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THE
CHURCHMAN

FEBRUARY, 1899.

ART. I.—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRREGULAR ORDINATION: CRANMER TO COSIN; AND 1569 TO 1820.

AT the Church Congress held at Nottingham in 1897 a speaker ventured to say, during the discussion on "The Church and Dissent," that the mind of the Church of England on non-Episcopal ordination was, to recognise its validity whilst regretting its irregularity. Immediately that statement was loudly challenged, and the speaker was compelled to give some proofs of his statement. Owing to the length of time allowed being only six minutes, he could give only a few facts in the way of proof. After the discussion, as well as during it, he discovered that many of those present were not aware of the facts of the case, and he was asked if he would state the case more fully in another form. The following will, it is hoped, be of assistance to those who wish to form a correct view of the case.

We may ascertain the mind of the Church of England on the subject before us by considering her documents, the expressed opinions of her leading divines at the time of the Reformation and after, and her actions, official and authoritative. Her documents which deal in any way with the subject are the Articles (19th, 23rd, and 36th), the Preface to the Ordinal, the Canons, and "A Prayer for the estate of Christ's Church to be used on Sundays." In the Articles mentioned there is not one word which directly or by implication condemns non-Episcopal ordination as invalid, nor is Episcopacy stated to be necessary to the being of a true Church. In the 19th and 23rd Articles Episcopacy is not so much as mentioned, and the 23rd Article would equally define the validity of a Lutheran ministry as an Episcopal ministry. The history of that Article and of the other two

proves that, in defining a valid Christian ministry, our Reformers were most anxious not to unchurch the Reformed Churches of the Continent. The general words of the 23rd Article, "Of Ministering in the Congregation," seem to have been designed to exclude some "hotter spirits" who would have framed a narrower definition, according to Bishop Burnet on the 23rd Article. On this point Bishop Harold Browne's statement is significant and important. He says: "The latter portion of the Article [the 23rd] is somewhat vaguely worded, the reason for which is easily traced to the probable fact that the original draft of the Article was agreed on in a conference between Anglican and Lutheran divines." The evidence is most strong that our divines met the divines of non-Episcopal Churches in conference upon the Article, and agreed upon the mutually inclusive definition of ministering in the congregation contained in that Article. Thomas Rogers, who was chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, in his exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, which was published with the sanction of the Archbishop, deduces from the 23rd Article six propositions, all of which were maintained by the non-Episcopal Churches of the Continent.

The prayer ordered in 1580 and the 55th Canon go to show that the Church of England, at least at the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, recognised by implication the validity of non-Episcopal ordination. The prayer runs thus in one part: "And herein [good Lord] by special name we beseech Thee for the Churches of France, Flanders, and of such other places; help them after their long troubles as Thou shalt see to be best for them, in the advancing of Thine own glory" (see "Liturgical Services, Queen Elizabeth," Parker Society edit., p. 578). The 55th Canon is more explicit. In it we find these words: "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers . . . shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church; that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Here the Church of Scotland is declared to be a part of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. This Canon was drawn up in 1603. Now, at that time "the Church of Scotland" was Presbyterian. In 1592 and 1597 it was officially acknowledged such. Episcopacy had been banished from Scotland completely, and was not re-introduced until 1610, seven years after the 55th Canon was drawn up. So it is evident, as far as this Canon can show it, that the mind of the Church of England recognises the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and thereby, of course, of non-Episcopal ordination. The

language of the Preface to the Ordinal is not so explicit; yet it is carefully worded, so as not to pronounce invalid other than Episcopal ordination. It does not say that Episcopacy is of Divine command, but simply that, "It is evident unto all men reading the holy Scripture and ancient authors that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." Here is not a word about the invalidity of other orders. The Preface states a fact of history, that from the Apostles' times there has been Episcopacy, and declares that that is the order "in the Church of England." I affirm that a dispassionate consideration of the documentary evidence leads to the conclusion that since the Reformation the Church of England has recognised the validity of non-Episcopal ordination. The evidence to be gathered from the expressed opinions of her leading and representative divines confirms strongly this conclusion. Bishop Burnet says that not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of this Church (of England) for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the foreign Churches so constituted to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church. Dr. Stillingfleet declares that Archbishop Cranmer stated that "the election of pastors by the people is the true and only ordination which God approves of, unless the people do extend their power above the civil magistrate; that notwithstanding this, election cannot be made without their consent" (quoted by Louis du Moulin in his "Short and True Account," p. 52). Dr. Stillingfleet had possession of Archbishop Cranmer's MSS., which show that he did not regard Martyr, Bucer, or Fagius as "mere laymen," and that he did not desire them to receive Episcopal orders in order that they might be capable of receiving ecclesiastical preferment. What Bishop Ridley thought upon the subject is evident from his frequent prayer on behalf of the Reformed Churches. He "used to make prayer to God for all those Churches abroad through the world which have forsaken the kingdom of Antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (Ridley's Works, Parker Society, p. 393).

Archbishop Whitgift had to defend the Church of England against the charge that Episcopacy is *unlawful*. In doing so, he uses these words: "It is plain that any one certain form or kind of external government, perpetually to be observed, is nowhere in the Scripture prescribed to the Church. . . . This is the opinion of the best writers, neither do I know any learned man of a contrary judgment" (Parker Society edit., vol. iii., p. 215). It is asserted, however, that Whitgift's action against Travers is a proof that he believed in

the necessity of Episcopal ordination. But it can be shown that the Archbishop opposed Travers' ordination, not because it was Presbyterian in form, but because it was *foreign*. Travers did not belong to any of the foreign churches, but he went over to the Continent deliberately to receive their ordination. This Whitgift considered wrong and irregular, though he did not deny the validity of non-Episcopal ordination. He called Beza his "dearest brother in God," and in many ways treated him as a fellow-minister, and his disciples as a true Church. Strype, in his Third Book, especially in the Appendices XII. and XXX., throws much light on the Travers affair.

Bishop Pilkington of Durham was one of our divines who settled our Articles. His opinion is material. In his Works (Parker Society, p. 493) he says: "The privileges and superiorities which Bishops have above other ministers are rather granted by man, for maintaining of better order and quietness in commonwealths, than commanded by God in His Word." Some time after Bishop Pilkington's death appeared the "Elaborate and Seasonable Works of the Famous and Prudent Mr. Richard Hooker," whose works Charles I. "commended to His Dear Children as an excellent means to satisfy Private Scruples and settle the Publick Peace of this Church and Kingdom." However men may have abandoned Hooker in these days, there is no doubt that, during his lifetime and for many long years afterwards, he was regarded by all as representing in his writings the mind of the Church of England. He has much to say on Episcopacy, especially in his Seventh Book. The limits of an article will not allow of my quoting fully from it, but there is a statement in Section 14 of that book which I must quote: "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow Ordination without a Bishop." In two ways, he says, it may be done. "One is, when God Himself doth of Himself raise up any, whose labour He useth without requiring that men should authorize them." "Another extraordinary kind of vocation is, when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep. Where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath, nor can have possibly, a Bishop to ordain: in case of such necessity, the ordinary Institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give, place. And therefore we are not simply, without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of Bishops in every effectual Ordination." Here Hooker distinctly states that ordination made, under certain circumstances, without a Bishop, is allowable, therefore valid. A few years after Hooker quietly and happily resigned his life,

trusting in the merits of Jesus Christ, at peace with God, and at peace with all men, we find another representative divine—Bishop Andrewes—corresponding with Du Moulin the elder in France on the same subject which had occupied the attention of Hooker. He was not altogether pleased with the attack which he conceived was made by Du Moulin on Episcopacy in his work, “*De la Vocation des Pasteurs.*” He wrote Du Moulin several Latin letters, in one of which occur these words: “The path you have entered on can scarcely please your people without displeasing ours; nor, if our form of Church government is of Divine order, does it either follow there is no salvation without it, or that a Church cannot stand without it. He must be blind who does not see Churches keep their position without it, and made of iron who denies it. We are not such hearts of iron.” Still more decided is the following statement in his third letter: “And each of the great men you mention, Calvin and Beza—what were they whilst they lived, but verily and truly bishops, only without the name?” Though Bishop J. Hall’s statement upon the traditional opinion of Anglican divines is well known, I venture to repeat it here, because it is an important link in a long chain of evidence. “Blessed be God!” he exclaims; “there is no difference in any essential matter betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. . . . The only difference is in the form of outward administration, wherein also we are so far agreed, as we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church, though much importing the well or better being of it, according to our several apprehension thereof.”

Not to be wearisome, I will quote only one more divine, though many others could be quoted. Bishop Cosin is held in high respect by many in our Church who take an exclusive view of Orders. In a letter dated “Paris, February 7, 1650” (*vide* “*Ang. Cath. Lib.*,” Cosin’s Works, vol. iv., p. 403), writing to “One Mr. Cordel, then at Blois,” to remove his scruples as to communicating with the Protestants on account of “their in disorderly ordination,” he tells him that French Reformed ministers were admitted to English charges without reordination. He goes on to say: “If on this ground [their non-Episcopal ordination] we renounce the French, we must for the same reason renounce all the ministers of Germany besides (for the superintendents that make and ordain ministers there have no new ordination beyond their own presbytery at all); and then what will become of the Protestant party?” Then comes his advice: “Considering there is no prohibition of our Church against it (as there is against our communicating with the Papists, and that well grounded upon the Scripture and will

of God), I do not see but that both you and others that are with you may (either in case of necessity, when you cannot have the sacrament among yourselves, or in regard of declaring your unity in professing the same religion, which you and they do) go otherwhiles to communicate reverently with them of the French Church." Here Cosin clearly admits that men who had Presbyterian ordination were capable of "duly ministering the Sacraments." Thus, we have seen a continuous stream of representative Anglican divines from Cranmer to Cosin held and taught that, though non-Episcopal ordination is irregular, it is valid. The force of this continuous opinion cannot be denied or lightly turned aside. But in addition to our documents and the declared opinions of our leading divines, there is a series of Ecclesiastical Acts, dating from the time of Queen Elizabeth down to the year 1820, which show conclusively that the Church of England has recognised the validity of non-Episcopal ordination. To recite all the Acts in this series would take up far too much space, so I must be content with mentioning the most salient. We might begin with an incident earlier than Elizabeth's time, and dwell upon Archbishop Cranmer's act in appointing Bucer and Fagius Professors at Cambridge in 1549; but let our initial date be 1569. In that year Bishop Horne presided over the diocese of Winchester. In March of the same year the Crown transferred formally Guernsey and the other Channel Islands to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester. From twenty to thirty parishes were added to his diocese, with the churches and ministers thereof. Who were those ministers? French Reformed clergy, who had not received Episcopal ordination, and were received by Bishop Horne without being reordained in the autumn of 1569. Their doctrine, discipline, and modes of worship were Presbyterian, and continued to be so until a very late date. During a period of 251 years the Bishops of Winchester instituted into livings ministers who had not received Episcopal ordination. It may be thought by some that such acts were confined to the Channel Islands; such, however, is not the case. Dr. Adrian à Savaria is a most interesting character in the history of our Church, and will always be remembered, if only because of his intimate friendship with Hooker, the very secrets of whose soul he is said to have known. He was a Continental Protestant minister. From his "Defence," in answer to Beza's reply to a former work of his, it is evident he was not Episcopally ordained, but that he was a Reformed minister in communion with the Church of England, and that he deemed the Church of England and other Churches essentially one. He was a very able man, with agreeable manners.

In 1591 he received an appointment in the Church of England, being made a Prebendary of Gloucester without being reordained. The Cathedral ordination records of Gloucester for the time make no mention of his having been reordained. He was afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury and then of Westminster. He it was who administered the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ to Hooker, after a short retirement and privacy, when Hooker was dying. This beautiful and touching incident is not without its bearing upon our subject. A still more memorable and instructive act was the consecration of Bishops for Scotland in 1610, for the Sees of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway. Three Scottish ministers, in obedience to the royal summons, came to Court in September of that year. On October 21 they were met by the Bishops of London, Ely (Andrewes), and Bath at the Chapel of London House, who proceeded to consecrate them. Previously, Bishop Andrewes asked the question whether the three ministers should be reordained before being consecrated. Archbishop Bancroft answered that there was "no necessity, seeing when Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches." Other Bishops endorsed this; Andrewes acquiesced, and the consecration took place (*vide* Spotswood's "History of the Church of Scotland," Book VII.).

Keble's admission in his Preface to Hooker is: "Nearly up to the time when he (Hooker) wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian ordination." That is a conclusive admission; but Keble could have gone further, and have acknowledged that even after Hooker's time such were so admitted. Peter du Moulin, who had only Presbyterian ordination, was made Prebendary of Canterbury in 1615, twelve years after Hooker's death, and the year following he administered the Holy Communion to James I. Even Charles I., in 1638, made Dr. Beauvais, who had not Episcopal ordination, Rector of Wittingham. About the same time Dr. Laune, Calendius, and others, with only Presbyterian orders, performed Divine service in English churches; and in 1660 Peter du Moulin the younger was made chaplain to Charles II. and Prebendary of Canterbury. There is another incident in Du Moulin's history which is of great importance in interpreting the meaning of the Act of Uniformity. Before discussing it, we must face the order in the Act of Uniformity which directs that none shall be instituted into cures and officiate in the Church of England unless he be Episcopally ordained. The Act was not a decree of Convocation, but

purely one of the *civil* Legislature, and was passed by the Cavalier Parliament which met on May 8, 1661, made up for the most part of young men, whose "bearing was that of wild revolt against the Puritan past," Green tells us. Roger Pepys says of them that they seemed a following of "the most profane, swearing fellows that ever I heard in my life." It is true that a change was made in the wording of the Preface to the Ordination Service; but no one can fairly say that the change in the words or the Act itself involves the denial of the validity of the orders of the Reformed Churches.

The new requirement was strictly a *legal* requirement of the State as a condition of tenure of a Church of England benefice. There are many reasons for coming to this conclusion, and for believing that the requirement had neither a doctrinal motive nor meaning. In the Act there is a provision of exemption which runs thus: "Provided that the Penalties in this Act shall not extend to the Foreigners or Aliens of the Foreign Reformed Churches, allowed, or to be allowed, by the King's Majesty, His Heirs and Successors in England." We have the same underlying idea here as that which operated in Travers' case. He was condemned by Whitgift, as we have seen, because, being an Englishman, he went to Antwerp for ordination. Had he been a foreigner, with foreign ordination, he would have been allowed to continue preaching in the afternoons at the Temple. The same thought is in the Act of 1662—Episcopal ordination for Englishmen in the English Church, without denying the validity of non-Episcopal ordination in other Reformed churches. At this point the incident I referred to in the history of Peter du Moulin the younger is instructive. In 1662 we find him still possessing only Presbyterian orders. In November of that year he, nevertheless, is instituted Rector of Adisham and Staple. Why was this done, seeing the Act of Uniformity had been put into operation? In my opinion there is only one satisfactory answer, which proceeds upon the lines of the above explanation. In this case the intrinsic validity of his ordination was acknowledged because, as a foreigner, he had been ordained out of England, and had disobeyed no law of England in being so ordained. After his time others, bearing foreign names, with foreign Presbyterian orders, received preferment in the Church of England. Somewhere about 1682, Samuel de l'Angle, a Reformed pastor from France, was made Prebendary of Westminster. Wood says Peter Allix, minister of the Reformed Church at Rouen, was made Canon of Windsor about 1690. Another Canon of Windsor who was not reordained was John Mesnard, chaplain of William of Orange. We have no record

of any voice, either through Convocation, or from the Bishops, or from anyone, against these appointments. In the Channel Islands, which still continued part of the diocese of Winchester, the Act of Uniformity did not "run," and the Bishops of that diocese continued to institute into parishes there ministers who had not received Episcopal ordination. We come to the year 1820 before we find an Episcopally ordained clergyman instituted into a living in the island of Sark. As showing that the Act of Uniformity had a legal and disciplinary motive, and not a doctrinal one, Archbishop Bramhall's answer to those who, after the Restoration, presented themselves when the benefices were called at the Visitation, showing only certificates of Presbyterian ordination, is to be remembered. He told them their certificates "did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church." Whereupon the question immediately arose, "*Are we not ministers of the Gospel?*" To which his Grace answered that "*that was not the question.*" He told them it was a *legal* requirement. Thereupon some of them consented to be reordained. The Primate then stated, in the letters of one Mr. Edward Parkinson, that the reordination did not annihilate any previous Orders, or determine their validity or invalidity. Full particulars of this affair are recorded in Bishop Vesey's "*Life of Primate Bramhall,*" and are quoted in Stubbs's edition of Mosheim's "*Institutes,*" vol. iii., p. 407. Turning from Ireland to Scotland, where the Act of Uniformity did not apply, we find the Scottish Bishops who were consecrated in 1661 exercising jurisdiction over Presbyterian clergy without requiring their reordination, and thus acknowledging the validity of non-Episcopal ordination.

Over the seas we find the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded after 1662, sending out and supporting, with the sanction of the whole bench of Bishops, ministers who had only Presbyterian ordination. The Church Missionary Society did the same, and no objection was raised to the practice, which went on for several generations. Thus, we have seen that there is in our history a record of ecclesiastical Acts, extending from 1569 to 1820, which clearly show, if actions can show, that from the Reformation till the present century the mind of the Church of England has been to recognise the validity of non-Episcopal ordination. The evidence is cumulative, and forms a threefold cord of documents, opinions and deeds which cannot be broken. Into the bearings of the fact on the doctrine of Apostolical succession, or the question of the Church of England and Nonconformity, it is not for me now to enter. I have sought only in this article to establish the fact, and now I ask all who read it to weigh the evidence I have produced fairly and dispassionately.

ART. II.—THE POSITION OF THOSE WHO DO NOT USE VESTMENTS.

SOME apology would seem to be necessary for bringing forward such a well-worn subject as the Ornaments Rubric, but I think it is to be found in the recent appearance of Mr. Tomlinson's work on the Prayer Book.¹ A great deal of new light is thrown on this vexed question by the research and learning of the author, and his views certainly demand consideration by those who are interested in ecclesiastical antiquities and their bearing on present-day practice. In dealing with a question around which so much controversy has raged, a good plan seems to be to state two facts which were admitted by all before the beginning of this contest: (1) The medieval Mass vestments had not been in use at the services of the Church of England since the first year of Queen Elizabeth (1559); (2) there had been ever since the same date a rubric in the Prayer Book which apparently *insisted* on their use. The problem was to reconcile the two. Following the opinion of the great judge who said there would be no safety for property or liberty if it could be successfully contended that all lawyers and statesmen had been mistaken for centuries as to the true meaning of an old Act of Parliament, it was thought by most people that all lawyers, statesmen and bishops could not have been mistaken for 300 years as to the meaning of the enactments which govern the vestments of the clergy. Those who took this view had therefore to cast about for some explanation of the anomalous rubric which would bring it into line with Church practice and tradition. To do this it was necessary to go back to the transitional Prayer Book of 1549. By this Book the vestment (*i.e.*, chasuble), cope, alb, tunicle, pastoral staff, rochet and surplice were all ordered. The Second Prayer Book of Edward appeared in 1552, and contained the matured views of the English Reformers. It is described in the statute which enforced its use as the Book of Common Prayer "faithfully and godly perused," "explained and made fully perfect." In this Book the rubric, which had statutory force, is as follows:

And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministrations, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope, but, being Archbishop or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet, and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.

Such was the law at the date of the death of Edward VI. (1553). Mary's reign then intervened, and the matter was

¹ "The Prayer Book Articles and Homilies: some Forgotten Facts in their History which may decide their Interpretation." By J. T. Tomlinson.

taken up by Elizabeth at the point where the death of Edward left it. An Act of Uniformity was passed in 1559 reviving the Second Prayer Book of Edward, "with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, *and none other or otherwise*" (1 Eliz., c. 2, s. 3). By the following section (s. 4) penalties are enacted, and it is clear that, under Sections 3 and 4 of the Act of Elizabeth, the priest or deacon was bound, under heavy penalties, to wear at all times of his ministrations "a surplice only."

It may be as well to remark here that the phrase "surplice only" obviously does not exclude secular or academic dress by custom worn with the surplice; thus, hoods, black tippets or scarves (often improperly called "black stoles"), badges of various orders, masonic insignia, square caps carried in the hand, etc., were and are legally used in church. For preaching, which is not a "ministration" within the meaning of the rubric, the surplice may be, and in fact formerly always was, discarded.

But to return to the Act of Elizabeth. In the last section but two (Section 25) is found the proviso which has occasioned all the mischief. It runs as follows:

Such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use, as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm.

This clause admittedly refers to the vestments of 1549, and the general current of expert opinion (including the Privy Council judgment in *Ridsdale v. Clifton*) has considered that the effect of this Section 25 was to substitute, for the time being, the Popish vestments for the surplice at Communion. Mr. Tomlinson, however, takes the view that Section 25 does not deal with the use of vestments in church or at service at all, but is merely a direction as to the disposal of church property no longer required. "The proviso itself," he remarks, "says nothing about the minister or the times of ministration. It had, in fact, nothing to do with either. It had the more prosaic object of reserving for the Queen the goods which, being no longer required by law, would have been wasted or embezzled, as former experience in the days of King Edward had amply demonstrated." There seems to be no difficulty about the word "retain" in this connection, but it may

reasonably be asked what is the explanation of the fact that the proviso directs the old vestments to be retained and *be in use*. Mr. Tomlinson accounts for this in an ingenious and interesting way. The phrase "be in use" is, as he says, "studiously vague." "Use" here means simply employment, utilization. And he continues: "'Sold to the use of the Church,' 'sold to the King's use,' were phrases continually recurring." Of this he gives several examples, amongst others an order of Bishop Horn to the Head of Trinity College, Oxford, to deface censers, etc., and to convert the matter thereof "to the godly use, profit and behoof of your house." The rejected ornaments were still to "be in use" of the churchwardens, or other persons entitled. Another meaning may, however, not unreasonably be attached to the word "use" in the proviso—one well known to lawyers—of "trust." This interpretation would give a similar result to Mr. Tomlinson's, viz., that church ornaments which were no longer legal should be retained and held in trust until other order was taken. The phrase "in use" appears in this sense in the "Merchant of Venice," when Antonio says:

So please my lord the duke and all the court
To quit the fine for one half of his [Shylock's] goods
I am content, so he will let me have
The other half *in use*, to render it
Upon his death unto the gentleman
That lately stole his daughter. (Act IV., Scene 1.)

This was the view actually taken at the date of the passing of the Act by Dr. Sandys (afterwards Archbishop of York and a Royal Commissioner), as is shown by a letter written by him to Dr. Parker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury): "The Parliament draweth towards an end. The last book of service is gone through, with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward, until it please the Queen to take other order for them. Our gloss upon this text is that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen."

The construction thus put upon Section 25 is at least quite as natural as to say that it must be read into Section 3 as a fourth alteration of the Prayer Book of 1552, a course of proceeding very unlike the careful draftsmanship of those days. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the penalties for disobedience mentioned in Section 4 could have been enforced in respect of Section 25.

But now let us turn to the facts, and see what was actually done under the statute of Elizabeth. If the commonly received interpretation be correct, we shall expect to find

that the use (at service) of the popish vestments was enjoined and enforced by those in authority until other order was taken seven years later by the Advertisements. But this was not the case. Mr. Tomlinson says: "Although Elizabeth herself, the Bench, the Bar, and a majority probably of the House of Lords, with a large section of the people, especially of the landed gentry, are supposed to have been in favour of a high ritual, and although very many of the Marian clergy retained their livings, yet we do not find one clear instance of the ritual of 1549 being followed in any one church during the crucial years 1559-1566, when on the received hypothesis all the ornaments of 1549 were required by law." This is a courageous assertion of a negative, and it ought to be easy for those who maintain that the mediæval vestments were at this period not merely legal, but, in fact, the only legal ones, to give some instances of their use; to show, *e.g.*, that some one of the Bishops wore alb and vestment, and carried a pastoral staff at his ministrations; that some of the clergy wore albs and chasubles. But it is not likely that any such evidence will be forthcoming. Even the cope was treated as illegal at this period, though tolerated in a few cases, the rule followed being (as will be seen from instances cited later on) that of the statutory rubric of 1552, *viz.*, rochet for Bishop, for priest or deacon surplice only.

We have next to consider whether the orders issued by the Queen and the Bishops from 1559-1566 agree with this view. By the Injunctions of 1559 Her Majesty was declared to be desirous of having the prelacy and clergy held in reverence, known to the people both *in the church and without*, and consequently they are directed to use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of Edward VI.; and Bishops' visitation articles usually inquire whether the ministers do wear at Divine service the surplice prescribed by the "Injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer," which seems to dispose of the contention that the Injunctions dealt with outdoor costume only. In the year 1564, on March 24, Archbishop Parker, with Bishop Grindal and other Commissioners, sat at Lambeth, when the Chancellor is reported by Strype to have addressed the London clergy as follows: "My masters and the ministers of London. The Council's pleasure is that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel like this man," pointing to the Rev. R. Cole; "that is, a square cap, a scholar's gown (priest-like), a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice, and inviolably observe the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer and the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions." At the visitation in January of the same year, the clergy were

told to wear "in the ministry of the church the surplice only." Instances might easily be multiplied.

Now it is a very curious and anomalous thing that all this while, the rubric of 1552 had been expunged from the copies of the Prayer Book issued in 1559, and a new rubrical note (professedly founded on what has already been shown to be probably a wrong interpretation of Section 25) inserted by the executive. This note is called by Mr. Tomlinson the "fraud rubric," and directs that "the minister, at the time of the Holy Communion, and at all other times in his ministrations, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of Edward VI., according to the Act of Parliament set out in the beginning of this book" (*i.e.*, 1 Eliz. c. 2). The great difference in wording between this "rubric" and the 25th Section already quoted will be evident on comparison, and all that need be said about it is contained in the following passage from the Ridsdale Judgment: "The note or rubric, as pointed out by Bishop Gibson, was not inserted by any authority of Parliament. If it was an accurate summary, it was merely a repetition of the Act. If it was inaccurate or imperfect, the Act, and not the note, would be the governing rule." As a matter of fact, the book was tampered with in other respects, which need not be gone into here, but for which no equivocal wording of a statute can be cited in support.

Now, assuming Mr. Tomlinson's construction of Section 25 to be correct, it will be obvious that the force of that proviso has long since been spent. By virtue of the order actually taken immediately after the passing of the Act, the mediæval vestments were within a comparatively short period either destroyed, defaced, removed or put to other church uses. London was promptly visited, and the result is recorded in Machyn's "Diary" and Grindal's "Register." Everywhere the roods, crosses and altars were pulled down; "so that from Bartholomew-tide, and so forward within a month's time or less, were destroyed all the roods, church images, church goods, with copes, crosses, censers, etc." In 1565 the Commissioners for removing superstitious ornaments told the Bishop of Chester that they had taken away "vestments, altar-cloths, corporas, and other idolatrous gear," and the result of these and other authorities cited by Mr. Tomlinson shows that there had been a general destruction and removal of the very vestments the use of which is supposed to have been enjoined by law. It is strange that we should be asked to believe that these albs and chasubles, which under the direction of Royal Commissioners were being removed or converted into cushions, table-coverings, and surplices, were really re-

quired for use at Divine service. At any rate, it would seem by the date of the Advertisements (1566) all the Popish vestments had practically disappeared, and it may be doubted whether many copes were in use, at service, even in "the greater churches."

Now, on this construction, the Advertisements could not have contained "other order" under Section 25, altering the rubric of 1552; but they may very well have been of statutory force under Section 26, which empowered the Queen with the like advice to ordain and publish "further ceremonies or rites." On this hypothesis the Advertisements, which sanctioned copes in cathedral and collegiate churches, would have effected a raising, not a lowering, of the legal standard of ritual, and that it was so regarded is borne out by contemporary evidence. One Elizabethan writer cited by Mr. Tomlinson, p. 130, puts this as follows: "The article that the minister shall wear a cope with gospeler and pisteler agreeably smelleth of superstition, and as far as I can find both against Her Highness' Injunctions, and besides the Book of Common Prayer."

In short, law and fact may be said to coincide with church tradition in showing that the mediæval vestments abolished in 1552 have (except during the short reign of Queen Mary) remained illegal down to the present day. That no change in the law was intended at the statutory revision in 1662 has been so generally acknowledged that there is no necessity to go into that question here.

BENJAMIN WHITEHEAD.



ART. III.—THE LIFE OF DE LA SALLE,

THE FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

THE Society of the Christian Brothers is much more widely known than the life of its distinguished founder, although to him they chiefly owe the great success of their work as educationalists. He was a man of wonderful sagacity and energy; and, whilst his lot was cast amidst the superstitious gloom of the Church of Rome, this did not prevent him from pursuing, with admirable zeal and self-denial, as the one object of his life, the education of the poor. A sketch of the most striking features of his career may interest our readers, as viewed in connection with the work of his Brotherhood.

Jean Baptiste de la Salle, born at Rheims in 1651, came of a high family ; but when very young he sacrificed his worldly prospects, and gave himself with intense ardour to the service of his Church. He can scarcely be described as a man of brilliant genius, and yet he was endowed with very special gifts of mind and heart, which marked him out for peculiar usefulness. When he was only sixteen he had already won such golden opinions of his piety and ability that he was made Canon of the Cathedral of Rheims. Strange as it may seem nowadays, he was raised to that high dignity before he could have received ordination. With that view, the youthful Canon had to undergo a long course of study in the colleges of Rheims and of St. Sulpice in Paris. Had he been ambitious, he might have easily climbed to higher ecclesiastical eminence ; but he found a more congenial sphere for his talents in the lowly task of teaching poor children, a work in those days little thought of and very inefficiently performed. A lady of fortune, Madame de Maillefer, offered to supply the funds, whilst he applied himself to the organization of the schools.

There was no lack of money or of scholars, but where were the teachers ? They had to be both found and trained. A stern ascetic himself, he thought it necessary to prepare them by a course of rigorous discipline. Accordingly, he took the young men that offered themselves into his own house, a step which mortally offended his family and fellow-townsmen. The rules that he imposed were at first extremely irksome to his pupils. Still, he would not give way, and in order to set them an example of self-denial, in 1683 he resigned his Canonry, divided his private property amongst the poor, and resolved to trust to Providence and to charity for his own support and that of his work.

Beginning with twelve youths suited to his purpose, he formed them into a society to be known as "the Brothers of the Christian Schools," under a perpetual vow of obedience. Gradually others joined them. Schools were opened in other towns besides Rheims, to which they were appointed masters. As the number of candidates increased, he established a normal college for them. After a time the fame of his new institution reached Paris, and its headquarters was transferred to the metropolis, from which, as a centre, it rapidly extended itself.

But the weak point in his system in those days was the morbid asceticism of the principal and his followers. Whilst he practised the severest self-mortification, he compelled the Brothers to live together in a miserable, ill-furnished house, with dilapidated doors and windows, exposed to all the vicissitudes of weather, to sleep on hard boards covered with

a little straw, and to subsist on broken food supplied by charity. His rules were, in fact, so intolerably severe as to call forth loud protests from the public. The Bishop of Chartres, who had received one of their schools into that town, having, on a visit to the Brothers, found hair-shirts and whips in use for self-discipline, carried them away, and forbade such practices, as incompatible with the laborious duties of schoolmasters. The Archbishop of Paris also ordered an inquiry into the matter, and La Salle was compelled to considerably modify his rules.

In spite, however, of the unnatural character of their lives, through the untiring energy and perseverance of La Salle and his followers, a network of schools, not only elementary, but some of a higher grade, was established in the chief towns of France. Their aim was not simply educational, it was also of a distinctly proselytizing nature. They took advantage of the royal statute enacted in 1698, which required all children, particularly those whose parents professed the reformed faith, to attend school and catechizing up to the age of fourteen. To this the Bishop of Alais added a special injunction upon the Calvinists to send their sons to the schools of the Brothers. A conscience clause was a security for liberty unknown in those days, and thus the Brothers were enabled to instil their religious principles into the susceptible minds of the young, without regard to the wishes of parents.

The Jansenists, as well as the Protestants, stoutly opposed La Salle and his work. At Marseilles their resistance was so strong that the Brothers were intending to withdraw. In a very singular way they were induced to remain. A girl, who was supposed to possess a sort of gift of clairvoyance, was the medium employed for the purpose. After communicating, she fell into a trance. When, after some hours, she came out of it, she went to La Salle's confessor, and said to him: "Tell Monsieur de la Salle not to remove the Brothers from Marseilles. They are there now like an imperceptible grain; but it is the mustard-seed of the Gospel, and their work will yield abundant fruit." Acting on this, as if a Divine direction, they continued their work. It would seem that clairvoyance (if it were such) then took a more practical form than it generally assumes in the present day.

On another occasion we are told that this good man evinced similar credulity. In 1713 he was preparing to retire from his work into the monastery of Chartres, when a shepherdess, who had become a recluse, informed him that such was not the will of God, and that he ought not to desert his post. Again he obeyed what he regarded as an intimation from above.

At length, in 1719, worn out by labours, anxieties, and

austerities, he died, at the age of sixty-eight, when he left behind him 281 Brothers, 123 classes, and 9,000 pupils. Even his last days were clouded by conflict with 'his ecclesiastical superiors. At St. Ouen, near Rouen, the Brotherhood had obtained permission to celebrate the Mass in a private chapel; but the curé of the parish objected to this as an intrusion, and, since La Salle would not yield, he was placed under an interdict by the Archbishop of Rouen. These things are worthy of notice as throwing some light on the boasted unity of the Roman Church, when we see what strained relations often existed between the leader of such an important movement within its pale and the ecclesiastical authorities. Nothing, however, succeeds like success, and, although this eminent and zealous educationist was frequently opposed and thwarted by his superiors during his life, after his death the Popes and other dignitaries strove to make amends by lavishing the highest honours upon his memory. Gregory XVI. beatified him, and Pius IX. proposed to canonize him. The words that Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Antony were certainly reversed in this case. It could not be said of La Salle,

The evil that men do lives after them;
The good lies oft interred with their bones.

It is indeed most sad that so noble and single-minded a man should throughout his life have been held in the thralldom of Romish error and superstition; and yet, like many others, he was far better than the system to which he was attached, and the good he did still remains in the world-wide services rendered by his successors to the cause of education. When we compare the methods introduced by him and his colleagues with those now, after nearly two centuries, generally adopted in our elementary schools and in other countries, we are not a little surprised to find in how many points they anticipated modern improvements. Thus, whilst the Brothers' principal aim has always been to impart a strictly religious education according to the principles of their own Church, they have spared no pains in cultivating their minds in the manner best suited to the station in life of their scholars. In doing this, they have from the first made their schools for the poor entirely gratuitous. At one time, indeed, La Salle undertook the education of fifty young Irish noblemen entrusted to him by Louis XIV., who were joined by other boarders from the higher classes; but their payments were applied to the support of the other schools. Later on he opened a *pensionnat* near Rouen for the sons of wealthier families. In this case again the receipts were thrown into the common fund, and the

Brothers received no additional payments. So it is still. The gratuitous character of their work has largely contributed to its popularity and success.

It is also not a little remarkable that La Salle originated what is now known as the simultaneous method in place of the mutual, which had been previously universal. In other words, he divided the scholars into classes, and each class into three sections, according to the capacity and intelligence, not the ages, of the boys. Each division had its own master, and the subjects were arranged on a graduated plan, and taught orally to the whole class at once. At the same time, the more intelligent pupils were employed in teaching the others during the temporary absence of the master, and were dignified by the name of *écoliers inspecteurs*. The system thus resembled the mixed one followed in the Bell and Lancaster schools of England. M. Gréard, the Vice-Rector of the Paris Academy, in a recent treatise on education, frankly credits the Brothers with this important reform, and states that from 1867 to 1877 no religious or Roman Catholic school in France, except two, had less than three classes, whereas eighty out of one hundred and fourteen lay schools had no more than one or two classes. This is no longer the case, and in this respect the Christian Brothers led the way.

Another equally important reform which they introduced was in teaching the vernacular instead of Latin, for before La Salle's time the Latin Psalter was the first book taught in even the elementary schools. On this account their enemies gave them the name of "ignorantins," as if they were ignorant of Latin—a title more applicable to those that applied it to them. Acting on the same rational principles, the Brothers were required in their secular teaching not to be content with mere mechanical or rote work, but to thoroughly explain the reasons of things, and to exercise the minds of their pupils with questions after the Socratic method, and in accordance with Bacon's maxim, "*Prudens interrogatio est dimidium scientiæ.*"

Moreover, schools and classes for adults appear to have been first devised by the inventive spirit of La Salle.

In 1699 he opened the first French Sunday-school for youths, where, however, they were taught, not the religious subjects befitting the Lord's Day, but geography, geometry, arithmetic, drawing, and the like. Technical teaching, to which of late years so much importance has been rightly assigned, was in some instances made part of the course. M. Duruy, the Minister of Public Instruction in 1867, went so far as to say that to him France owes the general adoption of this branch of education. Normal colleges for masters also

formed an integral feature of his system ; and he even founded a reformatory for vicious and neglected boys. Infants' schools do not appear to have been then thought of ; but with this exception, all the principal elements of popular education on which this last decade of the nineteenth century so much prides itself had been more or less anticipated. So true is it that "there is no new thing under the sun"; nor is it surprising that a work, in many respects carried on upon such rational methods, has in the face of strong opposition been so successful, and is in the present day so widely extended over both hemispheres.

Leading members of the Society have been highly honoured at the International Congresses of Antwerp, Vienna, and Paris in 1871, 1873, 1875.

According to the returns in 1892, there were in connection with it 1,750 schools, with 7,252 classes, 314,133 scholars, 13,262 Brothers. Of these schools, 1,306 were in France and its colonies, and 444 in other countries, including Ireland, Belgium, Egypt, Turkey, Madagascar, China, Canada, and Chili. This vast and complicated system must be a very powerful engine in the hands of Rome for the propagation of her doctrines. However much we may admire the zeal and devotion of its agents, we are very far from sympathizing with their religious views and practices. Men bound by rigid vows, secluded from the joys and interests of family life, and debarred from the wholesome stimulus of social advancement, are certainly not the best fitted to have the care of youth. The stern discipline to which they are themselves subjected is sure to reflect itself in their treatment of their pupils, and to lead to undue repression of their natural instincts. Far better is it that masters and mistresses, as Christian men and women, should live in the world, and as parents, or free to become such, should be able to sympathize with both parents and children in their social joys and sorrows. Still, the life of La Salle may serve to stimulate the zeal of those who are guided by purer and higher principles, and to encourage all who are striving to promote sound religious education in our country.

W. BURNET.



ART. IV.—GRAY'S "HEBREW PROPER NAMES" AND HOMMEL'S "ANCIENT HEBREW TRADITION."

CERTAIN questions with reference to Hebrew personal names, in their bearing on modern theories in regard to the Old Testament, have at the present moment come into special prominence, owing to the recent publication of the two works above named, viz., "Studies in Hebrew Proper Names," by Mr. G. Buchanan Gray, and "The Ancient Hebrew Tradition," by Professor Hommel. The two books were written independently of each other, but both writers have since contributed observations on the subject to some of the periodicals. The object of the present article is to endeavour to indicate, from the "traditional" point of view, the position as it appears to stand at present; and, in doing so, to answer certain of Mr. Gray's arguments which, so far as the writer is aware, have not hitherto been particularly replied to.

The two books have been written from very opposite points of view. Mr. Gray is a believer in the opinions of the Higher Critics as to the lateness of date and artificiality of the so-called "Priestly Code." Professor Hommel, on the other hand, believes in its antiquity and genuine character. The controversy, so far as these two writers are concerned, centres in the question as to the genuineness or otherwise of the personal names, and the lists of such names occurring in the Priestly Code, especially in the Book of Numbers, chaps. i., vii., xiii., and xxxiv., which give the names of the princes of the tribes of Israel and their fathers, and also the names of the spies. Wellhausen asserted that these lists of names were not genuine; and Mr. Gray, in his work "Hebrew Proper Names," under the influence of similar ideas, has come, it would appear, to the same conclusion.

In opposition to Wellhausen, on the other hand, Professor Hommel, in "Ancient Hebrew Tradition," has adduced a very large number of names from both the Babylonian inscriptions of the time of the Arabian dynasty of Khammurabi, the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. (*circa* 1900 B.C.), and also from ancient Arabian, Minnaean, and Sabæan inscriptions, by which he shows that the principle of name-formation exhibited in the personal names which occur in the Priestly Code is similar to that which prevailed amongst the Western Semites from the second millennium B.C. On the strength of this evidence supplied by the inscriptions, Professor Hommel considers himself justified in characterizing as an assertion of a hasty and dictatorial character the statement which Well-

hausen made to the following effect ("Prolegomena," 2nd edit., p. 371; cf. English translation, p. 350):

"The long lists of names in Num. i., vii., and xiii., are nearly all cast in the same mould, and are in no way similar to genuine ancient personal names."

Professor Hommel concludes his ninth chapter, "Ancient Hebrew Tradition," p. 302, with the words:

"It is quite certain, therefore, that the names contained in these lists in the Book of Numbers cannot be rightly assigned to any other period than that of Moses. In spite, therefore, of the presence of some names (especially in Num. xiii.), which seem to indicate that the text is corrupt in places, these lists have been shown, by the external evidence of the tradition preserved in inscriptions of the second millennium B.C. (*vide supra* chap. iii.), to be genuine and trustworthy documents, before which historical theories built up by modern critics of the Pentateuch must 'collapse irretrievably.'"

Mr. Gray, on the other hand, from his investigations into the personal names occurring in the Priestly Code, comes to the following conclusions ("Hebrew Proper Names," p. 209):

"Briefly, then, P's names consist in part of ordinary names that were current early, in part of ordinary names that only originated at a late period, and in part of artificial names that were never current in ordinary life at any time. . . . The systematic lists of tribal princes, etc., found in P are valueless as records of the Mosaic Age."

From these extracts it can be readily perceived how, on the crucial question as to the antiquity and genuine character of the names in the Book of Numbers, Professor Hommel and Mr. Gray are diametrically opposed.

The following passage from an article in the *Expositor* for September, 1897, contributed by Mr. Gray, indicates the names on which in his book he directly based his conclusions. He writes (p. 179):

"The names on which I directly based my conclusion that some of P's names are late, artificial creations are: (a) Six compounds with either *Tsâr* or *Shaddai*; (b) compounds with a preposition or participle *Lael* and *Shelumiel*; and (c) 'perhaps certain others,' e.g., *Pedahel* and *Nethaneel*."

The six compounds with either *Tsâr* or *Shaddai* referred to by Mr. Gray are as follow (note, p. 179): "*Pedahtsâr*, *Elitsâr*, *Tsuriel*, *Tsuri-Shaddai*, *Ammi-Shaddai*, *Shaddai-ur* (E.V., *Shedeur*; also *z* for *ts* in *tsur*)."

"The question mainly turns," writes Mr. Gray, "on the compounds with *Tsâr* or *Shaddai*. Did the ancient Hebrews, or did they not, employ names of this type?"

With regard to *Tsûr* (rock), Mr. Gray, in "Hebrew Proper Names," had written as follows (p. 194):

"The fact that names of this type occur nowhere outside the Priestly Code would be at once and entirely explained if they were artificial creations of their author; the other explanation that has been offered, viz., that these names were ancient and became obsolete at a very early date, is in itself less satisfactory. Why do we find no instances in JE or Judges? Yet since we find only five in P, we need not press this absence from other sources too much. Still, admitting that it is inconclusive, we are left with two equally plausible explanations; if it is possible to determine between them, it will only be by a detailed examination of the names."

It will be seen later on that the "other explanation," which Mr. Gray considered "in itself less satisfactory," namely, that "these names were ancient, and became obsolete at a very early date," has been pretty well established as the true explanation by Professor Hommel.

Mr. Gray, after having gone into a detailed examination of names in *Tsûr*, writes as follows ("Hebrew Proper Names," p. 196):

"The usage of *Tsûr* in Hebrew literature thus gives no ground for supposing that it was an ancient name or epithet, which could be used absolutely and undefined for God; nor that at an early date it was frequent even in comparisons; God is spoken of as a Rock much more frequently in late than in early literature."

So much as to Mr. Gray's opinions in regard to *Tsûr*. Now let us see what his opinions were at the time when he was writing his book in regard to the other name, *Shaddai*. He says (p. 196):

"*Shaddai* is certainly an ancient term for God, but in early times, to judge from its usage in literature, quite infrequent. . . . It continued in use later, but except in P and Job was still quite infrequent."

It will be seen that here Mr. Gray assumes the lateness of P and Job.

"Over against this infrequency in the ordinary usage of the word we have to set its great frequency in Job (thirty-one times) and its frequency in P (five times)."

Mr. Gray sums up:

"Frequent as an archaism, *Shaddai* is most infrequent at any time in ordinary usage, and, in fact, occurs only as a poetical epithet of God. From this we more easily infer that *Ammi-Shaddai*, *Zuri-Shaddai*, and *Shaddaiur* are archaic, artificial formations than that they were names actually current at any period."

We shall see presently how, by the evidence of the inscriptions brought forward in Professor Hommel's work, these theories of Mr. Gray have, even by his own admission, been badly damaged, although, in spite of that fact, he still clings to the hypothesis that P's lists are "late artificial compilations."

Let us now see, on the other hand, what Professor Hommel has to say in regard to these two names *Tsûr* and *Shaddai*. In an Appendix, (b) "Ancient Hebrew Tradition," p. 319, Professor Hommel, under the heading of "The Divine Name *Tsûr*," writes as follows:

"In regard to the ancient Hebrew name *Tsûr* (rock), which came to be applied as a Divine appellation (*vide* p. 300), special prominence being given to it in the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 4, "The Rock His work is perfect;" v. 37, "the Rock in which they trusted"), as well as in other passages in the Old Testament (*e.g.*, 1 Sam. ii. 2; in the Song of Hannah; in Ps. xviii.; and 2 Sam. xxii., etc.), and which occurs as a place-name in *Beth-Tsûr* (*cf.* Beth-el) near Hebron, I have just come upon this in a South Arabian votive inscription from Harim, where it occurs in the name of a female slave or temple hand-maiden, apparently of Midianite origin."

The name thus found by Professor Hommel is *Tsuri-addana*, "which in Hebrew," he says, "must have been written *Tsuri-addan*;" and in notes he adds, "*Cf.* Hebrew *Yehô-addan*, 2 Kings xiv. 2, the mother of King Amaziah (= my Rock, *i.e.*, God, is pleased);" also in another note, "*Cf.* Num. xxv. 15, where a prince of the Midianites bears the name *Tsur*, an abbreviation from *Tsuri-el*."

The inscriptions in which the name *Tsûri-addana* was found date, Professor Hommel says, from the time of the Sabæan priest-kings—*i.e.*, from the eighth century B.C. at latest, or perhaps a good deal earlier.

"In the Zingerli inscriptions, again (N. Syria, eighth century B.C.), we find *Tsûr* in the name of King *Bir-Tsûr* (= the God *Bir* is a Rock). . . . As I have elsewhere pointed out ('Das graphische h. im Minäischen,' *vide supra*, p. 276, note 1), these inscriptions came down to us from races who were originally natives of Edom or Midian."

Professor Hommel continues (p. 321):

"Now, since this name *Tsûr* crops up in the eighth century B.C. as a Divine appellation employed both in South Arabia and in Sam'al, and in both cases as an importation from N. W. Arabia (thus indicating a common source), it is evident that its first introduction into the land of Midian must have taken place at least some centuries earlier, a fact which is of

decisive importance in determining the antiquity of Hebrew names compounded with Tsûr."

This would appear to be practically decisive as to the antiquity of the element Tsûr in such names as *Elitsôr*, *Tsuriel*, *Tsurî-Shaddai* and *Pedahtsôr*; and Mr. Gray himself, though not without some protests against the inferences of Professor Hommel—which he says he rather confuses with facts—appears to be obliged to concede that names compounded with Tsûr are at least actual personal names. He writes in the *Expositor*, September, 1897, p. 183:

"Similarly in view of Tsûri-addana, the compounds with Tsûr may be accepted as actual personal names."

And, somewhat more grudgingly, in an article in the *Expository Times* of the same month—September, 1897—at p. 556, where he writes:

"Briefly, Professor Hommel appears to me to have diminished the probability of the compounds with *tsur* being artificial (*i.e.*, nowhere current as actual personal names), but to have fallen far short of proving or even rendering it particularly likely that such names were current (far less frequent, as the lists of P would suggest) among the Hebrew contemporaries of Moses."

Yet in the very next paragraph, in which Mr. Gray discusses Professor Hommel's argument in favour of the genuineness of compounds with *Shaddai*, he seems to admit that, if Professor Hommel's contention were established, that the name of the Babylonian King of the Arabian Dynasty (*circa* 2000 B.C.)—*Ammi-satana*—is equivalent to the name *Ammi-shaddai*, he would in such case "consider the suspicion of the artificial character of the names compounded with *Tsûr* or *Shaddai* removed; and, further, the antiquity of *Ammi-shaddai* in particular established."

Professor Hommel's hypothesis was, that in the name of the Babylonian King *Ammi-satana*, the final *na* was the Arabic prenominal suffix, and that *sata* was the Babylonian reproduction of the Arabic *saddu* = mountain, this Arabic word for mountain having a religious significance as well. *Ammi-satana* then would be = "my uncle (*i.e.*, as we have already learned 'God') is our mountain." Professor Hommel says (p. 110):

"Among the Assyrian personal names of the eighth century B.C. we find *Marduk-shadûa* = 'Marduk (*i.e.*, *Bel-Merodach*) is my mountain,' and *Bel-shadûa*; and in the next century *Bel-Harran-shadûa* = 'the Lord of Harran (*i.e.*, *Sin*) is my mountain,' with which may be coupled the names *Sin-shadûni* = 'Sin is our mountain,' and *Shadûnu*, or *Shadûni* = 'our mountain (*sc.*, is God)' obtained from other texts (*cf.* Delitzsch, 'Prolegomena,' pp. 205 and 208)."

"It is, therefore," Professor Hommel goes on, "something more than a mere coincidence that in ancient Hebrew, and that as early as the time of Moses, if we may accept the testimony of tradition, a name *Ammi-shaddai* occurs which not only contains the subsequently obsolete Divine name *Shaddai*, but also exhibits almost exactly the same elements as *Ammi-sata-na*. Now, it matters not whether we adopt the later or earlier system of vocalization of the Hebrew word *Shaddai* (LXX. Σαδδαι)—it is, for instance, quite within the range of possibility that the original reading was *El Shaddi* = 'God my Mountain'—the fact remains that this Divine name by which Yahveh revealed himself to Abraham and Jacob (Gen. xvii. 1 and xxxv. 11) must, as has been abundantly proved by the facts stated above, be of the very highest antiquity. At the time at which Abraham migrated from Ur, both the Arabic *saddu* (spelt *satu* by the Babylonians), and the Babylonian rendering *shadu* possessed the same religious meaning in Babylonia, viz., mountain = God."

A remarkable confirmation of Professor Hommel's identification of the name of the Babylonian King *Ammi-satana* with the name *Ammi-shaddai* has come to light since Mr. Gray's articles of September, 1897, were written, as will be seen by the following note by Professor Hommel in the *Expository Times* for February, 1898, p. 235 :

"It will interest many readers of my 'Ancient Hebrew Tradition' to learn that the identification there proposed (p. 109 f.) for the first time of *Ammi-satana* and *Ammi-shaddai* has now received positive inscriptional attestation in offering-lists dating from the time of Sargon of Agadi (*circa* 3000 B.C.). In his 'Tablettes Chaldéens inédites' (*Extrait de la Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. iv., No. 3, p. 5, note 1), M. Thureau Danguin notes the personal names *Satu*, *Satu-na*, and *Beli-satu*, and thus furnishes the final proof for the correctness of my analysis of the name (dating from the time of Abraham) *Ammi-satana* into *Ammi-sata-na*."

If the analysis of this name by Professor Hommel, then, has been thus proved to be correct—as it would seem to have been—Mr. Gray would appear to be in the position of having to admit that he must "consider the suspicion of the artificial character of the names compounded with *Tsir* and *Shaddai* removed, and, further, the antiquity of *Ammi-shaddai* in particular established."

In other words, as regards these names, and the sceptical conclusions which he based on them, his position has been completely carried by Professor Hommel. So it would naturally seem from his admission in the passage just quoted, taken from his article in the *Expository Times*; by reference,

however, to his article in the *Expositor* of the same month, we find that, even though the principal arguments on which were based his theories in regard to these names were refuted, Mr. Gray would still precariously hang on to the theories themselves. He writes (p. 183):

"But several of the considerations derived from a study of the history of Hebrew names remain unaffected. The *comparative frequency* of the names in P's lists still stands in striking contrast to their entire absence from all other Hebrew sources, and their extreme rarity in other Semitic sources. The use of Pedah and the prefixing of the perfect in *one* of the compounds remain as before *suggestive* of late date" (the italics are mine).

These seem rather shadowy and minute objections on which to found the drastic conclusion that these lists are "late artificial compilations"; but to Mr. Gray they appear perfectly sufficient. He goes on:

"It still seems to me, therefore, that the *hypothesis* that P's lists are late artificial compilations from names of various sources and periods alone accounts, *even in the case of this particular group of names*, for all the facts—those derived from the Hebrew as well as from the inscriptional sources" (the italics again are mine).

One is irresistibly reminded by all this of a passage relating to a different portion of the Bible which occurs in Dr. Salmon's "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament," where he writes (p. 297):

"If you know nothing of the history of the controversy, you will perhaps imagine that such a concession as I have quoted, and which is no more than is readily made by all critics of the same school, amounts to a recognition of the antiquity of the Book of the Acts. But this is not the only case where theorists of the sceptical school will make a forced concession, and hope to save the main part of their hypothesis from destruction. These hypotheses are like some living beings of low organization, which it is hard to kill, because when you lay hold of one of them the creature will leave half its body in your hands, and walk off without any apparent inconvenience."

In discussing in his book the other personal names in the Priestly Code, Mr. Gray is not more successful in establishing against them anything definite, except the main objection, on which he eventually relies—namely, that too large a proportion of them have the Divine name *El* as the *last* element of the name. As to the names compounded with *Tsâr* and *Shaddai*, we have seen what he thought of them, and how he was subsequently compelled to modify his opinions. He goes

on ("Hebrew Proper Names," p. 200 ff.) to discuss the other names. Of the five names, *Shelumiel*, *Pagiel*, *Deuel*, *Gamaliel*, *Pedahel*, he says they are "apparently late, for in every case *El* stands at the end of the name, and in *Pedahel* after a perfect. . . . As to the other constituent elements, *Pedah* is frequent in late names, but unknown in any that are unquestionably early (*i.e.*, earlier than the seventh century). The use of the other four roots in proper names is without much significance."

It will be seen that Mr. Gray has no very special objection to urge against these five names :

"Of the remaining fourteen names peculiar to the two lists" (Num. i. and xxxiv.), "two . . . must without hesitation be considered ancient—*Abidan*, *Ahira*. The rest of the names are uncompounded, and with reference to them the data are scantier and less decisive. Yet there is probability that the following are of pre-Exilic origin—*Zuar*, *Gideoni*, *Ocran*. . . . In the nine names now left I find nothing suggestive, but note that three, *Enan*, *Azzan*, *Shiptan*, have the termination *an*. *Parnach* is quite unique; *Jogli*, if it mean 'led into exile,' as the Oxford Lexicon suggests, with a ?, would probably be late; but it may equally well signify 'rendered conspicuous,' or perhaps 'exultant,' meanings which may reflect any period. The other names are: *Helon*, *Shelomi*, *Ephod*, *Chislon*."

On these last four names Mr. Gray appears to have no remark to make, and it will be observed how little of anything definite he is able to say against any of them.

Mr. Gray goes on next to discuss eighteen names occurring in these lists which also occur elsewhere. He writes (p. 203 f.):

"In the case of four of these, not only the names, but also the persons, are known to us from other sources. *Caleb* can be traced in the earliest narratives; *Jephunneh* with certainty only to D² . . . Both *Nahshon* and *Amminadab* are mentioned in a genealogy (Ruth iv. 18 ff.), the early origin of which I see no reason to question. . . . Possibly *Elidad* (Num. xxxiv. 21) is identical with the *Eldad* (a mere orthographical variation) of Num. xi. 26 (J E); the latter passage in any case proves the antiquity of the name."

"The remaining thirteen names occur elsewhere, but only as the names of different persons. Four of them—*Eliab*, *Elishama*, *Shemuel*, *Paltiel*—are known to have been current in or before the Davidic period. Five others are probably of early origin, though we cannot trace them up to any very early period in extant early literature. These are *Ammihud*, the name of three persons in these lists; but, in any case, the

existence of the parallels *Abihud*, *Ahihud*, favours interpreting *Ammi* as kinsman, and consequently regarding the name as of early origin. *Ahihud*, *Ahiezer* are presumably early, on the ground of their first element (see p. 38); with the latter cf. the unquestionably early names *Abiezer*, *Eliezer*. *Elizaphan*, though current after the Exile, can be traced up to the end of the seventh century; *Elisaph* . . . is to be regarded on the ground of the formation (*El* prefixed to pf.) as at least pre-Exilic. Two others, *Hanniel* and *Kemuel*, are less decisive, though the latter occurs as the name of a foreigner in Gen. xxii. 21 (J E)."

"Only one name is more probably late than early, *Nethaneel*, on the form *El* postfixed to a pf. (see p. 192). The name occurs elsewhere of two post-Exilic persons, a post-Exilic family, and six persons mentioned only in Chronicles; it is also frequent in the post-Biblical period. In reference to Bukki, I note that it also occurs of a descendant of Aaron in 1 Chron. v. 31, etc."

It will be seen that these names have come out of Mr. Gray's crucible with their character for antiquity, even in his opinion, but little scathed. Even he admits that "only one name is more probably late than early." And, in addition to this, Professor Hommel has shown in "Ancient Hebrew Tradition," by comparison with kindred Babylonian and South Arabian names, the ancient and genuine character of these names in the lists in the Book of Numbers. See the summing up of his opinion in "Ancient Hebrew Tradition," p. 299 ff.

On pp. 207 f. Mr. Gray sums up. We shall leave his conclusion No. 1 to the last.

Conclusion 2. "The names, even those *peculiar* to P, are not similar in character to those current *in ordinary life* in the post-Exilic period.

"Proofs: (a) Entire absence of compounds with *Yah*.

"(b) The occurrence of compounds with *Abi*, *Ahi*, *Ammi*.

"(c) The large proportion of compounds with *El* in certain lists. Both in Num. i. and xxxiv. they are more than a third of the whole; in the post-Exilic priestly list they are less than a third; in post-Exilic lay list less than a seventh.

"(d) The compounds with *Tsûr* and *Shaddai*.

"(e) Certain individual names, e.g., *Tsuar*, *Gideoni*, *Ocran*."

This conclusion of Mr. Gray's, it will be seen, is *favourable* to the antiquity of the names contained in the lists in the Book of Numbers, in so far as it goes to show that these

names were not similar in character to those current in ordinary life in the post-Exilic period.

Conclusion 4. "Some of the names peculiar to P do not appear to have been coined by the author nor by any late writer, nor to have been current after the Exile."

This conclusion is also, of course, so far as it goes, *in favour* of the antiquity of the names. Mr. Gray notices (*Expositor*, p. 179) that on these two points Professor Hommel agrees with him, "though no doubt," he adds, "he would express himself in somewhat different language."

Mr. Gray's conclusions *unfavourable* to the antiquity and genuine character of the names are as follows :

Conclusion 3. "Some of the names are late artificial creations.

"Proofs: (a) Compounds with *Tsûr* and *Shaddai*.

"(b) Compounds with a preposition (*Lael*), and a participle (*Shelumiel*), and perhaps

"(c) Certain other names, e.g., *Pedahel*, *Nethaneel*."

With regard to these "proofs," it may be remarked that (a) has been amply dealt with by Professor Hommel; (b) seems to be relinquished now by Mr. Gray himself. He writes of these names (*Expositor*, p. 183):

"Interesting as they are in themselves, they are too isolated and uncertain to form by themselves any strong argument for artificiality or lateness of formation."

(c) is put forward so dubiously by Mr. Gray himself that it seems to call for no particular notice.

There remains :

Conclusion 1. "The names in P are not, as a whole, pre-Davidic in character.

"Proofs: (a) The large proportion, especially in certain lists, of compounds with a *Divine* name.

"(b) The large proportion of names among compounds with *El*, in which *El* is the last element in the word.

"(c) The presence of names in which the perfect is prefixed.

"(d) The formation with a preposition (*Lael*) and a participle (*Shelumiel*). The compounds with *Tsûr* and *Shaddai* are also to be noted."

This is really *the* important conclusion to which Mr. Gray has come, and may be said to embody the opinion which he professes to have formed from his investigations into Hebrew proper names, with reference to the character of the personal names contained in the "Priestly Code." "The names in P," he says, "are not as a whole pre-Davidic in character."

The last of the four proofs of this conclusion on which Mr. Gray relies (*d*) has been noticed already under conclusion 3. There remain (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*).

Proof (*a*): "The large proportion, especially in certain lists, of compounds with a Divine name."

Mr. Gray's argument in support of this may be found at pp. 193 f. He takes two lists in the Book of Numbers, viz., (1) Num. i. 5-16 (the princes of the tribes of Israel and their fathers), and (2) Num. xxxiv. 19-28 (the princes of the tribes of Israel, who were to divide the land, and their fathers); and he observes that in list 1 there are 12 names compounded with a Divine name (9 with *El* and 3 with *Shaddai*), against 12 other names—proportion 1 : 1; and in list 2 there are 7 names compounded with a Divine name (*El*), against 11 other names (omitting the well-known persons Caleb and Jephunneh)—proportion 1 : 1½. He then compares the proportions shown in these two lists with that shown by names collected from a certain limited number of chapters—ix. to xx. of the Second Book of Samuel—which he says (p. 186) show the proportion 1 : 3. Mr. Gray also builds on a coincidence which he has discovered, namely, that in Num. i. the proportion is identical with that found in the list of post-Exilic laity in Ezra x. 25-43, "from which, however," he has to acknowledge, "the list in Numbers is sharply distinguished by this fact: in the names of Ezra x. the Divine name compounded is generally *Yah*, in Numbers exclusively *El* or *Shaddai*."

There does not seem to be much in these arguments of Mr. Gray, either in the comparison with names gathered from selected chapters in 2 Samuel, or in the coincidence with the list of post-Exilic laity in Ezra. But perhaps the best answer to all this is, that inasmuch as these lists in the Book of Numbers are composed of the names of princes and their fathers, they are entitled to be compared, as regards the proportion of the names which are compounded with a Divine name, not with lists of ordinary names, but with lists of kings and princes.

And amongst kings and princes in ancient times the proportion of names compounded with a Divine name was very large, indicating a custom which prevailed among the Hebrews as well as among other Semitic nations. Mr. Gray himself has pointed out ("Hebrew Proper Names," p. 260), in reference to the Divine name *Yah*, that:

"The names of the twenty-one successors of David—all of his family—on the throne of Judah are, with six exceptions, compounds with *Yah*. The exceptions are Solomon, Rehoboam, Asa, Ahaz, Manasseh, and Amon. One of these, Ahaz,

is probably enough only apparent; and an alternative name of Solomon was Jedidah. The proportion is in any case most striking, and *greatly above the normal during the period over which the succession ranges*" (the italics are mine).

Mr. Gray also pointed out that "the tendency was as strong in the northern as in the southern kingdom to give the heirs to the throne a name compounded with *Yah*."

In other nations also, it is almost needless to observe, the names of kings, princes, and high officials of State were in a very large proportion compounds with some Divine name. Out of fifty-three kings of Assyria, for example, going back to the nineteenth century B.C., some forty at least bore names into which a Divine element entered, and lists of Babylonian dynasties show a similar feature. So also in the list of Assyrian eponyms, which comprises the names of kings of Assyria and high officers of State, each of whom in succession gave his name to a particular year; out of about 287 names decipherable on the tablets, 189 at least are compounds with a Divine name ("Assyrian Eponym Canon," G. Smith, pp. 57 ff.).

From this can be deduced the following table of names, viz :

	<i>Compounded with a Divine name.</i>	<i>Others.</i>	<i>Proportion.</i>
Kings of Judah	16 ...	5 ...	$3\frac{1}{5} : 1$
Kings of Assyria	53 ...	40 ...	$1\frac{1}{3} : 1$
Assyrian eponyms	287 ...	189 ...	$1\frac{1}{2} : 1$
Princes of Israel (Num. i.) ...	12 ...	12 ...	$1 : 1$
Princes of Israel (Num. xxxiv.)	7 ...	11 ...	$1 : 1\frac{1}{2}$

This table shows that the proportion of names compounded with a Divine name in these lists in the Book of Numbers, when compared with lists of kings and high officials of State, does not appear to be by any means excessive, but is in reality what might be expected.

Mr. Gray's next proof that the names in P are not as a whole pre-Davidic in character is :

"(b) The large proportion of names among compounds with *El* in which *El* is the last element in the word."

This is the real basis on which now appear to rest Mr. Gray's arguments against the antiquity and genuine character of the lists of names in the Book of Numbers. His quarrel with the lists, and the names contained in the lists, as expressed above, would seem to be that the proportion of the names in these lists in which the Divine name *El* is pre-fixed, as compared with those in which it is post-fixed, does not agree with what he appears to consider to have been the proportion which such names bore to each other in the pre-Davidic period. This opinion of Mr. Gray's as to the normal pro-

portion which such names bore to each other in the pre-Davidic age may be said to be mainly based on certain figures contained in two tables in his book, one giving, as he would seem to imply, the correct pattern of lists of names compounded with *El*, deduced from seven names; the other giving the correct pattern for lists of names compounded with *Yah*, deduced from six, or perhaps only two, names.

The table of names compounded with *El* is given in "Hebrew Proper Names" (p. 166). Names in which *El* is prefixed are indicated by the letter A; those in which *El* is post-fixed by the letter B. The following are the "number of (personal or tribal) names first referred by approximately contemporary literature" (which means that the Priestly Code and Chronicles are in this table (I.) ignored) "to Period I." (the pre-Davidic), A 7, B 8, total 15.

This would seem to show—supposing such meagre figures could show anything definite—that in the pre-Davidic period B formations were slightly more prevalent than A. It is right, however, to observe that in a note Mr. Gray throws a doubt on two of the A names and on six of the B, thus reducing the names genuinely personal to A 5, B 2, total 7. This would seem to amount to a *reductio ad absurdum*, on the part of Mr. Gray himself, of any argument based by him on figures so truly insignificant. *Seven* names for the whole pre-Davidic period!

As for the names compounded with *Yah* in the pre-Davidic period, on which Mr. Gray relies, the figures for these are given in Table I., p. 159, and are A 5, B 1, total 6 ("at most"). "At most," Mr. Gray says, probably because, as explained in note, p. 174, these names may be reduced from A 5, B 1, to A 3, B 1—or even to A 1, B 1. *Two* names for the whole pre-Davidic period!

These be large figures on which to base a theory.

Mr. Gray gives also a Table in which he includes the names in the Priestly Code and Chronicles, but it is really only to the names in the former Table that he attaches any authority as to the pattern of names in the pre-Davidic period. In this Table II., p. 167, Mr. Gray gives the number of names compounded with *El*, first referred by any Old Testament writer to Period I. (the pre-Davidic), as A 11, B 33, total 44 (in P., A 4, B 25).

Here it will be perceived that when the names in the Priestly Code and Chronicles are included, the numbers of names in the pre-Davidic period of the A and B formation respectively are, not A 5, B 2, total 7, but A 11, B 33, total 44—quite a different result; and even if the names in Chronicles were excluded, the result would be but little affected.

Now, we have already seen that Mr. Gray has failed to establish any definite objections against the names in the Priestly Code when he examined them individually, and accordingly his objections to these names now centre in this: that whereas personal names formed with *El* happening to occur in writings which he admits to be approximately contemporary show the pattern A 5, B 2, these names in the Priestly Code show the pattern A 4, B 25—this is the head and front of their offending. He supports his small figures, A 5, B 2, by other small figures of names formed with the Divine name *Yah*, viz., A 5, B 1; or perhaps only A 1, B 1. What does his argument amount to? A 4, B 25 is "late and artificial," because it does not conform to A 5, B 2. Does Mr. Gray claim that the latter insignificant figures represent the normal pattern of such names in the pre-Davidic age? Seeing that by his particular examination of the names in the Priestly Code, he seems to have failed to establish anything definite against their antiquity and genuine character, would it not be reasonable to claim that the evidence of these names should be included when a theory is being formed as to what was the normal pattern of such names in the pre-Davidic period? If Mr. Gray claims that these names should be excluded merely because he believes that the Priestly Code, in which they occur, is itself "late and artificial," then he is not proving anything *about* these names, but merely begging the very question at issue respecting them.

We must then deny to these insignificant figures any claim to being a correct representation of the pattern of names of this kind in the pre-Davidic age; such a claim on their behalf can only be set up by excluding the names in the Priestly Code, which amounts to an egregious begging of the question.

But if Mr. Gray merely claims for these names that they are a *specimen* of names of the pre-Davidic period, brought together by chance out of narratives contained in certain books of the Bible, the Priestly Code and Chronicles being excluded, then we would maintain that these insignificant figures thus brought together, as it were, by accident, are not in any sense a concrete entity (as each of the lists in Numbers is) but constitute a mere fragment separated from their natural connection, not only with the names in the Priestly Code, but also with whatever other names, recorded in the Book of Chronicles or unrecorded in the Bible, may have been in existence in the pre-Davidic age; and that accordingly

We need not feel concerned to show that the pattern of the names in the Priestly Code conforms to that of such a mere fragment; and further still we say that even if the

true pattern of such names in the pre-Davidic age could be ascertained, it would not follow that particular lists of names might not be perfectly truthful and genuine, even though they might not be found to conform to the general pattern.

And we are here brought to a more general question which lies behind all this, and that is, Are the conclusions which Mr. Gray seeks to found on these fragments of statistics as to the relative proportions of two formations of personal names to each other—*e.g.*, *El* pre-fixed or *post*-fixed—of the slightest value whatsoever, or are they not rather most probably utterly misleading? Do fragmentary statistics of this kind in regard to names necessarily reproduce the complexion of the entire statistics of which they form a fragment? The case will, on the contrary, often be found to be actually the reverse.

It is well known what queer tricks those two notorious imps Names and Figures, even when taken separately, can be made to play; and by each of them has often been proved—or, rather, made to appear to be proved—many a thing that "never was on sea or land." But when you put these two mischievous monkeys into the same cage, as Mr. Gray has done, they are, to say the least of it, worth watching.

It occurred to the writer to endeavour to test the way that names and figures work in a case of this kind by taking two forms of names very prevalent in Ireland and comparing some of the statistics as to their respective prevalence in regard to each other. The names selected are those in connection with which there was a Bill some time ago before the House of Commons—that is to say, names having as their first element "Mac" and "O'" respectively, the force of each being "descendant of," and both being connected with the ancient septs or clans of Ireland, and in some instances with the Scottish clans. It seemed most convenient to the writer to take the figures for his own county, and accordingly from the local directory¹ have been extracted the following particulars of the relative prevalence of the two forms of names in the County and City of Cork:

NUMBER OF DISTINCT NAMES.					
	<i>Mac.</i>		<i>O'.</i>		<i>Proportion.</i>
Cork County ...	71	...	51	...	$1\frac{2}{3} : 1$
Cork City ...	81	...	43	...	$1\frac{1}{3} : 1$

It will be seen that these statistics, which are full and exhaustive, agree sufficiently nearly with each other, and show that the number of names formed with "Mac" considerably exceed those formed with "O'." We might be

¹ "Guy's City and County Cork Almanac and Directory, 1898." Guy and Co., Limited, Cork. Price sixpence.

inclined to infer from this that the number of householders bearing the name of "Mac" would also be in the majority. But here one of those anomalies and surprises which are apt to lie in wait for confidently-formed theories meets us, as will be seen from the following table:

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDERS BEARING THESE NAMES.

	<i>Mac.</i>		<i>O'.</i>		<i>Proportion.</i>
Cork County ...	878	...	1812	...	1 : 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cork City ...	390 ¹	...	710 ¹	...	1 : 1 $\frac{3}{8}$

These statistics, which again are full and exhaustive, agree sufficiently closely with each other; but reverse what might have been expected from the previous table, and show that, although *names* in "Mac" are the more numerous, householders bearing such names are greatly in the minority.

The figures for Cork County include the country towns, excluding only the city and suburbs of Cork. But if we take the figures for these names in the several country towns with the district around each, we shall find the most varying proportions—varying both from each other and also from the figures for the county at large, of which they are a part. The following are given as examples, and probably in the case of no town in the county would the proportions be found to correspond with those of the county at large:

NUMBER OF DISTINCT NAMES.

	<i>Mac.</i>		<i>O'.</i>		<i>Proportion.</i>
Cork County ...	71	...	51	...	1 $\frac{2}{5}$: 1
Bandon ...	9	...	15	...	1 : 1 $\frac{2}{3}$
Kinsale ...	7	...	9	...	1 : 1 $\frac{1}{3}$
Mallow ...	6	...	18	...	1 : 3
Mitchelstown ...	4	...	15	...	1 : 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

The figures in the various country districts, it will be seen, vary widely in their proportions—as well from each other as from the county of which they form a part. With all the names regularly tabulated in the directory before one, it is easy to understand how this apparent anomaly is to be explained, and to see that the figures for each district can be perfectly genuine and trustworthy—as regards the limited number of facts to which they refer—although they differ so much in the proportions which they show both from each other, and from the county at large.

But supposing we had not these names thus regularly tabulated before us, and that the question concerned times long past, it might not be very easy to explain the anomaly

¹ In the case of the city, the number, under each name is exaggerated, owing to many names being given in the Directory twice, first at private and secondly at business addresses.

or to "remove the suspicions" of prejudiced and unfriendly critics. And we can well imagine what specious and plausible arguments—based on these anomalies—might be brought forward to prove that lists of names referring to some of these limited areas were "late and artificial." Nor would it be safe to infer that even the fairly large number of such names in the County of Cork correctly represented the proportion in which these names were formed through all the period of Irish history. A learned writer, Mr. John O'Hart, who devoted the greatest labour and research to the elucidation of Irish names and pedigrees, both Celtic and Anglo-Irish, published a few years ago a work, "Irish Pedigrees" (O'Hart, 1881), and from the Index of Surnames, p. 759—a list very extensive, but not absolutely exhaustive—have been obtained the following figures in respect to names of these formations through all periods of Irish history, viz., names formed with "Mac" 327, with "O" 432, proportion $1 : 1\frac{1}{3}$, whilst those for the County of Cork in the present day we have seen to be "Mac" 71, "O" 51, proportion $1\frac{2}{3} : 1$.

It would have been misleading then to have drawn from the statistics of the County of Cork in the present day the conclusion that, through the past course of Irish history, names formed with "Mac" were more numerous than those with "O". The contrary was really the case. From these facts the following conclusions would seem to be deducible:

(a) It is only from pretty full statistics that any reliable general conclusion as to the relative prevalence of two particular formations of names can be drawn—and even in such case only with caution.

(b) Fragmentary statistics in regard to the relative prevalence of such formations cannot be relied on to present the same phenomena as the larger statistics of which they are a fragment. They may present quite different phenomena.

(c) Yet such partial statistics, although disagreeing with the phenomena of the larger statistics of which they form a part, may be perfectly trustworthy and genuine in regard to the limited matters to which they refer.

If these conclusions are rightly drawn, they would certainly appear to cut the ground from under the attempts which Mr. Gray has made in "Hebrew Proper Names" to draw wide and drastic conclusions from small sums in proportion, based on meagre and petty statistics; and also from under his assumption, that if two sets of names—for instance, his seven names formed with *El* in the pre-Davidic period on the one hand, and the names in the Priestly Code on the other—do not agree in the proportions in which names of two different formations are included, one of such sets of names

must probably be unreal and artificial. It has, I trust, been shown, on the contrary, that both may be perfectly trustworthy and genuine.

We must therefore decline to allow ourselves to be entangled in the network of misleading statistics—even if those statistics were less meagre and scanty than they are—by which Mr. Gray in this work of his, "Hebrew Proper Names," has laboriously attempted to enmesh us.

ANDREW C. ROBINSON.



ART. V.—THE BREAD OF LIFE.

"I am that Bread of life."—JOHN vi. 48.

IT was in the little synagogue at Capernaum that our Lord pronounced this memorable discourse. As soon as the momentous words in the text were uttered, the Jews began murmuring to each other their dissatisfaction. They did not pay any attention to the explanation which Christ was giving, but seized with obstinate malignity on the point which they did not understand in its barest and most striking form. "*Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph?*" they mutter. With dogged dulness, they refuse to think how the Person before them can be anything beyond what He seems. With stupid sarcasm and irony, they ask themselves, "Have we been mistaken? Is He not just that young man from Nazareth? We know the respectable Joseph. We know that quiet woman Mary. We know all about Him. What is this talk about coming down from heaven? Whatever He may have done for us in the wilderness yesterday, we are plain, practical men, and we won't stand it." Joseph, you will remember, by not putting away Mary, became legally, from a human point of view, the reputed father of her child.

The murmuring is among the crowd who are listening to the statements of Jesus, and the criticisms are not openly stated to Him. The word which St. John uses means a confused hum of objections in an undertone. Jesus asks them not to grumble amongst themselves, and quietly goes on with the subject of His discourse. He sees that this is no fit opportunity to enter into a personal explanation of His antecedents. With calm, fearless distinctness, for the warning of those who were murmuring, and for the encouragement of those who were beginning to follow Him, He continues to explain how it is that some believe and some reject. "*No man can come to Me except the Father which sent Me draw him.*" The Father was willing to prepare and draw every-

body ; the reason why some were not drawn was because they refused. Only those who were willing to follow this guidance and preparation would come. The preparation and drawing were, in a general sense, through a proper understanding of Moses, the prophets, the psalmists, the sacrifices ; and in each individual case through the discipline of life, its chastisements, warnings and encouragements. To those who once welcomed these Divine influences and methods, much would be given. It would be their reward to learn more and more, to know God, to recognise and worship the Son who came to reveal Him.

“ *It is written in the Prophets,*” continues our Lord, “ *And they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath come to the Father, cometh unto Me.*” He still further explains the drawing of souls and its consequences. The Divine teaching and the Divine drawing were universal, ready for every man ; the readiness to receive it was a matter of each single heart and soul. Natural religion and Hebrew religion, when properly understood, must necessarily lead to Christ, who embodied all truth. Those who had ears to hear the Father's messages, those who had eyes to see His lessons and a heart to receive His influences and impressions, would certainly come to the express image of His own Person, who combined and exemplified in Himself all these Divine forces.

But these previous teachings and drawings were imperfect. Something more direct was needed—something higher, purer, better, clearer, truer. The former influences did not enable people to do without the supreme revelation of the Son, as if they had really seen God with unveiled eye. “ *Not that any man hath seen the Father, save He which is of God: He hath seen the Father.*” None had seen God so as to interpret Him to the world perfectly, but He which is of God—His only-begotten Son.

And now comes the point in the conversation for a declaration of the deepest importance. The hum of anger in the little synagogue has died away as the afternoon wears on, and they listen in silent amazement. Here, says the Lord, is that Divine Interpreter of God, here is that Source of Life, here is He to whom it is given to have life in Himself. By this presence the will of the Father which had been declared in a previous sentence was accomplished. “ *This is the will of Him that sent Me,*” Jesus had said, “ *that everyone which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life ; and I will raise him up at the last day.*” To those who believe and trust themselves to Him, a share in this true life is at once imparted ; and that share is the beginning of the true spiritual

life, the life of the purified intellect, the life of the regenerated soul, the life of righteousness and love, which will last for ever. "*Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on Me hath everlasting life.*"

And then, as His custom was, He seizes some idea that was present in the conversation, and makes it the vehicle for communicating some deep spiritual truth. You are asking, He says, for something better than the manna in the wilderness, which you quoted just now as the credentials of Moses. Know that I Myself am what you seek. I Myself am the Incarnate Word of God, giving spiritual food and sustenance, just as bread is the type of natural life and support. "*I am that Bread of Life.*" You have been bringing forward the claims of Moses and the manna, but however beautiful that help from God in dire distress may have been, what a poor result it had in comparison of the True Spiritual Bread which is here before you! The manna merely sustained the perishable body: the True Bread is eternal life for the soul! "*Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the Bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die.*"

With astounding words, but quiet and grave in the silence of the congregation, He continues to unfold what is the spiritual meaning of this figure of the bread, and how the soul is to take it to itself as nourishment. We saw just now that to those who believed a share in the true life is at once imparted. But what are they to believe? What are the great facts of revelation which transform the soul, and bring it back to God? They have to believe in the Lamb of God which takes away the sin of the world—the atoning Sacrifice of Calvary. Without that redeeming and regenerating Sacrifice, even the presence of the Incarnate Word Himself among them would be of little use. There would be no imperative and uncompromising condemnation of sin, no touching the heart of man in reconciliation to his God, no moving and attracting power of love for the perfect love of the Redeemer. It was not unless He was "*lifted up*" that He would *draw all men unto Him*. The true spiritual sustenance, the beginning of eternal life, the true spiritual bread from heaven, God's grace and power imparted to the soul through faith, would not come unless the great propitiation were made. The true spiritual heavenly bread which He would give would be all the glorious facts, all the Divine truths, all the stores of grace which were implied and covenanted by the sacrifice of His earthly body and life, which He would give for the life of the world. "*I am the living Bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this Bread, he shall live for ever: and the Bread*

which I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Who cannot see here that there is something more than merely keeping the commandments of Jesus Christ? Clearly the words before us mean that He, in His full personality, must be to our souls what daily food is to our bodies. "They mean," says a great writer, "that we must live upon Him; that we must be ever walking by faith in Him; that we must look up to Him habitually in all our temptations, distresses, and perplexities—as our only Comforter, Deliverer, and Guide; that we must be in communion with Him as members with their Head; and this day by day and always, for without Him we can do nothing, and our souls will sicken and fall away from their sound health if they are kept even a day without that nourishment, which turning to Him in prayer and in constant meditation can alone supply them with. Many persons, by forgetting the force and peculiar meaning of the command to make Christ our food, and by putting always in the place of such living expressions the mere injunction to obey Christ's law, have, in fact, grown cold in their feelings towards Him, have lost the sense of their close relationship to Him, have not held fast to Him as their Head, nor have sought of Him daily their spiritual nourishment and strength."

There is, as I shall point out before the end of this paper, a specially appointed means of realizing this union. But in the meantime we will continue the lesson to the end, and see what it meant as a general truth, before the particular institution for concentrating it in one special occasion was ordained.

The congregation is now thoroughly disturbed. Having failed to follow Jesus before, they cannot follow Him now. "*The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us His flesh to eat?*" And He is moved by their obstinate discussion, now no longer restrained, to expound the doctrine of the True Bread still more pointedly, and in words still more striking, startling, and penetrating. Their fathers had eaten the manna in the wilderness, and they themselves had eaten the loaves in the desert: can they not understand that there is something on which their SOULS are to be sustained, the true spiritual Bread of Heaven, of which the manna and the loaves were types? Did they not remember the great system of sacrifices, and how they had no benefit from them unless they partook of them? even so unless they shared in the sacrifice which the Bread itself meant, they would have no part in that either. That true spiritual Bread, in all the length and breadth and depth and height of its glorious meaning, was summed up in the central

fact and truth of Christ's revelation, the redemption of the world by the sacrifice of Calvary. Jesus Himself was the true spiritual Bread, but even He Himself was not completely that Bread unless His flesh was sacrificed and His blood poured out in atonement. To share, then, in the true Bread, they must eat that flesh of His sacrifice, and drink that blood of His atonement. How could they do that? Not, of course, by touching Him as He sat there in bodily presence before them in the synagogue at Capernaum, but by some wonderful inner import and truth. It was by becoming filled with the spirit the meaning of that sacrifice, the grace of it, the effect of it, the power of it, the complete union which it offered, the salvation which it guaranteed, the virtues, faith, hope, love, joy, peace, purity, and all the other things which it communicated; by drinking in the spirit of the meaning of that atonement, and the exceeding great and precious privileges which it conferred. Thus would their souls become nourished with the true spiritual Bread, as their bodies would be nourished by common food. And they would become filled with the spirit of all that was meant by the sacrifice and atonement, by faith, love, contemplation, devotion. And when the time came for Him to go forth and die, and be in very act the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world, then He would bequeath them a solemn and simple rite, which would enable them now and again to concentrate on Him that faith, love, contemplation, devotion, and so be filled with that spirit, and thus be nourished by the true spiritual Bread, Himself, His living grace and power. "*Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me, and I in him.*" That was the point; the indwelling of the Divine Being of Christ, the Son of God; perfect union of mind, heart, and soul with Him. "*As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me.*" The Son's spiritual being depends on His utter, inseparable, complete union with His Father: so the spiritual being of the redeemed depends on union with Himself.

So He comes to an end of this vital revelation of Himself. After the great declaration He repeats as a sort of echo, quietly dying away and relapsing into silence, the marvellous contrast between this communication of spiritual life by believing on Him, and the mere manner of Moses. He weaves into the final repetition of the declaration all the

explanations He has been giving as to the spirituality of His meaning. *"This is that Bread which came down from heaven; not as your fathers did eat manna and are dead: he that eateth of this Bread shall live for ever."*

That was the close. Silence fell in the little building. *"These things said He in the synagogue, as He taught in Capernaum."* He spoke purposely in strong, pointed language, although they would not understand it at first, with the very object that it might sink deep into their minds and never be forgotten. It could not have its proper effect at once. *Many, therefore, of His disciples, when they had heard this, said: "This is an hard saying: who can hear it?"* Our Lord at once combats their objection by giving them another and equally striking and momentous point to think of. *"When Jesus knew in Himself that His disciples murmured at it, He said unto them, Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before?"* Part of what the listeners objected to was the coming down from heaven. That objection would be entirely removed if they actually saw with their own eyes His glorified Body disappearing in a cloud of light. Then also they would understand that the whole meaning of the discourse on the True Bread was spiritual. They were marvellous truths of vital importance which it taught, unveiling the very mysteries of the Godhead in its relation to man, the very central shrine of the Christian faith.

The Ascension would show them this. We may notice in passing that St. John takes the fact of the Ascension for granted and as well known, in chap. iii., ver. 13: *"No man hath ascended up to heaven but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven;"* and in chap. xx., ver. 17: *"Touch Me not, for I have not yet ascended to My Father."* The beginning and the close of our Lord's earthly life had been so fully described by the other evangelists, that it was not necessary for St. John to give them in his own supplemental gospel. *"It is the spirit that quickeneth,"* continued our Lord, as His final comment on His sermon: *"the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are SPIRIT and they are LIFE."* The very point of the whole discourse was to show them the infinite grandeur and force of these spiritual doctrines, so far beyond any mere earthly sign or fact, such as manna, or the loaves in the wilderness, or the Passover. Eating His flesh was a spiritual expression, drinking His blood was a spiritual expression, the True Bread was a spiritual expression, dwelling in Him was a spiritual expression. The importance of these words and the truths which they conveyed was that they were spirit and life. The

flesh as mere flesh was nothing: it was the mere material of the sacrifice. It was its meaning that was to be grasped: it was the spirit that gave life. The words that He spoke to them only took visible bread as the outward sign of an inward and spiritual grace. The visible flesh and blood were the expression of the spiritual feeding, the spiritual participation of the sacrifice, the spiritual union. It was the inner meaning of all these beautiful and deep figures and types and facts that He was driving home to their hearts.

What a flood of light must have been thrown for the disciples on this discourse in after days, when, on that evening in Jerusalem, *He took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is My body. And He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* He was to be the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world. He was prefigured by the Paschal Lamb, slain once a year as a sin-offering for each family. Just as each family held a feast of thanksgiving on the lamb after it had been sacrificed, so every Christian was to have an outward and visible means of participating spiritually in the one great spiritual sacrifice. No more lambs were to be slaughtered by Jewish priests; the simplest elements of food, bread and wine, solemnly hallowed, were to be the Body and Blood of Christ. This was how the true spiritual heavenly Bread which He would give would be all that was implied by the sacrifice of His earthly body and life, which He gave for the life of the world. To all Christians after the Cross of Calvary this true heavenly bread or sustenance is represented, and to the recipient whose faith is alive is conveyed, in "the most comfortable sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; to be by us received in remembrance of His meritorious Cross and Passion, whereby alone we obtain remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven." Union with Christ, spiritual sustenance from Him, may be had by prayer and in other ways; but the most direct ordinance for realizing and sealing it is in the Lord's Supper.

Now He is here, I seem no longer here!
 This place of light is not my chamber dim,
 It is not He with me, but I with Him,
 And Host, not Guest, He breaks the bread of cheer.

This is His guile—He makes me act the host
 To shelter Him, and lo! He shelters me;
 Asking for alms, He summons me to be
 A guest at banquets of the Holy Ghost.

So on and on, through many an opening door
That gladly opens to the key I bring,
From brightening court to court of Christ, my King,
Hope led, love fed, I journey evermore.

At last I trust these changing scenes will cease ;
There is a court, I hear, where He abides ;
No door beyond that further glory hides—
My Host at home, all change is changed to peace.

The neglect of Holy Communion is the neglect of Christianity. Christ bade His followers receive the bread they ate as His Body, the wine they drank as His Blood. True love for God, true love for men, will not spring up in us spontaneously nor by any efforts we may make to kindle it in ourselves, nor is the message of Christianity fully delivered when love to the human race is declared to be a duty ; human beings will not unite merely because they are told to do so, nor will the lawless passions submit to a mere reproof. Men cannot learn to love each other, the Lord tells us, but "by eating His flesh and drinking His blood"; by union with Him. The Lord does not regard it as possible to unite men to each other except by first uniting them to Himself. And in the Lord's Supper, in which the union of Christians is shown forth, it is revealed as not merely depending on the natural passion of humanity implanted in their breasts, nor merely on the command of Christ calling that passion into activity, but upon this intimate personal union between Christ and His followers thus in its truest sense obtained. The union of mankind in love, because it is a union begun and subsisting only in Christ, is secured and ratified by the Lord's Supper.¹

I have not desired to write much here about this great Christian ordinance, but only in its aspect as the consummation of the deep spiritual teaching of St. John's sixth chapter. The ordinance is a mystery, and it is enough for us to know that in it the Lord has covenanted to impart His grace, Himself, in proportion to our faith. God grant that the result of our meditation on this momentous passage may be that we may each of us in our measure and degree feel more really the need of a closer union with our Saviour. Such a union will differ indefinitely in proportion to our capacities, circumstances and characters ; but it is possible for each of us, however simple, however occupied with the affairs of this life, to realize it in our inmost souls. The promise stands sure, and the claim of it has never been disappointed. Him that cometh unto Me I will in nowise cast out !

In conclusion, I may be allowed to pay a brief tribute to

¹ " Ecce Homo."

the memory of two good and prominent men who went to their long home yesterday, well known amongst us here.¹ Life is like a kaleidoscope, always shifting its proportions and arrangements. Hardly a week passes but a familiar face is vacant in our vast and complex British social organism. One was an able and upright Lord Mayor, Sir Stuart Knill, a gentleman of culture and refinement, with literary and musical tastes, an exemplary citizen, a kindly and courteous friend and host. It is easy for the Church of England in its strength and charity to appreciate that enthusiastic zeal for the exclusive Church that he served, which made him do what he could during his mayoralty to advance her interests. He had the almost unique fortune in civic tradition of seeing his son fill an aldermanic chair by his side before he died. He has left an honourable name.

The other is one who was held in singular affection by all British Freemasons, of whom he was the highest official under the Prince of Wales. It is of great importance in social life that those who are honoured with high place should themselves be men of high principles and stainless conduct. The same sympathetic courtesy, natural to a highbred English gentleman, but not always exhibited in official relations, which made Lord Lathom a gracious ruler in the Court, endeared him to the vast and influential body to whom he stood in so close a relation. He recognised the seriousness and noble aims of British Freemasonry, and spared no pains in its service. He was possessed of a charm of manner peculiarly his own, which won the respect and love of all with whom he was brought in contact. In the discharge of the many obligations he was called upon to fulfil, all of which he performed so admirably, he was animated by the highest sense of duty; whether assisting in a Court function, or presiding over a body of the craft, or in conducting daily worship in his own household, he was inspired by the same sense of the dignity and responsibility of life.

Freemasonry has advanced during the present reign in dignity, importance, and extent to an unprecedented degree. Its members have a strong loyalty to St. Paul's as having been built by Freemasons, to whom its illustrious architect is always held traditionally to have belonged. They have given one of the sections of our mosaic work as a memorial of the Bicentenary of the Cathedral. They are always ready to hold special services in every district in the cause of philanthropy and good works. In every lodge of this law-abiding and

¹ This paper is the substance of a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, on Sunday afternoon, November 20, 1898.

charitable brotherhood throughout the Empire there will be sincere sorrow for the premature and sudden removal of a ruler of their order so high-principled, just, courteous and kindly, whose services to themselves have been invaluable.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Reviews.

The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms, being the Croall Lectures for 1893-94. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D. Blackwood. Price 12s.

SLOWLY, but irresistibly, English common-sense and sobriety of judgment are asserting themselves in the matter of Old Testament criticism. Brilliant hypothesis can no longer claim a monopoly of attention in face of facts which are the common property of scholars. The Higher Criticism, in its "advanced" form, has nearly had its day (and a pretty destructive day it has been, taken altogether). It is rapidly growing obsolete, and must, in the nature of things, give way to some fresh development. Meanwhile, we may be grateful to it for the impetus which its very vagaries have given to the advancement of profounder views of revelation generally, and of the Old Testament in particular.

Dr. Robertson has already come before the public as an antagonist of the higher critics; he is in every sense a foeman worthy of the finest critical steel. His knowledge is deep as well as wide; his sagacity is great; his tact in handling his subject consummate. The present work is simply invaluable. We do not believe that the edge of his argument can be turned by any fair process of logic; and we are convinced that his contention that the old traditional view of the origin of the Psalter is—with certain needful modifications—a correct one, is altogether true. Unlike the books of all too many of the higher critics, the present volume is extremely interesting to read; the lucid style and the straightforward dealing with problems of literary and historical criticism are noticeable features in a very noticeable book.

Law's Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life. New edition, with Preface and Notes by Canon J. H. OVERTON, D.D. London: Macmillan and Co. Price 8s. 6d.

This is the first volume of the new "English Theological Library" which the Rev. F. Relton has undertaken to supervise on behalf of Messrs. Macmillan. Mr. Relton has been fortunate in securing the services of Canon Overton as editor of Law's "Serious Call"—a book which, published 170 years ago, marked an epoch in the history of religion in England. The editor in his preface justly says that the great Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century owed its first impetus to this book more than to any other.

The present edition is beautifully printed, and most tastefully bound in demy octavo size ; it is to be followed by complete editions or selected portions of the writings of the principal English theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among volumes already announced, we note Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," Book V. ; Jewel's "Apology"; and Butler's "Analogy and Sermons." We hope most earnestly that the general editor will not preclude from this invaluable series—as it promises to be—the writings of the great English Reformers ; Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer (to name no more) need adequate editions of their chief works, not least at this time.

Canon Overton's notes do not err on the side of fulness ; indeed, both these and the preface are almost too brief and sparse, in our judgment. However, the attempt to familiarize English students with the theological classics of our literature deserves all support, and we cordially wish the new series every success.

Short Notices.

Good Words, 1898. Isbister and Co. Pp. 860. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS most attractive volume again maintains its high place amongst high-class magazines. The illustrations are very delicate and beautiful. The principal stories are by Gilbert Parker and Maarten Maartens. The studies in biography, religion, social matters, art and literature, natural history, science, travel, history, and archæology, give an excellent variety. The whole makes a most interesting and charming gift-book.

Boys' and Girls' Companion, 1898. Church of England Sunday-School Institute. Pp. 192.

A useful contribution to interest and instruct on the Day of Rest. The series of Bible Questions, Bible Reading Union papers, Red Letter Days, the Editor's Letter-Box, and the stories, "Time Tries," "Charlie-Boy," and "Brightric the Sword-bearer," are all good.

The Sunday Magazine, 1898. Isbister and Co. Pp. 856. Price 7s. 6d.

There must be a great satisfaction in sending out so large a collection of admirable literature as is contained in this volume. Mrs. Molesworth is the principal story-teller, and there are many shorter pieces of the same kind. The Talks with Notable People are well and delicately executed, and there are seventeen biographical papers. Religion, Sunday Evenings with the Children, Travel, Literature, Art, Social papers, Poetry, Archæology, and kindred topics, happily fill up a very interesting collection. Dean Farrar's "Great Books" appeared here ; and the account of the Decorations at St. Paul's, and other architectural sketches, are valuable.

The English Reformation and its Consequences (Church Historical Society).
By Professor W. E. COLLINS. S.P.C.K. Pp. 314. 1898.

This temperate and moderate statement of what took place during the period of the English Reformation, and the consequences arising from it, consists of four lectures delivered in Manchester and in Ipswich. The first is on the Reformation itself, the second on Romanism, the third on Puritanism, and the fourth on the result of Puritanism—Sectarianism. There is also a very valuable appendix consisting of thirty-two sections, chiefly giving important documents and quotations illustrative of the Reformation. The writer wisely avoids points at present in dispute as to what exact changes the Reformation did or did not effect in doctrine, as foreign to his purpose, and deals mainly with historical facts and aspects. The obvious continuity of the Church is well drawn out. The statement on p. 20 about non-episcopal bodies might perhaps be re-considered in the light of Professor Sanday's "Conception of Priesthood"; but one of the most important points in Professor Collins' book is the clear and unhesitating way in which he shows that the Church of England has a mind of its own, and is not a compromise.

Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and other Papers. By Rev. A. WELCH. Oliphant, Anderson and Co. Pp. 214. Price 3s. 6d.

This is an interesting attempt to prove St. Peter to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It also contains valuable and suggestive papers on Melchizedek; the Spirits in Prison; Baptism and Salvation; Things which make Salvation certain; the Cup of Gethsemane; and other important topics. The writer is a careful student, and has turned his attention to some of the more out-of-the-way subjects of New Testament inquiry. The style is clear, and the tone reverent.

The Cardinal's Page. By JAMES BAKER. Chapman and Hall. Pp. 314.

Mr. Baker is favourably known as a writer of historical romance. This is a capital story of Cardinal Beaufort's crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. The descriptions of Gloucestershire and Berkeley, where the early chapters are laid, and afterwards of the scene of the crusade, are vivid and natural, and the story is one of sustained interest.

One Hundred Years. C.M.S. Pp. 188.

This is the short history of the C.M.S., and is full of the most valuable information. It will be an excellent guide to all speakers at missionary meetings, and is a wonderful record of noble work.

The Christian Year in its Relation to the Christian Life. By JAMES W. BISHOP. Elliot Stock. Pp. 290.

This is a series of twenty essays on the Christian seasons. The language is simple, the sentences brief, and the tone throughout Scriptural and devotional. The book may be a real help to spiritual life.

The Clerical Visiting List for 1899. Hazell, Watson and Viney. Price 4s.

Besides the usual interesting clerical information, this excellent pocket-book contains places for recording addresses, anniversaries, private

baptisms, Bible-classes, things borrowed, Sick Communion, lists of communicants, and every other kind of ministerial record. It is admirably conceived, and will be found a real help by every hard-working clergyman.

The Church of Christ. By the late Rev. E. A. LITTON. With a Preface by PRINCIPAL CHAVASSE. Nisbet and Co. Pp. 327.

The second edition appears nearly fifty years after the first. It is the most Scriptural and satisfactory answer to the question, What is the Church? and is in reality the teaching of Hooker in a more modern dress. After the reading of this book there need be no further confusion on the conception of the Church.

What Church? By Canon BULLOCK. "Home Words" Office. Pp. 119. Price 1s. 6d.

This is a new and enlarged edition of Canon Bullock's well-known work on the Church of Rome and its claims, with an account of the recent correspondence between the Pope and some of the English clergy.

Beneath the Banner. By F. J. CROSS. Cassell. Pp. 284. Price 1s.

This is a new and enlarged edition of upwards of forty narratives of noble lives and brave deeds. These sketches must be a strong incentive to virtuous effort and action.

Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey. By Canon BASIL WILBERFORCE. Elliot Stock. Pp. 244.

These eloquent and beautiful discourses were taken down in shorthand and published by reiterated request. The preacher has great oratorical gifts hereditary in his family, and takes a broad view of Christian teaching. Whether the reader agrees or not with all the views expressed, he will find much food for thought and reflection.

The World's Third Sunday-School Convention. S.S.U. Pp. 344. Price 3s.

This is a complete record of the largest gathering of Sunday-school experts, and is full of interest and suggestion.

Addresses and Sermons. By BASIL, ARCHBISHOP OF SMYRNA. Translated by the Rev. A. BAKER, R.N. S.P.C.K. Pp. 126.

These compositions will be read with great interest at the present time, as showing what is the authoritative teaching in the pulpit of the Orthodox Eastern Church. The teaching is, of course, not exactly that of the English Church, and the inculcation of confession on p. 99 is much stronger than that in the Prayer-Book, but the tone throughout is one of simple faith and piety.

The Papal Conclaves. By the Rev. A. R. PENNINGTON. S.P.C.K. Pp. 100.

This is a brief and a very interesting study of the way in which the Roman Church obtains its Pope.

John Bunyan. By LINA COOPER. S.S.U. Pp. 144. Price 1s.

The great allegorist may well find a place in The Splendid Lives Series. The writer has given a popular account of him and his work.

Lives of the Saints. Volume XVI. Nimmo. Pp. 411.

This is an appendix volume on the Celtic Church and its saints, including the princes and saints of Brittany; the pedigrees of saintly families; a Celtic and English Calendar of Saints; proverbs of the Welsh, Cornish, Scottish, Irish, Breton, and English people. This volume will, of course, be particularly interesting to English readers.

The Conception of Priesthood in the Early Church and in the Church of England. Professor SANDAY. Longmans. Pp. 128.

Four most interesting sermons on the controversies of the present day, by the learned and temperate Margaret Professor at Oxford. On the unity of the Church he says: "None of the Reformers believed themselves to be breaking the true unity of the Church. There was not one who would not have confessed from his heart that the Church is one. Some of them, it is true, like Zwingli and Calvin, sought this unity in the invisible Church, rather than in the visible. And for the stress which they laid upon the distinction the crying faults of the visible Church must bear a great part of the blame." Speaking of the origin of the ministry, and considering the case of the Quakers, he says: "Any theory as to the nature of the Christian ministry must have its place for phenomena, or paradoxes, if we will, like these; it must not only have a place for them, but it must do justice to them; but I greatly doubt whether justice can be done by singling out a particular principle, and pressing it through in all its logical severity, without constant regard to what lies on the right hand and on the left—*i.e.*, the whole context of its expression in history." On sacerdotalism he writes: "I submit that to sacrifice, and to plead or present a sacrifice ceremonially, are really distinct things; and if those who think with Bishop Lightfoot took their stand upon this distinction, and said that, in a strict use of terms, those who do but plead or present the sacrifice of Another are not entitled to speak or be spoken of as though the act of sacrifice were their own, their position would seem to be inexpugnable." The volume is a model of judicious and conciliatory statement.

MINOR NOTICES.

WE have on our library table a copy of a volume of sermons by Professor J. H. Bernard, D.D., of Dublin, entitled *VIA DOMINI*. These sermons for Christian seasons are good; they are the result of careful thought and abundant knowledge; but there is nothing in them striking enough, we imagine, to justify another addition to our already overloaded sermon literature. Still, despite a certain sacramental tendency in Dr. Bernard's teaching, it is something to find a volume of sermons where the hand of the scholar and thinker, though never obtruded, is so patent. The publishers of the book are *Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton*.

From *Elliot Stock* we have received Archdeacon Madden's *ADDRESSES TO ALL SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF MEN*, practical enough and instinct with a vital Christian teaching, but hardly likely to appeal to readers, though they were doubtless effective enough when preached to the congregations of St. Luke's, Liverpool. The same publishers also send Mr. Henry Tipper's *GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF MUSIC*, the purpose of which is to consider how that growth and development are related to the moral influence music has through all ages exerted, and the ideal forces of which it is the exponent. The language is too enthusiastic and overstrained, and we miss the sanity of judgment and fulness of knowledge which are such admirable features of such a book, for example, as Parry's "Art of Music." It may, however, prove stimulating to some readers.

Mrs. Blackwell's SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN BIOLOGY—also from *Stock*—is a plea for justice to the lower creation in the matter of physiological research. We are in cordial sympathy with every attempt to delegatize the practice of vivisection, believing that the secrets of nature are not meant to be wrung out through the anguish and blood of hecatombs of innocent beasts. We commend Mrs. E. Blackwell's book as a temperate presentation of the whole case in its moral aspect.

PITHY POINTS, by James Sprunt (*Stoneman*), is a useful little manual for furthering the intelligent study of the Bible.

Yet another volume of sermons!—this time by a Canadian divine, Rev. J. de Soyres (Cambridge: *Deighton Bell*). There is much here which commands our earnest sympathy, and something, too, from which we dissent; but the volume is distinctly above the average. Still, we doubt if it will positively increase the high reputation which Mr. de Soyres has won among scholars by his previous works—his study of Montanism in the second century, for instance.

We are unable to criticise in this place the Rev. F. Potts' FREE RHYTHM PSALTER (*Oxford University Press*); but the method applied seems to us complicated, and not likely to supersede existing methods. The book bears evidence, however, of immense labour and exact knowledge.

The Month.

THE outlook in France is more critical than ever. It would be unsafe to hazard any conjectures as to the probable turn of events, for France has a peculiar way of falsifying all forecasts as to her future; but we cannot hide from ourselves any longer that Revolution is nearer than it has been for more than a century. It may be averted, but at present it is difficult to see how. The bureaucracy of France is corrupt to the core. Possibly a diversion may be attempted by the military factions, which would be more than half disposed to declare war against England, if the opportunity presented itself, in order to take the nation's thoughts off from internal troubles. And we fear that recent events in connection with the Fashoda incident, and more lately with the Newfoundland dispute, have an ugly look. We hope for the best; meanwhile the country is bound to prepare for any eventualities.

The controversy over the present crisis in the Church of England, so far from quieting down, is growing daily more acute. Sir William Harcourt's letters to the *Times* (since reprinted as a pamphlet), by indicating the temper of a considerable section of the clergy, have simply voiced the discontent of the laity, which, though steadily repressed, has been felt for a long time past. Either the Bishops must face the situation in all its gravity, and draw the line between English and Latin Catholicism, as they alone can hope to do, or the knell of Disestablishment will have been rung—which would be the signal for the disruption of the National Church.

We regret to announce the retirement of the Rev. Dr. Waller from the Principalship of St. John's, Highbury, owing to breakdown in health. He has been Principal since the death of Dr. Boulton in 1884.

Bishop Welldon, the newly-appointed Bishop of Calcutta, left England on January 11. The scene at Victoria Station was a striking testimony to the regard felt by English people for the new Bishop, and to the extreme interest aroused by his appointment.

On Wednesday evening, January 6, Dr. Barnardo held his twenty-fourth annual supper for London "waifs and strays." Only the neediest were admitted. During 1898 Dr. Barnardo's Homes have dealt with 12,688 separate cases of destitution, wretchedness, and ill-usage.

The Islington Meeting, held on January 10th, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Barlow, was very remarkable. In 1850 there were only forty clergy present; in 1899 there were over a thousand. The one subject for consideration was "The Teaching of the Church of England respecting the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion." Among the papers read on this occasion must be mentioned those by Revs. Dr. Wace, H. C. G. Moule, D.D., Principal Drury, and Canon Girdlestone. A full report is given in the *Record* of January 15, and this report has since been issued in pamphlet form.

A Protestant demonstration (organized by the National Protestant Church Union) took place at the Church House, Westminster, on January 11. It was fully attended, and deep interest was displayed throughout the proceedings. Lord Midleton took the chair. Resolutions were moved by Lord Kinnaird, J. W. Mellor, Q.C., M.P., and Sir John Kennaway, Bart., M.P. At the close of Sir John's speech the chair was vacated by Lord Midleton, and occupied by Prebendary Webb-Peploe.

It is officially announced that at the meeting of Bishops held at Lambeth Palace on Tuesday, January 17, at which all the Bishops were present, it was resolved that a Bill for the reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts, drawn on the lines laid down by the Royal Commission in 1883, should be submitted to the Convocations on February 8 and 9.

The Rev. S. J. Stone, M.A., Rector of All Hallows, London Wall, is about to adopt the novel and useful expedient of opening his church from 6.30 to 8 o'clock each morning, in order that working girls and women who are compelled to travel to town by early workmen's trains may have a place of shelter and rest until the various factories, shops, and warehouses open. A brief service is to be held at 7 a.m., and books, not only religious in character, but also of general interest, are to be provided.

The Bishop of Wakefield has received from an anonymous source the handsome donation of £3,000 towards the fund for enlarging Wakefield Cathedral as a memorial to the late Bishop How, the first Bishop of the diocese. The gift has been prompted by what the present Bishop has said on several occasions to the effect that the object of providing a mother church worthy of the name was of paramount importance to the work of the diocese. A total of £11,000 has now been promised towards the first section of the work, which will cost £14,700.

The new Bishop of Bangor is to be consecrated at Westminster Abbey on Thursday, February 2, the Primate officiating. Bishop Williams will do homage to the Queen at Osborne a few days later, and his enthronement.

ment in Bangor Cathedral is to take place during the following week, so that he will be able to get to work in his diocese at the beginning of Lent.

The Council of the South-Eastern College, Ramsgate, has just appointed Mr. C. Morris to be headmaster, in the place of the Rev. F. W. Tracy, who has recently resigned. Mr. Tracy has been headmaster since 1892, and during his tenure of office the numbers have risen from about sixty-two to nearly two hundred. Mr. Morris has for some years been headmaster of the South-Eastern College junior school.

Mr. Harry Lloyd has given £100 in answer to the appeal of the Church House Council for funds for the second portion of the permanent buildings, to be commenced next June. £10,000 is still required for the completion of this portion of the Church House.

The Emperor of Russia has sent, through the Russian Ambassador in London, as a Christmas gift to the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, a donation of £50.

A great sensation has been created in the art circles of Italy by the unexpected discovery of a magnificent Madonna by the celebrated painter Cima de Conegrano (1460-1518).

According to the *Italie*, a wealthy Englishman has offered Signor Baccelli, the Minister of Public Instruction, to undertake at his own expense the excavations in the Forum, and the partial reconstruction of the ancient monuments, the work of reconstruction to be done under the direction of a commission of archæologists of different countries.

£20,000 has been subscribed during the past year for the East London Church Fund. The Bishop of Stepney, speaking at a meeting at Bournemouth in January, said that this was a record sum for one year's collection.

A course of eight lectures on physical health and recreation is to be given at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., during the next few weeks, under the auspices of various bodies interested in charitable work. A lecture will be given every Thursday at 4 p.m. The first was given on January 26, when Dr. G. B. Longstaff, L.C.C., took the chair. These lectures have been planned so as to be of real service to those who are trying to improve social conditions, and to help the poor and distressed from day to day personally. They will be based on actual experience of such work, and will be simple and practical.

APPEAL.

The Bethnal Green Free Library Committee appeal for £700 to make up £2,000 asked for at the beginning of the year. There has been an exceptional outlay of some £250 for the renovation and repairing of the building, the clock-tower being in a dangerous condition. The clock was the gift of the late Sir James Tyler, a trustee. A stone platform has been erected on one of the staircases. The free lending department has met with signal success, no fewer than between 1,100 and 1,200 persons becoming borrowers, whilst the spacious reading-room is crowded to excess night after night. Altogether upwards of 50,000 persons were benefited during the past year, bringing up the total since the opening, nearly twenty-three years ago, to 900,000.

The institution is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and

takes the character of a polytechnic with its evening classes for technical instruction.

Contributions may be sent to the Treasurer, Mr. F. A. Bevan, 54, Lombard Street, E.C.; Barclay and Co., bankers, same address; or to the Secretary and Librarian at the Bethnal Green Free Library.

JEW'S SOCIETY.—The annual prayer-meeting of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Friday, the 20th inst. The proceedings, which were associated with a commemoration of the Jubilee of Christ Church, Jerusalem, were of an exceptionally interesting character. The chair was taken by Bishop Hellmuth.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—A preliminary programme of the arrangements for the celebration of the C.M.S. centenary—so far as regards London—has been issued by the society. The great event is fixed to take place during the second week in April, from Sunday, the 9th, to Sunday, the 16th. The anniversary service and meetings in May will be held as usual. They are not to be superseded by the centenary commemoration. Most of the larger centres in the provinces have arranged the dates of their local commemorations, of which the names of more than ninety are given in the current number of the *Intelligencer*. The London celebration will be on a vast scale.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS.—We are glad to state that the deficit of £12,653 which lately existed in connection with the Moravian Foreign Missions, has been reduced to about £7,000. The value and soundness of these old-established and economically conducted missions furnish a strong claim on the support of all Christians, and we trust that the balance above-named will be speedily contributed.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.—The January number of the *Bible Society Reporter* contains a letter from Mr. Robert Cust, who raises the question whether Archbishop Ussher's chronology and the "headings" to the chapters should be retained by the society in its editions of the English Bible. The Archbishop first published his chronology in 1650-54, under the title "*Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*." His dates were afterwards interpolated by some unknown authority into the margins of reference editions of the Authorised Version. It is of interest to note that the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society have recently resolved: "That, in view of the confessed erroneousness of many of these dates," all of them shall hereafter be omitted from the society's new editions.

MISS WESTON'S WORK.—During the past month H.I.M. the Empress Frederick paid a visit to the Sailors' Rest at Portsmouth. The Empress was received on landing by the Commander-in-Chief of the Port, Admiral Sir M. Culme-Seymour. During the course of her Imperial Majesty's visit Miss Weston made a careful statement respecting her work, which has extended over a quarter of a century.

SOME NEW BOOKS, ETC.

Gregorovius' History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages. Translated from the German. London: G. Bell and Sons. Vol. vi., in two parts. Price 4s. 6d. each (net).

Works of Bishop Berkeley. Vol. iii. Edited by G. SAMPSON. (Bohn's Library.) G. Bell and Sons. 5s.

The American Revolution. Part I., 1766-1776. By Sir G. OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart. Longmans. 16s.

Democracy and Liberty. By W. E. H. LECKY. New edition (in 2 vols., crown 8vo). 12s.

Blackwood's Magazine will reach its thousandth number in February, and the publishers are making preparations for a special double number to celebrate the event. The magazine was first published in 1817, and we were lately reminded of the number of books that it has contributed to the permanent literature of the country.

Her Majesty, who recently accepted the dedication of the *Oxford Vulgate*, and has now received a copy of the first volume, has forwarded her best thanks to the delegates of the Oxford University Press, and to the editors of this important work.

Obituary.

WE deeply regret to announce the death of the Rev. Joseph William Reynolds, Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Gresham Street, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, in which his son holds also a Prebend. He was ordained by the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield) in 1849. Prebendary Reynolds was the author of the well-known book, "The Supernatural in Nature," as well as of other works of a kindred nature.

The Rev. Dr. Bartholomew Price, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, died at Oxford after a long illness, aged eighty years. He was the son of the late Rev. William Price, Rector of Coln St. Denis, Gloucestershire; was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, and graduated B.A. in 1840, taking first-class honours in mathematics. Mr. Price was ordained in 1841, and from 1844 to 1892 was a Fellow of his college, being elected Master in the latter year, when he was also given a stall in Gloucester Cathedral. He was appointed Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy at Oxford in 1853, and was a member of the Hebdomadal Council, a delegate of the Clarendon Press, Fellow of the Royal Society, a Curator of the Bodleian Library, an honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, a member of the governing body of Winchester College, and a visitor of Greenwich Observatory.

"The death took place at South Stoke Hall, Bath, on January 10, of the Rev. William Acworth, sometime Vicar of Rothley, and a magistrate for the county of Leicester. Mr. Acworth, who was in his ninety-sixth year, was from 1836 to 1875 Vicar of Rothley, Leicestershire, and of Plumstead, and then Rector of West Walton-with-Talbenny. His last preferment was the vicarage of South Stoke, Somerset, which Mr. Acworth held from 1875 to 1884. He was a thorough Protestant, and took a great interest in all Evangelical movements."—*Record*.

From Montreal (January 16) the death is announced of Father Chiniquy, the well-known ex-Roman Catholic priest. He rejected all attempts made by the Roman Catholic Archbishop to reconcile him with his former Church, and died in the Protestant faith.