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THE
CHURCHMAN

FEBRUARY, 1905.

ART. I.—“THE YEAR THAT TARTAN CAME UNTO
ASHDOD” (ISA. xx.)—II.

MY last article was devoted chiefly to the study of the Assyrian records of Sargon's campaign against Ashdod. In the present one I propose to examine the Scripture account, or, to speak more strictly, the brief historical note contained in Isaiah xx. 1, along with the symbolic action and prophecy that occupy the remainder of that chapter. My object will be to explain the passage with a view to showing the complete agreement which exists between the Scriptures of truth and the history engraved on the monuments of Assyria.

In Isa. xx. 1, 2, we read: “In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the King of Assyria sent him, and he fought against Ashdod and took it; at that time the Lord spake by Isaiah the son of Amoz,” etc. Now, it is not a little interesting and surprising to discover in the historical records of Assyria an admirable explanation of how it came about that this important and somewhat critical campaign against Ashdod was entrusted to the Tartan, instead of being undertaken by the King in person.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xi., plate iii., Professor Bezold furnishes us with a copy in cuneiform of a fragment of the Eponym Canon, covering a considerable portion of the reign of Sargon. The events recorded on this fragment are set down in strict chronological order, and by a close comparison with the *Annals* we are able to assign them to the successive years of the reign. Accordingly, in presenting my readers with a translation, I have placed in the left-hand margin the successive years in which the different events took place, and in the right the corroborations.

tive references to the Annals, as given by Winckler. Flanked with these appendices, our fragment reads thus:

B.C.			
?	" ru		
?	. . . . . he entered.		
718	. . . . . Ta]-ba-la.	Annals, 4th year, lines	42-45.
717	. . . . . du karru		
716	. . . . . of Minni.	Annals, 6th year, lines	53-75.
715	. . . . . prefects were appointed.		
714	. . . . . the town of Mutsatsir Khaldia.	Annals, 8th year, lines	123-138.
713	. . . . . the chief men in the country of Ellip.	Annals, 9th year, lines	139, 158, 166.
"	. . . . . he entered.		
"	. . . . . the town of Mutsatsir.		
712	In the land.	Annals, 10th year, lines	196-208.
711	To the town of Markasa.	Annals, 11th year, lines	208-214.
710	To the town of Bit-Zeri. The king was away in Kis.		
709	Sargon took the hands of Bel.	Annals, 13th year, line	309.
"	Kummukh was conquered: a prefect appointed.	Annals, 13th year, lines	388-401.
"	The king departed from Babylon.		
"	Dur-Yakin was destroyed.	Annals, 13th year, lines	358, 359.
"	Into their temples they (viz., the gods of the Babylonian cities) entered.	Annals, 13th year, lines	363, 364.
?	. . . . . in the country of Karalla."		

To illustrate the above let me take the seventh line, containing the words, "The town of Mutsatsir Khaldia," to which I have prefixed the date 714 B.C., the eighth year of Sargon. On referring to the Annals, we find that in his eighth year Sargon made an expedition against Urzana of Mutsatsir, an ally and vassal of Ursa of Ararat. Urzana escaped, but the town of Mutsatsir was captured, and Khaldia, the national god, carried captive. Again, in the twelfth line, to which the date 711 B.C. is prefixed, we read, "To the town of Markasa." Markasa was the capital of Gamgum, a State in Northern Syria. In 711 B.C., the very year of the fall of Ashdod, the Annals record an expedition to Gamgum just before the account of the Ashdod campaign. We are now in a position to examine the words in the previous line, "*In the land.*" This is the phrase used in the Eponym Canon to denote that the king stayed at home in such and such a year, and did not lead his troops out in person. As the dates 713 B.C., 711 B.C., affixed respectively to the eighth and

twelfth lines, can both be proved from the Annals, it follows that no other date than 712 B.C. can be affixed to these words “In the land.” Let us see, then, how this deduction is borne out by the Annals. Under 712 B.C., the tenth year of Sargon, the Annals record an expedition against Milid, the capital of the province afterwards known to the classical writers as Melitene. This expedition to all appearance was led by Sargon himself, to judge from the frequent use of the first person in the record given in the Annals. But this is a case in which we must not trust appearances. The kings of Assyria, in the language they use in their inscriptions, seem to have been guided by the motto, “*Quod facit per alium facit per se*,” and indications are not wanting that such was the case in the present instance. The record of the Annals for this tenth year of Sargon is unique. The former portion, as in the previous years, is occupied with the king’s warlike doings; but in line 196 an entirely fresh subject is introduced with the words, “At that time the treasures of the mountains of Syria,” and although the Annals are somewhat obliterated in this portion, yet the purport of the passage is perfectly plain. To quote the words of Dr. Pinches: “At this time, as Sargon says, he received the treasure of the land of Heth (the highlands of Syria), among the things sent being copper, iron, lead, or tin, white marble from the Amanus Mountains, royal garments of the colour of *uknu* stone (lapis-lazuli), something which came from the mountain Ba’il-šapuna (Baal-zephon), ‘a great mountain,’ and silver, which, in consequence of the large consignments received at Dûr-Sargina (Khorsabad), became in value like copper.”¹ This is the earliest mention of the city and palace of Dûr-Sargina, the king’s darling project. “Day and night,” says Sargon, “I pondered over the building of that town. . . . Day and night I planned and arranged to establish that town, to raise up sanctuaries, the dwellings of the great gods, and palace-halls, the abodes of my lordship, and I gave orders for the building thereof.”² It was to erect this city and palace, or at any rate to preside over the commencement of the undertaking, that Sargon elected to remain at home in his tenth year, 712 B.C., and to entrust the expedition sent to depose Azuri of Ashdod to the care of his Tartan.

Returning now to the text of Isaiah xx., the words, “and he fought against Ashdod and took it,” are regarded by Ewald and Delitzsch as parenthetical. According to Ewald, who wrote prior to the discovery of the Assyrian monuments,

¹ See Pinches’ “Old Testament,” pp. 368, 369.

² See Sargon’s Cylinder Inscription, lines 43 and 49.

this "is merely a prefatory remark, and made in order to dismiss the narrative concerning Tartan, that he took the city after a siege which is subsequently, in ver. 3, said to have lasted three years, whilst ver. 2 returns to the commencement of ver. 1."¹ Cheyne also notices the parenthesis, which he applies to Sargon, and both he and Ewald point to a parallel at the close of Isa. vii. 1. The language of ver. 1 is, however, ambiguous, and leaves us in doubt whether Ashdod was captured by Sargon or his Tartan. Ewald not unnaturally attributed it to the latter, who is the first person mentioned in the verse. Besides, not having the monuments to help him, he could hardly be expected to divine that there were in reality two expeditions to Ashdod, the first led by the Tartan, the second by his master. The judgment of this same great commentator as to the length of the interval between the coming of the Tartan and the capture of the city is based, so he tells us, on the words of ver. 3: "Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot *three years*," etc. To this important verse we shall presently return, but as our interpretation of it must necessarily depend in some measure on the construction we put on what precedes, it will be necessary to examine first the seemingly strange command given to the prophet in ver. 2: "At that time"—viz., the time of the Tartan's coming to Ashdod—"the LORD spake by Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saying, Go, and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put thy shoe from off thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot." To understand this command, it is necessary to note closely the terms employed. The prophet is told to *loose* the sackcloth *from off* his loins. The sackcloth garment here referred to can hardly be the *ketoneth* or loose tunic worn next the skin, for then we should expect to meet with the Hebrew idiom '*al habbâsâr*, "on the flesh," as in the description of the dress worn by Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 27, and Joram, 2 Kings vi. 30. In all probability it was the dark, hairy garment worn by the Old Testament prophets, referred to in 2 Kings i. 8, and Zech. xiii. 4. Compare also Matt. iii. 4 and Heb. xi. 37. The command to loose such a garment and then to walk about would mean, of course, to take it off, for the simple reason that it would be impossible to walk about in it with any ease, except it were girded up round the waist.² This, too, is further indicated by

¹ See Ewald's "Prophets of the Old Testament," *in loco*.

² Compare Ps. xxx. 11 (12), "Thou hast *loosed* my sackcloth and girded me with gladness," where the verb *pâthach* is used in precisely the same sense. The garment of sorrow is "put off" (A.V.) in order that the robe of gladness may be put on.

the words “*from off thy loins.*” But if the garment which the prophet was thus to throw aside was only an outer one, then we may rest assured that he was not required to go stark naked. His action was not to be such as to shock decency, yet it would nevertheless be quite sufficient to attract attention among a people so careful and punctilious in the matter of dress as the Orientals. Another evidence that Isaiah was not required to go about without any clothing may be got by comparing the closing words of ver. 2, “naked and barefoot,” with the very significant addition made to them in ver. 4. The term “naked,” then, is here used in the same comparative sense in which we find it employed in other passages—*e.g.*, 1 Sam. xix. 24; Micah i. 8; John xxi. 7. Compare also 2 Sam. vi. 14 with ver. 20 of the same chapter.

To proceed to ver. 3. In the R.V. and A.V. this verse reads thus: “And the Lord said, Like as My servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and (‘a’ R.V.) wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia”; but in the R.V.M. we read: “Like as My servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot to be for three years a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia.” Which of these two readings is to be preferred? At first we naturally incline to the former, as being the reading with which we are more familiar. Nevertheless, the Hebrew accents favour the latter. But to this it has been objected that the Masorettes, who fixed the accents, were shocked at the idea of Isaiah walking naked for three years.¹ Yet surely this must be a mistake. The Masorettes understood their own language far too well to imagine for a moment that the prophet was commanded to do any such thing. They knew from the terms employed that the garment he was to put off was an outer one. But, independently of this, there are several good reasons that can be adduced for our preferring in this instance the marginal reading of the R.V. In the first place, as B. Stade justly remarks, the symbolic act was meant to lend weight to the prophetic word that followed it. As, then, that word was once spoken, so the act that preceded it was once performed.² Again, if we suppose the symbolic act to have been continued

¹ See Cheyne’s “Prophecies of Isaiah,” *in loco*.

² “Prophetæ autem res, quæ typi essent rerum futurarum, eo tantum consilio gesserunt, ut adjuvarent verbum ab ipsis dictum, quippe cum quæ oculis vidimus itemque audivimus non tam celeriter oblivioni tradi soleant, quam quæ tantum audivimus. Uti ergo verbum a propheta semel pronuntiatum stat et efficax est usque ad eventum, ita etiam actio symbolica semel facta.”—“De Isaiaë Vaticiniis Æthiopicis,” p. 66. For symbolic acts performed by prophets see 1 Kings xi. 30 and xxii. 11; Jer. xxvii. 2, 3; Ezek. xii. 1-7.

for a space of three years, then, as Professor Birks points out, the exposition of the act contained in ver. 3 must have been delayed for that period, which seems most unlikely. Further, such an act, if continuous for three years, would be out of all proportion with its object; while, if done at intervals only, its meaning as a prediction of time would be quite obscured.¹ No less convincing are the arguments of Dr. Kay, who defends the Masoretic pointing on four grounds: (1) That in ver. 2 Isaiah receives no commandment from God to walk naked and barefoot for three years; (2) that the three years can scarcely be included in the symbolic act, because there is nothing in the history symbolized that corresponds to it—*i.e.*, it is not said or suggested that the captives would be compelled to walk naked for three years, or Egypt be called on to suffer humiliation for a like period; (3) that it is in accordance with chap. xvi. 14 to take the three years as the limit of time within which the prophetic act should be verified by the event; (4) that the constant repetition of the act would have tended to weaken the impression made.² It appears, then, from the united weight of the above reasons that we may safely follow the Masoretic punctuation, and read with the R. V. M., "To be for three years a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia."

Before, however, leaving this verse, justice requires that I should notice an alternative reading proposed by the learned Vitranga. Vitranga draws attention to the text of the Septuagint in Isa. xx. 3: 'Ὁν τρόπον πεπόρευεται ὁ παῖς μου Ἠσαΐας γυμνὸς καὶ ἀνυποδέτος τρία ἔτη, τρία ἔτη ἔσται εἰς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Αἰθίοψιν. On the strength of this reading he supposes (1) that some words have fallen out of the present Hebrew text; (2) that the Septuagint is here corrupt, so that for the first *τρία ἔτη* we should read *τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, and translate, "Like as My servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot *three days*, a three years' sign on the Egyptians and Ethiopians"; (3) that in ver. 2 there is an ellipsis in the record given of the words in which the Divine command was conveyed to the prophet, and that, as a matter of fact, Isaiah had been directed by God to walk naked three days, each day signifying a year.³ This is certainly ingenious,

¹ See Birks' "Commentary," *in loco*.

² See "The Speaker's Commentary," *in loco*.

³ See Vitranga's "Isaiah," ninth edition, p. 597. Basle, 1732. "Forte esse aliquam ellipsin in verbis prophetæ, ubi explicat mandatum Dei ad se editum, vel illius mandati expositionem a Deo datam. Quid si enim mandatum esset prophetæ, in publicum prodire et incedere nudum ac discalceatum per triduum, ita ut tres dies, stylo sacro, significarent tres annos; ut integra sententia esset: *Ut incedit servus meus Jesaias*

but it will be seen that in supposing all this we are supposing a good deal. A simpler explanation of the repetition of the words *τρία ἔτη* in the Septuagint is that the translators did not know whether to join them to the preceding or the succeeding context, and solved the difficulty by giving a reading which would take in both.

To return now to the thread of my argument. If on the strength of the reasons given above we follow the R.V.M. in ver. 3, and read “to be for three years a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia,” the question next arises, What is the meaning of these words? To this B. Stade replies that the “three years” are merely in the place of an accusative of time, which shows us how long Isaiah’s action would be the type of a future event. When the three years were fulfilled Egypt and Ethiopia would be led into exile; up to that time Isaiah’s having once walked naked and barefoot would be a type.¹ With this explanation I agree in the main, but not with the words which follow. “Some,” remarks Stade, “have hesitated over the definite number ‘three years.’ The construction certainly suffers from ambiguity. Still, these words cannot have been written by another hand after the fulfilment, for what Isaiah prophesied in this passage *never had a fulfilment*, unless, perchance, you recall the expeditions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, which took place more than thirty years after the capture of Ashdod.”² That the construction with regard to the “three years” is not so ambiguous as might at first sight appear I have already endeavoured to show. But when the learned commentator ventures to affirm that a prophecy of Isaiah, limited in time, never had a fulfilment he is guilty of a rather daring thing. If Isaiah’s prophecy was not fulfilled within the given time, then, accord-

per TRES DIES, TRIUM ANNORUM signum super Ægypto et Arabia. Est observatu dignum in Versione LXX. verba τρία ἔτη bis haberi hoc loco, acsi quid plus legissent suo tempore quam Masorethæ in Codice suo exhibent.”

¹ “De Isaiaë Vaticiniis Æthiopicis,” pp. 66, 67. “Contra si **שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים** conjugis iis quæ sequuntur, ut recte fecerunt punctatores, hæc verba nil nisi Accusativi loco posita sunt, quæ nobis indicat, quamdiu illa actio typus rei futuræ fuerit. Tribus annis impletis in exilium ducta erit Ægyptus atque Æthiopia, usque ad illud tempus, quod Isaia semel nudus et discalceatus incessit, typus est.”

² *Ibid.*, p. 67. “Nonnulli in numero definito **שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים** hæsitaverunt. Structura certe ambiguitate laborat. Attamen a manu alia post eventum scribi hæc verba non potuerunt, nam quæ Isaia hoc loco vaticinatus est, *nunquam habuerunt eventum*, uisi forte revoce ad expeditiones illas Asarhaddonis et Assurbanipalis. Quæ vero plus triginta annis post Azotum captam fuerunt.” The italics are mine.

ing to the law contained in Deut. xviii. 20-22, he ought to have been put to death. Further, such an affirmation is glaringly opposed to common-sense, for if the prediction never had a fulfilment, how came the Jews to enshrine it in their sacred writings? The fact that this strange episode of the prophet walking naked and barefoot forms a part of the Jewish Scriptures is a voucher for the fulfilment of the prophecy within the appointed time. It is, therefore, with a feeling of mingled astonishment and indignation that we read from the pen of another able and learned writer the following remark: "The fulfilment of this prophecy *did not take place as quickly as the prophet perhaps desired.*"¹ Is this, we ask, a right or worthy view of inspiration, that the prophets uttered threatenings merely according to their own private likes and dislikes? If so, then St. Peter is mistaken when he tells us that, "No prophecy ever came by the will of man: but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost."²

Now with regard to the time of the fulfilment of this particular prophecy, the natural thing is to connect it with the fall of Ashdod, as Ewald does, and to suppose that shortly after the capture of that city the woeful spectacle predicted actually took place. The fragment Sm. 2022 has already shown us that the coming of the Tartan to Ashdod took place at the beginning of Sargon's ninth year, according to the reckoning there adopted—*i.e.*, at the beginning of the tenth year, 712 B.C., according to the better known reckoning of the Annals. In the spring, then, or early summer of 712 B.C., the Tartan arrived at that town. There was no siege, so far as we know, only the deposing of Azuri and the setting up of Akhimiti in his place. Now, it was just at this time, or possibly soon after the Tartan's departure, so I imagine, that Isaiah was inspired to utter this prophecy. If the Assyrian commander stayed only a short time at Ashdod,³ then on his leaving the hopes of the Egyptian party, both in that town and in Jerusalem, would speedily revive, for just at that epoch Egypt appeared to be the rising power, also Egypt was near and Assyria at a distance. Thus the state of feeling at the moment would fit in well with the prophetic warning. The question, then, is, What was the interval between the visit of the Tartan to Ashdod, and the fall of that city beneath the

¹ See Professor Maspero's "Passing of the Empires," p. 254. The italics are mine.

² See 2 Pet. i. 21.

³ His services may have been required in the campaign against Milid (Melitene), and in the conquest of Kammanu (Comana), in the extreme north-west of the empire.

arms of Sargon? Now, the Annals tell us that Ashdod fell in the following year, 711 B.C., but the crucial point is this: *At what time of the year did Ashdod fall?* This is what we have now to endeavour to ascertain.

On the cylinder discovered by Mr. Smith, the Great King informs us that he crossed the Tigris and Euphrates in flood—*i.e.*, in April or May, when the waters of those rivers are swollen through the melting of the snows in the uplands of Armenia.¹ A lesser inundation takes place in November, but, to judge from other instances, it seems most natural to understand Sargon to be speaking of the spring floods. Thus Esarhaddon, speaking of his tenth campaign, says: “In the month Nisan (March-April), the first month, I set out from my town of Assur. The Tigris and Euphrates in their flood I crossed.” It appears, then, that the campaign against Ashdod formed the very first event of the year 711 B.C. The King started for that city in the month Nisan, or in the next month, Iyyar, at latest. Yet it is not a little remarkable that in the Annals, which are strictly chronological, this campaign is recorded not as the first, but as the second and closing event, of the year, being preceded by the campaign against Gamgum. How is this apparent discrepancy to be reconciled, and what is the way out of the difficulty? A glance at the map will show that the country of Gamgum lies a little to the north of Carchemish, and therefore only slightly off the track of an Assyrian army advancing to the west. It would, then, be a natural thing, so one thinks, for the Great King to set matters right in Gamgum, and put down the rebellion which had broken out there, before advancing further on his way to Ashdod. Such a supposition would at any rate explain how it is that according to one account Sargon starts for Ashdod at the beginning of the year, whilst according to another this Ashdod campaign is the closing event and follows after that against Gamgum. Now, there are not wanting other indications that this was the course actually pursued by the Assyrian King. On the Great Inscription of Khorsabad, lines 85, 86, the march to Gamgum is described thus: “In the rage of my heart, with the chariot of my feet, and my cavalry who do not retreat from the place of the turning of my hands to Marqasa”²—the capital of Gamgum—“I marched in haste.” Here it will be observed that the language used, except in one single instance,³ is word for word identical with that in which

¹ The Tigris reaches its greatest height about May 10 or 12, the Euphrates at the close of the month. See Maspero’s “Dawn of Civilization,” p. 549.

² The modern Marash.

³ In the Khorsabad inscription, *šuhut*, “rage,” takes the place of the synonymous word *uggat*, “wrath,” found in the Annals.

the King describes his hasty march to Ashdod in line 220 of the Annals, given in my last article, and also exceedingly like the description of this same march to Ashdod which meets us a little further on in the Khorsabad Inscription—viz., in lines 97, 98. Further, we note that in both instances the terms employed are highly dramatic, and at the same time strongly personal. Such expressions as "the chariot of my feet," "my cavalry who do not retreat from the place of the turning of my hands," leave no doubt upon the mind that both campaigns were undertaken by the King in person, whilst the similarity and all but identity of the language, coupled with the geographical situation of Gamgum and Ashdod relative to Assyria, lead us to think that they may very possibly have formed parts of one and the same campaign, and that the reason why they are recorded as separate campaigns by the royal scribe is merely for the sake of effect, which may very well have been the case, seeing that the description of the wrath of the Great King and the speed of his advance is altogether so dramatic.

But if Sargon thus subdued Gamgum on his way to the west, then it would be midsummer at earliest before he reached Ashdod. What took place then? Yamani, according to Sargon's statement, had already fled at the mere report of the approach of the Assyrian army. But what of his royal city and the neighbouring towns? "Ashdod, Gimtu, Asdudimmu I besieged, I captured," says Sargon. He would have us believe that these Philistine cities fell such an easy prey to his arms that one might apply to them the words of the prophet when he foretells the capture of the Assyrian strongholds in the last tragic crisis of that empire: "All thy fortresses shall be like fig-trees with the first-ripe figs; if they be shaken they fall into the mouth of the eater."¹ But there is no proof, after all, that the fall of Ashdod was so easy and so rapid. Ashdod, as its name indicates, was a very strong place.² The hill on which it stood, according to the map of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is the highest spot for two and a half miles round. Dr. Thomson speaks of it as "this high and ample mound."³ Herodotus calls Ashdod "a great city of Syria," and tells us that it was taken by Psammetichus after a siege of twenty-nine years! We may feel incredulous as to the

¹ Nahum iii. 12.

² Ashdod, from root *shādād*, "to be strong," signifies "a strong place." The modern village of Eshdūd lies on the slope of a low hill, commanded by a higher hill, which was formerly the citadel. According to the account of a native, this higher hill would amply repay excavation. See "The Survey of Western Palestine," vol. ii., p. 421.

³ See "The Land and the Book," first edition, p. 541.

truth of the old historian's statement; nevertheless, it is significant as to the strength of the place. Further, on the present occasion, as Sargon tells us, its water defences had been newly repaired, and the men behind its walls were looking for help to the young and seemingly vigorous power of Egypt-Ethiopia. It may be presumed, then, that Ashdod did not fall quite such an easy prey as the conqueror would have us believe, and the more so as the Great King hastened to attack it without collecting his war material. It fell, indeed, within the year—*i.e.*, before the first month Nisan (March-April) of the following year—but we should be inclined to place its fall some time in the early winter, or even later.

We are now in a position to discuss the three years which were to elapse between the giving of the sign and its fulfilment. The sign was enacted and the prophecy uttered probably at the time of the Tartan's visit or shortly after—*i.e.*, about midsummer 712 B.C. Ashdod fell, so I imagine, some eighteen months later, in the winter of the following year. How can this period be spoken of as three years? The answer lies, first, in the Jewish mode of reckoning time, according to which parts of years are counted as whole years; and, secondly, in the arrangement of the Jewish civil and economic year. In 1 Kings xxii. 1 we read of three years without war between Syria and Israel, while the very next verse tells us that war broke out again in the third year. Our Saviour speaks of His body as about to lie three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, whereas, according to our mode of speech, He lay in the grave one whole day and parts of two others. So, then, the eighteen months between the summer of 712 B.C. and the winter of 711 B.C. would count as three years, if it could be shown that this period embraced *one whole year and parts of two others*. Now, it appears from Exodus xxiii. 16 that the end of the civil and economic year of the Jews coincided with the autumnal ingathering of the fruits, the Feast of Tabernacles being there described as “the feast of ingathering at the end” (or outgoing) “of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field.” The economic year must, then, like the Sabbatic year mentioned in Lev. xxv. 9, have commenced on the first day of the seventh month, the month Tisri (September-October). On the supposition, then, that this civil year is the one referred to by the prophet, it is plain that the interval between the giving of the sign with the accompanying prophecy and the fall of Ashdod, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, would be justly described as three years, seeing that it embraces one civil year—*viz.*, from Tisri 712 B.C.

to Tisri 711 B.C.—and parts of two others. A very interesting parallel to this meets us in Isa. xxxvii. 30, where we read: "And this shall be the sign unto thee: ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof." This prophecy was uttered probably in the late summer of 701 B.C., shortly before the close of the civil year, and whilst Sennacherib's army was still in the land.¹ The second year spoken of commenced with the autumnal sowing time, which was close at hand, but which, owing to the terrible devastation of the land, the people would be unable to make use of. Not till another sowing time had come round—not till the beginning of a third year—would they be able to resume the round of agricultural labours, to sow, and reap, and plant vineyards. Thus taken, the prophet's words, though mentioning a second and third year, signify only a period of some fifteen or sixteen months.² In the same way it appears to me that the "three years" is to be understood in the passage now before us, so that the prophecy was literally fulfilled if Egyptian and Ethiopian captives were led away from Ashdod in the manner described any time after the first day of Tisri (September-October), 711 B.C. Now, as Ashdod did not fall until the early winter, or even later, according to the reasonings and calculations given above, this may very well have been the case so far as the question of time is concerned.

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

(To be continued.)

ART. II.—THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE PSALMS.

IT has been truly said that "the history of the Psalter, if it could be written, would be a history of the spiritual life of the Church." No book in the long story of the world's literature has had so widespread a use or made so universal an appeal to the heart of man. It is a witness to the power of the subjective in religion in all lands and ages, not least, whatever critics may say, in our own. Mr. R. E. Prothero, fellow of All Souls, Oxford, has quickened in us this sense of

¹ The time of year of the destruction of Sennacherib's army is indicated by the words of Isa. xviii. 5: "Afore the harvest, when the blossom is over and the flower becometh a ripening grape."

² This is the view of the passage adopted by Cheyne and Birks. See Cheyne's "Prophecies of Isaiah," and Birks' "Commentary," *in loco*.

its universality by his intensely interesting book, combining all the interest of personal narrative with the sequence of an ordered historic treatise, upon "The Psalms in Human Life" (London: John Murray, 1904). But he would be the first to say that his book merely breaks the surface of a subject capable of almost infinite development. It would need not one but many volumes to tell us the influence of the Psalter on the souls of men. "The Psalms," writes the late Dean Church, comparing them to the ancient Vedas, "are as living as when they were written . . . they suit the needs, they express, as nothing else can express, the deepest religious ideas of the foremost in the files of time." "No single book of Scripture," writes the late Bishop Perowne, "not even of the New Testament, has perhaps ever taken such hold on the heart of Christendom. . . . The Psalter has been in the truest sense the prayer-book both of Jews and Christians."

This universality of acceptance springs from the universality of the ideas and images and affections which enrich this "Bible in miniature." There is not a phase of human experience which does not find expression there. Dean Stanley has emphasized the diversity, the joyousness, the spiritual life of the Psalms; Bishop Alexander their witness to Christianity and to Christian character. But it would be possible at once to name a whole group of equally universal features. They are not only a witness to Christ, they are a witness to the universality of human need and human desire after God. It is not only their joyousness, it is their wistfulness which belongs to the human heart as such. The Psalms are a mirror of the human soul in all its contrasts, its conflicts, its ideals, its experiences. The sense of the bitterness of life; the cry, "Who will show us any good?" the ghastly doubt concerning the kindness and faithfulness of the Most High; the note of pessimism and despair; the terrible cry of vengeance against a triumphant foe—all these are there, as well as the commendation of the righteous and their sure reward; the trust that calls upon the soul not to be cast down; the delight in the law of God as "perfect, converting the soul"; the sense of security within the covenant against the most tremendous odds; the yearning for "God, the living God," as the satisfaction of the heart. No sacred literature has ever produced a book so truly, so essentially human. In that very humanity lies its claim to be more than human. To all ages, to all lands, to all Churches, to all individuals, the Psalms make their appeal—Jew and Gentile, Romanist and Protestant, Cavalier and Puritan, Loyalist and Covenantant, Anglican and Nonconformist, monk and merchant, king and peasant, statesman, poet, and soldier.

Shakespeare, Dante, Tasso found their charm as great as Charles V., Columbus, Vladimir, Sidney, Raleigh, Bacon, and Ruskin. "Over their familiar words are written," says Mr. Prothero, "as it were in a palimpsest, the heart-stirring romances of spiritual chivalry, the most moving tragedies of human life and action."

One has only to recall the universality of their *images*. "All nature," writes Francis Newman, "is ransacked by the psalmists for metaphors to express this single thought, God is for my soul and my soul is for God. Father, Brother, Friend, King, Master, Shepherd, Guide, are common titles. God is their Tower, their Glory, their Rock, their Shield, their Sun, their Star, their Joy, their Portion, their Trust, their Life." Their figurative language is at once homely and diversified. The tree planted by the full watercourses (i.); the brittle vessel of the potter so easily dashed in pieces (ii.); the timid bird fleeing to her mountain (xi.); the shepherd leading his flocks through the deep, dismal ravine (xxiii.); the dove hiding among its rocky precipices from the wiles of men (iv.); the snail which melteth away in the eastern noontide heat and is gone, and the traveller's fire of thorns swept off by the whirlwind (lviii. 8, 9); the tottering wall and toppling fence as a fit picture of ruin (lxii. 4); the wax melting before the fire, like the perishing wicked before God's judgments (lxviii. 2); the dove's wings "covered with silver and her pinions with yellow gold"—picture of "God's turtle-dove" basking in the sunshine of His favour (lxviii. 13); the driven snow in Salmon (lxviii.); the wind which passeth away and cometh not again (lxxviii. 39); the mountain fires so easily kindled, yet so far reaching (lxxxiii. 14); the chaff whirled away before the lightest breeze (lxxxiii.); the swallow building her nest among the ruined altars of the Most High (lxxxiv.); the shadow "stretched out toward evening" (cii.); the huntsman's snares which death sets for his victims (cxxiv.); the patient sower under the dark winter skies weeping in the icy breeze (cxxvi.); the grass which withereth afore it groweth up (cxxix.); the child weaned *upon*, not apart from, its mother's breast (cxxx. 1); the eagle ever young and lusty with renewed life (ciii.); the "lifting up" of the wings of the glorious dawn, the shroud of darkness which God can so easily pierce (cxxxix. 9); the woodcutter splitting and piling the logs before him (cxli. 7); the "thirsty land" of a soul without God (cxliii. 6)—what pictures can equal these for their adaptation to human experience?

But it is when we come to the *historic use* of the Psalms that we feel their unique power. The earliest glimpse of the Christian Church reveals them in active use. St. James and

St. Paul alike enjoined them. Ambrose remarks of his own day that though when other Scriptures are read the Church is full of noise and talking, yet "when the Psalter is read, all are dumb." Sidonius Apollinarius describes how the boatmen, toiling with bent backs to urge their barges against the stream, sing psalms. "Of other Scriptures," says Theodore of Mopsuetia, "most men know nothing. But the Psalms are repeated in private houses, in streets and market-places, by those who have learnt them by heart, and feel the soothing power of their Divine melodies." "The ploughman," writes Jerome from Palestine, "leaning on his plough-handle, sings in them his praises to God; the toiling reaper beguiles his work with psalms; the vine-dresser, as he prunes, raises one of the songs of David."

It is, however, the marvellous adaptation of the Psalms to the utterly contrasted conditions of individual spiritual life, in spite of the most tremendous differences of environment, standpoint, character, which chiefly impresses us with the fact that such a Book must have a more than human origin. "The proscribed Protestant reformer, the hunted Huguenot or Covenanter, the persecuted Cévénol, beheld himself in David fleeing to the mountain as a bird to the hills, betrayed by his own familiar friend, or plunged in the mire and clay of a prison from which death was the release" (Prothero). The references in this book to one text alone "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit" (Ps. xxxi. 5)—words which our Lord Himself used upon His cross—show that the very same language of trust under the shadow of death breathed from the dying lips of men so diverse as the following: the first martyr Stephen; the saintly Basil; the strong, masterful Charlemagne; the princely and ill-used Becket; the fearless Huss and Jerome of Prague amid the flames; the worn-out Luther and Melanchthon; Imperial Charles, their bitter foe; Tasso, Italy's wistful poet; Columbus, the intrepid discoverer of America; Bishop Fisher and Robert Southwell, most zealous of Romanists; Bishops Hooper and Ridley, most devoted martyrs of the Protestant faith; gentle Lady Jane Grey, with her clean past and her simple protestations of innocence which all accepted; unhappy Mary Queen of Scots, with her shadowed and guilty career; Thomas Cromwell, the upright statesman; John Knox, the impassioned reformer and national leader; George Herbert, quiet parish priest in little Bemerton under Salisbury's spire; Henry Martyn, intrepid missionary, ending his romantic career amid hostile moulvies as a stranger in a weary land.

It was with the words of a psalm that saintly King Louis of France braced himself for his coming kingship upon his

coronation day: "Unto Thee, O Lord, lift I up my soul: my God, I have put my trust in Thee" (Ps. xxv. 1). By the spirit of Ps. ci. Vladimir Monachus was instructed in his duties as Emperor of Russia by the patriarch Nicephorus. The wistfulness of Ps. lv. 6, "O for the wings of a dove," voiced the yearnings of Jerome at Aquileia towards the sacred solitude of Bethlehem, which we connect with the great Vulgate version of the Holy Scriptures. With the same words the unfortunate Darnley consoled the loneliness of those last terrible hours of darkness at Kirk o' Field while he awaited the awful plot of destruction which hurled him a few hours later into eternity. In the lips of John Wycliffe the note of triumph in Ps. cxviii. 17 became a challenge from what seemed his dying bed to the eager enemies that longed for his life: "I shall not die, but live . . . and declare the evil deeds of the friars." Those same words were inscribed upon the walls of Luther's study. "The Psalms," writes Mr. Prothero, "are the wings which lifted Thomas à Kempis out of his whitewashed cell, bore him above the flat fields of St. Agnes, and floated heavenwards those mystic musings of the 'Imitation' which thrilled with mingled awe and hope the heart of Maggie Tulliver." It was the singing of the first verse of Ps. cxxxvii. by St. Vincent de Paul when a slave—sold by the Barbary pirates who had captured him to an apostate Christian at Tunis—which softened the hearts of his owners and led to his release. In the Psalms Sir Thomas More, like many another, found consolation in the Beauchamp Tower, within the precincts of the Tower of London, as he awaited execution. Lord Burleigh, the wise statesman of Elizabeth, declared in his declining days that "there was no earthly thing in which he took comfort but in reading or hearing the Scriptures, Psalms, and prayers." With the words of Ps. xxxi. 1, "In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion," Francis Xavier found comfort as he lay dying, fever-stricken, on the inhospitable coast of China, racked with bitter pain, far from friends and home. In Ps. cxlii. 1, "I cried unto the Lord with my voice," Francis d'Assisi found his last consolation. To Savonarola, the monk of Florence, the Psalms had been the joy of early youth; and they were the inner voices of God which braced him for that last tremendous hour when, before assembled Florence, he was first degraded from his priesthood, and then dragged to a cruel martyrdom after the nameless cruelties which had gone before. Ps. cxliiii. 8 were his special words of consolation on that terrible, yet glorious, morning when they "severed him from the Church militant," only to "unite him to the Church triumphant." When Ridley, before

his last night on earth, refused the proffered company of his brother, it was in the promise of a psalm that he couched his refusal: "He meant to go to bed and sleep as quietly as he ever did in his life. 'I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest.'" The great battle-hymns of Luther are taken from the Psalms. To William Wallace the Psalter was so dear a consolation that he pleaded that it might be held before him during his execution, and in those last moments never took his eyes off it. Ps. lxxviii. cheered the soldiers of Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar. Ps. xli. fortified the defenders in the siege of Derry, when food, ammunition, strength, numbers, all alike fell short. The passage in Ps. lxxix. 11, "O let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before Thee," was the inspiration of the life-work in prison reform of the noble John Howard. "In Jewry is God known" (lxxvi.) was the favourite Psalm of Charles Kingsley. Ps. cxix. 96, "I see that all things come to an end, but Thy commandment is exceeding broad," was the equally characteristic favourite verse of Dean Stanley. William Wilberforce so loved the Psalms that he used to read them as he walked in Hyde Park, and marvelled at their unique freshness and beauty. Thomas Arnold, the great Rugby headmaster, found their words of prayer his consolation in the agonies of angina pectoris.

These are but a few of the incidents given in Mr. Prothero's book in much greater prodigality and variety. But these, again, are being multiplied every day in the actual experience of life. What concerns us here is the lesson which underlies this fact of universality. It is, in truth, a convincing testimony to the reality and character of Biblical inspiration. What does it matter to us if we find that a powerful and searching historical criticism modifies our views of the dates and even the authorship of our favourite Psalms, or a more extended knowledge of the ancient manuscripts and versions re-translates their text so that we can no longer rely on them for the familiar proofs we used to seek there, so long as no other Book in the world, no other poetry among the nations, has ever given anything approaching to such universal and continuous correspondence with the needs of the heart of man? This unique humanity of the Psalms—from what source alone can it be derived? Our faith in Holy Scripture at the present day does not rest, so much as that of our forefathers', upon the fulfilment of its prophecies and types, however real to ourselves that fulfilment may be. Our habits of thought lead us in rather a different direction. It is not the separateness of the Bible from humanity that appeals to us and wins us, but rather the breadth and fulness and universality of that

humanity. It is the same fact which so impresses us to-day with the Incarnate Life of God in the witness which It bears to Itself amongst men. Its unique claim to Divinity rests upon the breadth and fulness of its Humanity. The Transcendence lies in the perfection of the Immanence, in the universality of each. No *merely* human thing could be in either case so broadly, so sympathetically human, so free from all partial aspects of humanity, from all prejudice or passing influence such as clouds or warps or straitens sympathy with man as man. And the desire for God, the yearning after the abiding and the satisfying, the striving for a more complete self-realization, the longing for fulfilment, the sense of present incompleteness, the consciousness of hindrances to communion brought about through sin—these are there also. The Psalter is interpenetrated with the passion to find God more fully. Perhaps its wistfulness is even its greatest feature. But always the tones are human. Like that other Voice which spoke amongst the smiling hill-slopes and shining waters of Galilee, whereof it is written that whilst It “spoke with authority, and not as the Scribes,” yet also “the common people heard It gladly.”

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ART. III.—STUDIES ON ISAIAH.

CHAPS. XI., XII.

IT will be convenient at the present stage to bring together the various conceptions of the Messiah and His work contained in the foregoing chapters, and to compare them with other prophecies and with their fulfilment in the New Testament. Thus we shall be able to see more clearly that the teaching of Holy Scripture forms an organic whole, and that its claim to interpret to us the mind of God, and to connect the expression of that mind in “God’s Word written” with man’s whole history, is better founded than modern interpreters would have us believe. We shall see that from the very first God’s dealings with us have proceeded upon a defined plan—a plan which has been gradually unfolded, and that by processes of which there is no evidence elsewhere in history. I do not use the word “supernatural” in relation to these processes, because that word, as well as the word

“natural,” have never been satisfactorily defined,¹ and because I do not wish to be understood as asserting that the spiritual or unseen world is not as subject to law as the visible universe. The want of accurate definitions has enabled men to “darken counsel by words without knowledge” on these deep and mysterious subjects. All I wish to say in regard to those laws spiritual is (1) that we have no means of ascertaining their *modus operandi*, and do not know that we ever shall have; and (2) that they differ in a thousand ways from, and are a thousand times more complex than, the ordinary laws which affect matter; whilst (3), as Professor Kidd has shown, the influence of spiritual laws upon human history and conduct has by many been most unscientifically ignored. They are, and, for aught we know, they ever will remain, among the “secret things” which “belong to the Lord our God,” and which neither man’s curiosity nor man’s faculties will ever enable him to fathom. They belong to the domain of will, and the will of the Supreme Being. And the laws of will, even among finite beings, who is acute enough to define?

I. *The Mission of the Anointed One rests on the Foundation of Religion.*—The prophecy in chap. xi. speaks of the coming together of all nations under Messiah’s banner. But in chap. ii. 2² we have a closely similar prophecy connecting all these wonderful results with the “mountain of the Lord’s house.” These words have received a most conspicuous fulfilment. Jesus Christ was “born under the law,” of which Jerusalem was the headquarters. His deepest teaching (see St. John’s Gospel, *passim*) was given there. There He made atonement for sin. There, by fulfilling all sacrifice and oblation, He “made” the types to “cease” (Dan. ix. 27). There He rose again from the dead. Thence He ascended up to heaven. There His disciples were filled with the firstfruits of the Spirit (mentioned in chap. xi. 2). And from thence He specially charged them to take care that the good tidings were to radiate throughout the world (see Luke xxiv. 47; Acts i. 4).³

II. *The Anointed One was to be a Divine King, dwelling among Men* (chap. vii. 14).—Whatever the “nearer foreground,” acknowledged even by the most extreme defender of the supernatural to exist in almost all prophecy, it is clear that the final reference of chap. vii. 14 is to the Divine Person

¹ I may be permitted to refer to my “Miracles, Special Providences, and Prayer,” pp. 43, 44.

² Quoted in Mic. iv. 1-4.

³ It is remarkable that it is from the *Gentile* evangelist that we learn the importance attached to this fact.

of the Messiah. The special sign to Ahaz seems to have indicated the speedy passing away of the peril of which he stood in so much dread. The *ultimate* fulfilment related to one who should "endure afflictions" (chap. vii. 15, 21, 22), to whom the land should belong (chap. viii. 8), and to whom chap. ix. 6, 7 also refers.¹ Immanuel rather means "God among us" than "with us." The translations of both the Old and New Testament have tended to make the truth of God's indwelling presence in His people less clear and definite than does the original. It may be remarked that the *immediate* fulfilment of the prophecy does not in the least rise to the level of its high significance.²

III. *The Anointed One is Divine in Wisdom, a Source of Being, and a Manifestation of Love* (chap. iv. 6, 7).—Here we have a prophecy which is clearly outside man's natural capacities. Nothing of the kind which is here indicated had ever happened, or was, humanly speaking, in the least likely to happen. Beyond the vague hope, which could hardly be described as an expectation, that the golden age should one day return, which is found in some of the Latin poets (*e.g.*, Virgil and Ovid³), there was absolutely no anticipation in the mind of the ancient world that such a Person as is here described could possibly have arisen, nor anything whatever in the condition of the times to make such an event even possible. And the anticipation that such a Person, if He arose, could possibly be the harbinger of peace, was to add the final touch of improbability to the prediction. The prophecy does violence to all probability. The coming was to be a wonder.⁴ He was to be an Adviser to whom all would resort. Not only this, but He was to be the Mighty

¹ See "mighty God," ix. 6, and *cf.* x. 21.

² So the Fathers frequently remark. See Theodoret on this passage in his Commentary on Isaiah.

³ "Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto."

VIRGIL: *Eclogues*, iv. 4-8.

For Ovid, see the Introduction to his "Metamorphoses." When we consider how the expectation of the Jewish Scriptures had, as Tacitus and Suetonius relate, pervaded the whole East at the time of the birth of Christ, is it quite inadmissible to suppose that some idea of their contents had reached the great Latin poet?

⁴ The copies of the LXX. differ widely here. Whether it is due to different readings, or whether some copyist has revised the translation, is a point I leave to the critics. But the true translation or reading, "angel of great counsel," substituted in the Vatican Codex for "Wonderful, Counsellor," is adopted by many of the Greek Fathers.

Force itself which lies behind all phenomena.¹ He was to be the source of a new life—the Almighty Father. He was to govern in justice and righteousness,² and the outcome of His administration was to be the gradual spread of righteousness and peace throughout the world. Add to this that this Person was to be a descendant of David, and that His kingdom was to be the legitimate development of the institutions, political and religious, on which David's kingdom was founded,³ and we have a combination of antecedent improbabilities which could hardly be exceeded. The man who could forecast such a picture on the bare foundation of his "spiritual convictions" and his "observation of history" must have possessed powers far beyond those of ordinary mortals—powers the existence of which would constitute a mightier miracle than inspiration itself. Add to this the fact that these amazing predictions have been fulfilled to the letter; that the Eternal Word, who "was God," and was with Him "in the beginning" (John i. 1; cf. Heb. i. 2)—He by whom all things "consist" (Col. i. 16, 17), or are held together—*did* come down in human shape, *did* become a source of life to mankind,⁴ and that steadily, though slowly—*too* slowly for many impatient persons of our puny and short-lived race—the predicted "increase of righteousness and peace" has taken place, and is to be found even among nations who have not formally enrolled themselves under the banner of the "Prince of Peace," and are we not justified in seeing here a complete demonstration of the truth of that great doctrine of inspiration which has always been believed in the Church, and which must of necessity outlive the naturalistic theories which have been all too hastily and greedily swallowed in the present age?

IV. *The Prophecy of the "Shoot," or "Branch."*—The new criticism has based an objection to the homogeneous author-

¹ *El Gibbor*, translated "Mighty God." The original meaning of *El* is *power* or *force*. Had we remembered this Hebrew conception of God, we should probably have been spared some of the conflicts between religion and science which have so seriously affected us of late. We have come to think of God's will as an arbitrary will, instead of seeing it harmoniously at work in all phenomena.

² "Justice and righteousness." These are invariably distinguished in Hebrew as in English thought. In Latin there is but one word for the two. As has been before remarked, the Authorized and Revised Versions alike neglect the distinction. "Judgment" is repeatedly used where the Hebrew means "justice." And in Jer. xxiii. 5 the word usually translated "righteousness" is rendered "justice" in the Revised Version. See also preliminary observations.

³ That is, if we may trust Hebrew history as it stands, which, *pace* the critics, there appears no sufficient reason why we should *not* do.

⁴ See under the next section.

ship of Isaiah on the fact that the latter sections of the prophet represent the coming "Servant" or "Messenger" of God as a humiliated and rejected Person, a "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," whereas the earlier portions of the prophet dwell on his conspicuous and extraordinary success, on the spread of His kingdom throughout the world, on the humanizing and transforming effects of His appearance among men. As if the same difference were not observable throughout the whole of the Old and New Testament, and among all its expounders from the beginning until now! Since when has it become impossible for a man to regard his subject from more than one point of view? Since when has there been any contradiction between the two sides of Christ's work—His sacrifice and His exaltation? The same argument which is held to prove that Isaiah could not have foreseen *both* sides of the work of the Anointed One would prove that no clergyman of any Church could write both a Christmas Day and a Good Friday sermon. The analytic criticism of the day, in Old Testament and New Testament alike, invents its own impossibilities, and then proceeds gravely to build theories on the creations of its own brain, while it coolly strikes out or ignores the facts which preclude its imaginings. It is to be lamented that many critics of judgment and soundness on all vital matters have on minor points given too much encouragement to criticism of this description, by building too wide-reaching conclusions upon presumed improbabilities or impossibilities. Nor is this altogether confined to Biblical critics. I remember meeting, nearly sixty years ago, with an edition of Shakespeare which relegated all the comic parts of his plays to the margin, on the principle that they were unworthy of the dignity of the poet, and were therefore the work of the stage-managers of the day. Thus, one of the most remarkable features of the character of that myriad-minded man, whose humour as much excelled that of other writers as does the majesty of his genius, the wondrous breadth of his view, the delicacy of his touch, the depth of his pathos, the brilliancy of his imagination, and the extent of his knowledge of mankind, is sacrificed to a pedantic *a priori* notion of what he must needs have written. Much modern criticism is yet more incapable of rising to the height and comprehending the greatness of the writers in the Bible than was the Shakespearian critic above mentioned. They take their six-inch measure, and reduce to their petty rule and square the work of men "borne along" by the Spirit of God, with infinite self-satisfaction and, be it added, with infinite presumption. We proceed to the analysis of the prophecy in chap. xi.

1. *The Coming One: His Personal Character* (vers. 1-5).—It is here predicted that in times to come a Shoot¹ shall arise from the stock of Jesse, and a Branch from his stock shall bear fruit.² It will be seen hereafter that One only has fulfilled this prophecy, being “of the seed of David according to the flesh, but marked out to be the Son of God in power—according (*cf.* ver. 2) to the Spirit of Holiness—by the Resurrection from the Dead” (Rom. i. 3, 4). This prophecy is repeated almost word for word (save that a different word is used for *Branch*) in Jer. xxiii. 5 and xxxiii. 15. The prophecy relates, of course, to the Incarnation. The Shoot is not only to arise, it is to *bear fruit*. In other words, a new and spiritual progeny is to arise from the descendant of David, which shall subsist unto all eternity. Thus are all the prophecies fulfilled which promise an eternal throne to David (as one example out of many, take Ps. lxxxix. 28, 29). “He who shall come”³ shall thus be an “Eternal Father” (chap. ix. 6) of a spiritual posterity—a “Second Adam,” as St. Paul puts it.⁴ So St. John tells us that “as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become the sons of God, who were begotten, not through the means of natural descent, nor of any earthly power, within or without themselves, but of God alone” (John i. 12, 13). And he further points out (chap. v. 26) that this Fatherhood—this Source of Life—is not ultimate, but *derived*. “As the Father hath Life in Himself, *even so hath He given to the Son to have Life in Himself.*” And it is this derived Life, even His Redeemed and Sanctified Flesh and Blood, which those who have faith in Him draw from Him. So Athanasius tells us,⁵ a man whose deep insight into the Scriptures has never been surpassed, and to whom the whole world owes a debt of

¹ The so-called Higher Criticism has been heard of before our time. Theodoret, in commenting on this passage, replies to those who say it refers to Zerubbabel!

² See note above for “judgment and justice.” The fact is worth noting, though the modern critic, for obvious reasons, has *not* noted it, that the word *netzer*, translated “branch,” is not found except here, in chap. xiv. 9, a passage assigned to “the close of the exile,” chap. lx. 21, and Dan. xi. 7. Similarly, *geza*, translated “stem” (R.V., “stock”), is only found here, in Isa. xl. 24, and in Job. xiv. 8.

³ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, Matt. xi. 3.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 45. *Cf.* 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15 (where the true translation is, “there is, or has been, a *new creation*”); Eph. ii. 15, iv. 24; Col. iii. 10.

⁵ In his exposition of Matt. ix. 27, sec. 5, he tells us that “the Son is one in will and counsel with the Father, because their Nature is one and indivisible.” And he adds that, “since the Only Begotten has Life in Himself, as the Father hath, He only knoweth the Father, for He exists in the Father, and hath the Father in Himself.”

gratitude which has been very inadequately recognised. The prophecy in this chapter, as we shall see more clearly still as we proceed in the exegesis of it, is a remarkably full and accurate outline of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, as we find it put forth by St. John and St. Paul—by the former in the shape of detached apothegms, uttered “at sundry times and in divers manners,” as occasion suggested, by the Lord Himself; by the latter in more systematic fashion, as became an Apostle and interpreter. But from the first (Gen. iii. 15) it was decreed that a Sprout or Branch should arise from the ancient stock, from which the regeneration, restoration, consummation of man’s being should proceed.

This source of redeemed and regenerating Life was (ver. 2) to be connected with the Spirit of God.¹ Here, again, we find ourselves on the borders of a great mystery, which as yet theology has done little to penetrate or elucidate. To the Spirit is assigned by the revealed Word of God the task of working *within* phenomena. He “brooded over the surface of the waters” when the work of Creation commenced. It is through His means that the power of God works internally in the Christian soul. And even in the human life of the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity He is regarded as energizing and operating. In the Incarnation the “Power of the Holy Ghost overshadowed” the mother of our Lord (Luke i. 35). At His Crucifixion it was “in the Eternal Spirit” that He “offered Himself without spot to God” (Heb. ix. 14). He reveals to His chosen prophet in this passage that all the sevenfold² gifts and graces of a sanctified and perfected humanity are His work, since the *ἐνεργεία*, or inward working, whether in things natural or spiritual, is His special function in the economy of grace, and in the mysterious and eternal mutual relations of the three Divine Persons in the ever-blessed Trinity.³

The Incarnate God is further described as having His delight

¹ Cf. here Jer. xxxi. 33, Ezek. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26, 27, where the work of the Spirit is spoken of as one of the features of the coming age. This, again, was a knowledge of things to come, for which no natural faculties of man are sufficient to account.

² The notion that the gifts of the Spirit are “sevenfold” is derived from the LXX., which reads or interpolates *piety* (or *godliness*) here.

³ “The Lord will not come in the flesh without the Holy Spirit, but constituting Him, with His Divinity, who fills the universe, since He is the unction upon His Flesh” (“Ath. De Trin. et Spir. Sanc.,” sec. 12). The words are only found in a Latin translation, which is by no means clear. The meaning apparently is that Christ is Incarnate through the operation of the Divine Spirit, who fills all the universe, and who, by His unction, makes the flesh of Christ what it is, the flesh of the Incarnate Word.

in the "fear of the Lord." And justly so, for the fear of the Lord is no slavish timidity, but derives its sway over the human heart from the conviction that obedience to Him must needs be life and joy, and that disobedience to Him is the un-failing source of misery, first to others, and ultimately to one's self. "He shall not judge after the sight of His eyes, nor reprove after the hearing of His ears," for His desire is not His own will, but the Will of God (John iv. 34, v. 30). And therefore He does what He has bidden others to do—He "judges not after the appearance," but "righteous judgment" (John vii. 24). He has come (vers. 4, 5) to set right what is wrong upon the earth, and to drive away wickedness from before His face. The "humble and meek," as His inspired mother sang before His birth, are they whom He came to deliver from their down-trodden condition; and oppressors, as well as the selfish and thoughtless rich, He will "send empty away." Who can fail to see what, in the long ages since He came, He has already done for the meek and the oppressed, and what He is doing still?

2. *The Effect of His Coming* (vers. 6-10).—The prophet next pictures the effects which will follow on this inauguration of a reign of justice and righteousness enforced by the presence with the Ruler of the Spirit of God. A time of peace and happiness shall date from His appearance: all political, social, personal antagonisms shall die out; all the depraved natural appetite for "wrath and clamour and evil speaking, with all malice," shall cease to exist; greed and aggression and violence shall no longer afflict the children of men¹ because of the new nature which has been given to them—the redemption and regeneration which has changed our hearts has "made us alive with (or *in*) Christ," has "raised us up with Him, and made us to sit with Him in the heavenly places" (Eph. ii. 5, 6). Nothing less than this could have effected the amazing change which is here described. The simile in vers. 5-8 relates to the external peace which shall take the place of conflict; vers. 9, 10, to the internal union of heart and spirit which will be brought about when all are filled with the Spirit of Christ (Eph. iii. 16-19, iv. 13). No hurt shall be done by one to another, for all shall be alike filled with the knowledge which comes from God. And the offspring² of Jesse shall be a banner to the

¹ The *genuine* critic will not fail to note the similarity between this passage and chap. lx. 18.

² Isaiah here uses a new word for root, *sheresh*. He uses it here, however, in a sense peculiar to himself. It does not mean "root" here, but *what springs from a root*. The *sheresh* of this verse is something *visible*, not invisible. Its use here intensifies the fact that the "shoot" here

nations, who one by one shall come to Him and grow in that knowledge, and so find peace, happiness, and prosperity.

I cannot pass over a curiosity of modern criticism here. A popular critic, referring to vers. 6-9, remarks: "It is one of those errors which distort both the poetry and truth of the Bible to suppose that by the bears, lions, and reptiles which the prophet now sees tamed in the time of the regeneration he intends the violent human characters which he so often attacks. When Isaiah here talks of the beasts, he means the beasts. The passage is not allegorical, but direct." And a passage from Tennyson is quoted, in which Arthur is said to have "slain the beast." But the critic quite overlooks the fact that Isaiah is not speaking here of extermination of the beasts, but of a *change of nature* in them. No such change has passed over brute nature since Isaiah wrote, nor is there any prospect of such change. We still are compelled to slay the lion in Africa and the tiger in India to prevent them from ravaging the flocks and destroying human beings. There has been no appreciable tendency on the part of the lion during the centuries which have gone by since Isaiah's day to adopt the diet of the ox, nor has it become one whit safer than of old to entrust the kids and antelopes in the various zoological gardens to the safe keeping of the leopards. The result of such an experiment, were it made, would only, I fear, be adequately represented by one of Mr. Lear's well-known "Nonsense Rhymes." "Isaiah," we are told, "would not have the wild beasts exterminated, but tamed." And we are given some details, on the authority of Darwin, which are interesting no doubt, but hardly to the point, of the ease with which animals are tamed *before they have become familiar with man!* No doubt the loving-kindness to one's fellow-creatures which is one of the fruits of the promised life in Christ naturally overflows to the animals. It has done so, and will increasingly do so. But to refer this passage to any such result of Christ's coming is absurdly to mistake the prophet's meaning. The present is one of a class of passages with which every student of Isaiah—all Isaiah—is familiar, in which *natural* phenomena are taken as the type of *moral* phenomena. For instances of this see ver. 9 of the present passage; also chaps. ii. 10-17, x. 18-20, xxviii. 21-29, xxxv. throughout, xl. 4, 11, 31, xli. 17-20. And so almost *ad infinitum*. If we ask *why* the critic thus strangely travesties

spoken of springs from Jesse. We find a similar use of the word in Isa. liii. 2. It occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament in this sense. Here, then, we find another indication of unity of authorship. But see critical note at the end of this paper.

his author, the reason is not far to seek. He is driven to do so by the necessities of his position. For the second portion of this chapter (vers. 11-16) is *attributed to another hand*. A "definite historical situation," we learn, "is assumed in it which can only with some violence be harmonized with the actual circumstances of Isaiah's time." It might at least, one would think, be as "easily harmonized" with those circumstances as the supposed change of nature in the beasts. But the critic was compelled at all hazards to destroy the close connection which obviously exists between the figurative prophecy of vers. 6-9 and the literal repetition of it in ver. 13. It is only when the critics come to be criticised that the amazing shifts to which they are reduced in order to cover the weak places of their work are clearly perceived.

J. J. LIAS.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV.—AN ANCIENT CUSTOM OF THE SEA.

FROM ancient times, it was at sea that the fullest development of lay work in the Church was found. Lay ministries at sea necessarily include the most sacred offices in health and in sickness, in life and in death. Who but a sea-officer has within the last few years baptized eighteen persons at one time? Yet that was done in the ordinary course of a commander's duty, calling at Tristan d'Acunha in the South Atlantic. That he did not also perform the Office of Holy Matrimony was only that there were no couples ready for marriage at the time of his visit. Christian burial at sea is a most solemn service, which is rarely conducted by a clergyman. Rightly or wrongly, even the Lord's Supper itself is sometimes administered, in one form or another, with or without the sacred elements, by seamen shut out for lengthened periods from participation in clerical ministrations. Daily prayers and Sunday worship have come down from the days of old as the ordinary habit in all well-regulated British ships, whether of the King or of the merchant. These are still the "custom of the service" in the King's ships and in some well-commanded merchant vessels.

Naturally, therefore, the discussion at the Liverpool Church Congress on "Religion on Shipboard" turned almost wholly on Divine worship in merchant ships on the high seas. All seven appointed readers and four free speakers rightly made

this their principal point in the promotion of religion on board ship. A veteran merchant captain, who, as Superintendent of the Board of Trade Mercantile Marine Office at Liverpool, is in a position to take a wide outlook of the great variety of merchant crews and of traders oversea, stated: "There is no religion in tramp [cargo] ships. There are of course, a few exceptions, where a devout, well-meaning captain does try to hold a Sunday service; but, except in the rare case of cargo ships carrying passengers, the practice may be said to be non-existent for the last fifteen or twenty years." The result is, according to this experienced authority, that "the good old British tars have almost disappeared. . . . Insubordination in the merchant service is nowadays so rife, and the captain's disciplinary powers are so restricted, that a constant ill-feeling exists between the poop and the forecabin, which, it has been considered, would most probably bring into contempt any essay at holding religious services at sea."

In other words, the practice of united worship on board ship reminds all of the common Fatherhood of God, and hence of the brotherhood of man. It brings peace, contentment, good comradeship, and fellow-feeling, into the vessel. Whereas the absence of Divine worship tends to ill-feeling between man and man and between foremast men and officers, cooped up for long periods in the confined quarters of a ship, and to discontent, insubordination, and unhappiness on board. Hence the exodus from our foreign-going merchant vessels of self-respecting Britons, and the inroad into the long-voyage trade of 39,000 Asiatics and of 40,000 other foreigners, not always the cream of their respective nationalities.

There are in all 327,000 seamen serving under the red ensign, scattered over every ocean in 33,000 merchant ships. Mixed crews of many nationalities, and still more numerous creeds, in the long-voyage trade, act, mayhap unconsciously, as missionaries for good or evil to many lands! Always itinerating from port to port, and ever preaching by their lives to various nations, they are in more than one sense "living epistles, known and read of all men." These are the advanced guard of the Church in propagating the Gospel in foreign parts. Probably half their lives are spent on salt water, and the other half in seaport districts at home or abroad. Their spiritual needs at sea and in port, afloat and ashore, have been far too much neglected by the National Church, and in the long-voyage ships of many merchants their moral and spiritual condition is frequently deplorable.

The fault of this negation of united worship does not always lie with the foremast sailor, who, of whatever creed

or nationality, is usually willing, with due tact and consideration, to avail himself of such gracious opportunities. Nor is it necessarily the captain's fault, for he has to consider the supposed wishes of his employers, on whom the main responsibility must rest. Rightly or wrongly, the impression prevails amongst captains that some shipping companies do not encourage Divine worship in their ships, except for passengers, and that their further employment in command might be endangered if captains were known to take an active interest in the spiritual welfare of their crews. Moreover, duties are sometimes required of captains which they regard as incompatible with their personal conduct of Divine worship, or there may be other personal disqualifications. In the Royal Navy the captain is not required himself to conduct this duty; but he is to "*cause the public worship*" to be performed diligently, and to see that "the Lord's day is observed according to law"; whilst every week-day short prayers from the Liturgy are to be read publicly.

Happily, where the merchant captain does not do so, one of the officers, or engineers, or apprentices, or foremast seamen, is often willing to conduct united worship regularly with the crew if supplied with the necessary books of prayer and praise.

Can we wonder at any misconduct of merchant officers or crews, when for all the years of manhood so many of them have to herd together at sea without any leaven of united prayer or other outward symptom of godliness? Recently the captain of a British barque was asked by a roadstead chaplain to accept the gift of a "service box," containing prayer and hymn books, etc., conditionally on worship being held every Sunday when at sea. The captain replied: "No; I would not make a fool of it. I have never seen a service at sea since my apprentice days. As an apprentice I heard what the men said of the captain for doing so. I have been thirty-three years at sea in sailing ships. When at home I go to church (Scotch) with my family; but it is no good holding service afloat. You good people don't understand the position." Poor fellow! thirty-three years without worship at sea! "Brethren, pray for us, that the Word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified even as it is with you."

Solomon notwithstanding, the former days were better than these as to the ancient custom of united worship at sea. The naval character, nurtured by a commercial and enterprising spirit in attaining its present greatness, has never been insensible to the co-operating power of religion. A spirit of devotion, a constant attention to the duties of a Christian life, have appeared a distinct feature among the most renowned

of the nautical profession. Those great sea-captains and merchant adventurers who, in the Tudor era, originated the commercial greatness of England rigidly enjoined the public worship of Almighty God daily in their ships. The custom of daily worship at sea was doubtless even then ancient, as in the reign of King Stephen, when, in 1147, a great expedition left Dartmouth for Lisbon, there was amongst the foremost articles of agreement: that there shall be the same religious observances as in parishes on shore, whilst everyone shall join in prayer daily through the week, and shall communicate on Sunday.

The Shipping Companies of to-day might learn something from those of old. We find amongst the "ordinances, instructions, and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyages for Cathay, compiled, made and delivered by the Right Worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, Governor of the Mysterie and Companie of the Marchants Adventurers for the discoverie of regions, dominions, islands and places unknowen, the 9th day of May, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1533. . . . 13th item: That morning and evening prayer with other common services appointed by the King's Majestie, and lawes of this realme to be raid and saide in every ship dayly by the Minister in the Admirall, and the Marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for His Grace to be obtained and had by humble and hartie praier of the navigants accordingly."

Another shipping company, trading to the North, issued "Certain instructions delivered in the third voiage, anno 1556, for Russia, to every purser and the rest of the servants taken for the voiage, which may serve as good and necessary directions to all other like adventurers. . . .

"6. And principally see that you forget not dayly in all the voiage, both morning and evening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage will have the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better."

No doubt it was with the approval and encouragement of his employers that, in 1578, on his third voyage of discovery, the articles of agreement of Captain Martyn Frobisher began:

"*Imprimis*. To banishe dice, cardes playing, and all filthie talk, and to serve God twice a daie with the ordinarie service usuall in the Church of England."

Amongst the "Instructions" given by Sir Francis Drake to the captain of the *Francis*, captured by the Spaniards at the island of Gaudaloupe, was found: "The Instructions and order to be observed by the whole fleet, which departs from

the port of Plymouth on the 29th August, 1595: (1) In the first place, omit not Divine worship, and let this order be observed twice a day, unless no opportunity offers. . . . —FRANCIS DRAKE."

Space forbids our quoting at length the admirable commands of Captain Luke Fox to his crew, but here is an extract: "May 7, anno 1631. The voyage of Captain Luke Fox, in His Majestie's pinnace, the *Charles*, burthen 70 tonnes, 20 men, and 2 boyes, victuals for 18 months. . . . (1) That all the whole company, as well officers as others, shall duly repaire every day twice, at the call of the bell, to heare publike prayers to be read (such as are authorized by the Church), and that in a godly and devout manner, as good Christians ought."

An appendix of "Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West, 1496 to 1631," gives: "*Discipline*.—From the commencement of the East India Traffic, the Commanders of vessels were instructed to pay the strictest attention to the following points, viz.: (1) To the performance of Divine worship twice every day," etc.

The "Instructions" given by the Earl of Lindsey, in the reign of Charles I., to those commanding ships in 1635, say: "First, and above all things, you are to take care that all the officers and company of ships do offer their best devotions unto God twice a day, according to the usual practices and liturgy of the Church of England."

Seamen had their grievances in the days of yore, but they were not about avoidable Sunday work shutting out Sunday worship. In the "Seamen's Protestation," published in the winter of 1641-42, it is written: "Be pleased to understand: Although we have no churches, we say our prayers as well as you, and the same God you have on shore is ours at sea, Whom we serve, though not so decently as we would, being for the most part of our daies restrained from a church, to dwell upon the seas for your better securitie. But for our religion, King and country, we do, and will, advance our colours against the world, and for confirmation to you all of our true hearts, we have all protested in this manner: 'I, —, do protest before Almighty God to maintain with my dearest life and blood the Protestant religion, as it was established in the days of Queen Elizabeth; to acknowledge Charles, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland and Ireland; to stand for the privileges of Parliament; utterly from my heart to abhor all poperie and popish innovations; so help me God.'"

When on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1645, the rulers of the Commonwealth—following in this the evil example of

Queen Mary—interdicted, under heavy penalties, the use, not only in churches, but even in private houses, of the Protestant Book of Common Prayer, the seamen afloat fondly clung to the old paths and the accustomed book. They continued to use on board ship, as heretofore, the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer.

In the hope of supplanting the use of this Scriptural book on the sea, there was published "A Supply of Prayer for the Ships of this Kingdom that want Ministers to pray with them: agreeable to the Directory established by Parliament." The only known extant copies of this booklet are two in the British Museum. It gives the "Reasons for this Work" thus: "Whereas there are thousands of ships belonging to this Kingdom which have not Ministers with them to guide them in prayer, and therefore use the old form of Common Prayer or no prayer at all; the former whereof for many weighty reasons hath been abolished, and the latter is likely to make them rather heathen than Christians (the Lord's Day being left without any mark of piety or devotion), therefore to avoid those inconveniences, it hath been thought fit to frame some prayers, agreeing with the Directory established by Parliament." Several of these prayers are principally political disquisitions of inordinate length. "A Prayer in a Storm" contains 837 words, another prayer contains 787 words, a third 598 words, a thanksgiving 218 words, and the concluding blessing 87 words.

It is very doubtful if this "Supply of Prayer" ever reached the ships "that want Ministers to pray with them"; but credit is due to the Long Parliament for attempting some spiritual provision for the special need of crews robbed of their formerly authorized public religious services. Doubtless it is to this attempt of the Long Parliament that sailors owe "Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea," provided in the restored Book of Common Prayer of 1662, with the wise rubrics, "The Morning and Evening Service to be used daily at Sea shall be the same which is appointed in the Book of Common Prayer," and, "These two following Prayers are to be used in His Majesty's Navy *every* day."

Nevertheless, the Commonwealth broke the continuity of the ancient custom of worship at sea; and the declension of religion on shore in succeeding reigns was not favourable to its revival in the mercantile marine, notwithstanding excellent Acts of Parliament affecting the Royal Navy and commendable Admiralty instructions for the same portion of the sea-service, which are still in active operation.

The most frequent difficulty experienced in inaugurating united worship on board merchant ships is the absence of the

necessary books for the use of the congregation. In the King's ships and in passenger vessels these are supplied, but books of prayer and praise are seldom supplied to cargo ships. Where the books are at hand, there is often found someone on board willing to lead the worship, which is generally marked by great heartiness, both in responding and in singing.

During the last few years as many as 500 merchant crews have been persuaded by The Missions to Seamen to accept "service boxes," containing a service Bible, Prayer-Books, hymn-books, and a book of short plain sermons, under a pledge from someone on board to regularly conduct Divine service every Sunday, circumstances permitting. A small fund raised specially for this purpose has, with aid from the S.P.C.K., defrayed the expense, each box costing for twenty worshippers 23s., and for ten worshippers 18s. An endeavour made to induce Shipping Companies to help in extending this benefit to their employes in their cargo vessels met with very limited response. So that The Missions to Seamen would be grateful for gifts of about 200 "service boxes" annually, to supply to as many ships in which crews, however mixed in creed, are found willing to revive this ancient custom of the sea.

When "Jesus entered into a ship" on the Sea of Galilee, the owner made no objection and the crew readily consented. There were no disorders in that crew, no shirking work, no harshness or strong language to enforce commands, no mutiny, no "desertions." It is so still: when "Jesus enters into a ship" now, the crew are no longer called "the crowd," but the "ship's company," the companions of the voyage; the officers, seamen, and owners form one family, sons of the same Father, and therefore brothers. Contentment, kindness, fellow-feeling, brotherliness, consideration for each other's interests, and cheerful obedience reign where this ancient custom of the sea is observed.

A COMMANDER, R.N.

ART. V.—CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT: SOME
OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

IN the CHURCHMAN for April, 1903, and May, 1904, I argued thus: We are assured both in the first chapter of the Revelation and in the last that the things in that book were then, at the time they were revealed, shortly to come to pass; the time was at hand. That was in the first century. We are now in the twentieth century; and unless one of these things, the holy city, New Jerusalem, has been, like the sheet in

Peter's vision, drawn up again into heaven, of which withdrawal we have neither prophecy nor record, it must be standing on the earth now. It has twelve foundations, and on them the names of the twelve Apostles. There is one institution on the earth in these days, and only one, which corresponds to this description, namely, Christ's Church. One feature of this Church, in Rev. xxi. 24, 26, is the national and political recognition and honour of the Church by the State, commonly called Establishment. The following pages deal with difficulties which some people may feel in the application of this Scriptural ideal to present circumstances.

1. PERSECUTION.

It has been said that National Church Establishment implies the persecution of Nonconformists. The underlying principle of such Establishment is said to be—and it is—the duty of the State to support some form of religion. This, of course, implies the responsibility of choosing the right religion. But to say that this involves the persecution of Nonconformists is to take words for masters instead of servants. Real persecution was authorized under the imperfect dispensation of the Old Testament, though Elijah at Horeb was made to hear of a more excellent way. The Church had to suffer persecution under the Roman Empire until the Emperors declared themselves Christians, and then it is only too true that the Church herself soon became a persecutor. As late as the seventeenth century it seems to have been generally taken for granted that it was the business of the State to suppress any form of religion which it could not approve. The Popes hold this opinion still, with the proviso that the State must always approve the Papal religion. But to compare the position of English Nonconformists now with that of Ridley and Latimer at the stake, or of John Bunyan in Bedford Gaol, is to be the slave of a word. Wrong as I must consider secession to have been all along, in the face of those many Scriptures which insist upon visible unity, I believe the Almighty in His wisdom has overruled Nonconformity in the past, to make real persecution, for the future, impossible. Important steps in moral and spiritual advancement do not come to the race, any more than to the individual, all at once, nor without struggle and pain. And Churchmen to-day must not be impatient if those whose forerunners were thus made use of to win freedom of conscience for us all are slow to see that their task is accomplished. To defend the line they take when they call for Disestablishment, they must strike out of the Bible every passage which requires the nations and their

kings to recognise and honour God's Church, and Rev. xxi. is by no means the only one, as I showed. The line that some are taking on the Education Question is indeed infidel and anarchical—infidel as refusing to ask a teacher whether he believes in God, anarchical as refusing to render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's. But they are doing these things through the survival in these days of ideas which were true and just 250 years ago, but which are now groundless. There is no real persecution by the State in England now, unless every Act of Parliament is an act of persecution. The State leaves all its citizens free to believe and worship as they think best, and protects them in doing so, as long as they do not outrage public morals and decency. But unless Christ has no more claim upon mankind than other masters have, the nations must accept the statute which He delivered to them through St. John, when he made it an integral part of His design that the nations should walk amidst the light, not of their own preferences, nor even of a vague Christianity, such as we are told is the proper thing for our schools, but of His organized Church, and that they and their kings should bring their glory and honour into it. A city that lies foursquare upon the earth, and has a foundation of twelve precious stones, and has a wall great and high, with twelve gates of pearl, each with its angel, and a street of gold, and a river of water of life, and a tree of life yielding different fruits every month, is surely something positive and without a rival.

2. DEFECTS OF THE CHURCH.

But granting that Church Establishment is, in the abstract, a national duty, is the existing Church of England the Church which ought to be, or to remain, established by law as the Church of God for the English nation? Some may hold that this Church is so far from fulfilling the Divine ideal, and so incapable of necessary reformation, that it cannot under any circumstances be reasonably expected to represent the City of God to the English people. And, on the other hand, it may be contended that the State of England is so unlike what a Christian State ought to be, and so unlikely to become such, that it cannot walk, and cannot be expected to walk, except with staggering steps, in the true Church's light, and that the glory and honour of itself and its King are so out of harmony with the precepts and spirit of Christ that the only right course for the Church is to come out and be separate—as far as it can.

I do not say that such conditions on one side or on the other may not come into being at some future time. But

before we put asunder those who have been joined together from the very beginnings of our national history, and do this on the ground that the facts come short of the ideal, let us see quite distinctly what the ideal is. The things that were shortly to come to pass were the things in the whole book. Only two out of the seven Churches in Asia were without blame. Some of them were blamed, at least, as severely as an average parish minister and congregation in England could justly be blamed now. Yet every one of the seven was, by our Saviour's own recognition, "the Church," the only Church, exclusively the Church, in the town where the Church was. Nowhere in all the book do we come upon perfection except in heaven itself, and not always there. Many besides St. John have wept for the seals on the roll in the fifth chapter until they have found that the Lamb is not baffled by them. The war, famine, and pestilence of the sixth chapter are not yet extinct, and many souls have been added in our times to those whom St. John saw under the altar. The two witnesses of the eleventh chapter need not be made to represent some two particular preachers of the Gospel in some one age, so as to exhaust the prophecy. Under the law of Moses one witness was not sufficient, and the Gospel never depends everywhere upon one man. Just now there are many dwellers upon the earth who seem to think the time is come for rejoicing over God's witnesses and making merry, as if they were dead, and their witness were come utterly to an end for evermore. But there have been such times before. Bishop Butler tells us in his "Advertisement" to the "Analogy" that there was such a time when he himself was living. Under Diocletian, in the latter part of the third century, all the church fabrics were destroyed from Syria to Britain, and monuments were erected to commemorate the end of Christianity. One such monument was standing in Spain till quite modern times; perhaps it is there still. But the mystical half-week soon passes, and the breath of God enters into the witnesses again, and Christianity lives on.

The woman arrayed with the sun—the Church which has put on Christ—is still bringing forth, and her children now, as of old, are caught up to God, and are sitting, as St. Paul wrote to the Ephesians, in the heavenlies with Christ. Yet the other part of the vision is equally true: the Church is still in the wilderness, and the dragon is doing his best to devour it or to drown it. The Lamb on Mount Zion is still confronted with the wild beast from the sea, representing violence, and the false prophet from the earth, representing craftiness. The bride is still shadowed by the harlot. If there is a new

Jerusalem, there is also a new Babylon. It is true that Babylon falls and Jerusalem stands. But the process of the falling has to be gone through, and Babylon with its falling is not confined to Rome, but has representatives among Protestants also, "free" as well as established. Witness the present attempt to force an Act of Uniformity upon all the schools—an attempt which shows that, as Dissenters came later than Churchmen, so they are later in learning toleration. If those who hear the Lord's words, and believe Him that sent Him, have passed out of death into life, and are partakers of the first resurrection, and are living as kings with Christ, till at the end of the mystical 1,000 years, now going on, He shall give up the kingdom to the Father, there are others for whom the 1,000 years are past, their opportunities are over, and Satan is loosed for them, and gathers them together for battle. If the great white throne and the judgment are future for some, they have been in the past for others, and they are present with many now. The Judge is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; so is the judgment; so are the holy city and the adjoining lake of fire. Age after age, year after year, day by day, and every hour of every day, "the Spirit and the bride say Come. And he that heareth, let him say Come: he that will, let him take of the water of life freely."

The recent changes in the East might tempt one to see in them the drying up of the river Euphrates (Rev. xvi. 12), that the way may be ready for the kings that come from the sunrising. But, as Bishop Boyd Carpenter points out in his valuable commentary, we must not think here of a literal Euphrates any more than of a literal Babylon. Jerusalem in the Revelation is the city of God; Babylon is the city of the world; the river Euphrates, from beyond which Abraham came into the land of Canaan, is a kind of boundary between the two (Ezra iv. 10, 17, 20). The drying up of the river Euphrates means the passing away of what till then have been publicly recognised as clear distinctions between the world and the Church, and this, not by the world becoming Christian, but by the Church becoming worldly; and the coming of the kings from the sunrising in the Revelation corresponds, as the Bishop points out, to the coming of Chedorlaomer and his companions in Abraham's time, not to be welcomed, but to be repulsed. These are things which are continually going on, sometimes more, sometimes less; but as long as there are tares in the wheat and bad fish in the net, the spiritual Euphrates is not a complete barrier to the invasion of Christ's Church by His enemies.

But all this does not warrant men in denying that Christ

has a field and a net and a kingdom, or in saying that for Englishmen that field, that net, that kingdom, cannot be for Englishmen, the existing Church of England, because that Church falls short of Christ's ideal, or of whatever ideal individuals have formed for Christ's Church in their own minds. The Church of England once consisted of a single congregation, that of St. Martin's, Canterbury. The Church within those walls was recognised, honoured, and, so to say, established by King Ethelbert and his people. Has anything happened in the 1,300 years and more since then which would warrant our present King Edward and his people in withdrawing from the present congregation of that little Church at Canterbury the recognition, honour, and establishment which the congregation of 1,300 years ago received there from King Ethelbert and his people, and which has been transmitted in unbroken succession from then till now? I know well, in my forty-eighth year as a benefited clergyman, that our parish and cathedral churches are heavily weighted with abuses and anachronisms. But here these churches are. They cover the ground as no other Christian institution does or can. They were here long before any of the rival communities were thought of. Of different dates from the sixth century to the twentieth, these churches bind all our history together. Still they live and are fruitful and multiply and replenish the land, if they do not subdue it. And as to their abuses and their anachronisms, nobody is obliged to approve of them as a condition of Christian fellowship in his parish church. As I pointed out in a former article, in matters of faith nothing more is required of anyone for lay communion besides the Apostles' Creed, a simple statement, not of theories, but of facts, facts which may be denied, but cannot be explained away.

And when once we have come to the conclusion, which I think I have shown, in former numbers of this magazine, that no Christian who accepts the Revelation as Divine can reasonably dispute—namely, that the establishment of the Church by the State is an integral part of Christ's Christianity—then we have to face this question: *If the Church of England is not the true Church for England*, not that organized Christian society amidst whose light the English nation is bound to walk, and into which both King and nation are bound to bring their glory and honour, *let us be told where that true Church is to be found*. Which of our many rivals is fit and ready to take our place?

Till then, or, rather, for the short remnant of my life, I shall be satisfied in my parish church. One of our Communion-cups is dated 1656, when the Prayer-Book was forbidden

by Parliament, but when the Church of God that was at Carlton assembled, nevertheless, to do what the Lord had commanded to be done in memory of Himself. Beneath the foot of the cup are the names of the minister (John Phillips) and churchwardens; above it, the name of the parish and county; and near the rim, St. Paul's words in Greek for "The Cup of Blessing." One of our bells bears the name of "Wm. Chawmbyr," who was Rector from 1417 to 1443, and words in Latin which mean "I am called the bell of the noble Virgin Mary." Part of my glebe can be traced to the thirteenth century, part of the church fabric to the eleventh. And when I am called by "Wm. Chawmbyr's" bell to use John Phillips's cup, having my maintenance from the same sources as they had theirs, and ministering in the same building, in honour of the same Son of the same Mother, I no more doubt that I am ministering in the Church of God which is at Carlton, sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, notwithstanding the many faults and imperfections of both people and minister, than St. Paul doubted that he was writing to the Church of God which was at Corinth, notwithstanding some faults and imperfections there which, happily, we at Carlton are not troubled with. I see no reason why this church and St. Martin's at Canterbury, and the 15,000 other cathedral and parish churches of this land, should be degraded and despoiled, contrary to the revealed will of God, instead of receiving from the nation and its King, in accordance with that will, the power they desire to reform themselves and adapt themselves to present and coming needs. Before such degrading and despoiling can be defended on Scriptural grounds, it must be proved that these Churches have ceased to be in their several localities as genuine representatives of the City of God as the first-century Churches at Corinth and Sardis and Laodicea were in their localities then.

3. DEFECTS OF THE STATE.

And as to the State: certainly it is far from what a Christian of any sort could wish it to be, let alone a Churchman. But there is a goodly number of Churchmen in Parliament, and though at present there is a good deal of bitterness on the part of some Nonconformist members, it is a bitterness which, if what has been put forward in the *CHURCHMAN* by the present writer is indeed the truth of God, can hardly be permanent. Nay, the drawing together of Nonconformists in their "Free Church Council" may be, if wisely met on our side, a distinct advance toward reunion. Their Catechism is wonderfully like our own. The numerous Roman

Catholic members of Parliament, chiefly from Ireland, are a difficulty, no doubt. But Romanism is showing various signs of weakness, on the Continent, if not here; and meantime England is the predominant partner in the United Kingdom. Let us have faith in God's word, and the State will concede all needful liberties. The recent surprise in the Free Church of Scotland must make everybody see that to liberate religion entirely from State control is not quite so easy as some have fancied. *Magna est veritas, et prævalebit.* I will hope that, ere this twentieth century ends, the new Roman Westminster already built, and the new Wesleyan Westminster that is to be, will have joined hands and hearts with the ancient and national Westminster into which our nation and our kings have brought their glory and honour for more than eight centuries—that Westminster Abbey to which not only England and her colonies, but her great daughter America, looks as to the very hearthstone of our race. And I heard in my dream that all the bells in the city rang again for joy.

J. FOXLEY.

ART. VI.—"CHARITABLE RELIEF"—II.

THE fourth chapter of Mr. Rogers' book is upon "The Standard of Life and Character," and in it he rightly lays stress upon the need of a "right judgment" in dealing with the poor. He also shows how this can be acquired only by *trained* experience: "the worker must be able to form accurate judgments of facts, of men, and of life." Among "facts" by which we can judge is "the condition of the home," and Mr. Rogers gives many valuable hints about this—*e.g.*, dirt does not always mean poverty, nor does a clean and tidy home necessarily imply its absence. In regard to judgments upon men, he reminds us that "roughness is not synonymous with a bad character," and "the manners of a factory girl are not those of a domestic servant." Then, judgment is needed as to what amount of money means, in any particular case or district, what we may term a "sufficiency." Again, as to the value of "references," very careful judgment is necessary. The *weight* of these must be carefully estimated.

Upon one point we are glad to see Mr. Rogers lays great stress: "Like children at school, the poor have a very keen sense of justice, and if the impression is current that money is given by chance or by favour it has a bad effect on

the whole tone of the neighbourhood” (p. 77). Not a little of the alienation of the working-classes from the Church is due to real (if unintentional) or imagined injustice, especially if it is seen that the clamorous are relieved, while the silent, yet more deserving, sufferer gets nothing.

Mr. Rogers quite rightly notices among evil present tendencies “the weakening of the family tie.” “There is a growing disinclination on the part of sons to support their parents, whom they look to see relieved by charity or out of the rates; and it is an undoubted fact that this prompts, and is fostered by, much of the language that is used about old-age pensions” (p. 78). On the other hand, the temptations to parents to fail to take upon themselves their responsibilities—*e.g.*, in the education and maintenance of their children—are by perhaps well-meant, but certainly ill-considered, charity constantly growing stronger.

At present most people, even the poorest, have some standard of life and duty, though this may be unrealized. We must be most careful to keep them up to that standard, even if it be only the duty of joining a sick club or a provident dispensary, because keeping them up to their present standard is our one hope of raising them to a higher one. Unfortunately, so much foolish charity actually relieves them of the obligation of attaining their own very moderate standards.

At the end of this chapter we have a strong, but wise condemnation of those so-called philanthropic movements or schemes which seem each year to become more numerous. Those who are responsible for increasing outdoor relief (*i.e.*, for supplementing low wages), for opening soup kitchens and municipal relief funds, for giving free breakfasts and dinners to children, rarely consider the *wider economic effects* of their action. The crying needs to-day are two: (1) More numerous workers, so that cases can be dealt with individually upon their merits; (2) trained and intelligent workers, who have a knowledge of the laws of sociology and of social economics, so that they can foresee, and thus prevent, the inevitable consequences of foolish and ignorant action. In this connection Mr. Rogers wisely insists upon the need for the clergy to study at least the *principles* of sociology, because it is their duty both to train workers and to create a healthy public opinion. The question may be a painful one, but what percentage of the clergy, even of those who are in charge of poor town parishes, have qualified themselves for these tasks?

Chapter V. deals with “State and Private Relief.” Here we enter upon a subject whose importance can hardly be overestimated, and one which, we are thankful to note, is

rapidly becoming a "burning question." It is bad enough for people to be pauperized by voluntary effort, but when pauperism is increased, as at the present time, by the ignorant administration of compulsorily levied rates, it is the duty of every truly patriotic citizen to protest.

It would be difficult to praise too highly the pages (94 to 100) in which Mr. Rogers explains the true functions of the Guardians, and in which he shows how at present they are taking upon themselves tasks which are really outside their proper work. "Boards of Guardians often adopt a policy which contradicts the fundamental principle of the law they are elected to administer." The Guardians are not appointed to relieve *poverty*, but to deal with *destitution*, which is obviously "a danger in the midst of an organized society." Private charity should relieve poverty, "where its judicious bestowal will lead to the abolition of poverty." The true function of the Poor Law is thus clearly defined: "Just as moral destitution must be dealt with by the police, so material, mental, and physical destitution is provided for by the Poor Law in the workhouse, the asylum, and the infirmary."

Mr. Rogers then briefly, but clearly, sketches the history of the Poor Law up to the time of the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1832, which resulted in the "New" Poor Law of 1834, which, as he says, "confined the action of the law to its proper sphere of safe-guarding the nation and providing for the destitute alone. In the place of the attempt to be benevolent, it substituted fairness and honest administration, and the country leaped into prosperity. There was at once a marked development of charity; the self-respect, and with it the welfare, of the working classes increased enormously; an immediate rise in wages was the result, and the great working-class movements connected with the friendly societies and co-operation began to flourish; pauperism steadily decreased, and was in a fair way to be extinguished by a gradual diminution that continued until about ten years ago. Unfortunately, a loophole was left in the Act of 1834 for a return to the mistaken and cruel policy that had preceded it" (p. 99).

To the very gradual, and even now by many people undetected, return to this evil policy may, I believe, more than to anything else, be attributed the troubles from which we are now suffering. The new policy which the Guardians have been of recent years adopting is admirably defined as one which "ignores the warnings of history, and reverts to the mischievous policy of regarding parish relief as a reward for the deserving, or as a right to be claimed by those who have paid rates. Pauperism, both indoor and outdoor, is

steadily increasing with the adoption of a policy of free out-relief” (p. 99). And Mr. Rogers certainly is not exaggerating when he asserts that, “wherever the Poor Law is well administered, outdoor relief decreases rapidly, and the work-houses get no fuller, or gradually begin to empty.”

We come next to the difficult question of the “sick poor.” These, if deserving, are probably the best of all subjects for charitable relief; and, speaking from a long experience, I should say that no money is so well spent as that which helps to place the poor but industrious breadwinner into a position in which he can go on earning his own living and provide for his family. A sovereign spent in helping to send the over-worked or slowly recovering father or mother for a fortnight into the country or to the seaside does more practical good than many single half-crown doles to a number of indigent people.

Section 3 of this chapter contains some very useful advice to those who may be elected as Guardians, and also points out the danger of persons, not only seeking the office from interested motives—to secure contracts, etc.—but the even more common danger of Guardians being afraid to “speak out” when they detect maladministration for fear of offending others with whom they have commercial relations. Mr. Rogers might have added that it is now in many unions practically impossible to obtain election as a Guardian unless you are prepared to promise to vote for a “liberal policy” in regard to out-relief.

The last section of the chapter points out the advantages which all workers will find in taking part in undertakings wider than merely parochial ones, not the least of these advantages being that in many large undertakings we have the privilege of working with, and learning from, trained and experienced administrators.

Chapter VI. is upon “Non-parochial Agencies,” by which are meant chiefly those large organizations with special objects which have for their scope a wider area than that of any particular parish. Here Mr. Rogers states a very useful paradox—namely, that in charity on this larger scale “personal dealing is only possible where charity is organized.” He also points out the absolute need for *mutual* knowledge among workers in these large undertakings. Much of this work is highly specialized, and divided into compartments, one person working among boys, another among girls, a third among mothers, etc. Again, workers connected with one religious body may be entirely ignorant of what workers connected with another religious denomination are doing, though both are active in the same district. Thus two kinds of personal

relationships must be carefully maintained: (1) those between helper and helped; (2) those between the different helpers themselves.

In this chapter the management and the results of a great many different kinds of agencies or charitable efforts are considered. Quite rightly, the popular "day trips" for children, whether into the country or to the seaside, are condemned. The money spent on taking away these crowds of children for so short a time might be much more usefully spent in giving a few delicate children a week or a fortnight's change of air at some carefully-chosen farmhouse. Then, by means of a "school's savings-bank holiday fund" many a child might be encouraged to save what would go, at least, some way towards paying for such a holiday. Again, with regard to the many agencies for providing surgical apparatus, it is pointed out that when these are obtained free they are not nearly so carefully used or so much valued as when a portion of their cost is demanded as a condition that the remainder is given.

About old-age pensions Mr. Rogers writes very cautiously. He sees the attractiveness of this form of charity; he sees also that the hope of a pension may be a temptation to want of thrift in early life, and also that it may weaken the sense of duty in children to do something towards providing for aged parents. I can speak from a somewhat bitter experience. I have worked in two parishes in which ancient charities have been converted into a limited number of pensions for old men and women. In both parishes there was, I think, far more than even the average amount of both improvidence and distress. Nearly everyone *hoped* to get a pension, and, consequently, very few made any provision for old age. Actually perhaps one out of four did get the pension; the other three were found by old age in a destitute condition.

Chapter VII. is on the "Prevention of Distress"—surely a most important part of the work of those who seek to benefit their fellows. Preventive work, when properly done, is really constructive, and consists in the building up of character, and in the formation of "habits of providence, unselfishness, and moral strength." In teaching thrift to the very poor, Mr. Rogers speaks highly of the usefulness of the "collecting bank," which may well take the place of the sometimes rather aimless call of the district visitor. The popular *bonus* system, as so frequently applied to clothing and coal clubs, is very wisely condemned. "It is unfair to the local tradesmen that the alms of the charitable should be used for underselling them and favouring one particular shop; while from the point of view of teaching thrift it is positively harmful, as it encourages the subscribers to save only when they can get

special advantages, and not under ordinary circumstances" (pp. 144, 145). The plan of saving so much per week during the year, with a general repayment at Christmas, is also not good, for the money will then probably be all spent, and possibly upon goods that are not urgently needed. There is some excellent advice upon the best manner in which to conduct penny banks, and warm praise is justly given to the work of the great friendly societies, such as the Foresters and Oddfellows, in which the clergy are advised to take a personal interest, becoming, if possible, actual benefit members, and so gaining acquaintance with their practical working.

Another method by which distress may be prevented is by trying "to raise the whole standard of life among 'the poor.'" Towards this the Church may do a valuable, if indirect, work by imparting to the people higher and wider interests.

The employment of married women, where it can possibly be avoided, is to be condemned, because it generally leads to the neglect of the home and the children—a neglect which is the cause of many evils. Something may be done by encouraging girls to go into domestic service. One reason for the unpopularity of this life lies, so Mr. Rogers believes, in the false ideas which many of the poorer girls have of the kind of life which a servant leads. They form their opinion of domestic service "from the lot of the little 'general' in a small place. The different nature of good service should be clearly explained to them."

After speaking of the present neglect of apprenticeship, which is so detrimental to the real interests of the coming generation, Mr. Rogers goes on to speak of the value of direct personal intercourse as a means for "creating a right sentiment of duty in social matters . . . and for making men think."

At the end of this chapter the good work which may be done by the after-care of the sick is strongly insisted upon; and the great value of the services of the trained "almoners" who now visit among the out-patients at some of the Metropolitan hospitals is explained. This is a work which many of our parochial helpers might well qualify themselves to do.

The final chapter is entitled "Conclusions," but its object is really to consider the reverse side of all that has been previously treated. So far the book has considered the work of the Church in regard to charity; this chapter considers the effect of the charitable work done in the name of the Church upon the work and influence of the Church itself.

Mr. Rogers admits that "direct" bribery may in these days be rare; still, "religion" and "relief" are far too often associated in the minds of the poor, and with an evil result, so far as the more self-respecting are concerned. Then, the

method of bringing men to religion by means of clubs, whose ostensible object is to provide amusement, is doomed to failure. Many such clubs have ended in cutting themselves loose from any sort of religious influence. If only we could remember that religion does not mean having something done for you, but doing something, and especially for others! It is not by what we give, but by what we demand, that Christianity is strengthened.

The ideal parochial relief committee would be largely undenominational, and would not be too closely connected with any definitely spiritual organization. Religious work should rather be directed to the building up of character; and probably the best work which the clergy can do is "to train men to take part in public work in the Christian spirit. Ultimately it is the moral factor that counts."

I have drawn attention to this book at considerable length because I believe it may be an excellent help, not only to the clergy, but to Church-workers generally. It deals with an immense variety of subjects. The principles which it enunciates, as I have already said, are sound; and it is evidently written from considerable experience in the work with which it deals. That work is not only a difficult, but actually a dangerous, one, because it is impossible to say with regard to it, "If I don't do much good, at any rate I can't do much harm." The diseases of the social body from which we are at present suffering are mainly the result of unwise—that is, of unintelligent—action in the past and in the present. If only those who feel called to charitable work would realize the far-reaching effects of their actions, something would be gained. In this, as in so many other spheres of activity, we need that humility of spirit which is anxious to learn. This book will help to teach how much there is to be learnt, and how vitally important it is that we should learn all we can.

W. EDWARD CHADWICK.



ART. VII.—VARIATIONS IN THEOLOGICAL TERMS.

LANGUAGE, articulate speech, is the glory of man, one great distinction between him and other living creatures, yet from its nature full of uncertainty, liable to involuntary misuse, so liable to intentional misuse that everyone is familiar with deceit wrought by words used in seeming sincerity. Words are but the shadows of things which they represent,

and as many of them differ widely in their origin, so also do many vary largely in their meaning from time to time. Thus, what was intended for our service may become, and often does become, our master. Thus, oftentimes it comes to pass that men become involved in angry controversy through some mere verbal misunderstanding, having taken the same word in different senses, and never thinking to ask for mutual explanation. And this, which is a fruitful source of trouble in private life, in society, in science and in art, becomes a far more serious evil in theology. In days of intense activity and energy eager spirits get involved in some partisan action before they have had time or opportunity to inquire into the various meanings of the terms which they are using. Then, regarding themselves as the chosen instruments of Heaven for reviving some so-called catholic practice, or for entering some protest against something which is unfamiliar to them, they soon lose the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Confusion, strife, ill-will, rear their baleful heads.

"Ephraim envies Judah, and Judah vexes Ephraim," while the common enemies of mankind are emboldened to carry on their destructive work. Doubts and denials of the faith, evil living, with its attendant shame and misery, take courage when they see the forces which should restrain them engaged in tearing one another in pieces. The forty-and-two thousand of the men of Ephraim who fell at the passages of Jordan through calling Shibboleth "Sibboleth" are a handful compared with Christians of the latter days who have perished through variations in theological terms.

Among the words which have wrought destruction, one is especially connected with the great and distinctive act of Christian worship—the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—the word "Mass." It is of uncertain origin. It cannot be traced to the earliest ages of the Church. First, as to its origin. The Hebrew derivation מַסָּה—Reuchlin's theory—may be dismissed with Gerard Voss's observations that no Hebrew theological terms find their way into Latin save through Greek, and that there is no corresponding Greek word; moreover, that the word does not occur in Tertullian and others likely to have received words from a Jewish source. In later Latin the termination *io*, through laziness, often degenerated into *a*. Thus, S. Cyprian¹ uses *remissa* for *remissio*. In this way some derive *missa* from *missio*, for *dimissio*: "Ite, missa est"—*i. e.*, "dimissio fidelium." But about a century afterwards we find a most important instance of *missa*, which does not

¹ Ep. LXXIII.

confirm this derivation. S. Ambrose, writing to his sister Marcellina,¹ is describing the attempts made to seize the Christian basilicas. Despite the riot, he will not be disturbed in his service. "Ego tamen in munere mansi, missam facere cepi. Dum offero, raptum connovi a populo Castulum quendam. . . ." He would hardly have said, "I began to make the dismissal." Also the dedicatory use of *offero* by such writers as Prudentius² and Sulpicius Severus³ seem to justify the Eucharistic interpretation of *missa* here. At the same time, there are other derivations and uses, quoted by Gerard Voss, Bingham, and others, which do not appear Eucharistic. If *missa* be a degenerate form of *missio* for *dimissio*, it ceases to create either reverence or horror. But if the Ambrosian use conveys the meaning of the Victim offered, our thoughts may turn undistracted to the one perfect and sufficient Sacrifice, incapable of repetition, offered on Calvary once for all (*ἅπαξ προσερχθείς*, Heb. ix. 28) for the sins of the world and of each of us. Here enters the variable word "sacrifice," variable rather in its later usage, for all earlier instances are narrowed from its etymology, which might include many outward acts of worship, to that which was the great central act, the slaying of a victim, in ratifying a covenant, or offering propitiation for sin. And in this sense the use of the word in connection with the Lord's Supper seems free from ambiguity. For no one would say that, in the strict letter, we offer a sacrifice at the Lord's Supper. No life has been destroyed at that ceremony, and by the operation of it. So an eminent writer of the last century, Archbishop Potter, when he uses the expression "commemorative Sacrifice," at once corrects himself, and says, "or, rather, commemoration of a Sacrifice."

Most catch-words and party designations have undergone many a twist from their original meaning, a fate quite good enough for them; but it is a different thing when we come to words of the most profound significance, and yet in different utterances having different significance. This is indeed a dangerous ground to tread. A suggestion, however, may be made—one that in the prevailing distraction may work good, and cannot well work harm. Let collections of the words in question be made from the Fathers and other ancient writers. It would then be seen what a delusion the "one word, one meaning" doctrine is. Truth would then begin to shine forth, not one-coloured, indeed, but varied as the rays of the

¹ II. 853, Bened. Ed., II. 154, Froben. ; Ep. XXXIII.

² Cath., V. 150.

³ Dial., II. 2.

same light when they have fallen on the facets of a diamond. Controversialists would see what there is to be endured in the views of their opponents.

Many verily are words of this character. One will here suffice for mention. A full collection of the word *substance* as it occurs in the Christian writings of the first three centuries might do something to dispel the evil passions which that wonderful word and its compounds in especial have raised in our unhappy world. To trace *substantia*, a post-Augustan word, we must, of course, go back to its Greek origin, *ὑπόστασις*, a commonplace word enough in its early uses, for sediment in liquid or foundation for a building. In the hands of Aristotle, however, it began to assume the meaning which greatly concerns us, that of a certain invisible, intangible reality, which underlies (I wish I could say understands, for then I should be on the Aristotelian lines) all matter and every collection of matter. Not that it exclusively at any time possessed this philosophical meaning, but it was so held as to be easily transmitted to *substantia*. With regard to this all-important word and its English representative *substance*, there seem to be traces of two distinct phases of meaning—one material, the other Aristotelian and immaterial. For the former Tertullian says, “*substantia . . . coronarum flores agri*”;¹ in the Vulgate of Ps. lxxix. 2 and lxxxix. 15 it reverts to the “standing-ground” meaning of *ὑπόστασις*, the word in the Septuagint; while in later days a material sense is used by Lord Bacon, and by Locke and Bishop Stillingfleet, as it seems to me, in their controversy. An early instance of the immaterial use may be found in Arnobius,² where it may be regarded as equivalent to *οὐσία*, as it is in the Latin translation of St. Clement of Alexandria (of whatever antiquity this translation may be), where the words *ἀσώματόν τι* are clear for an immaterial sense. A reminder that in the Nicene Creed *consubstantialis* is the rendering of *ὁμοούσιος* will suffice to show an authoritative interchange of the two words. St. Augustine has the words “*substantia Dei*.”³ In later days Aquinas says: “*Anima est forma substantialis homines*,” while references for the immaterial use can be given from Sir Thomas Browne,⁴ Cudworth,⁵ Locke, and Gibbon.⁶ The material use, is of course, the popular one. I asked a friend lately what he considered the substance of Magna Charta. He immediately replied that it signified the parchment and ink with which it was written; to which I answered that the

¹ De Cor. Mil., V.

³ Comm. in S. Joh. i. 1.

⁵ Thesis for B.D., 1624.

² Adv. Gentes., VII. 28, l. 22.

⁴ Rel. Med., 33, 36.

⁶ C. viii.

same ink, differently arranged, on the same parchment might mean his death-warrant. I shall gratefully receive any instances of *substantia*, or its cognates or derivatives.

Few words have wrought more havoc in the Christian world than that ancient and glorious appellation *catholic*, a word used while yet the Bishop of Rome was content to be a Bishop among Bishops. Whereas it meant "universal," how often now do we find it used of some custom or some expression peculiar to a special time and place. For such time and such place, doubtless, it had its good and right use; but those who so used it are silent about its universality. The want of sympathy with the mental constitution of those whose taste for externals differs from ours leads frequently to bitter controversy. Who shall set a limit to these things? Is it not become necessary for Christian men to recognise that our Lord lived and died for men of all temperaments? To some God has given the faculty of being largely influenced by outer objects. From others, gifted with perhaps keener abstract ability, this is in part withheld. Surely we should learn a little self-denial in the regulation of our temperaments, and to say, in the words of the Apostle: "*All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.*" In this spirit the lover of externals would moderate his action if he felt that it caused his brother to offend. In the same spirit, he that loves them not would refrain his tongue from expressions of contempt, lest insult should breed insult. And one piece of advice may be given—*never overstate your case.* Unquestionably this has been done in calling the ceremonial use of incense a catholic practice. Here I would quote, out of a considerable selection of passages, one from Tertullian, who writes thus to a heathen adversary:

"For as you ought to show why you give incense to the gods, so also it follows that you should make it plain that the gods have some cause why they do not reject it, not to say why they so earnestly desire it. Someone will say, perhaps, 'We honour the gods by it.' But we do not require your feeling, but that of the gods; nor do we ask what is done by you, but what is required by them." And then, after the manner of the Christian apologists of his day, analyzing the material of incense, he shows that such corporeal matters ought not to be offered to an incorporeal God.

Now, whether the views of this ancient Christian apologist are to be accepted or rejected, one thing is clear—that at the time of his writing his treatise the use of incense in Christian worship was unknown in his part of the world (North Africa) about the time of the great Nicene Council; so that the word *catholic* seems quite inapplicable to its use.

This is not the only instance of the quiet assumption of such high-sounding words. I say nothing for or against the use of incense in itself. It may be capable of being defended on other grounds. All I plead for is that it should not be defended on a false ground.

All symbolism is liable to abuse. Indeed, symbols are a kind of dumb language, and thus liable to misuse, even as uttered sounds.

Upward through symbolism the human soul has been raised to the knowledge of an unseen God; downward through symbolism it has sunk into mere materialism.

J. J. RAVEN.

FRESSINGFIELD VICARAGE,
SUFFOLK.



ART. VIII.—AN OCTOGENARIAN'S VIEW OF THE RITUALISTIC DISPUTE.

THE peculiarity of the position of one who is an octogenarian, and something more, in relation to our unhappy divisions, consists in this: that his memory carries him back to the period before the thirties—that is, to the rise of the Oxford School of theology, out of which was developed the ritualistic party. The writer has thus a clear recollection of the state of the Church before the rise of the present disputes. There were then two distinct parties, the old High Church or orthodox, as they perhaps preferred to call themselves, and the Evangelical or Low Church. The High Church element often consisted in little more than an extreme dislike of every form of Dissent, while the Low Church principle was mainly seen in a tendency to fraternize with Dissent, or at least with those whom they regarded as orthodox Dissenters. But it was in their theological views that the difference between the two parties was chiefly apparent, the so-called orthodox preacher, while giving a cold assent to the doctrine of the Trinity, contenting himself for the most part with moral teaching, dreading all approach to enthusiasm. The Evangelical, on the other hand, insisted much on personal religion, on justification by faith in the Atonement by the Son of God, and on the direct influence of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of the sinner, and in a continuous process of sanctification. The difference between the two parties within the sacred buildings was apparent only in the utterances from the pulpit. There were doubtless two opposite doctrines on the efficacy of the sacraments, the one resting it on the mere *opus*

operatum, the other making it dependent on the faith of the recipient; but the form of administration of the Sacraments was subject to no alteration. The order of Divine Service was practically the same in all churches; the morning service on Sunday consisted of Matins with Litany, followed by the Communion Service with Sermon. The Holy Communion, however, was ordinarily administered not oftener than once a month; and on these occasions the non-communicants usually left the church at the conclusion of the sermon, the result of which was that the Communion proper came to be considered as commencing with the reading of the offertory sentences, and on non-Communion Sundays the morning service was supposed to end with the close of the sermon. The administration of the Lord's Supper at any other time, except in the case of private Communion, was quite unknown. Nor were there any party distinctions in the matter of music and singing. Every congregation availed itself of the best music it could secure, but the singing was confined to the metrical psalms and hymns, and chanting was only introduced at a later date, and then it was not connected with any theological differences, for it was adopted in some Dissenting chapels as well as in churches.

During the thirties the publication of the "Tracts for the Times" went gradually on, and more and more attracted the attention of religious circles and of the public press. The excitement was intensified by the avowal of one of the writers, published after his death by his friends—"We must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation"—and was brought to a head by a treatise undertaking to show that all the Thirty-nine Articles may be rightly subscribed by a man holding all Roman doctrine. It is not to be wondered at that ordinary Churchmen were thus disposed to look with suspicion upon a movement which led to such a result, and even to distrust High Churchmen, who only partially accepted it. In this way even a strict adherence to the rubrics was regarded with disfavour. It is, of course, a particular rubric—that known as the "Ornaments Rubric"—which forms the basis of the ritualistic position. We all agree that it is rightly made a point of conscience to "submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," and there is no doubt that this rubric has the full authority, both of Church and State, having been passed with the rest of the Prayer-Book by both Houses of Convocation in both the provinces of Canterbury and York, and having been made an Act of Parliament by the united consent of Kings, Lords, and Commons. But in order to obey this law, we must first ascertain its meaning. There are three words

in it which demand careful examination—*such, retained, and shall*. It will be noticed that no particular ornament or ceremony is mentioned, but only a class of ornaments defined by the word *such*, and to explain what these are we are referred to an old Act of Parliament passed more than a hundred years previously. Next we notice that the ornaments thus referred to are to be *retained*. Now, by “retain” we mean keeping something we already possess, not recovering something which has been lost. We should therefore naturally assume that the ornaments in question would be those actually in use, at least, up to the time of the abrogation of the royal authority by the usurpation of Cromwell. Otherwise the word “restore” or “revive” would have been employed instead of “retain.” Lastly, the word *shall* implies compulsion, not permission; and it is evident that an Act of Uniformity must have been intended by the authorities both of Church and State to establish one uniform method of Divine worship, both in words and in ceremonies.

In these remarks I am making no attempt to define the meaning of the rubric; my point is rather that it cannot be defined by any individual, lay or clerical, but only by the proper authorities in Church and State, with the assistance of experts in law and history. Looking back upon the history of the past seventy years, I cannot help feeling that had it not been for the many innovations in ritual which have ticketed many Churches as *High*, we should have avoided much of the discord which now prevails. Certainly there have not been wanting signs of an approximation between the parties; for the High Church have become more Evangelical in their teaching, and the Low Church have shown more regard for ecclesiastical organization. I may mention in this connection that it was to the *Christian Observer* (about the year 1840), a recognised organ at that day of the Evangelicals, that I was indebted for my first apprehension of the important place which the Convocations of the clergy have always held in our constitution, and the need of their revival for the due self-government of the Church. It was also to a pronounced Evangelical, the father of the present Dean of Arches, that I was indebted for a book which impressed upon me the Scriptural authority for episcopacy, and it was the Evangelical Milner's Church History which first led me to value the early Fathers.

We have been groping all along after better methods of bringing face to face persons of opposite opinions for the open discussion of differences.

By the revival of the rural deaneries and the ruri-decanal chapter; by the creation of diocesan conferences, with both clerical and lay representatives from each deanery; by the

regular meetings of the Convocations of clergy, and the establishment beside them of consultative houses of laymen, and by the informal discussion of Church Congresses, we have been gradually educated towards a comprehension of corporate Church life.

But such corporate life is surely impossible so long as each individual priest makes it a point of conscience to regulate his practice by his own interpretation of an obscure rubric, and by his conception of what is consistent with the claims of Catholicity. There remains the hope that if it be found possible to construct an assembly representative of the whole national Church, both lay and clerical, the voice of such a body may by all, except extreme Churchmen, be accepted as conclusive.

J. B. ANSTED, M.A.

Notices of Books.

A Soul's Emancipation: a Record of Personal Experiences. By FRANÇOIS F. GRANJON. Translated from the French by ROBERT COLQUHOUN FAITHFULL, M.A. With an Introduction by the Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A., Chancellor of Llandaff Cathedral. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. xiii + 207. 5s.

The author of this volume, M. Granjon, formerly a Roman Catholic priest, is now pastor in the Reformed Church of France at Puys S. Martin. His narrative, originally published under the title of "Le Roman d'une Conscience," is understood to represent in all essential respects his own history. It describes the education for the priesthood of the son of a factory overlooker in a provincial town, begun when the boy was eleven years of age, and systematically carried on through its successive stages till the time of his ordination. An interesting account is given of the young priest's life in various spheres of work, and of the circumstances under which, at the end of nine years, he finally resolved to declare himself a Protestant. Chancellor Lias, in a vigorously written introduction, emphasizes the moral of the story as showing the evil effects of the seminary system on those subjected to it, reducing the individual into a part of a vast machine, with neither a will nor a motive power of his own. He points out the danger of the attempts made in some quarters at home to copy in a certain measure Roman methods, with a view to filling up deficiencies in the ranks of our clergy, by the selection of youths from national schools, and their isolation at an early age for a purely professional (or even semi-monastic) training. We would add that M. Granjon's story discloses two other crying evils, one of them being the mischief done by garbled text-books in which the true history of Christian doctrines and institutions is suppressed. The other is the immense loss that France

has sustained in having no independent National Church, for the Roman Church in that country is to all intents and purposes a foreign tyranny, and those who would break with the Papacy are without a centre of unity round which they can rally. We agree with Chancellor Lias that there is a sad want of sympathy in England with Reform movements on the Continent, due partly to ignorance of the religious situation. The publication of this work should help to make the state of things better known.

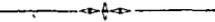
John Knox: his Ideas and Ideals. By the Rev. JAMES STALKER, D.D., Professor of Church History, United Free College, Aberdeen. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. viii + 250. Price 6s.

The four hundredth anniversary of John Knox's birth, to be celebrated this year, cannot but reawaken interest in his life and work. Let us hope that the ecclesiastical disputes at present running high in Scotland will not interfere to mar the commemoration. Professor Stalker, in view of the event, has provided in the present volume a good popular account of the Reformer, based chiefly upon his own writings, a standard edition of which was published some fifty years ago by Dr. David Lang. Those who would really learn what manner of man he was must study him there. It is not generally known that Knox, who was in priest's Orders, refused the offer of an English bishopric made by Edward VI. His name appears with those of Grindal, Thomas Lever, and the martyr Bradford on the list of the King's chaplains in 1551. The earlier part of his life is shrouded in obscurity. He had already reached middle age when he came under the influence of George Wishart, his sympathy with the avengers of Wishart's death involving him in the fate of transportation to France and consignment to the galleys. After his escape he found shelter in England, then in Germany and Switzerland, and he was only able to settle down again in his native country in 1559, when he at once began to take a leading part in the settlement of the Reformation. Of the nobility and gentry belonging to the Protestant party, who were known as the lords of the congregation, few had ever been outside Scotland. The ministers of the Kirk were essentially parochial, and Knox's influence was largely due to the knowledge of the world he had acquired during his exile, as well as to his acquaintance with leading English and Continental Reformers. These advantages, added to his natural gifts and indomitable courage, rendered him a welcome ally. But in England he would have been a much smaller person, overshadowed by others; neither would a Tudor Sovereign have endured to be addressed in the language he used to Mary Stuart. For the mission amongst his countrymen to which God called him he was eminently fitted, and it is remarkable that his real life-work extended over no more than fourteen years. Dr. Stalker gives copious extracts from his writings, which are largely autobiographical, and these show him to have been no visionary, but a man full of faith and practical wisdom. Scotchmen of all classes may well do honour to his memory, for they owe him an immense debt, and others besides Scotch people may

learn a lesson from his history. Knox's own description of the scene when he was put on his defence before the Council ought to have been given, for it was a striking episode, and Knox relates it inimitably in his own quaint fashion.

Some Difficulties in the Life of Our Lord. By REV. G. S. COCKIN, M.A.
London: Elliot Stock. Pp. vi+185. 4s. 6d.

Mr. Cockin's idea is an exceedingly good one, and his plan is well executed on the whole, though several paragraphs in his book stand in need of a careful revision, and a chapter on the Ascension contains inaccuracies which are due to the fact that it has been insufficiently thought out. On page 169, in a quotation from Prebendary Row, an accidental omission of the negative destroys the sense, and Mr. Cockin should not have placed the incident related in St. John viii. 1-11 among the events of the last week in our Lord's life without explaining why he does so. The work consists of short readings upon passages in the Gospels that present real or apparent difficulty, and the different explanations which have been given of them are discussed. People to whom large commentaries may be inaccessible will find these studies a help, for they summarize the views of many leading expositors, and are fuller and less technical than ordinary notes. Mr. Cockin does not profess to be more than a compiler, drawing his materials from various sources, and disclaims in his preface credit for originality; but his chapters are certainly the fruit of much painstaking labour. Revision of a portion of the contents and the addition of an index would render his book still more useful.



CORRECTION.

IN the article on "Science and Revelation" in last month's number, owing to delay in verifying the citations from Sir Oliver Lodge's writings, a correction of one of these was unfortunately too late for insertion. The sentence on p. 137, "It may be that science sees only one half because it is blind to the other half," does not occur in Sir Oliver Lodge's article, but the sense of it is contained in the following passage:

"Let us take this question of *guidance*. We must see it in action now or never. Do we see it now? Orthodox theology vaguely assumes it; orthodox science sees it not at all. What is the truth? Is the blindness of science subjective or objective? Is the vision absent because there is nothing to see, or because we have shut our eyes, and have declined to contemplate a region of dim and misty fact?"

The title of the article cited should read "The Reconciliation between Science and Faith," *Hibbert Journal*, vol. i., pp. 218, 219, 227.

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