond the product of the estates of the Church to which the people could look for help. Gregory's management of these estates seems to have been excellent; had it not been so, the funds at his disposal could not have been what they were.[2] Gregory's system of administration of charity was as follows:[3] Every ecclesiastical district (*regio*) in Rome had its deaconry, or office of alms, which was under the superintendence of a deacon, and the accounts of which were kept by a general administrator. Here the poor, the aged, and the destitute of the several "regions" received food on application.[4] For the homeless there were the *xenodochia*.[5] "On the first day of each month he distributed to the poor that part of the Church's revenue which was paid in kind—corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, meat, fish, and oil, were most discreetly doled out by this father of the family of the Lord."[6] "Every day he sent out, by appointed couriers, cooked provisions to the sick and the infirm throughout the streets and lanes of all the city districts." Mr. Dudden adds to these

[1] Dudden, vol. i., p. 246 *et seq.* As Prefect of the city, Gregory would have been previously associated with the *magister militum;* also he had the *cohortes urbanæ* under his command.

[2] "Already in the fifth century the Church was the greatest landowner in the empire" (Uhlhorn, p. 261).

[3] Dudden, vol. i., p. 247 *et seq.*

[4] "The Roman *plebs* had thus become the *pauperes Christi*, and under that title were being fed by *civica annona* and *sportula* as their ancestors had been" (Loch, "Charity and Social Life," p. 213).

[5] See the next article.

[6] "Prudentissimus paterfamilias Christi Gregorius."

extracts: "So particular was Gregory in seeing that this system of relief was effectively carried out, and so thoroughly did he consider himself responsible for the welfare of his people, that on one occasion, when a poor man was found dead of starvation, Gregory abstained from celebrating Mass for some days, sorrowing as though he was the man's actual murderer."[2] Towards the end of the ninth century a "Life of Gregory" was written by John the Deacon. To show how carefully charity was administered under Gregory's supervision, I may, from this "Life," quote the following: "There exists to this day, in the most holy archives of the Lateran Palace, a very large paper volume, compiled in Gregory's times, wherein the names of all persons of either sex, of all ages and professions, both at Rome and in the suburbs, in the neighbouring towns and even in the distant cities on the coast, are set down, together with details concerning their family names, their ages, and the payments which they received."[3] Gregory was evidently a believer in the value of a very complete *speculum gregis*. It would be well if the clergy to-day generally held the same opinion. In Gregory's case it must have been exceptionally difficult to keep such a list; indeed, it can only have been done through a very perfectly organized system. One charge cannot be made against Gregory—that in his care for the temporal wants of his people, he neglected their spiritual welfare. To deal with this is beside my purpose. It must suffice to say that no man ever laid greater stress upon the teaching office of the pastor, and no man ever carried out this part of his work more assiduously. The preaching alone, which Gregory seems to have done, would have severely taxed the energies of an ordinary man.[1]

I do not lay stress upon Gregory's *methods* of administrating charity. Certainly I do not wish my readers to infer that those

[1] Vol. i., p. 249.

[2] Joh. Diac., "Vita," vol. ii., p. 29. Such a list was known as a *matricula*, which is thus defined: "Matricula dicebatur canon seu liber in quo descripti erant qui ecclesiæ sumptibus aletantur."

[3] Certainly Gregory could not be accused of separating the "spiritual work" and "social work" of the Church.

methods (apart from their qualities of thoroughness and conscientiousness) would be the best and most suitable in the conditions of the present. What I would urge is, that Gregory represents to us a very high level of a conscientious discharge of a primary Christian responsibility. He shows what a really earnest Christian (who was also a great Churchman) considered to be his duty towards the poor. Undoubtedly the conduct of men like Gregory made a wonderful appeal both to the old nations and to the new. It showed them that the discharge of human relationships (in the best sense of the word "human") was an essential part of Christian life and conduct. While Gregory's motives were intensely philanthropic, at the same time they were based on a deep conviction of Christian truth, and that belief in this truth involved a certain definite line of Christian conduct. Gregory's work among the poor was a natural issue of his belief in the binding authority of Christ's command, "Give ye them to eat," and of his acceptance of Christ's own test, "By thee shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another."

For another reason Gregory's work is not only of great interest, but of still greater importance. To him, more than to anyone else, was due the commanding position and influence of the papacy during the Middle Ages. Gregory neither coveted nor seized the position of supremacy which he occupied.[1] It fell to him because he was the only man at the time who was qualified to occupy it. Gregory (who had been an imperial official) took over, and with him the Church took over, many of the duties and responsibilities, and also not a few of the ideas, of the empire;[2] and those duties and ideas did not cease to be connected with the papacy when Gregory passed away. They were originally attached to the man; they became attached to the office. When Gregory gave food to the starving citizens of Rome, he was, as I have already showed (if from a very different

[1] Dudden, vol. i., p. 225, where are also given the authorities for this statement.

[2] Fairbairn, "Catholicism, Roman and Anglican," p. 190 *et seq.*

motive), only doing what the Emperors had done when they distributed the *annona civica* to the *plebs;* also the gifts obtainable at the deaconries were, in fact, a continuation of the *sportula*, which for centuries had been distributed, first by rich patrons to their clients, and then by the officials of the Emperors.

With the death of Gregory, in A.D. 604, we enter the Middle Ages. From this point to the crowning of Charlemagne, in A.D. 800, is a period of all but two hundred years. It was a rough and turbulent period, and, more than most ages, it was one of rapid transition. The difficulty in forming a clear conception of this period arises from that of keeping in view at once the various movements which were at work in so many lands—*e.g.*, in Italy, in Gaul, in Germany, and in Great Britain.[1] In Italy it witnessed the struggle between the Lombards and the relics of the empire, a struggle into which, later, the Franks entered as allies of the Pope,[2] and with far-reaching consequences for the future. In Gaul and Western Germany we see the amalgamation between the old civilization and the new Teutonic nations rapidly taking place. In England there was a constant struggle between Christianity and heathenism; while, on the borders of the empire, the work of Christian Missionaries was being actively pursued. The period also covered the rise of Mohammedanism and the Saracenic wars and conquests in Europe.

In connection with our present subject, the period is one of considerable interest, though, from the different and constantly changing conditions existing in various parts of Western Europe, it is difficult in a brief compass to describe the way in which the Church during this age dealt with the problem of the poor. Very considerable changes were taking place in the structure of

[1] A brief but clear outline of movements and events during this period will be found in the late Dean Church's "The Beginning of the Middle Ages." The subject of the relief of the poor during this age is treated in Ritzinger's "Geschichte der Kirchlichen Armenpflege," part ii. (this book has not been translated into English). Also much may be learnt from Professor Loch's "Charity and Social Life."

[2] See Church, p. 92.

society ; for instance, personal slavery was disappearing under a system of organized social dependence.[1] Tribal custom, which was due to the Teutonic races, was in Western Europe taking the place of the social system which had existed under the empire. Then, issuing from tribal custom, we find the first traces of the "manor" (which was in theory a self-supporting social unit)[2] and the beginnings of feudalism (which arose out of a movement for the protection and maintenance of the settled labourers or *coloni*).[3] Both the manorial system and feudalism arose out of the division of the Roman Empire among the great proprietors. The *coloni*, who were originally the small cultivators, became, largely on account of their poverty, serfs, holding their land subject to the payment of certain dues. On the other hand, the great proprietors, upon whose estates these worked, became, at any rate to a certain extent, responsible for their maintenance.

During this period, also, we see a development of the parish (as we understand the term) out of the diocese, which was, of course, originally the parish of the Bishop.[4] In connection with this particular development arise the much-debated questions of the origin and allocation of tithe—questions which are of very practical interest at the present time.[5] Again, during these two centuries we see a further growth of the monastic system, which, as it grew, provided more and more institutional relief.

Thus in this age we see at least traces of the three systems of relief of the poor, which, if in a very different form, are still in existence. Under the manorial system there is a relief, or at least a responsibility for relief, which is either unconnected or very indirectly connected with the Church ; from the parochial tithe and other Church funds we have what is termed to-day "home aliment" ; while in the monastic system we have at least a measure of "institutional" relief. Doubtless then, as to-day, there was frequently an overlapping in the case of the

[1] See Loch, chap. xxi. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 267. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[4] Hatch, "The Growth of Church Institutions," pp. 81, 82; Ritzinger, p. 199.
[5] Hatch, p. 101 *et seq.*

first two of these three systems, or probably, as at the present time, the relief which was imposed by law had frequently to be supplemented by relief from the funds of the Church.

As time went on we find the monasteries encroaching more and more upon the parish, and especially upon the funds of the parish. In a variety of ways they became possessors of a large share of the parochial tithes which were originally designed, among other purposes, for the relief of the poor.[1] At the dissolution of the monasteries this part of their wealth, with the rest of their possessions, fell into the hands of powerful laymen, and thus property originally bequeathed to the poor was finally alienated from them.

The care of the poor in this, as in other ages, depended to a great extent upon the general level of the spirituality of the Church's life, and most frequently upon the reality of the Christianity of those in high places of authority in the Church. In England these two centuries form, on the whole, a bright epoch in Church history; in France the opposite seems to have been the case. Certainly under the Merovingian Dynasty the Church appears to have sunk to an extremely low ebb of spirituality.[2] Where this exists we frequently find that the love of money, or the desire to become rich, also exists; consequently we are not surprised to find that very often property, which was left for the relief of the poor, was appropriated to the enrichment of the clergy.

With the accession of Charlemagne a great change took place in the wide kingdom over which he ruled, and to which he added by many conquests.[3] He was at once a great soldier, a great statesman, and a great social and ecclesiastical reformer. Rarely, if ever, have the affairs of Church and State been so interwoven as they were under him. Charlemagne was especially a great administrator; he looked for diligence and justice in administration from all those occupying posts of responsibility,

[1] "By Acts of Richard II. and Henry IV. it was enacted that if parochial tithes were appropriated to a monastery, a portion of them should be assigned to the poor of the parish" (Loch, p. 272).

[2] Ritzinger, p. 189 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

whether they were dukes governing provinces, bishops overseeing dioceses, or rulers of various cities. In his "capitularies" we have a great body of evidence of the oversight which he exercised upon matters of every description, both civil and ecclesiastical.[1] Many of these injunctions have reference to the use of the Church's property and to the care of the poor. Neither bishops, nor clergy, nor powerful laymen, were to rob the poor of their just share of the possessions of the Church; and these possessions were to be free from burdens of State taxation. In the case of rich Churches, such as Cathedral foundations, a fourth part of their entire possessions was to be devoted to the relief of the poor; in the case of poorer churches a fourth part of the tithe only was to be so expended.[2] Both bishops and clergy were admonished to seek out the poor in their own houses, to discover the causes of poverty, and to relieve the same.[3] A roll of poor people was to be kept. Again, both bishops and clergy were to share their table with the poor. A wide interpretation was given to the New Testament command that the householder must care for his family, which was held to include all who were in any way attached or bound to the estate.[4] For poor people who had no such connection, and who were unable to provide for themselves, the Church must provide; also the education of orphans without protectors and of foundlings fell to her. For the wandering poor the bishops and clergy, as holders of the Church's "property for the poor," must specially be held responsible; the work-shy and the vagabond, who could but would not work, must not be maintained, but must be compelled to work.[5]

[1] Church, "The Beginning of the Middle Ages," p. 125 *et seq.*
[2] Ritzinger, p. 201. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[4] From the "Capitulare de Villis Imperiabilis": "Ut familia nostra bene conservata sit, et a nemine in paupertatem missa." Ritzinger remarks upon c. 45: "Zu dieser *familia* zählten auch die Handwerken aller Art."
[5] Ritzinger, p. 208.

The Spirit of Controversy.

By the Rev. W. B. RUSSELL CALEY, M.A.,
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CONTROVERSY has always been an integral part of human life; diverse minds, opposite temperaments, meant contrary opinions, and these facts spelt disagreement and dispute. Moreover, disagreement is the necessary result of sin, as man has in consequence of his sin either failed to recognize truth or refused to obey it. Controversy is a condition of life we must admit to be inevitable, even beneficial, but it must be kept within certain limits, and guided by proper methods to desirable ends. There are controversies of the acutest kind in the political, social, and moral world, and the temper in which they are discussed, the ends they have in view, and the manner in which they are conducted are of the very highest and most far-reaching importance; but it is not with these controversies, however interesting and important, we are now concerned. We desire to turn our attention to religious controversy, and ask ourselves what guidance have we in the Word of God with regard to it. What ought we to argue about, and how should we argue, when we are called on to do so? That we should have clear direction in God's Word about so necessary an element of human life seems only reasonable and to be expected, and we are not disappointed in our quest. That religious controversy has always been peculiarly bitter and fierce and relentless is only what we should naturally expect, because controversy will be keen and determined in proportion to the interests involved; and as there can be no subject which so vitally and intimately concerns all men as the subject of their present and eternal happiness and well-being, their relationship to their Creator, and their duties in regard to Him, so the discussion of these subjects has quite reasonably evoked in men the deepest feeling, the most violent emotions, and the most profound thought. Truth can, in fact, only be discovered by controversy,

for it is only by the patient comparison of facts and the calm consideration of theories and phenomena that men can ultimately arrive at the real truth which lies at the base of everything.

That men have often indulged in needless controversies, that they have conducted them in the most coarse and brutal manner, that very often might has most manifestly and iniquitously triumphed over right, that the most trivial points have been magnified to a most ridiculous extent, is no just reason for us to ignore or deprecate needful and properly conducted controversy. It is mere folly, cowardice, and affectation for us to accept the easy-going notions of the age, that all kinds of opinions, even diametrically opposite ones, are only different aspects of truth! Truth of any kind, but specially religious truth, is far too important a thing, fraught with far too awful consequences, to be treated in this light-hearted manner.

The chief reason why controversy is so decried in the present day, is considered so unadvisable, and is so strongly deprecated in those very quarters where it should be most urgently encouraged and most rationally conducted, is because there is an increasing disregard of the value of truth. Men used to think truth the most important element in human life and thought, they would fight for it, die for it, suffer for it—no price, no trouble, was too great if only divine truth could be definitely ascertained. Philosophers cogitated upon it, teachers proclaimed it, orators eulogized it, preachers expounded it, and soldiers fought for it. It was the pearl of great price amongst all the splendid jewellery of human learning and virtue. Now all this is changed: if men are outspoken, or enthusiastic regarding some aspect of divine truth peculiarly precious to them, they are considered fanatics and wanting in broad-mindedness. Truth is no longer the supreme quest. It is rather peace, even peace at any price, though it be at the expense of truth. Men do not ask with even the cynicism or half-hearted earnestness of a Pilate, What is truth? But they rather cry, "Speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits." The "peace at any price" policy is

the one now most generally advocated in the religious world. This is largely because the issues at stake have become confused, and also because the sense of personal responsibility has become dulled and deadened. The authority of God's Word is so often belittled, discredited, or denied, that men no longer look to it with the confidence they did, as the supreme Court of Appeal, the Divine Standard of Truth, and, having no other standard to adopt, they give the matter up in despair, and say either everything is true or nothing is true, and it is not worth arguing about. This very common assertion about religious doctrines and practices, that they are not worthy of discussion or contention, is no cause for congratulation, but rather humiliation, and a most melancholy testimony to the small value now set upon spiritual things. There can be nothing more important to any human being than to understand rightly what is his true position with regard to God's authority, God's character, and God's will, and it is the most arrant nonsense to suppose God has left us in ignorance with reference to these essential facts, or that absolutely contradictory doctrines can be varying aspects of the same truths. Truth may be many-sided, but it is not contradictory ; it may accommodate itself to different circumstances or changed conditions, or altered phraseology, but in itself it is changeless, even as God Himself is immutable. Had controversy occupied the despised place in the Primitive Church it occupies in the Church of the present day, we should have had no martyrs, no apologists, no great Church councils, no glorious Reformation, no herculean struggles for purity in religious doctrine and practice : a deadly calm would have brooded over the religious world, which would from its very stagnation have brought forth misery, hopelessness, and moral corruption.

That controversy must continue as long as the world exists in its present condition is unquestionable, but we can rightly ask regarding this discussion of religious matters, How should it be conducted? What should it be about? What end and purpose should it have in view ?

These questions need not go unanswered. The Bible is full

of controversy. The Prophets of the Old Testament contended with all the eloquence they could muster against the erroneous opinions and mistaken conduct of their fellow-countrymen. They argued under all circumstances, and in countless ways, against the perverted ideas of truth which were so easily and so commonly adopted; no contempt, no persecution, no threat, sufficed to drive these heroic champions of the truth from the field of controversy; with undaunted courage and unfaltering voice they upheld the cause of God's truth, believing it to be the most important asset in the life of man. But controversy did not die with them; in the brighter light of a new dispensation, with an authority and convincing power far beyond that of the mightiest of the Prophets, arose One, who, with gracious words such as man had never listened to before, nor has heard since, came to earth as the great Controversialist, and entering the arena of religious debate with scribes and Pharisees —the exponents of the religious belief of that generation— with unanswerable logic, keen retorts, apt simile, and telling quotation, exposed the flimsiness of their assertions and the falsehood of their doctrines. The Divine Messenger was not applauded or loved for this. He was hated even unto death, but He never wavered. He taught us that truth is more important and valuable than life itself. He left the deposit of eternal truth in the charge of men, whom He knew, and foretold would be hated for their advocacy of it, even as He had been hated. He painted no alluring picture of the treatment they would receive in their controversy for the truth. He warned them it would mean the sundering of the tenderest ties, the endurance of most terrible suffering, the probability of an ignominious death; but these trustees of the truth never hesitated—one by one they engaged in the tremendous conflict, witnessed their good confession, and passed to their great reward.

Their blood bore witness to their sincerity, their words bore witness to their beliefs. Has the world been the poorer for these controversies? Has this "wordy warfare," as some would

call it, won for us nothing but some theological dogmas, some religious ideas, some ethical notions? God forbid! the truths we hold now, enjoy now, trust to now, are the priceless results of ceaseless controversy—controversy so keen because it was felt to be so crucial, so widespread because it embraced so much. There is not a sermon of our Divine Lord nor an epistle of any of His Holy Apostles which is not alive, which does not throb with the purest, truest, most ideal spirit of controversy, which does not clearly place before us the real aim of all true controversy, and also leads us into the atmosphere in which we should live if we are successfully and unscathed to engage in it.

The controversy of our Lord was entirely with three classes of opponents (He never, as far as we know, was engaged in any argument regarding heathenism or idolatry: it did not fall within the sphere of His ministry), and these opponents—Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians—were exponents of formalism, latitudinarianism, and worldliness. Our Lord met each of them with the same courage, the same clear, unvarnished statements of truth, and it is noteworthy that while He fully recognized their different mental attitude and social conditions, yet He never in the least altered the basis of His message. Neither flattery (Mark xii. 13, 14), misrepresentation (Matt. xxvi. 60-63), nor malicious invective (Mark iii. 22-30) had any effect in making Him change His message or qualify His assertions. We may say, generally speaking, that Christ sets us an example in six ways of how to conduct controversy.

1. *He always met His opponents on their own ground,* and never sought to change the battlefield to suit His arguments (Matt. xii. 2-8; xv. 1-6; xvi. 1-4; xxi. 23-27; xxii. 15-32, etc.).

2. *He never watered down or compromised any single truth* in order to conciliate them or gain their assent or applause (Matt. xxii. 35-46; Mark x. 2-12; John vi. 52-53, 65-67; vii. 36-43; x. 30-36).

3. *He used every possible means to explain His doctrines* and assertions, by parable, proverb, quotation, natural phenomena, or current events. No effort was spared, no opportunity missed,

to bring conviction and light to those who disagreed with Him. The instances of this are innumerable.

4. *He has a most touching sympathy with those who honestly desired to know the truth, but had genuine intellectual or moral difficulties.* Note the young ruler (Mark x. 21); the inquiring scribe (Mark xii. 34); the learned Rabbi (John iii. 1-10); the simple-minded believer (John ix. 35-38).

5. *He had the sternest and most solemn warning and denunciation for those who obstinately and for selfish and wicked ends opposed the truth.* See His controversy with Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 10-35; Mark iii. 2-5).

6. *His one changeless weapon in controversy was the Word of God.* He taught that that was the one eternal basis for all truth as regarded either doctrine or practice. In controversy with the Devil (Matt. iv.), the Sadducees (Matt. xxii. 29), the Pharisees (Matt. xv. 3; Luke xvi. 14-17), the people generally (John v. 39), with His disciples (Luke xxiv. 27, 44-46; *cf.* Matt. xxvi. 54), this was the one Divine standard by which every dispute was to be judged, every controversy determined.

Leaving now this brief and necessarily incomplete survey of how our Divine Lord conducted the controversies in which He was ceaselessly engaged during the whole course of His earthly ministry, and which He never shrank from, because He evidently regarded them as an essential part of it, let us consider the measure in which His immediate disciples followed His steps in those discussions which instantly arose, and which only increased in intensity as time went on.

The only controversialists of whom we are told much are Peter, James, Stephen, and Paul. Other younger disputants doubtless adopted their principles and methods. We have the speeches of St. Peter and St. Stephen in the opening chapters of the Acts; the Great Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv.); the speeches and Epistles of St. Paul; the Epistles of St. Peter, St. James, St. John.

Taking a broad view of the controversies of those early days —controversies which dealt first with the Jew, then the Jewish

Christian, and in later times with the errors of doctrine and practice which were the necessary consequence of contact with heathen life and thought—we note:

1. *The immense value set on truth before unity.*—There is no question of easier terms for doubtful, puzzled, or influential converts (Acts viii. 37; xxiv. 25; 2 Cor. xiii. 8; Gal. ii. 4-5; iv. 16; 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 John 10, 11). No consideration of worldly advantage weighed with these men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, as it so often does now. The truth as taught by Christ was an irreducible quantity, and its price above rubies. There was no specious false charity. "Love rejoiceth with the truth" (1 Cor. xiii. 6, R.V.).

Our Prayer-Book and Articles are absolutely loyal to this conception of primitive Christianity, they always place "truth before unity and concord" (Prayer for the Church Militant). But the spirit of the age is against the spirit of the Prayer-Book.

2. *Error is tenderly but firmly dealt with.*—Both as regards fact and consequence, the error is clearly defined and exposed in all its naked hideousness, stripped of all extraneous, deceitful, and alluring adjuncts (Gal. iv. 9; v. 4; 1 Thess. ii. 7-9; 2 Tim. ii. 17-18, 24-25; iv. 3-4; Tit. i. 10, 11; 1 John iv. 1-3).

3. *The standard by which all opinion and doctrine was to be tested was Holy Scripture.*—This was not explicitly stated, it was generally and quietly assumed as admitting of no question. The Scriptures of the Old Testament were accepted with a unanimity and deference which is strangely at variance with the way in which they are spoken of and appealed to at the present day. The New Testament was then, of course, in an embryonic state, and probably not in any set form available for controversial purposes. The Canon of the New Testament may have owed much to controversy (Luke i. 1-4; Gal. i. 7, 8). The Early Church displayed an intense conviction that purity of life and doctrine went hand in hand—there was no specious illusion that a right life could be linked to a wrong belief, and therefore controversy was not a mere intellectual pastime, but eminently

practical and absolutely necessary to secure holiness of life and clearness of thought.

There is, however, a solemn warning in Scripture against indulging in controversy for the mere sake of argument—we are told not to "strive about words" (2 Tim. ii. 14-16, 23; *cf.* 1 Tim. vi. 3-5). Trivialities and technicalities are to be avoided, principles are of consequence not words.

Let us, then, not fail in our duty of "contending earnestly for the faith *once for all* delivered to the saints" (Jude iii. R.V.). But let us do it in the same spirit our Divine Master and His Apostles displayed, with the same courage, definiteness, faith, earnestness, and controversy will only prove to be the storm that clears the air for the bright shining of the Sun of Righteousness:

"For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin."

The Conversion of August Strindberg.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. C. FIELD, M.A.

SELDOM has a man gone through such profound religious changes as this Swede, who died last May. The demonic element in him which spurred him on restlessly made him scale heaven and fathom hell, gave him glimpses of bliss and damnation. He bore the Cain's mark on his brow, "A fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be."

He was fundamentally religious, for everyone who searches after God is so—a commonplace truth, certainly, but one which needs to be constantly reiterated. And Strindberg's search was more painful, exact, and persevering than that of most people. He was never content with superficial formulas, but passed to the heart of the matter, and followed each winding of the labyrinthine problem with endless patience. Too often the Divinity, which he thought he had discovered, turned out a delusion, to be scornfully rejected the moment afterwards. Until he found *the* God whom he worshipped to the end of his days and whose existence he resolutely maintained against deniers.

As a child he had been brought up in devout belief in God, in submission to the injustice of life, and in faith in a better hereafter. He regarded God as a Father to whom he made known his little wants and anxieties. But a youth with hard experiences followed his childhood. The struggle for daily bread began, and his heavenly Father seemed to fail him. He appeared to regard, unmoved, from some Olympian height, the desperate struggles of humanity below. Then the defiant element which slumbered in Strindberg wrathfully awoke, and he gradually developed into a free-thinker. It fared with him as it often does with young and independent characters who think. Beginning with dissent from this and that ecclesiastical dogma, his criticism embraced an ever-widening range, and became keener and more unsparing. At last every barrier of respect and reverence fell, the defiant spirit of youth broke like a flood over all religious dogmas, swept them away, and did not stop short of criticizing God Himself.

Meanwhile his daily life with its hard experiences went on. Books written from every conceivable point of view came into his hands. Greedy for knowledge as he was, he read them all. Those of the free-thinkers supported his freshly-aroused incredulity which as yet needed support. His study of philosophical and scientific works made a clean sweep of what relics of faith remained. Anxiety about his daily bread, attacks from old sides, the alienation of his friends, all contributed towards making the free-thinker into an atheist. How can there be a God when the world is so full of ugliness, of deceit, of dishonour, of vulgarity? This question was bound to be raised at last. About this time he wrote the "New Kingdom," full of sharp criticisms of society and Christianity.

As an atheist, Strindberg made various attempts to come to terms with the existing state of things. But being a genius out of harmony with his contemporaries, and always longing for some vaster, fairer future, this was impossible for him. When he found that he came to no goal, a perpetual unrest tortured him. His earlier autobiographic writings appeared, marked by a strong misanthropy, and composed with an obscure consciousness of the curse, "A fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be."

At last this consciousness becomes clear and defined. He recognizes that he is a lost soul in hell already, though outwardly on earth. This was the most extraordinary period in Strindberg's life. He lived in the Quartier Latin in Paris in a barely-furnished room, with retorts and chemical apparatus, like a second Faust at the end of the nineteenth century. By experiments he discovered the presence of carbon in sulphur, and considered that by doing so he "had solved a great problem, upset the ruling systems of chemistry, and gained for himself the only immortality allowed to mortals." He came to the conclusion that the reason why he had gradually become an atheist was that "the Unknown Powers had left the world so long without a sign of themselves." The discovery made him thankful, and he lamented that he had no one to thank. From that time the belief in "unknown powers" grew stronger

and stronger in him. It seems to have been the result of an almost complete, long, and painful solitude.

At this time his brain worked more feverishly, and his nerves were more sensitive than usual. At last he reached the (for an atheist) astounding conclusion, "When I think over my lot, I recognize that invisible Hand which disciplines and chastens me, without my knowing its purpose. Must I be humbled in order to be lifted up, lowered in order to be raised? The thought continually recurs to me, 'Providence is planning something with thee, and this is the beginning of thy education.'"[1]

Soon after this he gave up his chemical experiments and took up alchemy, with a conviction, almost pathetic in its intensity, that he would succeed in making gold. Although his dramas had already been performed in Paris—a success which had fallen to the lot of no other Swedish dramatist—he forgot all his successes as an author, and devoted himself solely to this new pursuit, to meet again with disappointment.

On March 29, 1897, he began the study of Swedenborg the Northern Seer. A feeling of home-sickness after heaven laid hold of him, and he began to believe that he was being prepared for a higher existence. "I despise the earth," he writes, "this unclean world, these men and their works. I seem to myself a righteous man, like Job, whom the Eternal is putting to the test, and whom the purgatorial fires of this world will soon make worthy of a speedy deliverance."

More and more he seemed to approach Catholicism. One day he, the former socialist and atheist, bought a rosary. "It is pretty," he said, "and the evil spirits fear the Cross." At the same time, it must be confessed that this transition to the Christian point of view did not subdue his egotism and independence of character. "It is my duty," he said, "to fight for the maintenance of my Ego against all influences which a sect or party, from love of proselytizing, might bring to bear upon it. The conscience, which the grace of my divine Protector has given me, tells me that." And then comes a sentence full of

[1] Strindberg's "Inferno."

joy and sorrow alike, which seems to obliterate his whole past, "Born with a home-sick longing after heaven, as a child, I wept over the squalor of existence, and felt myself strange and homeless among men. From childhood upwards I have looked for God and found the Devil." He becomes actually humble, and recognizes that God, on account of his pride, his conceit, his ὕβρις, had sent him for a time to hell. "Happy is he whom God punishes."

The return to Christ is complete. All his faith, all his hope now rest solely on the Crucified Whom he had once demoniacally hated.

He now devoted himself entirely to the study of Swedenborg. He felt that in some way the life of this strange man had foreshadowed his own. Just as Swedenborg (1688-1772) had passed from the profession of a mathematician to that of a theologian, a mystic, and finally a ghost-seer and theosoph, so Strindberg passed from the worldly calling of a romance-writer to that of a preacher of Christian patience and reconciliation. He had occasional relapses into his old perverse moods, but the attacks of the rebellious spirit were weaker and weaker. He told a friend who asked his opinion regarding the theosophical concept of Karma, that it was impossible for him to belong to a party which denied a personal God, "Who alone could satisfy his religious needs."

In a life so full of intellectual activity as his had been Strindberg had amassed an enormous amount of miscellaneous knowledge. When he was nearly sixty he began to collect and arrange all his experiences and investigations from the point of view he had then attained. Thus was composed his last important work "Das Blau-Buch," a book of amazing copiousness and originality. Regarding it, the Norwegian author, Nils Kjaer, writes in the periodical *Verdens Gang*: "More comprehensive than any modern collection of aphorisms, chaotic as the Koran, wrathful as Isaiah, as full of occult things as the Bible, more entertaining than any romance, keener-edged than most pamphlets, mystical as the Cabbala, subtle as the scholastic theology,

sincere as Rousseau's confession, stamped with the impress of incomparable originality, every sentence shining like luminous letters in the darkness—such is this book in which the remarkable writer makes a final reckoning with his time and proclaims his faith, as pugnaciously as though he were a descendant of the Hero of Lutzen." The book in truth forms a world apart, from which all lying, hypocrisy, and conventional contentment is banished; in it is heard the stormy laughter of a genius who has freed himself from the fetters of earth, the proclamation of the creed of a strange Christian, who interprets and reveres Christ in his own fashion, the challenge of an original and creative mind which believes in its own continuance, the expression of the yearning of a lonely soul to place itself in harmonious relations with the universe.

An especially interesting feature of the "Blau-Buch" is the expression of Strindberg's views regarding the great poets, artists, and thinkers of the past and present. He speaks of Wagner and Nietzsche, the two antipodes; of Horace, "who after many wanderings, recognized the Hand of God"; of Shakespeare, who had lived through the experience of every character he created; of Goethe, regarding whom he remarks with evident satisfaction, "In old age, when he grew wise, he became a mystic—*i.e.*, he recognized that there are things in heaven and earth of which the Philistines never dream; of Maeterlinck he says: "He knows how to caricature his own fairest creations," and accuses Oscar Wilde of want of originality. Regarding Hegel he notes with pleasure that at the end of his life he returned to Christianity with deep satisfaction; he writes: "Hegel, after having gone very roundabout ways, died in 1831 of cholera, as a simple, believing Christian, putting aside all philosophy, and praying penitential psalms." In Rousseau he recognizes a kindred spirit, in so far as the Frenchman, like himself, hated all that was unnatural: "One can agree with Rousseau when he says, 'All that comes from the Creator's hand is perfect, but when it falls into the hands of man, it is spoilt.'"

The "Blau-Buch" marks the summit of Strindberg's chequered sixty years' pilgrimage. Beneath him lies the vari-coloured

landscape of his past life, now lit up with gleams of sunshine, now draped in dark mists, now drowned in storms of rain. But Strindberg, the poet and thinker, has escaped from both dark and bright days alike; he stands peacefully on the summit, above the trivialities, the cares, and bitternesses of life, a free man. He is like Prometheus, fettered to the rock for having bestowed on men the gift of fire, but liberated after he has learnt his lesson. In his calm is something resembling the dignity of Goethe's old age. As the latter sat on the Kickelhahn, looking down on Thuringia, and saw the panorama of his life pass before him, so Strindberg takes a retrospect in his "Blau-Buch." It is the canticle of his life, a hymn of thankfulness for the recovered faith in which he has found peace. At its conclusion he thus sums up: "Rousseau's early doctrine regarding the curse of mere learning should be pondered."

"A new Descartes should arise and teach men to doubt the untruths of the sciences."

"Another Kant should write a new Critique of Pure Reason and re-establish the doctrine of the Categorical Imperative, which, however, is already to be found in the Ten Commandments and the Gospels."

"A Prophet should be born to teach men the simple meaning of life in a few words. It has already been so well summed up. 'Fear God, and keep His commandments,' or 'Pray and Work.'"

"All the errors and mistakes which we have made should serve to instil into us a lively hatred of evil, and to impart a fresh impulse to good; these we can take with us to the other side, where they will bloom and bear fruit. That is the true meaning of life at which the obstinate and impenitent cavil, in order to save themselves trouble."

"Pray *but* work; suffer *but* hope; keeping both the earth and the stars in view. Do not try and settle permanently, for it is a place of pilgrimage; not a home, but a halting-place. Seek the truth, for it is to be found, but only in one place, with the One who Himself is the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

NOTE.—From his Swedish biographer, Gustav Uddgren, we learn that on his death-bed Strindberg took up the Bible, which always lay near him on a table, and exclaimed: "That is the only truth! Now I say no more."

SERMON OF THE MONTH.

The Emergence of Hope.

By J. E. GIBBERD.

"The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together."—Rom. viii. 22.

IN the sense of suffering there are plenty of good hearts which, without evil intent, ask the old question which non-believers have asked and answered in their own way.

"The universe," it has been said (by J. Stuart Mill), "being made by a good being, is the best universe possible, not the best absolutely; that the Divine power, in short, was not equal to making it more free from imperfections than it is." Put in the popular form, the knotty question is, "If God be so good, and be able to prevent so much misery and suffering in the world, might one not expect Him to do it?"

It is a matter which has exercised the mind and strained the faith of many. Taking for granted that the problem is familiar, we ask the Christian answer.

And, to reach it, the first thing necessary is to clear the ground. For one has no right to expect God to do anything, or prevent anything, unless one first be endowed with His own breadth of view. We need His view of existing conditions, and His view of the objects to be attained.

For instance, one man's view of his chief end in life is to acquire physical comfort and freedom from all discomfort. It is the latent motive in many, visible to others, although they are unconscious of it. It is the essence called "selfishness." Now, if that be a true aim in life, if that may claim God's protection, the condition of the world is confusing to faith.

In a newspaper one reads: "There is never cause for anything in the nature of congratulation about the figures of pauperism; they rise and decline, but the sense of the solid mass of chronic poverty, of which these figures are only one

symptom, is never relieved." The bare fact—obvious enough, forsooth!—is not a mainstay of the soul.

A narrative of Sir John Kirk's work among the Ragged Schools, entitled "The Odd Sparrow," is one pathetic story of heroic effort to relieve suffering and redeem neglected children. There is a certain strange fascination about the exigencies of people who are of the same flesh and blood as ourselves, and about their ways of scraping through extreme poverty, which has a fascination of its own. The story of the city poor is thrilling. One finds no rest in the tragedy; he does find rest in the effort to annul it.

It is needless to cover a large canvas with details of the world's sufferings. Better is it, by far, to try and get hold of a key of understanding which will open the door into a reasonable and clear faith.

Seneca, a non-Christian philosopher of the first century, breathing the social atmosphere and witnessing the social surroundings familiar to Paul and John, looked on his world with eyes that would fain see it better. One of his wise aphorisms is this: "Every matter hath two handles; by the one it may be carried, by the other not. If thy brother do thee wrong, take not this thing by the handle, 'He wrongs me,' for that is the handle whereby it may not be carried. But take it rather by the handle, 'He is my brother, nourished with me,' and thou wilt take it by a handle whereby it may be carried."

In this aphorism we have the pivot of every great question and problem. There is generally a handle that lifts it and a handle that does not. In short, one's own relation to the matter depends on the way he handles it.

Now, a celebrated man of science has given his opinion, not as a "sedentary theorist," but as an active scientist that, granting the necessity of birth and death, "it is difficult to imagine a system by which a greater balance of happiness could have been secured." Other active men, in positions nearer the bottom, find it difficult to imagine a system in which a greater amount of *un*happiness could have been secured. It depends on how they handle it.

Outside the circle of Christian belief, it is not uncommon to find happiness thus made the criterion of well-being. That it is a symptom of the state of life is true. There are more reliable symptoms, but happiness is one. For the essential criterion we have to look deeper. Christ did not include bright spirits or high spirits among His descriptions of the blessed life. He spoke as if the lowliest, and the mourners, and the long-suffering, found the roots of well-being. Whoso wants life for its gladness rather than its goodness is already twin-brother to Doubt. The order is not happiness the stem, and goodness the blossom; but goodness the stem, and happiness the blossom.

It must not be forgotten, as a factor in the problem, that notwithstanding all discomforts, and disabilities, and sorrows, and sufferings, the love of life is almost universal. Never was individual life guarded with the reverence and care with which it is guarded since Christian teaching impressed on the nations within its scope the sacredness of life. In early Christian ages holocausts of human beings were regarded with less shivering horror than slave-trading incurs to-day. Nero, enjoying the flames of Rome, marks him out to us as a monster; but plenty of better men then would have enjoyed lighting the flames round Nero. But neither happiness nor the love of life are the handles by which we may wisely handle the problem of suffering and the question how God can bear with it.

Can God see "the whole creation groaning and travailing in pain together"? If we believe it is in travail, we cannot believe in God without believing He does see. So, taking for granted He does see, we ask a handle by which to carry the question, How can He bear it?

First, we see Christ groaning and travailing in pain together with creation for the avowed purpose of redemption. God can look on pain and penury in His own way. "In all their afflictions He is afflicted." In the company of Christ we have no knowledge of a heartless and unfeeling God.

Dr. Fairbairn has written: "All God was to Christ, Christ was meant to be and wants to be to every man; all He was to

God, every man ought to be and may become." In fine, the purpose of God expressed in Jesus Christ is to form a godlike race. The redemptive measures of God through Christ are governed by this project of forming a godlike race. We are here not for the froth of pleasure, but for substantial righteousness; the world is not designed for effervescing beings, but for the discipline of spirits to patience, endurance, courage, power, and, above all, for living their life, seeking to have "all things in common" with God. Our true aim is to be and to become all Christ was to God—to have the qualities of spirit Christ had. By this all human suffering must be measured. "Ye are workers together with God."

Dr. Dale concluded that the Epistle to the Hebrews contains "a very early form of Christian thought." The unnamed author gave the early belief of Christians thus: "We behold Jesus, because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, that, by the grace of God, He should taste death for every man. For it became Him, of whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect through suffering. For both He that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one." The language of the New Testament seems to carry no less meaning than that God incorporated Himself with humanity that He might incorporate humanity with Himself.

By this intimate association of Christ with human suffering, all suspicion is frustrated that trouble and suffering, hardship and inability, that the natural retribution of former errors in present circumstances, and of early abuses on present faculties, is evil in itself. Some of the best dispositions and purest spirits, some of the choicest human relationships, some of the heavenliest visions, have come with privation and suffering. If some, why not more? Are not all hearts, in their regular condition, made of the same sort of apparatus? If one has a good regulator and another has not, and the one that has benefits more than the one that has not, is it to be said that God is at fault because the obedient benefit more than the disobedient? One of the

saintliest women was for years a martyr to the sufferings of which she died. No one could disparage her goodness who knew her. Her husband never called her submission and faith "cant." There is a canting submission and there is a believing acquiescence that is far removed from cant. It is our own loss not to discern the difference.

But one salient consideration we have hardly mentioned: while our own consciences tell us that sin and suffering are as closely allied as the heart and its arteries, of old they affirmed that death came because of sin. The turbid state of a heart, whose streams of tendency stir up its own mud, needs some lock-gate that will stop the miry current, and turn the stream back on itself to deposit its sediment. The contrariness of sin to God's laws is evident in our nature, and is no less active in the workings of our hearts than it is plainly affirmed in the Scriptures. Indeed, there is no verification of the inspiration of the Bible that touches its accord with the best voices of our own hearts. Its unison with human consciences, the voice it gives to human needs, the interpretation it gives to human suffering, says for it what no formal proof, like the concurrent testimonies of early writers, can ever say. And the testimony of the Bible is explicit that suffering and sin are two strands of one cord. The earnest women who conduct the Women's Home for Inebriates say now that the one effective cure of the slaves of passion is to "switch off the mind from drink, and switch it on to God."

Hear John Pulsford: "Brother spirit, sister spirit, art thou tossed and despairing in the great night and tempest of sin? Fear not: Jesus has been in thy night, and the billows went over Him. But God was with Him and triumphed. Self expired (not My will); after that God entered into Him, raised Him up, and He lives for evermore, Perfect Man in the everlastingness of God. Commit thyself to Him; thy tempest shall die out, thine evil shall expire, and thou shalt find thyself some sweet morning, safe on the golden shore, with Eternity's sun shining on thee."

It is sin that spoils our life and lot. We meet our own sins

in our rebellion against our own duties. We face them in our own miseries. We encounter them in our bad dreams.

> "The deeds we do, whether good or evil,
> Return to us again to give us our reward;
> That they may tarry on their journey.
> But there surely dawneth a day
> When they do stand before us,
> And in their hand they do bear the gift
> Life for the good, death for the evil."

Now suffering comes so largely from sin that it commends itself to our minds as absolute truth to say that apart from sin there would be no suffering. Nor does it avail to reply that suffering comes to the wrong person. Christ made no such protest. Our lives are too welded together and merged into each other's for the suffering to go wrong. Perhaps the ill-doer appears to escape and his wife and children to suffer. The supposition is wholly superficial. It is never really true that anyone escapes. Some endure the suffering due to another's sin; the sinner endures decay in the texture of his own being. He becomes deadened, for "the wages of sin is death."

So we have to learn the right standpoint from which to see the light rise on the world's struggling masses. If our axiom of good living is physical gratification, our natural conclusion is that God fails us. We may possibly add, He fails us when He could spare us. But the true conclusion would be, He takes us into His own fellowship of suffering that we may be united with His atoning remedy in the repair of the world's evil state.

Shall we forget that character that was made for us and glued on us would be carpentry, and not a living character? Seneca, as quoted in Canon Otley's work on "Christian Ideas and Ideals," "expressly acknowledges that suffering is the Divine method of perfecting character; and an occasion for steadfast and courageous action; a token of the Divine good-will; a discipline from which none should desire to be exempt." In the same book Professor Huxley is quoted as saying that we are to cast aside the notion that the escape from pain and sorrow is the proper object of life. "Pain," the author himself says, "has played a conspicuous part in the discipline of

character." "The main purpose of suffering is to exalt the level of character—to develop, purify, and test virtue." It is in the region of personality one finds the "moral uses of dark things." We are not machines or factory-made fabrics. Our animal part is not the best of us. All character is grown in the spirit. Salvation comes in the saving of the spirit. In our spirit God has set us our high function. He has called us by His Spirit to be fellow-workers with Himself in our own redemption, and the redemption of our fellows, from sin. Suffering may end when its root is destroyed.

Does someone still say, "I don't see it; if God can spare us suffering, He should"? That you feel so is not proof that you disbelieve or rebel. Good qualities have their defects, and the defect of faith is often seen in torture at the state of things around, and in the disturbance of thought caused by the vortex of the world's sorrow. That story of the children of the city might draw tears from an ox. But the story of the philanthropy that strives day and night to heal the world's sores would do something to soothe one's sorrow. We would not say it was worth while to create the suffering to evoke the philanthropy. But we would say that a sinning world without suffering would be a world that could not grow character. And we believe God seeks godlike beings.

It is not ill to ask hard questions. But it is essential to get the right point of view in answering. If God, in making man, had been making an artistic plaster model, man had been made a finished article, and had had no part in his own construction. That is not our Christian belief. Where we cannot see the movements of God's hand, we may well trust, for He has justified our trust by Jesus Christ. By Christ's side we see that righteousness is God's aim. If suffering has value, it is moral value. If the sins of the fathers are visited on the children, of husbands on wives, of the ungodly on the godly, of injurious persons on those they injure—if the sins of one fall on another to bear, the one who bears forgivingly and cheerfully joins with God in the making of right souls, and with His Son Jesus Christ in His redeeming work.

The Missionary World.

SOME of the American Churches are holding a joint commemoration of Easter and of the Livingstone Centenary, one date falling four days after the other. There is a natural relationship between the thoughts. Each day celebrates life out of death, light out of darkness, liberty out of bondage. Each centres round a life laid down — Livingstone's for a continent, the life of the Son of Man for the world. Many sermons on Easter morning will find place for some record of the great missionary who took the message of the Risen Life into the land of darkness and death. Full announcements of the national memorial service, to be attended by the Lord Mayor of London in state in St. Paul's Cathedral on March 19 and of the memorial service for the Free Churches in Westminster Chapel on the same date, are given in several magazines. That evening there will be a great meeting in the Albert Hall; chairman, the Archbishop of Canterbury; speakers, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir Harry Johnston, and Dr. Wardlaw Thompson. The L.M.S. propose to found a "Livingstone Memorial Station" in Central Africa as an outcome of the centenary. From an advertisement which has been widely circulated amongst members of missionary committees, we learn that Dr. Booker Washington is expected to contribute an article to the April number of the *International Review of Missions*, dealing with some aspects of the outcome from Livingstone's life.

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The *Times* (in the form of a letter from Dr. Horton), the *Record*, the *C.M. Review*, the S.P.G. *Mission Field*, and many other papers, have been issuing stirring accounts of the Continuation Committee Conferences which Dr. Mott has been conducting in India. An immense amount of careful work has been expended upon them, and they have been surrounded by prayer. The best experience of Indian Christians and of foreign missionaries has been combined and expressed in findings which are likely to be of far-reaching

influence. These were presented at the final conference in Calcutta by a remarkable group of persons: the Rev. H. Anderson, Baptist Mission, Calcutta, on Survey and Occupation; the Rev. O. S. Azariah, now the first Indian Bishop, on the Indian Church and Indian Christian Leadership; the Bishop of Madras, on Mass Movements; Dr. Mackichan, Principal of the Wilson College (United Free Church), Bombay, on Education; Dr. Jones, of the American Mission, Madura, on Literature; Dr. A. Lankester, Peshawar, of the C.M.S., on Medical Work; Miss Christlieb, of the L.M.S. at Anantapur, on Women's Work; and Dr. A. Hume, of the American Mission at Ahmednagar, on the Training of Missionaries. Perhaps the two most impressive things in the great All-India Conference were the presence of the Metropolitan of the Jacobite Church, and the presentation of the Report on Co-operation, by Dr. Lefroy, Metropolitan-Elect of India. Simple but efficient organization has been established in order to maintain intercourse between the Missionary bodies and to bring matters of wide importance into the region of joint consideration. It is held by many sober and experienced men that a new era in Missionary work is being quietly and hopefully inaugurated. In connection with Dr. Mott's share in the movement, it is interesting to read the account in an article on "The Beginning of the North American Student Movement" in *The Student World* for January, of his first enlistment in Christian service through a visit of Mr. J. E. K. Studd of Cambridge to America in 1885. Dr. Mott was then "an influential but sceptical sophomore" at Cornell University.

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Among articles worth studying in the February magazines we note: Two papers on Uganda in the *C.M. Review*—one, by Bishop Willis, on the need of reinforcements; the other, by the Rev. A. B. Fisher, calls for advance into Kavirondo (Mumia's district), the Nile Province, and as soon as possible beyond Ankole, in the district of Ruhanda; an excellent report, in the *C.M.S. Gazette*, of a Home Base Conference recently held at York, which report is now being considered by the Committee

of the C.M. Association in the diocese ; two articles on Medical Missions, one on their relation to Mass Movements contributed to the *Mission Field* by the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, organizing secretary of the S.P.G. Medical Department, the other in the B.M.S. *Herald*, by Dr. Harold Balme, on "The Mission Hospital and the Native Church"; two strong statements of the new crisis in the Opium Question in *China's Millions* and the L.M.S. *Chronicle;* two very able articles by the Rev. J. P. Haythornethwaite, late Principal of St. John's College, Agra, one on "The Influence of the Bible upon Educated India" (in *The Bible in the World*), the other on "A New Ideal of Womanhood : India's Greatest Social Need" (in *India's Women*) ; two papers from the Far North, one on "The Power of the Gospel in Eskimo," by the Rev. E. J. Peek, in *The Bible in the World*, the other in the *C.M. Gleaner*, telling of "A Perilous Journey in Baffin's Land"; and, lastly, two striking editorials, dealing with the meaning and use of money, in *The Student Movement* and *The Bible in the World* respectively.

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The next few weeks are fraught with great issues for the finances of most of the missionary societies. The S.P.G. record with thankfulness an advance in their receipts for the year ending December, 1912, and are prosecuting their forward movement with energy. The China Inland Mission makes a full financial statement which is worthy of attention. Behind their words of sober faith it is manifest that the financial pressure is very real, though it is borne in a spirit which must bring blessing down. All attempts to forecast the C.M.S. position are apt to be misleading, but it is certain that March must be a month of prayer and work if the Society is to be set free to go forward.

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Professor Siraj Ud-din's article on "The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam," in the *International Review of Missions* for January, is being found very useful in the work of Christian

apologetics. Himself a convert from Islam and now a convinced and powerful advocate of Christianity, he writes with an inner knowledge of both beliefs, and yet with a humility and modesty which add weight to his words. His paper is a powerful argument when the old assertion that "there are no true converts from Islam" is met.

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One of the problems of the modern missionary propaganda is how to enter into co-operative work with largeness of spirit, and at the same time to be wholly true to denominational or society responsibility. The advance made by nearly all missionary societies in this direction within the last three years is patent to anyone who steadily reads their publications month by month; definiteness and breadth are on the increase. Perhaps of all the British periodicals, the quarterly issued by the Friends' Foreign Mission Association—*Our Missions*—best exemplifies this. The interests of the Society of Friends and the forwarding of their Missions are urged on every page, yet from first to last there is a liberality, a sympathy, a breadth of outlook, a readiness to approach others, which is a refreshment to the spirit of the reader. The first number for 1913 is a specially good one, and provides much food for thought.

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The building operations of the C.M. House will soon begin in good earnest. Those who have been familiar with the inner conditions have long wondered at the pluck and patience which some of the departments showed in the prosecution of their strenuous work under conditions which were overcrowded and insanitary. Action was inevitable; in fact, for some time past some of the departments have had to be housed in rented premises at considerable expense. When the new arrangements are completed work can be efficiently carried forward with less expenditure of time and strength. Another item of central C.M.S. news is the approaching retirement of the Rev. G. B. Durrant, who has been the India secretary since 1898, when he succeeded the Rev. P. Ireland Jones. Mr. Durrant's fellow-

workers and the missionaries in his "group" know best all that his sympathy and insight have meant. The Committee, in their resolution accepting his resignation, which is to date from September 30, well recognize "his unfailing sympathy with the missionaries, his self-denying and conscientious attention to every duty. . . . In a wider sphere they remember with thankfulness that his literary gifts and spiritual power have been used of God in deepening and extending spiritual life in no small measure amongst many of the missionaries and other friends of the Society." It is much to be hoped that Mr. Durrant may remain near London in order that he may continue to be a power in the councils of the C.M.S.

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The number of independent testimonies to the duty and value of foreign missions increases year by year. A noteworthy addition is found in the "Life of Lord Wolverhampton," just published by Hutchinson and Co. The name of Henry Hartley Fowler ranks high both in the world of politics and of religion. He was an active Methodist and a keen supporter of the missionary cause. His daughter and biographer (in chapter xxvii.) quotes some utterances of weight. On missionary instrumentality he says:

"Is there not amongst a very large section a dim, vague feeling that if ever the world is to be brought to the faith of Christ some agency other than that now employed must be brought into play, and that miraculous aid, or millennium advent, must precede the final overthrow of the powers of darkness? Now, we who profess the Christian faith are bound to regard the simplicity and, as the world reckons it, the utter folly of our agency as the sure sign of its power. And were the difficulties that gather in our path multiplied a hundredfold, we are bound to accept with implicit and with active faith the inspired declaration of the great proto-missionary when he says that it hath pleased God to choose the weak things of the world to confound its wisdom, and that He hath ordained the foolishness of preaching as the instrumentality by which all men are to be brought to a knowledge of the truth."

Again, his words on the need for patience go home in this "decisive hour":

"Let us also beware of one feeling which it is natural should arise concerning missionary effort, and that is an impatience as to time. We must

learn to labour and we must learn to wait. The waiting is the more difficult lesson of the two, and the lesson which this age, of all other ages, needs to be taught. And when appalled at the sin and the sorrow which blights so large a portion of the globe, and eager for that blessed consummation when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea, we impatiently, inquisitively, almost distrustfully, ask, When shall these things be? there should be ever sounding in our ears the solemn command with which, from its first utterance on the shores of Galilee down to the present time, the Church has ever been rebuked: 'What is that to thee? Follow thou Me! . . .' Nay more, while the Church thus works and waits, and works and hopes, and works and believes, it reverently, but yet closely, follows Him, our risen, reigning Lord, of whom it is mysteriously but unerringly revealed that He Himself, on the Throne of Universal Empire, is 'from henceforth expecting until His foes become His footstool.'"

One quotation further we must allow ourselves on the relative value of money and of men:

"The Anglo-Saxon Churches have at this moment set before them such opportunities of widespread universal missionary enterprise as have never been afforded to the Church collectively, or to any one section of it, since the first great missionary command was given. And yet with all this affluence of opportunity there is one need which all missionary societies feel. What is it? It is not money; you can always get money in this country for a good cause. What you want is men. The noblest monuments of missionary enterprise are the monuments of men, not of expenditure. A man with a sling and a stone has done more for the Lord's side than many a well-disciplined host with the best equipped artillery. We want the Churches to feel that the gift of a man is the grandest gift they can lay on the altar; we want the societies to recognize that a man is the most precious donation in their treasury."

G.

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.*]

"THE ETHICAL TEACHINGS OF ST. MATTHEW V. 38-41."

(*The "Churchman," February*, 1913, *p.* 121.)

IT may seem ungracious to find fault with an article in which the writer has shown a true Christian spirit throughout and reached the conclusion which none can dispute: that the ethical teaching of Christ is summed up in the words, "Bear ye one another's burdens."

Yet he brushes aside at the outset an explanation that has been found helpful to many in the pursuit of the same argument, viz., that the words of the text are addressed by our Lord to His disciples "in their private capacity or as members of His Church." "The limitation," he says, "is, however, arbitrary; it is not required or even suggested by a sound exegesis."

To a layman unlearned in exegesis, each of the three sayings appears distinctly to carry with it this limitation.

The first is addressed to a man who has suffered a personal injury done to him by another. Its figurative language, like the "right hand" and "right eye," in verses 29, 30, shows that it is not confined to a particular case, but is to be applied to a whole class of personal injuries.

The second and third are cases of a man under a personal obligation to do something.

As to the first: The man who has received an insult, more stinging than any material blow on the cheek, and, in obedience to his Lord (Matt. xiii. 15), goes, in a forgiving spirit, to the offender to "show him his fault" between themselves alone, will find that he is most truly offering his other cheek, and may, and often does, get a worse blow than the first.

As to the second: A man who is adjudicated bankrupt and bound by law to give up to his creditors only half of his debts, is yet bound by this law of Christ to set himself to work to pay off the remainder with interest, and not to cease till he has done so.

In the third case, we have the instance of a man under a legal obligation to do a service to others who is enjoined not to grudge a voluntary extension of it while he is in the way of helping his fellow-man.

The guardians of the poor (not only of poor rates) in the district in

which we live demand from us a contribution based on the amount to be spent by them in relieving such poor. But there are many who remain with insufficient relief or without any. To give further help according to our means comes under this injunction.

The illustration of the first case given in the article of a man reminding the robber of his purse that he has also a watch and chain—which the writer truly remarks would put a premium on crime—shows clearly that the command of our Lord does not apply to us in certain cases where we are called upon to act as citizens.

We are bound to help a policeman and even to take the initiative in using force to resist evil-doers, in order to preserve the internal peace of the State and the liberty of our fellow-citizens.

This modification of Christ's rule, if indeed it can be so called, is made by Divine, not by human, authority. The penalties and damages awarded by the laws of a Christian State are still based on strict retaliation, which is the vengeance which belongs to God and is delegated by Him to the Powers that be (Rom. xiii. 3, 4).

Mercy has no place in a court of justice. (Shakespeare gets a woman to introduce this exotic in order to enhance the claims of justice.)

But this in no way lessens the obligation laid upon the disciples of Christ not to resist any evil that threatens them whether individually or as members of the Church, and to refrain from all acts of personal vengeance.

Christ has given no laws to the State. His call to everyone is: "Come unto Me. Take My yoke upon you," and then, "Learn of Me."

F. A. Le Mesurier.

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

(*The "Churchman," February*, 1913, *p.* 147.)

In an article on this subject in January, allusion was made to the theory that the Ornaments Rubric of 1559 was a "fraud Rubric," and that the words "be in use" in the proviso of the Act of 1559 must mean "be held in trust," or "be put to other uses" than those originally intended.

Mr. Tomlinson, to whose writings all who study the Prayer-Book owe so much, comes forward to the defence of this theory. It is therefore necessary to examine his paper very carefully.

The question to be decided is this. The second section of the Act of 1559 re-enacted the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. But it did this "with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute." Are we to understand that these altera-

tions are confined to those in the prayers, as specified in the third section, or are we to give a wider scope to the words used, so as to make them include any alterations in ornaments and ceremonies, such as are anticipated in the proviso in Sections 25 and 26?

Mr. Tomlinson holds that the alterations authorized by the Act are those specified in the third Section, and those only, emphasizing the words "none other or otherwise," which, as they stand in Section 3, refer to the prayers to be used by the minister.

We must consider the circumstances. When the Queen came to the throne the Legislature determined that the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. should be restored, with certain changes in the services. But the Queen was anxious to see other changes in the ornaments and the ceremonies. She felt so strongly in this matter that, as she reminded Archbishop Parker (Letter to Sir William Cecil, January 8, 1570-1), she "would not have agreed to divers orders in the Book," unless her wish had been granted. She referred to the proviso in the Act. Mr. Tomlinson remarks that she was dealing only with Section 26, the latter half of the proviso. The former part (Section 25) had been carried out already in the "other order" that had been taken in dealing with the ornaments, in the injunctions, and the visitations. But the whole proviso was clearly due to the Queen.

Judging by her love of display, she desired some more showy vesture for the clergy than the surplice. Her subsequent conduct discovered a partiality for the cope. This was the Protestant alternative to the chasuble, under the First Prayer-Book.

But how were her wishes to be embodied in the Prayer-Book? It was easy to alter the prayers. The three changes were specified. But how were the desired changes in the ornaments and ceremonies to be secured. They could not be specified in the Prayer-Book, for they were not yet determined upon. The case was met by the proviso, which gave the Queen power, with certain consents, to take "other order" (25) in the matter of the Ornaments of the Church and the Ministers, and (26) to ordain, with the like consents, "further rites and ceremonies."

Is not this double proviso included in the additions and alterations authorized in the second section of the Act, as given above?

But the new edition of the Prayer-Book had to be issued at once. The changes in the prayers could be printed in the revised Book. But what of the Rubric as to the Ornaments of the Minister, which had not yet been settled? If the Rubric of 1552, forbidding the use of all vestment or cope, were reprinted, it might conflict with the order about to be issued under the proviso, for it forbade the "cope" as well as the Mass Vestments.

If, therefore, the proviso, which was part of the Act, was to stand and take effect, the Rubric of 1552 must go out. But what must take its place? The exact form of the new order was not determined upon.

The only thing, therefore, to be done was to frame a new memorandum, or note, to take the place of the old Rubric, and this note must refer for its authority to the proviso.

This was done, and the new note was put in the place of the superseded Rubric. Now if we compare the old Rubric with the new note, we shall find that they exactly correspond in their opening sentences. "And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times of his ministration, shall use. . . ."

The proviso had to be turned into a Rubric, and the new Rubric follows the line of the old one. There is no "fraud" here. Several of the differences noted by Mr. Tomlinson (p. 159) between the words of the proviso and those of the new Rubric are simply the result of following the lines of the old Rubric.

But after these necessary prefatory words, we find the actual words of the proviso introduced almost verbatim. If any difference can be made out, the new Rubric makes matters straight by adding "according to the Act of Parliament set out in the beginning of this Book."

The Rubric which some describe as a "fraud" is accurately spoken of in the "Ridsdale Judgment," as follows (p. 706): "That note or Rubric, as is pointed out by Bishop Gibson, was not inserted by any authority of Parliament. It was meant to be a compendious and convenient summary of the enactment on this subject. If it was an accurate summary, it was merely a repetition of the Act. If it was inaccurate or imperfect, the Act, and not the note, would be the governing rule."

The new Rubric was not "inserted in the Act," but the proviso was, and this necessitated, as I have shown, both the omission of the Rubric of 1552, and the insertion of the new note, or memorandum, for the guidance of the minister in the use of the Book.

That the Rubric was a temporary arrangement is plain. The prescribed "use" was to be "according to the Act set at the beginning of this Book." Mr. Tomlinson has overlooked this, when he writes, that "the Rubric falls short of the proviso by omitting all reference to "any 'other order' being taken by the Commissioners." The Rubric is expressly subjected to the proviso in the Act, and therefore all its conditions are implied.

We may dismiss, then, all thought of "fraud" in the Rubric. It was introduced to meet the requirements of the proviso. It was intended only as a provisional arrangement, until the "other order" should be issued. It was not meant that there should be any delay. The injunctions were issued on the day that the Prayer-Book was to come into use. They were supplied to the visitors. The Mass Vestments were speedily removed. Bishop Sandys, coming fresh from the passing of the Act, wrote: "Our gloss" (viz., interpretation) "upon this text is that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in

the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen."

He did not mean that the Act would remain inoperative, but that in the brief "meantime" they might comfort themselves with the thought that they would not be compelled to wear the vestments that were so soon to be adjudicated upon.

By "use them," however, he clearly meant "wear them"; and this disposes of the suggestion that by "be in use" we are to understand "be kept in custody."

When the Rubric is treated as a "fraud Rubric," it necessitates some other meaning than usual being put upon "be in use."

Mr. Tomlinson holds that the 1552 Rubric must be read along with the proviso. That Rubric says, "The minister shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope." The proviso says that the prescribed vestments of 1549 "shall be retained and be in use," and the two statements are printed by him in one paragraph, as if they could be made to agree. This can only be brought about by giving some new meaning to the words "be in use." We are told that "no contradiction is 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."

When asked before the Royal Commission by the Bishop of Oxford (Question 3,385), "Might I ask, is there any instance of the words 'be in use' absolutely, not meaning any public or ceremonial use?" the answer was, "I have never been able to find, and I expressly stated so in my book years ago, that that precise collocation of words 'be in use' does not occur anywhere else."

The words are unexampled, but they would also be inappropriate in this sense here, for Mr. Tomlinson writes (p. 145): "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 Church goods."

We must dismiss, therefore, the suggestion that the words "be in use" may have some unwonted meaning assigned to them, in order that the words of the proviso may be made not to conflict with the words of the Rubric of 1552, which is supposed to be re-enacted by the Act of Elizabeth. The two cannot be made to agree, and they ought not to be printed together, as if they could form one consistent direction.

But Mr. Tomlinson proceeds to argue that "no mere proviso could have power to revoke or repeal the enactment to which it related." The answer is, that the proviso is part of the Act, and is included in the alterations referred to in Section 2, which has been overlooked.

When it is added, "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," we must acknowledge that we know very little of what took place between the issue of the Rubric and the Visitation. In this short "meantime" we may well believe that there was no uniform practice, No doubt many would gladly act upon the "gloss" of Bishop Sandys, that the clergy would not be forced to use the ornaments. But we find that while the visitors caused the Mass Vestments to be removed. they spared some copes, and when Parker came to be consecrated Archbishop, though he himself wore a surplice, some of the consecrating Bishops wore copes, which were not authorized by the Rubric of 1552.

To sum up, we may allow that the Act of Queen Elizabeth did not put the new Rubric into the Prayer-Book. But it was put there "by virtue" of the proviso in the Act; and the proviso was one of the alterations sanctioned by Section 2. The words "none other or otherwise" in Section 3 cannot be extended backwards, so as to exclude the alterations authorized by Section 2.

When Mr. Tomlinson interprets "none otherwise" to mean "with an environment other than such order and form as is mentioned in the said book," it is to be observed that "order and form" are not "environment." He is attempting to prove that Queen Elizabeth and her astute Privy Council issued orders which were irreconcilable.

Is this likely? There have been others who have made the same attempt. Mr. Tomlinson, in his "Craving for Mass Vestments," tells how Robert Beale, the Puritan, contended thus: "Seeing that the statute made in the first year of Her Majesty's reign is penal, and therefore to be literally and strictly understood, and it alloweth but of a book with three additions and not otherwise, if there be no first book, nor ever was with such three additions, and not otherwise, then there is no allowance or confirmation of any law, and forasmuch as this book, which we have hath more additions, it is another book and diverse from that which the law requireth, and confirmed, and so hitherto there hath been no book published according to law at all."

Mr. Tomlinson adds: "Strange as it may seem, Beale's statement is perfectly correct." Beale had, however, overlooked Section 2 of the Act, as others have done. He had also observed some trifling variations in the new Prayer-Book from that of 1552. The precept, "de minimis," etc., might well have been borne in mind.

Beale, however, wished to get rid of the surplice, as ordered in the injunctions under the proviso. Modern Ritualists desire to get rid of the injunctions likewise, and argue that they lacked the consent of the Commissioners, while they repudiate the advertisements on the alleged ground that they were not authorized by the Queen.

Both parties are refuted by the "Contemporanea Expositio."

We ought, however, to note, and we do it with pleasure, that Mr.

Tomlinson, in the "Craving for Vestments," makes the following admission: "Nor am I so wedded to the belief that 'be in use' in the 25th Section of Elizabeth's Act meant merely remain as trust property 'for the use of the Church,' as to be unwilling to argue the question on the hypothesis referred to in the Report (*i.e.*, of the Five Bishops)—viz., that the Act and 'fraud Rubric' alike ordered a return to the use of the ornaments of the First Prayer-Book."

If this ground be taken up, and if it be borne in mind how brief was the "meantime" that elapsed between the issue of the Prayer-Book and the Visitations, the whole force of Mr. Tomlinson's unanswerable arguments, founded upon his laborious and careful examination of documents, comes into play; his opponents are no longer able to ride off upon exceptions taken to the theory of the "fraud Rubric," but must surrender at discretion, as may be seen by every careful reader of the Prayer-Book Dictionary.

JOSEPH NUNN.

Notices of Books.

THE MISSIONARY CAMPAIGN. By the Rev. W. S. Hooton. *Longmans.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. Hooton has given us a very readable handbook, consisting of an excellent review of the actual conditions of work in the Mission Field, for the information and inspiration of the home Church.

He writes from a C.M.S. standpoint, and, while urging strongly the great need of much more self-sacrificing effort, seems fairly satisfied that we are working at present on the right lines. He is not in favour of speedy withdrawals from occupied fields, and he states boldly that the policy of "leading strings" will be needed for some time yet; an immense field has to be covered, and far more European Missionaries are needed, both to pioneer and to shepherd. He is a little afraid of too much study in the science of Comparative Religion, and, indeed, is not enamoured of "scientific" methods of modern growth at all. What are now regarded as the ordinary methods of Missionary endeavour—educational, medical, industrial, literary—are all endorsed, though more important than any is genuine Evangelistic work. Women are called to an increasingly important effort. It is interesting to read this book in conjunction with Mr. Rowland Allen's "Missionary Methods," for the two have not always the same verdict on some vital points of Native Church development—*e.g.*, foreign supervision, management of finance, deferring of Baptism, Western theology, etc. But both aim at an ultimately independent native Church, and both call on us at home to study afresh the problems and secure a solution.

Mr. Hooton has produced a handy, popularly written survey of the work of the Church abroad, by no means an unsuitable book for Ordination candidates to read and digest for their Bishops' examinations.

W. HEATON RENSHAW.

OUTLINES OF PRAYER-BOOK HISTORY. By W. P. Upton. *C. J. Thynne.* Price 2s. net.

Mr. Upton is known to walk in the footsteps of that master of the Reformation period, Mr. J. T. Tomlinson. Accordingly we took up this volume expecting to find in it marks of Mr. Tomlinson's influence, and they are apparent everywhere. There is, indeed, the same strong feeling against Romanizing tendencies in the English Church, but that feeling is based on very full and accurate knowledge, and it is this which will make the book valuable. Mr. Upton confines himself to the two questions of the Communion Service and ministerial vestures. The doctrine underlying the former is shown to be a spiritual and not a material one in the earliest forms of prayer; the corruptions of the Medieval Period are pointed out; and then the author devotes himself to showing that a purely spiritual belief underlay the wording of the First Prayer-Book of 1549, in opposition to a theory which has been much popularized by certain writers that the true spiritual teaching only became evident in 1552, and as a consequence of foreign influences. The main support of Mr. Upton's view is, of course, the Great Parliamentary Debate of 1548, and a summary is given of Mr. Tomlinson's dissertation thereon in his Collected Tracts. The point is so important that we could wish the summary fuller. With regard to the Ornaments Rubric, the meaning of "in use" is discussed, and some useful evidence adduced to show that it means "in trust," and not "for wearing." The "other order" of the Act of Uniformity is held to be the Royal Commissioners of 1559 personally. Mr. Upton doubts if it has been proved that the 1559 Injunctions were "other order" in themselves. In both these points Mr. Tomlinson is followed. The chapters on the last Revisions are also good. The book is pleasant to read, its information is accurate, and it can be safely recommended as a trustworthy guide in an intricate subject.

THE NAME OF GOD IN THE PENTATEUCH. By Dr. A. Troelstra. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 2s.

IS A REVOLUTION IN PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM AT HAND? By the Rev. Johannes Dahse. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 4d.

Prominent Old Testament critics in Great Britain have accepted the Graf-Kuenen-Welhausen theory which splits the Pentateuch into four or more sources—symbolized respectively J. E. P. D., etc., and assigns to each source a different date. On the Continent, however, there are indications of a reaction against this theory. Not long ago, Dr. Troelstra gave a course of lectures in Kuenen's own university at Leyden, attacking the very foundation of Kuenen's source-theory. These lectures, translated by Mr. Edmund McClure, M.A., show that the use of various names for God does not indicate the employment of various documents in the compilation of the Pentateuch, for (1) "Jehovah" is used where the critics would have expected "Elohim," and *vice versa*. (2) We know from Psalms and Chronicles that in later times Jewish scribes avoided writing the name "Jehovah" and substituted for it "Elohim" (*cf.* Ps. xiv. 1-7 with liii. 1-6). Dr. Troelstra upholds "the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch," without pretending "to prove that Moses wrote every line and every word as we read them now in the Masoretic text." The "Mosaic *material*" has been edited, revised, added to and

rendered intelligible by the editor. He fully discusses Exod. vi. 3, and the significance of "I am what I am." The volume is quite worth studying, though it has neither index nor table of contents, nor headings to the chapters. The translator's preface is short but admirable.

Dahse's brochure examines and refutes the alleged four distinctive marks of the various documentary sources—namely, (1) "Jehovah" and "Elohim"; (2) "Jacob" and "Israel"; (3) the duplicate account of the Deluge; and (4) the linguistic differences of the sources. Professor Sayce contributes a very short and characteristic preface. K. E. K.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES. By the Rev. E. M. Walker, M.A. *Macmillan and Co.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

Four sermons preached before the University of Oxford. The first in order of time is one upon Robertson of Brighton, for whom Mr. Walker has a great admiration. He calls him prophet, and finds the essence of his prophetic message in a vindication of the unseen, the spiritual, the ideal, against the sordid and the material interests of the age. The other three sermons are those just delivered by Mr. Walker as "Select Preacher," and are an application of Robertson's principles to the needs of to-day. The first dwells on the results of the growth of town life at the expense of the country, and on the decay of tradition as a force in modern life; the second deals with that attack upon Christian morality which in this country is particularly associated with Mr. Bernard Shaw; and the third criticizes the exclusively material tendency of modern schemes of social amelioration. We wish these sermons a wide circulation. Their message is needed. The time has come when Christianity must again consider itself in decided antagonism to the *Zeitgeist*, and it is well we should all realize the fact.

PENTATEUCHAL STUDIES. By Harold M. Wiener. London: *Elliot Stock.* Price 6s. net.

Mr. Wiener is very angry: he has found in "some Septuagintal authority . . . sometimes only a single cursive" (p. 53) variations in the use of the Divine Name in Genesis; and on this fact he has based a vigorous assault upon the documentary theory of the Pentateuch. Dr. Skinner, in his Commentary on Genesis, has rather curtly put on one side Mr. Wiener's discoveries, and preferred to deal only with the LXX. variants registered by Redpath and Eerdmanns. And because Dr. Skinner has not treated Mr. Wiener's data with the respect (they sometimes rest on the authority of a single cursive) which their collector thinks them to deserve, Dr. Skinner is guilty of "intellectual dishonesty" (p. 115), and of "both *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*" (p. 92).

Dr. Driver, in the preface to his edition of Exodus in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools," claims "full knowledge of what has been said by various writers on the other side." Three weeks earlier than the date of this preface he had written to Mr. Wiener saying that he was "acquainted with his writings and had read considerable parts of them" (p. 144). But because he has not read *all* Mr. Wiener's writings, and still more because he has not adopted *all* Mr. Wiener's suggestions (for Mr. Wiener thinks that "some passages have been influenced by his work," p. 148), Dr. Driver is charged

with "solemnly holding himself out as possessing knowledge that he does not in fact possess" (p. 147).

It must be said at once that, whatever be the value of Mr. Wiener's discoveries and arguments (of that we will speak later), this is not the tone or temper by which to win for them a fair hearing. Mr. Wiener has a perfect right to be convinced of the strength of his own arguments, but his work as a critic is only half done when he himself is convinced; he has to carry conviction to the minds of those who differ from him, and he will not make his task the easier by the attitude he adopts towards the recalcitrant. More than once in the pages of this book the writer seems to think that the mere suggestion of a possible alternative explanation is sufficient to dispose of that to which he objects (*e.g.*, p. 185, note).

But, further, is Mr. Wiener himself quite clear of the charges which he brings against his opponents? On p. 7 he enumerates some writers who are examples of "breaches with the established Wellhausen school" under the influence of archæology; he mentions Professor Eerdmanns of Leyden, but does not add that he rejects the documentary analysis of the Pentateuch under the influence of a theory which regards *Elohim* in many passages as a genuine plural, thus bringing polytheism down to a comparatively late date in Israelite history; he appeals to Baentsch, as asserting that "it was incorrect to argue for a late date for monotheism," but does not reveal the fact that Baentsch accepts the documentary analysis of the Pentateuch.

When we turn away from this rather sordid matter of intellectual honesty, in which we may quite well grant to Mr. Wiener the same standard that we claim for his opponents, and come to examine his arguments, it may be admitted at once that more attention will have to be paid to the question of the text of the Pentateuch in the light of the versions than has hitherto been done; but it must not be forgotten that, though this was the first clue which suggested the documentary analysis, that analysis has found many other lines of support. Further, some of the passages (*e.g.*, Gen. x. 19) which appear to make for a pre-Mosaic origin of the books in which they occur must be given due consideration. And Mr. Wiener's arguments for the "wilderness" origin of the regulations for the Levites in the Book of Numbers (P) are weighty. But before conservative critics join hands with Mr. Wiener in a war-dance on the prostrate corpse of the Wellhausen hypothesis, they should look carefully at the weapons with which the downfall of the foe is to be brought about. The document theory is to be upset by the frank recognition of the imperfections of the Massoretic text (which not so long ago was their palladium), which must be corrected by the LXX. and its variants; and the contention for the Mosaic origin of the Levitical regulations of Numbers is based upon the rejection of the conservative "assumption that all the statements contained in the Bible must necessarily be of equal value historically" (p. 232), on the "rejection of all statements in the Hagiography that conflict with the Law and the Prophets" (p. 233), and on the explicit assertion (pp. 284 ff., note) that the Books of Chronicles are not history, but "midrash." It is not possible to adopt Mr. Wiener's conclusions without accepting his premises, and we can imagine some wry faces caused by the attempt to swallow these.

M. Linton Smith.

RABBINIC PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS. By Dr. G. Friedländer. *Vallentine Successors.*

This is a very handy volume of extracts from early Jewish literature. The title suggests systematized thought, and therein is misleading; "Wit and Wisdom" would have conveyed a truer idea of the contents. The extracts are all grouped round the stories and events of the Pentateuch. Sometimes they are childish—*e.g.*, the attempt to explain away the title "Egyptian" applied to Moses in Exod. ii. 19; more often they are beautiful, as, for instance, the explanation of the fact that God spoke to Moses out of a *thorn-bush* to teach "that there is no spot without the presence of the Shechinah, even though it be a thorn-bush"; sometimes they are childishly beautiful, as in the comment on Exod. xvii. 12, that Moses had no cushion on the stone on which he sat in order that he might be in distress as the nation was. We are not familiar enough with Jewish thought, and the present volume, which is well arranged and well indexed, will be a real help towards removing this reproach. The preacher will find many a suggestion and illustration, and the student a handy introduction to a much-neglected field of knowledge. M. LINTON SMITH.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Sir F. Kenyon, K.C.B. London: *Macmillan.* Price 5s. net.

An admirable introduction in the proper sense of the word to the science of Higher Criticism; not a handbook which takes too much for granted, nor an account which only touches the surface, but a real introduction. It is a new edition of an old book, but it has been largely rewritten and brought quite up to date. It contains, for instance, a catalogue of the Papyri, Von Soden's numeration of the various MSS., etc., as well as that ordinarily in use, and a brief account of his critical theory. It is well illustrated, and gives excellent accounts, both generally and in detail, of the various sources of material for the construction of the text. The book ends with a long and careful chapter on the present problem. In the main Sir F. Kenyon inclines to the Wescott and Hort view, but he declines to reject all evidence outside the Neutral text, and he realizes that the so-called Weston text has won for itself, and rightly, these last years a higher value than Dr. Hort was willing to assign to it. The book is intelligently and popularly written, and we believe that it will rank as the best popular introduction to its subject. If, as we hope, another edition is called for, we should be glad to see a few pages devoted to examples of disputed readings, with Sir F. Kenyon's general view of the relative value of evidence applied to them. F. S. S. W.

LESSONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT. Notes Critical and Expository on the Passages appointed for Sundays and Holy-Days. By the Rev. A. S. Hill Scott, M.A., and the Rev. H. T. Knight, M.A. *Oxford University Press.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

The object of this volume, as stated in the preface, is to elucidate those portions of the Old Testament which are read in public worship upon Sundays and Holy-days throughout the year. The expositions, however, are usually commonplace and meagre, while the criticism is mainly of the most advanced and venturesome type. On Genesis xxii. (Evening Lesson,

First Sunday in Lent) we read: "The section belongs almost exclusively to the prophetical narrative, which was composed in the age of the early kings. From verse 14, however, to the end of verse 18 comes a supplementary passage, probably inserted by the writer who combined the Jehovistic and Elohistic records into one continuous history." The reason for this alleged combination is ingenious. We are told it was "in order to fix the site of the incident on Mount Moriah, where Solomon's Temple stood, and so connect the tale with a current saying about Jehovah's Sanctuary."

Of Genesis xlii. we are told: "The passage is taken from the Elohistic document, save for verses 27, 28, and 38, which are Jehovistic." Exodus "belongs to an age long subsequent to the events it describes, the earliest of the documents out of which it has been compiled not having been drawn up until after the establishment of the monarchy." These few quotations by way of example, but the same kind of thing appears with wearisome reiteration on every page. We agree with the compilers that, "if the reader of the Lessons were allowed, especially in the case of the Old Testament, to preface his rendering with a few explanatory remarks," the reading would be more truly "edifying to the Church"; but we cannot think that, if such remarks were to be on the lines of these "Notes," the average churchgoer would be able to see that "modern criticism has brought a real gain," and for our own part we should be exceedingly sorry to hear these chapters read, as is suggested, from the lectern as a prelude to the Lesson.

JESUS THE CHRIST: HISTORICAL OR MYTHICAL. By Thomas J. Thorburn, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: *T. and T. Clark.* Price 6s. net.

The fact that there is need for such a work as this is an evidence of the daring of modern scepticism, while it shows, too, how the grounds of unbelief have shifted since the days of Paley. The Christian citadel must surely have now been assailed from every point! It remains invulnerable, but there is still need for every defender to be armed to the teeth; consequently we welcome this able contribution to apologetic literature.

Dr. Thorburn prefaces his introduction with a "bibliography," giving us a list of the more important modern books and pamphlets dealing with the Christ myth on the negative and affirmative sides. The former is very valuable, for he gives us, in a few lines, the main line of argument. Among the latter we find no mention of Dr. St. Clair Tisdall's valuable book, "Mythic Christs and the True," though, oddly enough, he mentions it in the body of the work (on p. 202). While he notices the arguments of others, he has in the main selected for his attack Professor Drew's "Die Christusmythe," which had reached its fourth edition in 1911, with an English translation in its third edition in 1910. Denying the historic Christ, Drew holds that Christianity sprang from certain Ethnic Nature-cults; but Dr. Thorburn shows that there is an entire lack of valid historical and other evidence for the existence of pre-Christian or Jewish "Jesus-cults," and he demolishes the theory that the story of the Crucifixion is merely the "rewriting of a dramatic Mystery-play, which among the Gentile Christians of the larger cities followed the Sacramental meal on Easter Day," and shows that there is not a shred of evidence for the alleged "phallic significance" of the Cross —a suggestion which he very justifiably characterizes as "unsavoury, not

to say disgusting." In an illuminating chapter on the use of symbols in the primitive Church, he shows that, even if they were in some cases borrowed from other sources, they were invested with an entirely new meaning.

It is impossible for us to trace the steps by which Dr. Thorburn arrives at the conclusion that Jesus is the most definite and most concrete of all personalities in the history of the past. "As without a Buddha there could have been no Buddhism, without a Moses there could have been no Judaism, and without a Mohammed modern Islam would never have been, so, too, without a personal Jesus, Christianity would never have arisen to guide and control the future destinies of mankind."

THE MYSTERY OF PROVIDENCE. London: *Sherratt and Hughes*, Soho Square.

The pathetic autobiography of Robert Hopwood, the son of a Lancashire cotton operative. For some time past completely paralyzed and quite blind, he has yet been enabled to realize that "pain is the pressure of a Father's hand." The little book constitutes a powerful appeal on behalf of the Blind Aid Society. It can hardly fail to cheer those who are called upon to endure physical suffering, and to arouse in the hearts of the strong a sense of humble gratitude.

THE ARRESTED REFORMATION. By the Rev. William Muir, M.A., B.D. London. *Morgan and Scott, Ltd.* Price 6s.

One is often tempted, when reflecting on the great religious movement of the sixteenth century which we know as the Reformation, to ask why it was that it was, comparatively, so partial in its effects. What it achieved was, indeed, wonderful; but it is also surprising that it failed to achieve more. Its energy was not unlike the energy of a fountain which, having reached its summit, fell back in showers of spray. These showers were fruitful; they watered much parched ground; but the force of the uprush was dissipated in the meantime. The early "positivism" of the Reformation (if the term may be allowed) tended to become a "negativism" in the hands of those who, in their zeal for doctrinal purity, forgot, in a measure, that the life of Christianity lies rather in an attitude of the whole nature than in any formal correctness. Hence the oft-repeated gibe that Protestantism is a negative affair; and men cannot live upon a negation. Three causes, among others, may be adduced to account for this retardation of the original movement. First, the lack of the missionary spirit; secondly, the too close adherence on the part of the Reformers to the theory of a State Church; thirdly, to their rigid insistence on the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration. That they should have so insisted is scarcely to be wondered at; it was the natural reaction against a theory of Christianity which practically cut it adrift from the written Word. Catholicism before the Reformation was a Christianity without the Bible. But the very reaction on the part of the Reformers ended in a stereotyped doctrine of inerrancy which had in itself the seeds of revolt. That revolt has now come, and we find ourselves to-day in the thick of a combat the end of which no man can foresee.

Mr. Muir in this very useful volume traces the origins and principles of the Reformation with skill and frankness. He sees clearly enough that thoughtful men are everywhere looking for a fresh development—a develop-

ment that is to complete the arrested movement of the sixteenth century. His pages are well worth studying; they are the result of careful thought, and are written with real earnestness, and in a reverential and spiritual tone that is not to be mistaken. E. H. B.

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. By Henry Wace, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. London: *Nisbet and Co.* Price 6s. net.

The papers in this volume were published in the *Record* week by week during the past year. They attracted a good deal of attention as they appeared originally; and we are glad to see that the Dean is writing a second series of papers, which, like the present, will doubtless be collected before very long, and published in volume form. Dr. Wace's name is sufficient guarantee that any book he publishes will be worth more than a passing glance; few men of our day have a higher reputation than he for formulating, in perfectly clear language and with unmistakable emphasis, the principles he has consistently maintained during a long life. And those principles are dear to us, because (to use the author's own words) "they will always afford our best guidance" in dealing with the many vexing problems that beset us in these days of storm and stress. This book exhibits that combination of fine scholarship with Evangelical Churchmanship which has been one of the noblest features in the history of the English Church. The Dean divides his book into four sections: the first deals with Biblical and Critical questions; the second with National questions; the third with those of a doctrinal character; and the fourth with matters of biography. There is not a page that is not well worth our close attention; and if the Dean emphasizes the dangers of the time, and the probable effect of loosening the bands of authority and of embarking on new and untried (and oftentimes perilous) paths, the value of his book is not thereby lessened. An easy and unreflecting optimism in dealing with modern tendencies is a thing to be resisted, and the Dean of Canterbury does well to point out the pitfalls into which loose and facile "thinkers" are apt to lead the unwary, to their great undoing.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

AIDS TO THE RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE YOUNG. Being Notes on the Collects. Written for a Schoolboy by his Father. With a Foreword by the Bishop of Manchester. London: *Sherratt and Hughes.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

One is anxious to speak tenderly of a book written—and with such evident earnestness and sincerity—by a father to a dearly-loved son. But we doubt whether there are many schoolboys who are likely to read it. Perhaps religious lessons to the young are always better when given *viva voce*. The living voice can convey, by its very intonation alone, many a fruitful suggestion that would be lost in the comparative formalism and chilliness of print.

DEUTERONOMY: ITS PLACE IN REVELATION. By Dr. A. H. McNeile. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

Dr. McNeile regrets that so great and useful a society as the S.P.C.K. should have recognized that there may be two sides to a great question by publishing a book by the Rev. J. S. Griffiths called "The Problem of Deuteronomy," a plea for the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy.

This book is a challenge to, and a criticism of, Mr. Griffiths' contentions,

and is intended to convert those who still cling to time-honoured traditions in regard to the Pentateuch.

Dr. Driver, in a brief foreword, commends it and speeds it on its mission. The book does not profess to contain any novel theories. It is a delightfully clear arrangement and restatement of the main conclusions of recent criticism; and though we part company with the author in some parts of his argument, and find strong objections to his views of the date and composition of the "Song of Moses" and the "Blessing of Moses," yet we cannot but pay a tribute to the author's close attention to the literary and linguistic aspects of the question, and we cannot but welcome this compact volume as a most scholarly and useful and helpful contribution to the study of an intricate problem.

THE DECIDING VOICE OF THE MONUMENTS IN BIBLICAL CRITICISM. By M. J. Kyle, D.D. Oberlin, Ohio: *Bibliotheca Sacra Co.* Price 6s. net.

This is a book about which it is difficult to write; the good intentions of the author, his earnestness and his sincerity, go far to disarm criticism; and yet the inadequacy of his equipment, the inaccuracy and looseness of his statements, and the weakness of his logic, are in almost ludicrous contrast with the confident nature of his conclusions. Such criticism as this must be justified in detail, and to that we must turn. At the outset the author complains that Biblical archæology has not had an adequate place assigned to it in recent Bible dictionaries, and among other instances he puts forward the "Encyclopædia Biblica" as an offender. Now, the "Encyclopædia Biblica" has grave weaknesses, but your reviewer has never yet met anyone who has not qualified his criticisms of that work with the remark that on its *archæological* side it is remarkably strong and very valuable; yet this work is alleged as an example of the ignoring of archæology in Biblical studies. Yet, again, Dr. Kyle rarely gives any hint of the fact that the methods of Biblical criticism are the ordinary methods of literary and historical criticism applied to the Bible, only *after* their value had been proved in other fields; and when he does refer to those other fields his information is misleading. For instance, on p. 38 he writes: "Yet the spade of Petrie at Abydos, of Evans at Knossos, and of Schliemann at Troy, has revealed the 'cloudland' as solid earth, and shown the ghostly heroes to have been substantial men of flesh and blood." If by the last phrase he means "historical characters," two out of his three examples are wrong: Flinders Petrie has demonstrated the historical character of Menes; but Dr. Evans, while revealing the background of early Greek legend, and demonstrating the historicity of its broad outline, has never ventured to suggest that the characters of that legend have been proved historical; and Schliemann's wild identifications of his discoveries with Homeric characters have never been taken seriously by responsible scholars. The author's statement that "the Philistines are still to-day as great a mystery as were the Hittites a few years ago" is amazing in the light of the knowledge of their origin and immigration gained by a combination of the statements of the Egyptian monuments of the Ramessides with the facts revealed by Cretan excavations. His assertion that in 1906 Winckler, at Boghaz-Keui, "brought to light . . . a treasury of inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphs [and] also tablets in cuneiform script" (p. 105) is a hopeless confusion of fact. Your reviewer had the good fortune to visit

Dr. Winckler's excavations at Boghaz-Keui in 1907, and the one difficulty of the explorers in finally identifying the site as the Hittite capital was the total absence of *hieroglyphic* writing. Dr. Kyle has been confused by the fact that of the large finds of tablets, *all* in cuneiform script, some were in apparently the Hittite language, while others were in Semitic Babylonian, the diplomatic language of the day.

Over the question of the relation of the Patriarchs with the Hyksos dynasties of Egypt Dr. Kyle is equally at fault. He ignores the generally received dating (based upon astronomical data and synchronisms with the Cretan discoveries) which places the entrance of these foreigners into Egypt after 1800 B.C.; he claims, what may readily be conceded, that Gen. xiv. contains valuable historical material, synchronizing Abraham with Khammurabi, whose date cannot, apparently, be later than 1958-1916 B.C.; and he pictures "Abraham the Bedouin Prince . . . accorded princely consideration at the Bedouin Court in Egypt" (p. 72). We cannot have it both ways. The Egyptian and the Babylonian datings are both drawn from archæological data which have destroyed a system of chronology more in accord with Dr. Kyle's conclusions. If Abraham be a contemporary of Khammurabi, he cannot have visited Egypt in Hyksos times; and while the going down of Jacob into Egypt may have some relation to the rule of these desert princes, Dr. Kyle's reference of Abraham to the same connection must be abandoned, and from the date of his book should *never have been made.*

Equally startling are Dr. Kyle's ethnographical arguments. He points out (p. 196) that in Gen. x. 6-10 Babylonian civilization is Hamitic, for Nimrod is son of Cush; this means that it is non-Semitic, and archæology agrees that the culture is non-Semitic—that it is Sumerian. Here is confirmation indeed! But he forgets to point out that Cush, if it means anything in the Old Testament, means Ethiopian; while archæology is equally clear that, if we know anything about Sumerian origins, that race was Mongolian in its affinities. The link needed by Dr. Kyle which would make the Mongolians Ethiopians, or the Ethiopians Mongolians, has yet to be forged.

These are but a few examples of the loose reasoning and incorrect statements in which the book abounds. Dr. Orr has written a commendatory preface. Doubtless he agrees with Dr. Kyle's conclusions; but has he examined carefully his arguments? The conservative position must be strong indeed if it can bear such a defence; it must be very weak if it finds such arguments necessary. M. LINTON SMITH.

ST. PAUL IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY. By the Rev. J. O. Bevan, M.A. London: *Allenson.* Price 2s.

The writer is evidently a Broad Churchman who, having laid aside traditional views of inspiration, tries to explain the life and the writings of St. Paul from a "naturalistic standpoint." In ten short and somewhat scrappy chapters he tries to give us a picture of the Apostle as a man and as a writer. Occasionally he is brilliant, especially in his appreciation of St. Paul as a man. The book, however, is vitiated by statements like these: The Apostle's vision of Christ on the way to Damascus was due to "sunstroke or heat-apoplexy" (p. 31). Again: "Some of the Apostle's teaching is transitory, some misleading, some contradictory."