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THE
CHURCHMAN

JUNE, 1889.

ART. I.—DIVORCE AND RE-MARRIAGE.

Report on Divorce presented to the Upper House of Convocation by a Committee of Bishops, 1885.

Papers thereon by SIR WALTER PHILLIMORE, BART., D.C.L., and JOHN WALTER LEA, ESQ., F.R. Hist. Soc.

Report of Anglican Bishops at Lambeth Conference, 1880.

IN offering a few remarks on this very delicate subject, I may say that I do it from the standpoint of a clergyman of the Church of England, with his Bible and his Prayer-book for his guides, and the Acts of Parliament to refer to, which, in certain cases, may instruct him as to the civil rights of his parishioners.

I begin by affirming that the *final* authority is Holy Scripture, and it is to be remarked that the high ideal of marriage, which is sometimes spoken of as peculiar to Christianity, is to be found in the very earliest pages of Genesis. "In the image of God created He him, male and female created He them." "Therefore" (remarks the writer of Genesis) "shall a man leave his father and mother and be joined unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh"—words quoted and reasserted both by Christ Himself and by St. Paul.

There is no doubt as to the Divine institution being "one man to one woman." Neither polygamy nor polyandry are consistent therewith, neither divorce nor second marriage. The chivalry which taught a man "to love one maiden only, cleave to her and worship her by years of noble deeds until he won her," does but express not only that which is healthy and manly, but also that which is in accordance with the high ideal of marriage.

It is quite true that in regard to divorce, Moses permitted what Christ forbade. It is quite true that polygamy not being expressly forbidden, has been practised without rebuke on the one hand, or consciousness of moral wrong or impurity on the

other. "But from the beginning it was not so." Any marriage laws which tend to degrade the institution of marriage are to be looked on with suspicion, although they may have been framed in good faith and to meet cases of hardship. Any marriage customs which have the force of law, and which are inconsistent with the highest ideal, are to be dealt with with care and caution, with a view to eliminate gradually the objectionable elements, if they cannot be suddenly and at once got rid of.

Scholastics agree that the *essence* of matrimony is mutual consent. Without it there is no true matrimony. A marriage is *no* marriage if solemnized when either party is for any reason not able to express that consent, and that consent must be publicly signified and regularly accepted on behalf of the community. Statute law sometimes interposes with definite regulations as to the exact form in which the registration of this consent, before competent witnesses, shall be enforced.

The chief *object* of matrimony is the perpetuation of the human race. Hence, inability to consummate marriage is a bar to marriage. The Marriage Service, however, contemplates marriage as allowable when the woman is past child-bearing, and the "mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other," may in itself be a sufficient *cause* for a perfectly valid marriage. It has been pointed out that the two psalms appointed in our marriage service are appropriate, the one to the case of the marriage of young persons and those who may expect children, the other to the case of those who marry with no such expectation. To Christians there is a further point. Their matrimony is a religious contract, μέγα μυστήριον, *magnum sacramentum*, having a typical meaning, and applied by St. Paul to illustrate the Divine mystery of the union of Christ with His Body collectively and with His members severally. Hence we may formally distinguish three kinds of matrimony: 1. *Legitimum*—where the contract is publicly made in accordance with the laws of the country; 2. *Ratum*—where it has been solemnized "in facie ecclesiæ;" 3. *Consummatum*.

The question which we have to consider especially is: Can the matrimonial bond ever be dissolved? Scripture says, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder." "He that putteth away his wife and marrieth another" (μοιχᾶται ἐπ' αὐτήν) "is guilty of adultery against her," that is, to her prejudice; "and he who marrieth a divorced woman committeth adultery." In short, a divorced man or woman must not re-marry. But there is a limiting clause, παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας. What does this mean? Does it mean post-nuptial infidelity? No, argue the canonists, that would be μοιχεία. The word πορνεία signifies the misconduct of the unmarried, and the limiting clause refers to

ante-nuptial unchastity for which a man may, on discovering it, put away his wife and marry another, though he is not compelled to do so. And they further teach that if after having condoned ante-nuptial *πορνεία*, the husband finds out his wife in *μοιχεία*, he is free from her, and the marriage may be considered void, provided he has not himself so sinned.

At first sight there is something to be said in favour of this view. Under Moses' law the punishment for adultery was, if enforced, not divorce, but death.¹ In the later days there seems to have crept in a very wide interpretation of the permission to a man to give a writing of divorcement to his wife, "if she find not favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her," or, according to the Revised Version, "if he "hath found some unseemly thing in her" (Deut. xxiv. 1), following herein the Septuagint (*ασχημον πραγμά*). Hebrew expositors have differed as to the meaning of the term. Josephus says :

He that desires to be divorced from his wife for *any cause whatsoever*—and *many such causes happen among men*—let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more, for by this means she may be at liberty to marry another husband.

The Pharisees and the School of Hillel took this lax view of divorce, while the School of Schammai restrained it to some act of unchastity. The Hebrew seems to mean "matter of nakedness;" possibly some light and immodest behaviour not amounting to adultery—or, as some have suggested, some distemper of body or mind not observed before marriage, but which unfitted a woman for the duties of a wife. Lightfoot and Michaelis support the interpretation of the Schammai School. The former considers that the Mosaic permission of divorce was granted *only* in the case of adultery, when for whatever reason a man was "willing to put his wife away privily," without subjecting her to the extreme penalty.

The Lord Himself, in answer to the Pharisees, certainly seems to affirm that Moses *permitted* divorce for more causes than one, and that "because of the hardness of their hearts;" for in a state of society in which law was weak and passion strong, rude and licentious men might have tried to get rid of their wives by poison or violence if there were no other means of release.

The regulations as to divorce for pre-nuptial fornication were very clear and precise (Deut. xxii. 15). Similar regulations are in operation among Orientals at the present time. Among ourselves "divorce by reason of nullity" can be claimed in this case under Canon law only, for if once married according to

¹ Death by stoning if of the common people, death by burning if the daughter of a priest.

legal form, a man is bound—by English law—to his wife, virgin or not. We have observed that loose notions as to divorce prevailed in our Lord's time, looser than even the permission of Moses warranted. He showed by his own act that more merciful treatment was to be accorded to the adulteress. He bade those stone her who were innocent of sin themselves, and this amounted to acquittal of the extreme penalty. He being without sin said : "Neither do I condemn thee."¹

But if the sinner were not to be stoned, was there no lesser—no lighter penalty? Was the husband tied to the adulteress, from whom her death would have set him free? Could he not at least have the benefit of divorce? The report of the Committee of the Upper House of Convocation on the subject, affirms, in opposition to the Canonists, that the "majority of expositors have held that our Lord's words are to be understood as permitting divorce, *a vinculo matrimonii*, in the one case of adultery." The word *μοιχεία* would not include ante-nuptial unchastity; *πορνεία* would include sin before or after marriage. Thus in the Litany: "From *fornication* and all other deadly sin"—*i.e.*, sin of this class. Our law allows of divorce for post-nuptial infidelity on the part of either man or woman, though the conditions are simpler in the case of the woman; cruelty or desertion by the man, as well as infidelity, being also to be proved before the wife can obtain her divorce.

It is sometimes said that this inequality is due to the fact that men make the laws for their own convenience. But the reason is rather to be found in the somewhat prosaic consideration that the man is responsible for the maintenance of wife and children, and that adultery on the part of the wife presumably throws on him the support of the children of another man; whereas misconduct on the part of the man, though it may produce domestic unhappiness, does not inflict an injury of the same nature.

Divortium is often spoken of as allowable in the scholastics. But divorce "a mensa et thoro" is one thing, divorce "a vinculo" is another. I believe that I am correct in asserting that "Divortium a vinculo" is held to be impossible by strict Canonists in the case of *Christian* marriage. Yet according to Roman teaching divorce is effected by one or both of the parties "entering religion," whereby they become as if dead. We may note St. Paul's words: "Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed," implying that to be loosed was possible, and compare them with the words: "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife." Some say the "*legitimum* matri-

¹ "No reasonable critic throws doubt on the incident, but only on its present place in the sacred narrative."—ELICOTT.

monium"—the legal marriage—is indissoluble. Some consider that it must be *ratum* too—that is, Christian—and then indissoluble on account of its sacramental character. Divorce "*a thoro et mensa*," according to the Canonists, does not enable the parties to marry again. The words of the 107th canon of our Church both affirm and deny this. They run thus :

In all sentences pronounced ONLY for divorce "*a thoro et mensa*" there shall be a caution and restraint inserted in the act of the said sentence : That the parties so separated shall live chastely and continently ; neither shall they, during each other's life, contract matrimony with any other person. And for the better observation of this last clause, the said sentence of divorce shall not be pronounced until the party or parties requiring the same have given good and sufficient caution and security into the court that they will not in any way break or transgress the said restraint (*monitionem*) or prohibition.

A singularly lame and impotent conclusion. It is difficult to see in what other way, except by marriage, the monition not to marry could be transgressed. It is plain that marriage is allowed to be *possible*, though forbidden ; and further, it looks very much as if, by the forfeiture of the bond, a man might pay the compensation for his breach of law.

All the Canonists seem to allow that a "*legitimum matrimonium*" between non-Christians may be dissolved if one party becomes Christian and the other refuses to live peaceably with him or her. But by 1 Cor. vii. 12-15, it is not compulsory. On this point St. Paul is quite plain : "If the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases." Liguori holds that the apostasy of one party after a "*ratum et consummatum matrimonium*" entirely releases the other, if he or she desires to re-marry. All the Canonists appear to teach that matrimony must not be put on a level with mere ordinary contracts, because in these the parties can return to their previous condition, but in matrimony this is impossible.

As regards polygamy the Scholastics teach that it is not against the law of nature, and therefore a polygamous marriage between non-Christians may be *legitimum* : it can never be *ratum*, because of the typical and sacramental meaning of the union. As there is but one Christ and one Church, so there must be one spouse and one bride. And according to this teaching, a converted heathen or Mahomedan would be released from all his wives if he chose. But is he obliged to give them up, or may he, being a Christian, retain a number of wives to whom he was united as a heathen ? If not, must he marry any one of them, and if so, which ? Hence arises a grand practical difficulty, not yet solved by any sufficient authority. Some argue that no Christian can, under any circumstances, have more than one wife, that a polygamist cannot be admitted to

Baptism or Holy Communion. Others argue that "husband of one wife," a necessary condition of the orders of deacon and priest, implies that lay converts might be husbands of more than one wife, though such persons could not be admitted into holy orders, or, in fact, to any spiritual office. This is, I understand, the view taken by the Indian Bishops of our own Communion, while the South African Bishops follow the Roman rule.

The difference in practice I take to arise partly from the different character of the people with whom they have severally to deal, but still more because the controlling spirits have belonged to different schools of theology. Not long ago, polygamy was allowed, I am informed, in the diocese of Nelson, and forbidden in the other dioceses of New Zealand.

Nowhere is anyone allowed to marry more than one wife after baptism. In cases in which a man is allowed to retain a plurality of wives, he is advised to confine himself to one only as regards the "debitum matrimonii."

It seems to be plain that there is no prospect of the observance of a general rule in churches of the Anglican Communion, or dioceses of the same branch of the Church. If the Bishops who recently discussed the subject at the Lambeth Conference could have agreed unanimously, their resolutions would have had something like authority; but even then there are cases in which a clergyman must be guided by his own conscience, and by the law of the land, and respect for the rights and wishes of his people, rather than by a hard and fast rule agreed upon by one hundred other clergymen who happen to be in episcopal orders in different parts of the world.

The points on which they seem to have been quite unanimous are these :

That, inasmuch as our Lord's words expressly forbid divorce, except in the case of fornication or adultery, the Christian Church cannot recognise divorce in any other than the excepted case, or give any sanction to the marriage of any person who has been divorced, contrary to this law, during the life of the other party.

That under no circumstances ought the guilty party, in the case of a divorce for fornication or adultery, to be regarded, during the lifetime of the innocent party, as a fit recipient of the blessing of the Church on marriage.

That, recognising the fact that there always has been a difference of opinion in the Church on the question whether our Lord meant to forbid marriage to the innocent party in a divorce for adultery, the Conference recommends that the clergy should not be instructed to refuse the Sacraments to those who, under civil sanction, are thus married.

The points carried by a majority of votes are these :

That it is the opinion of this Conference that persons living in polygamy be not admitted to baptism, but that they be accepted as candidates and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they

shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ. (Carried by 83 votes to 21.)

That the wives of polygamists may, in the opinion of this Conference, be admitted in some cases to baptism, but that it must be left to the local authorities of the Church to decide under what circumstances they may be baptized. (Carried by 54 votes to 34.)

There is an old saying that votes should be not merely counted but weighed. This we have no means of doing. It is not improbable that the votes of the minority were cast by those who had practical knowledge of the difficulties, or by those who justified the exception, which, nevertheless, proved the rule.

It is somewhat remarkable that there seems to be no trace whatever of controversy on the subject in the early Church. The few hints we have in the New Testament seem certainly to favour the opinion that polygamy was not at once forbidden, though the polygamist laboured under disabilities. The absence of any controversy on the subject favours this opinion, as it would have been a burning question if raised. But the reason the question of polygamy did not come prominently forward was probably this, that the Romans and Greeks, though tolerating concubinage, were monogamists, and that practically the Jews had become so; at least, converts were rarely made from polygamous Israelites. It is fortunate that differences of practice disappear as Christianity prevails. Christianity presents itself to a polygamist as a system of religion different from that to which he has been accustomed. Perhaps he would gladly reduce his establishment. He has only to profess Christianity, and he is a richer and less burdened man. Or perhaps, having legally and in all good faith, and with no suspicion of wrong-doing, married several wives, to whom and to his children by them he is tied by natural affection, Christianity, as presented to him by what I will call the Roman rule, bids him literally to give up all. Yes, is the reply, "a man must give up *all* for Christ." Be it so. But what shall we say of the women thus ruined for no fault of their own? They entered on the marriage contract in good faith. Can it be called a Christian act to throw them out upon the world, without a name or prospects, possibly to starve? Or again, in many cases, who is to replace the wives, who have their duties in a large establishment, which cannot be reduced without terrible social disturbance? It must be remembered, too, that the high ideal of marriage which Christianity teaches is unknown to the men and women to whom the message of the Gospel comes. How are we to explain "mystical union" to the vast majority of the human race?

That the woman should be in any sense the equal of the man, that she should be his counterpart, his true "helpmeet for him"—this was very slowly learned by any, and we may add is even

now understood by few. Hence it is that practical legislators dealing with human nature and human society as they are, have for good or for evil interfered by statute with the theoretical and scholastic, nay, even with the religious view of marriage. Until this was done, the divorce "a vinculo" being in theory impossible, the difficulty was surmounted by "divorce by reason of nullity," which became technical at Doctor's Commons. "The omnipotence of Parliament," making divorce possible, has got rid of the scandal of perfectly valid marriages being dissolved on false pretences. Practical legislation does not concern itself much with metaphysical theories. Marriage is to be promoted, not only with a view to the increase of the population, but in the interests of morality, and because married men are the most profitable of citizens. Divorce is to be discouraged, because it is for the public good that the man and the woman should take one another for better and for worse. But if once effected, our legislators have never paid much heed to the theoretical difference between divorce "a thoro et mensa" and that "a vinculo." Judicial separation has been allowed in certain cases, but divorce has always been treated as a real and effectual severance of the marriage tie. To forbid re-marriage in this case has seemed undesirable, as tending to promote immorality, and as a hardship to all parties, especially to the innocent woman. At the same time a civil marriage *legitimum* if not *ratum* has been made possible, and the clergy are not compelled to solemnize the marriage of divorced persons, although, by the way, the parish clergyman who has any conscientious objection, is obliged to allow the use of the parish church to another who is more complaisant. The church belongs to the parishioners, not to the clergyman.

The report of the committee of the Upper House of Convocation seems to be exact in statement and sober in judgment. It agrees essentially with that of the Lambeth Conference. It asserts that it is at least highly probable that the re-marriage of the innocent is not absolutely prohibited, that on this point the teaching of Holy Scripture cannot be pronounced to be perfectly clear, while the judgments of the councils of the Catholic fathers and of our own divines have varied. It further recommends that the innocent party ought to be advised not to re-marry during the lifetime of the guilty. If, however, the innocent party shall re-marry, the charity of the Church requires that the ministrations of the Church should not be withheld from the person so re-married; on which, I venture to remark, that whatever a clergyman's private opinion as to the propriety of the re-marriage of the divorced, he has no power of excommunicating those who have contracted a perfectly legal marriage, and are not "open and notorious evil livers." The

Roman Communion at Trent, while strictly prohibiting the re-marriage of the innocent partner, deliberately abstained from anathematizing those who permit it. The Oriental Church has always allowed, but discountenanced it. In the drafts of the Parliamentary Bills to legalize divorce, a clause was inserted that the parties were not to marry again during the lifetime of the other, which clause was always struck out in committee, and for the reasons already referred to, the immoral tendency of any regulation preventing marriage, and the great hardship inflicted on the innocent party.

We cannot but deplore the facilities for divorce afforded by our courts. In my opinion too little care has often been taken to check collusion. It cannot be right that people have only to sin in order to be free, or to marry either the guilty partner in crime or any other. The promotion of a healthy public feeling in the matter is, however, more required than any alteration in the law itself. I need hardly say that to a conscientious parish priest a request to re-marry one who has been divorced will often cause the very greatest anxiety. Of course, he may take the high sacerdotal position, and utterly refuse to *re-marry a divorced person in any case*. In this he is backed by the Canon law, a law constructed for the most part by those who knew nothing of ordinary life, which in much is halting, uncertain and contradictory, which has no authority, and which, moreover, he probably knows nothing about. Some do this from rigid conscientious scruples, others possibly because human nature loves to assert itself when clothed in a little brief authority. Few would remain the guilty party, whether man or woman. There are many cases, too, in which it is plainly a duty to refuse to give the Church's blessing to that which can be a civil contract only. For myself, I have always felt such a deep pity for the woman divorced for no fault of her own, that I have been tempted to exercise the discretion conferred on me as a clergyman of the Church of England, and have preferred to perform the marriage ceremony myself rather than shift off the responsibility on another. I repeat that it is an anxious task for the parish clergyman to have the dispensing power in his own hands.¹

There is no law without an exception, and he has been made the judge of the exception. He is but fallible, he may often make mistakes; but it is something to be thankful for that no burden is laid upon his conscience, and if he err on the side of charity, I doubt not that he will be forgiven quite as readily as if he err on the side of strictness.

“Summum jus, summa injuria.”

E. K. KENDALL, D.C.L.

¹ The Church of Rome, while insisting rigidly on the sacramental character of marriage, has been scandalously lax in permitting exceptions.

ART. II.—PROFESSOR CHEYNE ON JEREMIAH.

Jeremiah: His Life and Times. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D.,
 Oriel Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, and Canon of Rochester.
 Nisbet and Co., London, 1889.

PROFESSOR CHEYNE is a man of great culture, of wide and varied reading, a travelled man and a scholar, and among the most advanced of those who take to themselves the name of critic of the Old Testament, hitherto almost exclusively assumed by Germany. The little book, whose title is given above, is one of the "Men of the Bible" series published by Messrs. Nisbet; but it offers a strong contrast not only to those works that commonly issue from their house, but also to some of the other books in the same series. For ourselves, we are free to confess we have not been able to read it without pain, not unmixed also with considerable surprise and alarm. The writer professes to be a disciple of "Arthur Stanley," and to have as his object "so to delineate the outward events of the Old and New Testament as that they should come home with a new power to those who by long familiarity have almost ceased to regard them as historical at all." But in this case this result has been sought, as the writer says, "with faltering steps," not so much by endeavouring to imbibe the spirit of his author, as by translating, or attempting to translate, his thoughts and incidents into the language, customs, and sentiments of modern nineteenth century life, with all its highly-developed civilization, its love of fiction, its party spirit, and its scepticism. The book is in no sense "a Life of Jeremiah," but much more a critical essay on his writings, with occasional biographical allusions. Indeed, the writer rejects the idea of producing a biography of the prophet. The facts of his life are presented to us in a halo of mingled idealism and sentiment, which almost leaves us in doubt as to whether they were facts. One feels inclined to protest against being robbed of the actual historical Jeremiah of flesh and blood of the Hebrew, Greek, and English, under colour of having his history popularized and reduced to the conditions of our own vulgar daily life (see *e.g.* p. 125, n.). Unquestionably the Bible is a book for the million, but it can only become the book of the million by the million being brought under the influence of its spirit and conformed to its standard. It is one of the mistakes of the present day to suppose that the multitude and the masses can be won to Christ by Christ being adapted to the masses. Hence it is that we turn our churches into music-halls and theatres in the hope of winning the multitude, forgetting that once, at

all events, the Son of Man was betrayed by a kiss. Professor Cheyne's *Jeremiah* is a conspicuous attempt to make the most advanced criticism of the Old Testament popular, and to add a new interest to the study of it by eliciting interest in such criticism; but it may safely be affirmed that the attempt will not succeed. The dry details of critical conjecture will have no interest for the general public after the first effect of their novelty has passed away; and what will remain will only be an ineradicable disbelief in the essential authority of the Bible and a corresponding indifference to its teaching.

The reader must decide for himself whether these remarks are just; but let him ponder, for instance, the account given of the prophet's call in the opening chapter which bears the sensational title, "God commands to take the trumpet"—a fair sample of the endeavour to popularize above referred to. "Three distinct heavenly voices reached the youthful Jeremiah—reached him, that is, not from a God without, but from the God within him; or, in Western language, he passed through three separate, though connected, phases of consciousness, which he could not but ascribe to a direct Divine influence" (p. 2). Now, let it be granted that the mysterious call of the prophets had never so many points of specific resemblance to the summons to serve God that comes to "all His saints" and chosen ones; but what authority have we for saying that, in the case of Jeremiah, these voices did *not* come from a God without him? Surely the very fact that in his case the God within him was identical with the God without him was that which made him justly ascribe these voices to a "direct Divine influence." And what the prophet wishes to impress upon us is that they were guaranteed to him, how it is futile to inquire, in such a way that the outward and the inward were made one, and felt and shown to be so. If the call was merely subjective, as we are here carefully assured it was, then in what respect did it differ from the equally strong subjective impressions of George Fox, or John Bunyan, or Ignatius Loyola, or, as the writer himself would perhaps suggest, of John Milton, or Girolamo Savonarola?

It is exactly this which, while seeking to bring the reality of Jeremiah's call within the comprehension of all, virtually deprives it of its intrinsic worth and its specific difference. If there was not an element in the call of Jeremiah and Isaiah (define it whether we can or not) which marked them out from all others who are called, why is it that they are what they are, and capable of being held up as standards for ourselves? Were the prophets actually as great as we believe they are, or are they merely as great as we choose to make

them? Was prophecy a unique and unexampled phenomenon in Israel, or was it merely a development of that ecstatic and frenzied soothsaying which prevailed at Delphi? Was it a gift of the Divine Spirit *sui generis*, or is it rightly to be resolved into a *facsimile* of the ordinary gift of the Divine Spirit as first consciously poured out upon the individual believer? Because, if that is the case, we come perilously near to setting the light within not only on a level with, but above, the light without; and the Word of God, instead of being a lamp to our feet and a light to our paths, is in danger of being quenched in the uncertain vagaries of our own imagination. And that this is not an ideal danger may be seen from language afterwards employed in relation to the same subject. To Professor Cheyne the revelation to Jeremiah was wholly internal. "I have spoken of the experience of the young prophet as an inward experience. So it mainly was. But it was accompanied with *imagination*s which were as real to him as if they had been visible to the outward eye." (The italics are ours.) "They partook of the nature of visions, but, unlike many recorded visions, were unaccompanied, *as we must infer*, with morbid, moral, or physical phenomena." Why must we infer it? That is precisely the question to which we seek an answer; and the only answer is, because the writer himself is pleased to infer it. But what if, as we read the prophet, the vision was not only as real as if visible to his outward eye, but it had, over and beyond its subjective reality, a positive and objective reality, which was the appointed voucher for its truth? Are we not intended to gather this from Jeremiah's own narrative, and have we any right to affirm the contrary?

We have dwelt at length on this initial point, because it is virtually the pivot of the whole matter. The view of revelation here presented is a purely subjective one, and *consequently* a view which we may modify at will¹ by the excision of the narrative, or emendation of it according to fancy and supposed critical insight. The idea of revelation is a mere creation of our own, which we honour and indulge because it is our own, not because it has any external Divine authority which we are under obligation to recognise. This is really, we venture to say, the essential defect of this treatise of Professor Cheyne's. For instance, we turn over a few pages, and we read, "It appears certain that Jeremiah often somewhat exaggerates the spiritual insensibility of his people. He himself even now and then confesses that it is composed of two very different elements" (see xv. 19, xxiv. 5-7). Let the

¹ We read, *e.g.*, p. 152, "That Jeremiah began to make the discovery, or, speaking religiously, to receive the revelation."

reader note these passages, and then ask himself what is gained by this treatment of the prophet's language, rather than by accepting it as he proposes it to us, not as the uncertain and "exaggerated" word of man, but as the veritable Word of God, which he was commissioned to speak, and which we—unless like unto "the vile" and "naughty figs"—are expected to receive. So, again (p. 39), "He had not entirely got beyond the imperfect moral conceptions of Isaiah, who says in effect, in his opening discourse (Isa. i. 15-17): 'Wash you, make you clean, and then God will hearken to your prayers,' implying that the sinner himself can nip his evil inclinations in the bud—can, by his native strength, 'cease to do evil' and 'learn to do well.' Jeremiah (in iv. 3, 4) speaks like Isaiah." Surely a very monstrous gloss, only to be equalled by some of those which the writer charges against the original guardians of the Jewish Scriptures. Does this deserve to be called criticism, and, if so, must not every true critic repudiate it? When the practice of Goethe in re-editing and rearranging his works (p. 6) is advanced as a parallel to Jeremiah's "violation of strict historical truth" in the form of his prophecies, as we have them, and when the dictum of Novalis, "all transition begins with illusion," is alleged as proof that Deuteronomy was put forth as an "illusion" (p. 76) in the days of Josiah, our eyes, not unnaturally, begin to swim, and we ask ourselves whether it can be true that we have any *Holy Bible* at all, and whether the writers of it do not stand, after all, on a somewhat lower level than Goethe and Novalis. Unless prophets like Habakkuk and Zephaniah had some mission and authority to which the greatest writers among ourselves and in Germany can lay no claim, we cannot, for ourselves, see why their writings are worth the labour which critics bestow upon them. As mere writers they cannot for a moment compare with others, and it can only be on account of the antiquarian and archæological interest attaching to them that they deserve our attention. We venture to think that there is something in them which cannot be found elsewhere, and this, whatever we mean by it, is what we rightly call the Word of God, and it is on this account, and this account alone, that they demand our attentive, and, we may add, our reverential study.

"Jeremiah: his Life and Times" is in two parts, of which the first is entitled "Judah's Tragedy down to the Death of Josiah," and the second "The Close of Judah's Tragedy." It is in the first of these that our own sense of truth and of the allegiance due to the Word of God has been the most terribly outraged, probably because it is in this part that the writer has to deal with the discovery of Deuteronomy in the

temple by Hilkiyah, the priest, in the reign of Josiah. Mr. Cheyne does not hesitate to assume and assert that in this discovery we must find the original and authoritative publication of the fifth book of the Law, and, indeed, it is this assumption, as the most assured result of the latest and soundest criticism, that is so monstrous to the scholar and so misleading to the general unlearned public. If criticism means judgment based on scholarship, we must be allowed to demur emphatically to the assumption, and to deny positively that scholarship demands any such conclusion. On this ground it is not only undemonstrated, but we may affirm that it cannot be demonstrated. But if criticism means the right, in the name of superior linguistic knowledge, to frame any conjectures we please about the structure, contents and origin of these ancient compositions, to assert that any verse or passage that conflicts with our own pet theory is to be set aside as irrelevant or of later date in order that it may not interfere with the construction of the fair aerial castle we are endeavouring to build in the upper regions of the so-called "higher" exegesis; if it means that any hypothesis for which there appears to be even the shadow of evidence in any other hypothesis may be used as a solid basis for assertions that have the greater attraction because they overturn every notion that has the disadvantage of possessing the prescriptive authority of tradition, then the assumption that Deuteronomy was of the age of Josiah may be allowed to pass, and we need not inquire, for it makes not the slightest difference whether it was by "fraud or needful illusion" that it was introduced. But, for ourselves, as laymen, we are at a loss to know how we are to continue to listen to the reading of this last solemn message of the great lawgiver, as the lessons for the Sundays before Pentecost, with the implied parallel that they suggest between Moses and the One greater than Moses in His converse with His disciples during the great forty days before His departure. And if it is part of the providence of God thus to teach by "illusion," may we not confidently expect that all the history of the life, death and resurrection of Christ will infallibly come under the law of similar illusion, and that the promised gift of the Spirit will prove to have been nothing more than the charter by which unlimited and unrestrained license is given to our own spirits to frame and fashion what theories and conjectures they please, and to imagine that these are required by the demands of scholarship, in order that we may render the pure milk and the distasteful manna of the Word of God acceptable to the palate of a critical and fastidious generation whose heart is set upon excitement, and whose appetite craves for novelty and change?

As samples of the writer's method of dealing with this matter we note the following :

The illusion respecting the authorship of Deuteronomy lasted for centuries, and produced, as we may reverently suppose, no injurious effect upon the Church. But in modern times, and especially now, when the reign of law is recognised not less by the defenders than by the opponents of theology, to ask men to believe that Deuteronomy was written by Moses, or that its substance was spoken, though not written by Moses, and supernaturally communicated to Hilkiah, would be to impose a burden on the Church which it is not able to bear, and to justify the prejudice against the Church's Biblical scholars which finds frequent utterance in the secular press. (P. 78.)

To this we can only say that two opposite suppositions are suggested and thrown together here, and that with the second we have nothing whatever to do. With regard to the former we can only ask, why not ?

Let me only add that, in spite of the critical dissection of Deuteronomy which in honesty I have been obliged to give, I can enjoy the book as a whole as much as anyone, and can admire the skill with which the different parts have been put together. It is a fine imaginative account of the latter days of Moses, and I glow with pleasure as I read the concluding words : " *There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses* " (Deut. xxiv. 10), *sic*. Yes, truly ; for in *this* Moses I detect the germ of Jeremiah—the forerunner of Christ. (P. 84.)

What, then, one would wish to inquire, was Jeremiah's "critical" opinion of Isaiah ? Again :

Well said the author of Deuteronomy, in the introduction which (after, perhaps, a few years' experience of the benefits to the nation at large of the system introduced through him) he prefixed to his original work, *what great nation is there that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law (tōrāh) which I set before you this day* (Deut. iv. 8). He speaks, no doubt, in the assumed character of Moses ; but by the three times repeated expression, *great nation* (see vers. 6-8), he reveals the fact that the people of Israel had, either through God's long-suffering mercy (Rom. ii. 4), or through His blessing upon its obedience, attained a high degree of temporal prosperity. (P. 89.)

And yet at this time the nation was going rapidly into captivity, and sinking to its fall ! Once more :

Jeremiah "cannot any longer have been an interant expounder of Deuteronomy. Nothing which could be colourably represented as favouring mechanical religion was a fit text-book for a progressive teacher. It is, perhaps, a significant fact in this connexion that in Jeremiah's epitaph (if I may call it so) upon Josiah he praises the king, not for introducing the *tōrāh*, but for doing justice to the poor, and thus proving that he 'knew' Jehovah (Jer. xxii. 16). Later on he even becomes the prophet of a 'new covenant,' which is to supersede all previous *tōrāh* (Jer. xxxi. 31). Clearly, then, Jeremiah must before this have begun to be disappointed with Deuteronomy. He may have read it privately—this, perhaps, we may argue from his continued allusions to it ; but in public he confined himself to reproducing its more spiritual, more prophetic portions. As a whole Deuteronomy must be regarded as thrust somewhat into the background, until at length the problem which it sought to solve was resumed at the close of the exile, and a fresh combination

of elements, partly historical, partly sacerdotal, partly prophetic, was published as our present Pentateuch by the great reformer Ezra." (P. 107.)

Truly, whatever may have been the case with Jeremiah in the conjectural circumstances imagined by the writer, it is not Deuteronomy, but himself, with whom *we* are disappointed, and, withal, not a little astounded at him.

Professor Cheyne seeks to find some ground of compromise between what he calls criticism and the Church. It was plainly in the same spirit that the original writers and followers of the Tracts sought to find some compromise between the formularies of the Church of England and the teaching of the Church of Rome. They had outgrown the one; they longed for closer approximation to the other. It is the same with a particular school in the Church of our own day. They have adopted the wild and unproven theories of Kuenen, Wellhausen and others, and they feel that the formularies of the English Church as they stand, to say nothing about the scheme of received Christianity in the vast body of the universal Church, cannot but require large modification before there can be any truce with these novel theories; and rather than yield the advantages of Church communion they ignore the requirements of those formularies and ordinances upon which it depends.

It is not in any narrow spirit of exclusiveness that we write. The facts of the Apostles' Creed are those which are alone required to be believed by the baptized; but even these are assuredly inconsistent with that theory of purely and exclusively subjective revelation which, as we have seen, Professor Cheyne advocates in the case of Jeremiah. If revelation is only subjective, what about the revelation of Christ? What about the facts (?) of the life of Christ? What about the baptism of Christ, the transfiguration of Christ, and the like? Were these objective realities or subjective impressions? And if the life of Christ preserved to us in the New Testament cannot be interpreted without allowing place for the external and the objective, is this the only life in which this is the case? What about the mission of St. Paul and the history of the Acts? Have we any external revelation to rest upon or not? Is it presented to us in the New Testament or is it not? Is it peculiar to the New Testament or is it not? Is it presented to us also in the Old Testament or is it not? Is Deuteronomy the historic record of any such revelation or is it not? Most undoubtedly it comes before us as such. Most undoubtedly, if its origin was such as Professor Cheyne imagines and assumes, it is nothing but an "imaginary" and "illusory" representation of such a revelation; and, what is more, as such it was intended to

deceive—and it does deceive—those who in their ignorance and the simplicity of their defective scholarship as plain men accept it for what it plainly professes to be.

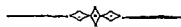
It is not to be supposed that the ordinary devout and believing English public, who from their youth up have given the Bible credit for meaning what it says, will tamely submit to be robbed of a jewel so precious as Deuteronomy if it is what it seems to be, and to accept instead a base and worthless forged imitation of the last words of the great lawgiver, to whose authority our Lord thrice appealed in His conflict with the father of lies, with the significant and conclusive assertion, "It is written." Where was it written, forsooth, if not in the volume of the sterling Word of God? Was it written in the fictitious story of some unknown priests in the time of Josiah, and was that great and pious monarch one of the first to be deluded and imposed upon thereby? And did the Son of man Himself condescend and consent to take His stand upon so insecure and untrustworthy a foundation as an ideal narrative whose only value was that which was wrongly ascribed to it by bigoted and misguided priests, when He was contending for the salvation of the world with the arch-enemy of mankind? Probably the narrative of the temptation is of no more value than that of Deuteronomy in the eyes of our critics, but assuredly Christ our Lord treated this book then as of higher value than the advocates of late origin and the apologists of "illusion" assign to it, and has thereby invested it for those who believe in Him with additional authority and recognition as the standard word of God.

If, indeed, it could be shown by clear and unmistakable evidence, by indubitable proofs of language, and the like, that this book was merely an ideal romance, there can be no question but that our position as believers in Christ would be very seriously compromised; for it is impossible that the actual Son of God in the solemn hour of His weakness should have sought to strengthen Himself with the words of a mere fiction, and that His adversary should have been quelled by their authority. But it is not without knowledge that we say that the whole body of the critics are unable to produce the evidence, as they most certainly have not yet produced it, upon which such an emergency could arise. It is the fashion and the policy of these writers to affirm and to reaffirm as the very latest revelations from the heaven of subjective criticism statements which rest only upon assumption, which have not been proved, which they know well cannot be proved, any more than they can to demonstration be disproved; for it is in this way that the circle of their admirers and followers is enlarged, and a falsehood has only to be repeated again and

again for it to be implicitly believed by a large body of men who probably have no means of testing its credibility. It is, therefore, with the same confidence that we appeal to the English reader to decide for himself whether Professor Cheyne has advanced any other than subjective reasons for accepting the "illusivè" origin of Deuteronomy; but it is not without a caution that we would forewarn the reader of the real character of his assumptions. It is, however, not merely in the field of criticism pure and simple that these assumptions are found. The writer has a way of unconsciously betraying the nature of the ground upon which these assumptions are nurtured. From time to time he very graciously takes us into his personal confidence. "It is twenty years since," "it is seventeen years ago," that such and such a work was begun, or such and such an opinion received, and the like, as if these personal memoranda were of substantive and intrinsic value to the reader in forming his judgment; and so doubtless they are if the authority of the writer is to carry the day. In like manner he has words of encouragement for the young American scholar, Dr. Bissell, "of whom so much may be hoped" (p. 86); he prognosticates that in ten years' time G. Vos will have altered his opinions (66, n.)—"he is a good scholar, but half-hearted critic" (168, n.); Rudolf Kittel, "a young and able German writer, who has modified the view with which he began" (75, n.) and so forth. He must forgive us if we think that here and elsewhere we can detect the germ of some of that supercilious contempt with which the critics of this school are wont to regard even older scholars than themselves who have not seen cause to part with the convictions and traditions of the past, even if, perhaps, at first derived from "the Scripture handbooks of our youth" (p. 164). We cannot but think that the tone of mind which commits itself unreservedly to the conjectures of so-called criticism, as this writer does, is due originally to some "subjective" revolt against the deeper and, it may be, narrower spiritual teaching and influence of youth. This is found to be intolerable, and refuge is taken elsewhere, in other schools and modes of thought, and the simple forms of early faith are despised. It is forgotten that real Christian faith is the same under all conditions and in all circumstances. If it lives, and is genuine, it may flourish anywhere; but if it is lacking, none of the attractiveness which Scripture may derive from critical conjecture and arbitrary manipulation and novel interpretation can supply the place of it. After all, it is only as little children, and not as scholars and critics, that we can enter into the kingdom of heaven; and assuredly they are mistaken who think that they can win others to that faith which re-

quires the childlike heart, and that alone, by presenting the Scriptures in novel and startling forms, as well as they who suppose themselves to have discovered a new light in Scripture which obscures and casts into dimness and darkness that light of the childlike faith in the heavenly Father and the incarnate Saviour which is, after all, the only light of life.

We have spoken somewhat strongly, because we have felt strongly. There is much in this book that is calculated to give pain to the unlearned but sincere believer; there is much that is likely to mislead, from the confident and unwarrantable assumptions with which it is associated, where there is not sufficient knowledge to detect the hollowness of the grounds on which they are based. For this reason we are constrained to withhold unqualified praise, but would couple it rather with a note of warning to those who are wise enough to heed it. The power of rich and copious illustration from the wide field of literature which is laid under ready and lavish contribution, is characteristic of this, as of all Professor Cheyne's books. His mind is very highly stored and cultivated, which is the more to be admired and wondered at when we bear in mind the weakness of eyesight from which we believe he has long suffered. From the very wide range, however, of his mental vision his style is apt to be obscure, because he oftentimes suggests rather than expresses his meaning, and leaves that to be gathered from innuendo and suppressed assumption and unsuppressed parenthesis, which he prefers to hint to the wise and the understanding rather than commit unmistakably to the unlearned or the half-informed. In his own field he simply stands alone. Even the "kings" of criticism, the scholars of Germany, may "shut their mouths at him." In boldness of conjecture they cannot distance him. But it is not a little strange that one who is capable of so much independence of thought, and so well furnished in himself, should surrender himself so tamely and so completely to the guidance of their principles and methods. It is these principles and methods which we are persuaded are unsatisfactory and unsound. They proceed from an erroneous conception of man's relation to God and of the character of Divine revelation, and they assume that the knowledge of man's relation to his Maker has been progressively evolved from within rather than Divinely imparted from above and from without.



ART. III.—THE LANGUAGES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

PART I.—THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES.

WHAT was the language spoken by our Lord? It was supposed that this question was settled, but in the pages of the *Guardian*, February, 1889, it has been re-opened. At the foot of the page¹ I notice the leading special treatises on the subject, but proceed to handle it independently. I regard the question as one of linguistic science, evidence, and careful analogy, free from all bias of theology, and excluding anything that is supernatural, or out of the ordinary current of human affairs. I am a sincere believer in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, but not in the narrow sense of some writers.

In the Gospel of St. Luke we are told that the superscription on the Cross was in letters of Greek, and Latin; and Hebrew. In the Gospel of St. John it is stated that it was written in Hebrew, Greek, Latin. The expressions are :

γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς, καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς.
γεγραμμενον Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαῖστί, Ἑλληνιστί.

It is fair to state that the Revised Version of the New Testament rejects the words of St. Luke altogether, so the fact rests on the evidence of St. John alone; but he was an eye-witness. It would thus appear that the Hebrew style of writing came first, then the Roman, and lastly the Greek. This implies a threefold form of written characters, as well as of language. It may be taken as a fact, admitted beyond doubt, that the Hebrew language had long been superseded in the mouths of men by the Aramaic vernacular. The chief priests objected to the form of the superscription; it was Pilate's own order, to which he adhered. The languages ran as follows :

Line 1. Aramaic in the square Hebrew character lately introduced (*circa* 100 B.C.).

„ 2. Latin in the Roman capital letters, so well known.

„ 3. Greek in the uncial characters represented in the monumental inscriptions of the period, which are abundant.

Now, in one of these languages our Lord must have spoken : possibly, though not probably, in two, Aramaic and Greek; and words belonging to the third language, Latin, are reported as having fallen from His mouth—*e.g.*, “census,” tribute-money,

¹ 1. “The Language employed by our Lord and His Disciples,” by Dr. ROBERTS. Second Edition, 1869.

2. Mg. CLEMENT DAVID, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Damascus : “La langue parlée par Jesus Christ.” 1885.

3. “Dialects of Palestine in the Time of Christ,” by AD. NEUBAUER, of the Bodleian, Oxford. “*Studia Biblica.*” 1885.

etc.; but the real question is betwixt Aramaic, a Semitic language of Asia, and Greek, an Aryan language of European origin, but spoken extensively by Hellenists in Asia and Africa.

Now, a judgment can only be formed on a question of this kind, the data of which go back to nearly two thousand years, and the venue of which is in a far-distant land, by a careful consideration of certain analogies, aided by a certain experience in linguistic phenomena. In England practically there is one paramount language, spoken by our rulers, the leading educated classes, and the common people. But there are few countries where it is so; and as a fact, within the islands of Great Britain there are four other vernaculars, Welsh, Gaelic, Erse, and French (in the Channel Islands).

In the Baltic provinces in Europe, Russian is the dominant language of the rulers, German is the vernacular of the immigrant landowners and merchants, but the agriculturists and the ancient people speak "Liv" of the Ugro-Altai family. In Algeria in Africa, French is the dominant language of the rulers. Arabic, a Semitic language, is not only the language of the immigrant superior classes, but the religious language; but the indigenous inhabitants speak exclusively Kabail or Tuwarik, Hamitic languages. In Asia, in the central provinces of British India, English is the dominant language of the rulers; the superior immigrant classes speak Hindi, or Bengáli, of the Aryan family, or Telugu, of the Dravidian family, while the indigenous inhabitants speak, according to their particular tribes, Gond, or Khond, or Maler, of the Dravidian family, or Sontal and Kole, of the Kolarian group.

In the Panjab in Northern India, when we conquered it in 1846, I was one of the first British officers employed. An amnesty was proclaimed for all political offences, but if I had had occasion to try a native for murder or violent crime, and he was sentenced to death by hanging, had it been necessary or desirable to do so, I should have placed a superscription over the gallows in three languages in three different written characters, as follows:

- Line 1. English in the Roman character of the day, the language of the rulers.
- „ 2. Persian in the running Arabic character, the language at that time of the Judicial Courts, and of all correspondence.
- „ 3. Hindi in the Nágari character, the language of the people, and the only one understood by them.

And if the offender were a Sikh, or if there were numerous Sikhs in the neighbourhood, whom it was desirable to awe, a fourth language would possibly have been added:

- Line 4. Sikh or Panjábí in the Gúrmukhi character, the peculiar dialect of the Sikh religionists.

Now, all these languages and characters I myself could read and understand, and give orders in, though in the three latter languages the orders would be engrossed by native writers, *embodying my meaning in their own words*, and reading them out to me before I signed them with my name in the ordinary English manner; the official seal, in one, two, or three languages, was then stamped on the paper. This was the ordinary routine, and caused no great exertion or remarkable knowledge, and we thought nothing of it. But if in conversation in a good-sized village or small town like Nazareth (which I have lately visited), with the shopkeepers, or artisans, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, I had addressed them in English or Persian, they would have understood nothing, yet Persian had been the dominant language of the Panjab, and, until the arrival of the British, the sole vehicle of literature and correspondence for more than seven hundred years. A long residence in the midst of a mixed population, such as the one described, generates a kind of sympathetic intelligence, for one has to talk down to the level of each particular person: an educated person, or a villager, who would like to be addressed in patois; a Hindu or a Mohammedan; a mountaineer or a religious devotee. The vocal chord has to be tuned to be acceptable and intelligible to each ear. To a chief, who came across the river Indus to visit me, I should speak Persian; to my own countrymen and English-speaking clerks, English; to the educated people, Hindustani; to the rough villagers or mountaineers, their patois; to the learned priests, pure Hindi. The population amounts to seventeen millions, and is far more enlightened than similar classes in Palestine; either in the present or past centuries. There are magnificent walled towns, great wealth of commerce and manufactures, highly developed agriculture, a constant stream of foreigners passing to and fro, and yet I repeat that the dominant language of culture, either of the Mohammedan or Christian rulers, was totally unknown to the portion of the population analogous to the class out of which our blessed Lord appeared in the flesh. It is an extraordinary mistake to suppose that the domination of foreigners or strangers alters the vernacular of the people; we can learn this from the domestic history of Russia and Austria, in each of which twenty languages at least are spoken; and of France and Great Britain, in each of which five languages are spoken, in spite of the over-weening influence of French and English literature. I have brought these considerations conspicuously forward in front of my argument, so as to prepare my reader for the appreciation of the arguments to be adduced by writers who clearly have never had experience of the phenomena presented.

In all humility I venture to express an opinion on this great

subject. I have carefully examined the works of late writers, such as Alford, Wordsworth, Westcott, and Farrar. They all seem to avoid the great difficulty: admitting that our Lord and His twelve Apostles spoke Aramaic *only* (for I cannot admit the hypothesis of their being capable of addressing a multitude in two languages at pleasure), how did it come about that the records of His life and teaching have exclusively come down to us in Greek? It does not follow that no contemporary records in Aramaic ever existed, and most probably, or perhaps most certainly, they did exist, but none have come down to us. Of all other religious teachers, the sages of the Veda, Buddha, Kabir, Baba Nanak, the Jain teachers, Confucius and Mohammed, we have their dicta in the language which they uttered. Dr. Wordsworth sadly records his convictions: "In strictness of speech, not one of the Evangelists gives us the exact words of Christ: *He conversed in Syro-Chaldaic; they wrote in Greek.*" My only qualification for intruding on this subject is that, having just completed a survey of the languages of the world, I have some familiarity with linguistic phenomena, and for a quarter of a century in Northern India I conducted important business daily in three or four languages at the same time.

It is true that Jerome writes: "Sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur." My only reply is that Jerome must have made a mistake. If such had been the case, what possible occasion could there have been for a Pentecostal miracle, whatever interpretation is accepted of that great event? We know as a positive fact that all prophets, and teachers, and reformers, and inaugurators of new religions, have made sole use of the vernacular of the people whom they addressed, and made this an article of their faith, and a necessity of their practice. Our missionary experience of modern times convinces us that the only way to get at people's hearts is through the vulgar tongue, spoken by the women, children, and least-educated persons of the community.

Now, if, for argument's sake, we admitted that our Lord and His Apostles had acquired a power of speaking Greek, and the educated men could understand His words, no one, who knows anything of Oriental women, would dare to say that such a phenomenon existed as "bilingual" women, and yet the women were as deeply converted by our Lord as the men. Then it is clear that our Lord possessed the power of writing, as it is recorded that He stooped down and wrote with His finger on the ground. The written characters of the Aramaic and Greek languages are essentially different, though they have both descended from the old Phœnician; but our Lord clearly indicated the written character which He used by the remark that not one jot or one tittle of the Law would pass away, which

applies accurately to the square Hebrew alphabet, which was in use at that time, but not to the uncial letters of the Greek alphabet, used in the current copies of the Septuagint. These letters exhibit none of the varieties of shape so common to the Hebrew ; there are neither vowel-accent nor diacritical points.

The strange assertion has been made, that the Greek language would be adopted willingly by conquered people, because it is so beautiful and powerful. This idea exposes a strange misconception of the *raison d'être* of the two thousand forms of speech, mutually unintelligible, spoken at this moment in the world. It may be questioned, whether Greek is more beautiful than other languages ; it is certainly much more complicated by grammatical rules than English, and the great army of non-Aryan languages which, like English, are free from the bondage of inflections ; yet who would venture to say that in any village or market-town of the great province of Banáras, which has been under British rule for more than a century, he would find anyone, except by a mere chance, who spoke a word of English, in spite of a free press, State schools, missionaries, courts of law, and men of commerce ? The distribution of the Bible and of missionary tracts is exclusively in the vernacular of each province. English printed matter would be useless.

I must decline to admit in this argument any miracle not recorded in Scripture. Modern criticism of the ordinary operations of man can no longer be silenced by the unwarranted assertion of verbal inspiration. The writers and speakers in the Bible were not impersonal machines ; but, as St. Paul said at Lystra, "men of like passions as their hearers." One clergyman consulted by me suggested that the power of the two Galilean fishermen, Peter and John, to write Greek epistles was part of the Pentecostal miracle. My reply was that that miracle related to the power of uttering sound with the tongue (*γλῶσσαι*), not to the power of recording thoughts on writing materials with the fingers (*δακτύλοι*). It appears to me that all the phenomena incidental to the purely human contingencies of the human art of writing must be expected, as each step is purely human, the outcome of the effort of man, under the influence, indeed, of spiritual aspirations in the same way as men and women are influenced now. The Holy Spirit speaks to our hearts, not to our tongues and hands.

I write to clear away some misconceptions which seem to make a difficult subject more difficult. It is a mistake to suppose that the Roman soldiers in such provinces as Syria were "Romans" in the strict sense, any more than the Sepoys of the army in British India are Britons. There is, however, no question that Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, was an Italian, as it is so stated ; and we have to ponder by what means

Peter communicated with him, and in what language. A captain of the Queen's army knows as little of Persian and Hindustani as Cornelius presumably did of Greek and Aramaic. Our Lord is reported to have uttered a certain number of Aramaic words, and, in fact, no less than twenty-nine words, or brief sentences, of Aramaic origin are found in the New Testament, and even in the Revelation the words "Hallelu Jah" are retained. The retention of these words may be quoted both for and against the Greek language theory. Some maintain that they were the words of the ordinary language of our Lord; and others, with great show of justice, urge that they were quoted because they were exceptional. Again, on one side St. Paul says distinctly that our Lord spoke to him on the road to Damascus in the Hebrew language; on the other hand, St. John heard Him in the Vision of the Revelation calling Himself Alpha and Omega, which apply solely to the Greek language, although the phrase "Aleph to Thau" appears in Hebrew books as a proverbial expression for the "First and the Last."

To both the Apostles was manifested a vision of the Risen Saviour. A Divine Voice was heard by them alone, and the human rendering of that voice was impressed on their perception in the language with which they were at the time familiar. To take the analogy of dreams, how often we hear friends speaking other languages than our own, and ourselves replying in them, if we are in the habit of using those languages in our waking hours. As time went on, the legends at Rome pretended that our Lord appeared to St. Peter and addressed him in Latin. The humble Christian may indeed believe that the Holy Spirit speaks to each believer in words *that are comprehended*, but only clothed in human vocables when their purport is recounted as an experience to others. The Spirit speaks to the heart of each one of us, but we should hardly presume to say that the words of the Spirit were English.

We know as a fact, that no Palestinian Jew during the existence of the second Temple produced a book in the Greek language. The original of such of the Apocryphal books as were written in Palestine was not in Greek. Aramaic translations of the Old Testament, or Targums, were used in Palestine. St. Paul no doubt could speak Greek, but the captain of the guard of the Temple was surprised that he was able to do so, because he took him for an Egyptian. Now, an Egyptian was just as open to Hellenic influence as a Syrian or a Cilician, upon the theory that the conquest of Alexander and the rule of his successors had altered the vernacular of the provinces of Western Asia; but St. Paul is described as addressing the Sanhedrin in Aramaic, and these were not the Jews of the villages, but of the capital city, the very classes who, if any parties of the

community understood Greek, should have understood it. If the introduction of military garrisons into a country leads to an alteration of the vernacular, Latin influence ought to have been felt, which is not pretended. In fact, the Jews of Palestine had in them a religious element, which made the retention of their language a necessity, a pride, and a Palladium. Syria may possibly have been Hellenized and Arianized, and Egypt no doubt felt the influence also; but Judea resisted the process to the last, and Jerusalem perished as the centre of a Hebrew polity, and speaking a Semitic language. If under the rule of the Antiochi there had been any taint of Hellenism, the revolt of the Maccabees would have effaced it. The legends on coins do not go far as evidence to prove a vernacular, as the rupee of British India has an English superscription totally unintelligible to the people who use the coin. The names of places, if of great antiquity, give valuable traces of extinct languages, but modern names of places are of doubtful value. In Palestine, Cæsarea, Dekapolis, or Tiberias, tell the tale of foreign conquest, just as Alexandria in Egypt, and Victoria all over the world, but they have not the faintest evidential value of the language spoken by the residents of these towns or districts.

There was, indeed, a large section of the Jewish people who were Hellenized and knew the Greek language, and adopted some of the Greek customs, and there may have been a Judeo-Greek colony in Jerusalem. But the majority of the Hellenists lived in foreign lands, coming to Judea from time to time for the feasts. The translation known as the Septuagint had done a great work in extending a knowledge of the great tenets of Judaism to the heathen world. But it had done something more. It had appropriated the Greek language for the expression of Hebrew thought, adapting the most exact machinery of word-formation to the most spiritual mode of conception. Something of the same kind has been done for the stored-up intellectual wealth of the Hindu by the touch of the English language. The position of Palestine geographically was most remarkable. It was just at the point where the Semitic world of Asia, the Hamitic world of Africa, and the Aryan world of Europe came into contact. The coasts of Asia Minor and North Africa were fringed with Greek colonies, and the Archipelago was studded with them. Some of the Gods of the Greek Idea had sprung from these islands. Greece had to thank Phœnicia for its alphabet, the same that was used by the Hebrews from its earliest days. But admitting all this *rapprochement* between the two races, there is no more reason to suppose that the villagers of Samaria and Galilee spoke Greek than that the inhabitants of the Greek islands, in which clusters of Jews had settled, spoke Aramaic. Our Lord's parables, illustrations, and eschatological conceptions,

were thoroughly Hebrew and Oriental. His *human* knowledge did not extend beyond His native province. As regards the Septuagint, there is reason to believe that it was unknown in Palestine except to scholars and Hellenist settlers, and it does not follow, because the Evangelists in their record of the events of our Lord's life more or less accurately quote the Septuagint, that our Lord Himself quoted it. Moreover, all the quotations in the Gospel may probably have been quoted from traditional (possibly written, possibly unwritten) Targums, current at the time, the translation of which into Greek by the Evangelists has caused the literal divergence of expression.

How came it, then, that from the very earliest days this Semitic religion, orally pronounced in Aramaic, has come down to us, without any exception, entirely in Greek documents? The reason is, simply, that it was the Divine will that it should spread westward to the people of Europe, and be thence handed on to the rest of the world. The early Church was essentially a Greek Church; all the early Fathers wrote in Greek. Imperial Rome was in some respects a Greek city, and Greek was the alternative language; the poorer classes, the "*illuvies gentium*," the "*Græculus esuriens*," were Greeks in descent, culture, and speech. It might have been different: Paul of Tarsus was the selected agent to guide the spread of the new Idea; had he been a Syrian of Edessa, or a Mesopotamian of Babylon, or an Elamite from Susa, or a Mede from Ekbatana, or a Parthian from the Caspian (and all these nations were represented on the day of Pentecost), the Light to lighten the Gentiles, that sprang up in Galilee, might have flashed eastward, and the good tidings have remained in an Asiatic mould and language. The Jews had had constant relations in past centuries with Assyria, and Babylonia, and Persia, all of which were mentioned in their sacred books, but nothing with Greece and Italy. But Saul of Tarsus, a Roman citizen, a Greek scholar, a Hellenized Jew, was the chosen vessel to bear the Lord's name before the Gentiles; and his great personality and gifts, and his environment, settled once for all that Jesus should be known as "*Christ*," not as "*Messiah*," and His followers not as "*Messih*," but "*Christians*." One of the leading features of the new tenets was, that they were to be understood by the people, that the poor would have the Gospel preached. This necessity led to the Greek language being the first vehicle of communication, to be followed speedily by the Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Gothic, Abyssinian, and eventually by every language of the world. Two linguistic considerations suggest themselves here: one is the singular mode in which two at least of the sacred terms of the Jewish religion are Grecized, instead of being reserved in their Semitic form, as so many words, or even phrases, have been—*e.g.*, Hallelujah and Pascha.

I allude to the word *κίβωτος*, used for the Ark of the Covenant in the Revelation, and the word *περιτόμη* and *ἀκροβύστια* for circumcision and the contrary. By Mohammedans this old-world custom, so offensive to modern notions, is veiled by the euphemism of "sunnat" and "bi-sunnat," which means no more than a religious ceremony. The second consideration is, that it seems to persons unaccustomed to such phenomena impossible that the Heads of a Church should persistently address the laity (women and men) in a language which they cannot possibly understand, till explained to them in the vernacular by the priests. And yet such is the practice to this day of the Church of Rome, and only last year a Latin letter, forbidding boycotting, was read in the Roman Catholic chapels, in Ireland. One of the chief arguments brought forward to prove that the humbler classes of Palestine spoke and understood Greek, is that the Gospels and Epistles are in Greek. We can only suppose that the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, who spoke a Keltic language, and not Greek, was translated to the humbler members of the Church, in the same way as the Keltic Irish were made to understand the Pope's Latin epistle of last year.

Another argument brought forward to support the theory of our Lord and His hearers using the Greek language is based on the fact that so many conversations are given, as well as addresses, which appear to be fresh, and not translations. In the history of Thucydides nothing is so remarkable as the set speeches which he places in the mouths of his characters; no one could charge him as a dishonest fabricator. But these speeches are, in fact, as regards form, his own essays based on the rules of rhetoric of his age, and as regards *matter* they are so far dramatic, that the sentiments are such as he conceived to be suitable to the supposed speaker, and his readers have in all times accepted this as such. Be it far from me to assert that the writers of the Old and New Testament took such a license as this, but it is the custom of the East to write in the ordinary familiar style, as if they were speaking; the lower classes in Europe do the same to this day. Educated people use the *oblique* sentence to express what they see or hear, but Orientals repeat a conversation as if they were standing behind the curtain, or sitting at a shorthand reporter's table. We are told what Abraham said to Isaac, when they were quite alone, and the very words of Abraham's conversation with the Creator are recorded. We are told what Herod said in his private chamber, and the remarks of other persons about John the Baptist having come to life. The conversation of evil spirits is given *totidem verbis*. This is only the style of writing of the nation and the age. The truthfulness of the narrative is not impugned, but the ordinary inference as *regards the particular*

language used cannot be inferred. When King Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylonia, and King Darius, a Persian, spoke to Daniel, though the very words uttered by them are repeated in Hebrew, as if the reporter had heard them, it must not be presumed that these two kings spoke the Hebrew language. When our Lord conversed with the Syro-Phœnician woman or the nine lepers, or the maniac in the country of the Gadarenes, it is unreasonable to argue that He spoke Greek because *bond-fide* Greek sentences are placed in His mouth by the compiler of the Gospel.

The Aramaic language has been alluded to; the question naturally arises, What is that language? It is sometimes called Judeo-Aramean, in contradistinction to the Syrian or Christian Aramean. There were three dialects in the time of our Lord: 1, Judæan; 2, Samaritan; 3, Galilean; the peculiarities of the latter betrayed the country to which Peter belonged. It was different from, yet cognate with, Hebrew. It is sometimes called Syro-Chaldaic, indicating that it was the vernacular of the region on both sides of the Euphrates, from Lebanon to the river Tigris. East Aramaic would be Chaldaic, and west Aramaic would be Syriac. It is stated by one scholar, and a very competent one, that another vernacular was also concurrently used—a modernized Hebrew—specimens of what we find in the Mishnah, and the Hebrew parts of the Talmud and Midrashin. In one or other of these variations of speech the Hebrew nation spoke after their return from captivity. There were, moreover, written Targums of parts of the Old Testament in this vernacular, from which in all probability our Lord quoted, and this may account for the diversity in the renderings. His quotation from Psalm xxii. on the Cross has been preserved. The reading of the sacred text was necessarily accompanied by a vernacular paraphrase—oral, indeed, but cast in a conventional mould handed down from father to son. The introduction of such paraphrases dates as far back as the time of Ezra, and there is reason to believe that *written* translations existed as early as the first century before Christ. When our Lord, in the synagogue at Nazareth, read the verses from Isaiah, he must have used such a translation. The written character used may, upon independent palæographical grounds, be safely determined as the square Hebrew character, called "Hebrew," which had about one century before Christ superseded the old Phœnician character, specimens of which last survive in stone monuments, and the pages of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Those who are hardy enough to assert that because the text of the Synoptic Gospels is in Greek, therefore all the actors of the events recorded therein must have *spoken* Greek, either solely or bilingually, and that all the utterances of our Lord are recorded with the accuracy of *ipsissima verba*, had better reflect

to what conclusions that theory would lead them, if applied to the Old Testament narrative. We are so habituated to use the Bible in the English translation, that we sometimes forget, and still oftener have failed to realize, that both the Old and New Testament texts, in the form in which they have come down to us, comprise narratives of conversations which took place in totally different languages: *ex gratia*, the words uttered by Potiphar's wife, by the Chief Butler when he addressed Pharaoh, by Balaam and Balak, and by the Queen of Sheba. It is obvious that none of these Scripture personages could have spoken in Hebrew, and yet the uninstructed reader might suppose that it was so, as the very words which they are supposed to have uttered are recorded as if they had been written down by a bystander.

The linguistic history of the Old Testament is a study of extreme fascination. We have nothing to compare with it in the world. It deserves to be the subject of a separate essay, and though it has an important bearing on the question of the language of the New Testament, I pass it by for the present, with this remark, that the Aramaic spoken by our Lord was, if not the *same*, at least a *similar* form of speech to that which was spoken by the "Syrian (Arami) ready to perish," who, 1921 years earlier, had crossed the Euphrates, and "who rejoiced to see His day." It died away from the lips of men when Jerusalem fell, for the Nation, who spoke it, had completed the task which it was given to do two thousand years before.

This, then, is the language in which, in the opinion of the most judicious scholars and sound theologians, words were uttered by Him who spake as no man spake—words which turned the world upside down, closing the long catena of past expectations, opening out the vista of a heavenly future. With the exception of the few words scattered through the Gospels, or in the Epistles and the Revelation, above alluded to, no word has come down to us in that particular variety of Semitic speech. We can approach to it in reading the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has survived, and the Mishnah and Midrashin; but for some Divine purpose this language, in which the new Idea was given birth to, has, like the phoenix, utterly perished, while the lives of so many other languages have been prolonged: the Greek, Arabic, and Persian, to be the vehicles of modern thought, and the Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic, to be the earthen vessels of dead rituals, though of great value in the infancy of the new Faith. The Hebrew language, indeed, died, leaving the one imperishable evidence of its existence in the Old Testament; at the best it was but an inferior vehicle of speech. A kind of survival of it exists in the Judeo-German and Judeo-Spanish jargons, in which the basis of the language is Aryan, with

Hebrew phrases inserted. It is fortunate for the world that Greek was chosen for the task allotted to it, for as a written language it can never die, and as a vernacular it seems to be receiving new strength, for I heard it spoken at Athens in a style approaching its ancient purity.

No language has had such a history. If anyone asks, What is the Aramaic language? let him be told that it is language in which the Lord of Life made known to man the way of Salvation; in which He gave us our daily prayer; in which He instituted the Lord's Supper, and with His Apostles sang a hymn (the Hallel from a Targum) before He went down to Gethsemane; it is the language in which the fickle inhabitants of Jerusalem shouted "Hosannah!" and "Crucify Him!" in which He spoke to His Mother and the women who met Him in the Via Dolorosa; in which He spoke His last word to His Mother and St. John, while hanging on the Cross; in which He spoke to the women who came early to His sepulchre on Easter morn; in which He expounded to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus all the Scriptures concerning Himself, beginning at Moses and all the prophets; in which He gave His last commands on Mount Olivet; in which He spoke to Paul after His Ascension; in which, as we read in the Revelation, on the sea of glass is sung the song of Moses and the Lamb.

LIST OF ARAMAIC WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT,
IN THEIR GREEK FORM.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Φαρισαῖος. | 16. ἄββά. |
| 2. Σατανᾶς. | 17. σίκερα. |
| 3. ρακά. | 18. Κηφας. |
| 4. γέεννα. | 19. Μεσσίας. |
| 5. μαμμωνᾶ. | 20. βηθεσδά. |
| 6. Βεελ-ζεβουλ. | 21. Ἄκελ δάμα. |
| 7. Ὀσαννά. | 22. Ταβιθά. |
| 8. ραββί. | 23. Ἀβαδδών. |
| 9. πάσχα. | 24. Ἀρ-μαγεδων. |
| 10. γολγοθά. | 25. Ἢλί Ἢλί λαμὰ σαβαχθανί. |
| 11. Βοανεργές. | Or, Ἐλωί, etc. |
| 12. κορβάν. | 26. Ταλιθά κόσμι. |
| 13. κορβανᾶν. | 27. Ἀλληλού-ϊα. |
| 14. ἐφφαθά. | 28. Μαρὰν-ἀθά. |
| 15. ραββουσί. | 29. Ἀμήν. |

Add to these proper names, specially those compounded of the word "bar," or son.

ROBERT CUST.



ART. IV.—THE VALUE OF THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPELS TO THE MIRACULOUS.

A RECENT number of one of our periodicals which lends itself impartially to the discussion of opposite views regarding the claims of Christianity contained an article by Professor Huxley "On the Value of Testimony to the Miraculous," in which he gives an epitome of a book by Eginhard, the historian of the reign of Charlemagne, entitled "The History of the Translation of the Bodies of the Blessed Martyrs St. Petrus and St. Marcellinus." This "History" is a story of the removal of the relics of these two martyrs by the agents of Eginhard, and records an amount of lying and treachery, dishonesty and robbery, on the part of those who were engaged in getting possession of them, which would utterly shock and confound the moral sense of any who do not remember that the grossest crimes can be, and have been, done by the abuse of the sacred name of religion. Eginhard mentions also in his story that a girl was released from a state of demoniacal possession by lying on the floor of the church where the relics were deposited.

The Professor addresses himself to Protestants. He, of course, assumes that they will not believe the story of Eginhard, and his paper is a kind of *argumentum ad hominem* to them. If, he says, you disbelieve the story of the relics and the wonders related by Eginhard,

a witness whose character and competency are firmly established, whose sincerity cannot be doubted, and who appeals to his sovereign and other contemporaries as witnesses of the truth of what he says, in a document of which a MS. copy exists, probably dating within a century of the author's death, why do you profess to believe in stories of a like character which are found in documents of the dates and of the authorship of which nothing is certainly determined, and no known copies of which come within two or three centuries of the events they record? . . . If, therefore, you refuse to believe that Wiggo was cast out of the possessed girl on Eginhard's authority, with what justice can you profess to believe that the legion of devils were cast out of the man among the tombs of the Gadarenes? And if, on the other hand, you accept Eginhard's evidence, why do you laugh at the supposed efficacy of relics and saint-worship of the modern Romanists?

The Professor thus puts a Protestant on the horns of a dilemma. Either, he says, place no trust in the Gospels, or else believe all the fables of the Romish Church of the Middle Ages. If you do not do one of these, you are logically excommunicated.

We trust that we shall be able to show that the cases are not parallel, and that the dilemma does not exist. We will

make a remark first on the second horn of the supposed dilemma.

We are told that Eginhard relates his story with perfect frankness and calmness, as if there were nothing revolting to his moral sense in the deeds of his companions; he merely thinks that he has been rather shabbily treated by them. Evidently, then, Eginhard's belief in the miraculous power of relics did not instil into him any profound respect for the moral law. The possession of the relics was a thing apparently, in his opinion, far more to be desired than a character for honesty and just dealing. The authority of the eighth commandment was as nothing compared with the possession of such treasures. In fact, their possession would, we suppose, absolve him from all guilt, and preserve him from the ill-effects of a breach of any of the Ten Commandments. This seems to be in itself quite sufficient to condemn the belief in the efficacy of relics as immoral; or, if not in itself immoral, as tending to immorality, and erecting no safeguard against it.

And it further, to our mind, discredits the story of Eginhard altogether. For if his belief in the sanctity of relics made him callous and indifferent to roguery and dishonesty in others, may it not equally have rendered him indifferent to his own truthfulness in narrating the events? If the possession of such relics condoned for any amount of knavery in obtaining them, surely it may with equal likelihood have condoned for falsehood in relating evidences of their marvellous power. And the reputation of possessing them would naturally lead him to exaggerate this. If Eginhard's belief did not keep his "hands from picking and stealing," we fail to see why it should have kept his tongue or pen from lying, when the glory of his relics was enhanced by it, especially when those for whom he wrote would not be likely to question his statements.

We do not, therefore, see sufficient reason to believe in the story of Wiggo; nor do we think that the story of Eginhard adds anything in the way of proof to the "supposed efficacy of relics and saint-worship of the modern Romanists."

With regard to the other horn of the supposed dilemma—viz., the untrustworthiness of the Gospels—it is not difficult to show that there is no parallel between the two cases. In fact, the miracles of the Gospels have nothing in common with those of Eginhard, except the fact that both claimed to be supernatural.

In all cases of alleged miraculous events acknowledged to be spurious, which those who disbelieve the Gospel miracles are apt to put in comparison with them, there is usually left out of sight the important fact that these spurious miracles

are subsequent in date to those of the Gospel. A great discovery in the useful arts always has a crowd of spurious imitations; but the worthlessness of the imitation does not in any degree detract from the solid usefulness of the original discovery, or from the real merit of the discoverer. Why, then, should the spurious imitations of miraculous power with which the history of the Church of the Middle Ages is filled detract from the reality of the Gospel miracles which they strove to imitate?

It is not difficult to palm off miracles on credulous ignorance in behalf of systems already firmly established. It is quite a different thing to appeal to them in order to establish a new religion in the face of inveterate prejudice guarding an ancient religion. Yet this is what Christ and His Apostles did. He appeals to His miracles against the prejudices of the Jews, and declares it to be their crowning sin that they rejected Him in spite of them. "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloke for their sin. If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both Me and My Father."¹ Professor Huxley says:

It cannot be pretended in the face of all evidence that the Jews of the year 30, or thereabouts, were less imbued with faith in the supernatural than were the Franks of the year A.D. 800. The same influences were at work in each case, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the results were the same. If the evidence of Eginhard is insufficient to lead reasonable men to believe in the miracles he relates, *à fortiori* the evidence afforded by the Gospels and Acts must be so.

That the Jews of our Lord's time believed in the supernatural we do not doubt. Whether their belief was as credulous and unintelligent as that of the Franks of 800, we shall afterwards see very good reason to question; but that "the same influences were at work in each case," is an entire misstatement of facts. The belief of the Jews in the supernatural did not make them believe in the miracles of Christ. So far from that, when they could not gainsay them or convict Him of imposture, they attributed them to Beelzebub. If there had been any flaw in His miracles, we may feel quite sure that their inveterate hatred and consequent vigilance would soon have discovered it.

The accounts of the miracles of Christ appear to us absolutely inexplicable, except on the assumption that He really wrought them as He claimed to do. If He really performed them, the narratives of the Gospels are perfectly intelligible.

¹ John xv. 22, 24. It is to be noticed that our Lord in this passage does not separate His *works* from His *words*, and seems rather to give precedence to the latter.

His character and teaching are fully in harmony with them, and they serve to illustrate and enforce the words which He spoke.

But if He did not perform them, then one of two explanations must hold good. Either He pretended to work them and deceived others, or He fancied He worked them when He did not.

If He pretended to work them, and did not, He was the "brilliant liar" that M. Renan represents Him, and His conduct is utterly at variance with that intellectual and moral greatness which all men—even those who are most hostile to His higher claims—agree in attributing to Him. And how He could manage to cheat prejudiced and hostile multitudes into the belief that He wrought them publicly and before the face of men, it passes the wit of ordinary human nature to conceive. If He pretended to work miracles and did not, both His conduct and that of the multitudes who believed in Him are equally unintelligible.

But if He did not pretend to work them, He must have fancied He had worked them before the face of the world, and the world must have fancied it too. He was then the "delirious enthusiast" which Strauss represents Him. How is such a character consistent with the self-possession, the calmness, the singular prudence, the absence of all traces of an ill-balanced mind—qualities which shine through the character and sayings of the historic Christ?¹ To conclude, therefore, one reason why we believe that the miracles of Christ recorded in the Gospels were real is because the four-fold picture given to us of Him is utterly unintelligible to us on any other supposition.

Professor Huxley dwells upon and makes much of Eginhard's credit as a historian, when he has only matters of ordinary occurrence to relate, as in his "Life of Charlemagne," and contrasts it with his credulity and apparent innocence of the fact that his statements contravene probability when he has to do with the miraculous. In so doing, he of course insinuates that the Gospels, notwithstanding their plain, unvarnished simplicity and matter-of-fact narrative, may be equally untrue—at least, as regards their miraculous contents. But the Professor forgets that the age of Charlemagne was an age of intellectual darkness as compared with the age in which the Gospels were written. He says in the passage quoted above: "It cannot be pretended, in the face of all evidence,

¹ For a clear statement of this argument, see Rogers on the "Superhuman Origin of the Bible." The above paragraph is only a condensed summary of Appendix II. of that work.

that the Jews of the year 30, or thereabouts, were less imbued with faith in the supernatural than were the Franks of the year A.D. 800."

We should like to know what the "evidence" is on which Professor Huxley makes this comparison; and, in the absence of it, we venture to deny that there is any similarity between the two periods. At the time of the Gospel's history the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean was illumined with Greek civilization and culture. The works of Plato and Aristotle were known over all the region where the Christian faith was first preached. The time of our Lord's birth was the golden age of Roman literature. Cicero, the orator and philosopher, had died only forty years before, Virgil and Horace within twenty years before, Ovid and Livy died while our Lord was still a boy at Nazareth. It was therefore an age of great intellectual activity. The age of Charlemagne, on the contrary, was immediately subsequent to the invasion of the barbarians and their settlement on the ruins of the old Roman Empire, when all intellectual activity ceased for a time, ignorance prevailed, and men blindly followed the instruction of their spiritual guides.

The Bishop of London¹ has well described how the education of the world was retarded by the return to barbarism at the disruption of the Empire. The age of the Christian era and the classical period which preceded it was an age of great intellectual activity, corresponding in the life of a man to the meeting-point of the youth and the man—shall we call it the undergraduate period of the world's life? This is a time in a man's life when the intellect expands, and grows, and absorbs new ideas in a way it does at no other period. It comes in contact with a larger world of thought, and into collision with other minds as active as itself. It is forced to search deeper into the meaning of things, and to examine the grounds of the opinions in which it has been educated and which it has hitherto received without questioning. The period of Greek and Roman civilization corresponded to this in the life of the world. It was the time of the academic philosopher—who considered everything an open question—whose first idea when any truth was propounded to him was to sit down and try to find out what could be said against it, and when consequently every opinion put forth was subjected to the keenest criticism. That myths should have grown and become generally received at such a time is inconceivable. At the time of Charlemagne the world had returned to a state of childhood. This is the only rational explanation of the rise of the Papacy. The

¹ In his Essay "On the Education of the World."

Papacy, with its hierarchy, its ceremonies, its assumption of authority over men in the minute details of duty, arose because the new infant required to be held in leading-strings. Hence there was no questioning of authority: men believed what they were told by their spiritual superiors. And we fear it must be said that their spiritual guides told them a great deal that was not true, to increase their own power and swell the revenues of Mother Church.

To compare the two ages, then, is to compare semi-barbarous ignorance with intellectual enlightenment. It is not fair to compare the histories of our Lord with the wonderful stories of a semi-barbarous age. If the Professor had wished to make a fair comparison, he should have compared Him with a man who lived in an equally or more enlightened age—say with Socrates. We do not read of any miracles having been attributed to Socrates; and the reason we do not is obviously that he did not perform any acts which could be so called, and did not lay claim to miraculous power. If he had, the fact would certainly have been recorded by his admiring disciples. We do not see why the disciples of our Lord should have been more disposed to deify and attribute miraculous power—supposing there to be no ground for it—to their Master than the disciples of Socrates were to theirs; nor, if they did so, were they more likely to be believed in the first century after Christ than in the fourth century before. And we cannot understand why myths were not quite as likely to arise in the years succeeding the death of Socrates as in the generation who survived our Lord.

But Socrates *did* lay claim to something supernatural, and his followers have not failed to record it, and it has been universally believed. He used to say that he was divinely guided by a voice which made itself heard within him. This voice never spoke positively to urge him to a right action, but always negatively to restrain him from a wrong one. If it occurred to him when one of his friends mentioned to him what he was about to do, it was a warning for his friend to abstain. The same Divine power, he says, exercised paramount influence over his intercourse with companions. Towards many it was positively adverse, so that he could not even enter into companionship with them. Towards others it did not forbid, yet neither did it co-operate, so that they derived no benefit from him. There were others, again, in whose case it co-operated, and these were the persons who made rapid progress. Socrates was so accustomed to allow himself to be led by this voice, that when he did not hear it he always assumed that he was acting rightly. And this implicit obedience to the Divine voice was ultimately the cause of his

condemnation and death; since he expressly says in his apology that he did not hear the voice during the whole of his trial, and therefore knew that he was right in assuming the attitude he did towards his judges, and in refusing to name a fine, by paying which he might have been acquitted.¹

We think Professor Huxley must have forgotten these facts about Socrates when he penned the following paragraph at the end of his article. He has been speaking of St. Paul and George Fox as being both believers in the "inner light." Fox was accustomed to say openly and publicly that the Lord spoke to him and by him, and Professor Huxley remarks:

This modern reproduction of the ancient prophet with his "Thus saith the Lord," "This is the work of the Lord," steeped in supernaturalism and glorying in blind faith, is the mental antipodes of the philosopher, founded in naturalism and a fanatic for evidence, to whom these affirmations inevitably suggest the previous question, "How do you know that the Lord saith it?" "How do you know that the Lord doeth it?" and who is compelled to demand that rational ground for belief, without which, to the man of science, assent is merely an immoral pretence.

And it is this rational ground of belief which the witness of the Gospels and Paul, Eginhard and Fox, so little dream of offering that they would regard the demand for it as a kind of blasphemy.

Socrates, then, according to Professor Huxley, was "the mental antipodes of the philosopher." This sounds very much like a *reductio ad absurdum*; but it necessarily follows from Professor Huxley's statement.

Socrates was at the same time a "fanatic for evidence," and doubtless had a "rational ground for his belief." But I cannot find that he ever gave a definite answer to the questions, "How do you know that it is a Divine voice which speaks to you?" "How do you know that you are right in following its guidance?" Yet few will deny that he was right in following it, though he probably could not have given an answer to these questions which would have satisfied Professor Huxley.

And this suggests an answer to the question, Why should we believe the testimony of the Evangelists? Because they speak with demonstration and power to the heart and conscience of man as no other records do. They appeal to the spiritual faculty, and they speak with authority, which the conscience of man, deep down in his heart of hearts, cannot but acknowledge, however much his intellect may be exercised with questions of authenticity and date.

When Professor Huxley tells us that we know nothing certainly of the authorship of the Gospels, he makes a state-

¹ See Plato's "Apology of Socrates and Theages," Grote's Plato, vol. i., p. 434, and "History of Greece," chap. lxxviii.

ment which, whatever his grounds for it may be, is thoroughly misleading. The question of the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels—one of the most interesting, as he himself says, of literary and historical problems—has been fully investigated during the last half-century by critics, both friendly and hostile. All the light of the best intellect of Europe has been brought to bear upon it, and the result has been that the wild rationalistic guesses which agitated the world in the early part of this period have disappeared without hope of return. Criticism has restored the documents to a date very near that to which the Church has always assigned them, and has stamped her seal upon them as honest, intelligent, and substantially accurate accounts of that which they profess to relate. The history of the formation of the New Testament is marked in clearer outlines than it ever was before. The historical setting of the life of Him it portrays is vivid and clear. We know more than we ever did before of the social, political, and religious conditions of the age in which He lived. His character is drawn in sharp and clear outline, and His words are proved to be no mythic creations falsely attributed to Him by a later age, but the actual, living words of Him who “spake as never man spake.”

We are thankful for these results of criticism, and we bid Godspeed to all honest critics in their further labours, in perfect confidence that their labours will serve to bring out in more vivid reality the “truth as it is in Jesus.”

But we repeat that the authority of the Gospels, as the guide of our conduct and the ground of our hope, is not founded on disputed questions of date and authorship, but on their invaluable contents: on the picture they give us of the person and character, the life and death, of Him who was God in man. “We beheld His glory: the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.” So said St. John; and in the Gospels we behold that glory too, partly manifested forth, as St. John tells us afterwards, by mighty works, which were at once the credentials of His Divine mission, and served as object-lessons to illustrate and enforce His gracious sayings. His miracles were the fitting and natural attribute of the character He assumed as the Revealer of His Father. It would have been strange indeed if One who came to reveal things invisible, and to teach man things which he could not find out for himself, should have shown no sign that He possessed superhuman knowledge and power. It was only natural and appropriate that He who told of resurrection and eternal life should show Himself triumphant over death.

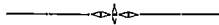
The miracles of our Lord must never be divorced from His teaching. The two are wedded together

Like perfect music unto noble words.

“The miracles,” says Archbishop Trench, “have been spoken of as though they borrowed nothing from the truths they confirmed, but those truths everything from the miracles by which they were confirmed; when, indeed, the true relation is one of mutual interdependence, the miracles proving the doctrines, and the doctrines approving the miracles, and both held together for us in a blessed unity, in the Person of Him who spake the words and did the works, and through the impress of highest holiness and of absolute truth and goodness which that Person leaves stamped on our souls; so that it may be more truly said that we believe the miracles for Christ’s sake than Christ for the miracles’ sake. Neither, when we thus affirm that the miracles prove the doctrine, and the doctrine the miracles, are we arguing in a circle: rather we are receiving the sum total of the impression which this Divine revelation is intended to make on us, instead of taking an impression only partial and one-sided.”¹

The fact is, that the Professor begs the whole question when he calls the Gospels “stories of a like character” with that of Eginhard. The story of Eginhard, we have already said, is discredited by the worthlessness and immorality of its own contents. But the Gospels are witnessed to by the conscience to be true, for they picture to us Him who is the Truth; the Teacher, to sit at whose feet purifies the heart and saves the soul; the Lord, who alone is worthy of our supreme affection, and alone has authority to demand our absolute obedience; the Ideal of humanity, and the Pattern, which all the best and noblest aspirations of our human nature impel us to imitate.

C. R. GILBERT.



ART. V.—THE PROSECUTION OF THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

BY the courtesy of the Editor of the *CHURCHMAN* I am permitted to reply to the attack made in the May number, upon the Association of which I have the honour to be the Secretary. I feel naturally, and with more reason than Mr. Gedge could possibly do, the need of that charitable “allowance for want of literary skill” for which he asks; but I also

¹ Trench on the Miracles, chap. vi.

feel that I have the advantage of possessing an acquaintance with the facts.

Mr. Gedge asserts that every one of the points of ritual involved in the charges against Bishop King teaches doctrines that "are true," and "are part of the faith common to the Bishop and the prosecutors." To make this good he misrepresents the symbolism assigned to the usages in question by the men who employ them, a symbolism which by historical inquiry can be shown to have been for centuries their recognised *raison d'être*. Let us briefly scan his list:

1. *The Two Lights before the Sacrament.*—This rite was initiated by Pope Innocent III., who, at the Council of Lateran,¹ first decreed "transubstantiation"; and the two lights were subsequently introduced into England by the Papal Legate at the Council of Oxford, A.D. 1222,² when the decrees of Lateran were carefully followed. When Cranmer swept away the cultus of the Saints by means of candles burned "before" their images, the doctrine of the "Real" Presence continued, nevertheless, to be taught by means of similar lights burned "before" the consecrated Wafer. In 1536, 1538 and 1539 Royal Injunctions issued directing "no other lights to be used but that before the *Corpus Christi*."³ So, in 1541, Henry wrote to the Primate: "We, by our injunctions, commanded that no offering or setting of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar."⁴ The bloody act of the Six Articles sanctioned by Convocation, which made the denial of transubstantiation a capital offence, remained in full force during the first year of King Edward VI., A.D. 1547. Commissions were issued under that Act,⁵ and men were imprisoned under it with a view to their capital punishment during the twelve months which preceded the repeal of that murderous statute in December, 1547. No reform of the Mass either as to its doctrine or ritual had been effected when the Injunctions of King Edward VI., permitting to "remain *still* two lights upon the High Altar before the Sacrament," issued on July 31st, 1547. The wording of those Injunctions, the received doctrine of both Church and State, and the entire service of the Mass, were alike unchanged from what each had been when, but a twelvemonth before, Anne Askew and three others were burned alive for repudiating their combined teaching. Yet these Injunctions of 1547 are the precise ground upon which the legal sanction for "Altar Lights" is rested by Sir R.

¹ Migne's "Patrologie," cccvii. 811.

² Wilkins, i. 595.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 816, 842, 847.

⁴ Strype's Cranmer, i. 211. E. H. S. edit.

⁵ Foxe, Act. and Mon., Townsend's edit., v. App., No. xx., and viii. 715.

Phillimore, and by the advocates of the practice. Mr. Gedge surely knows how $\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ and $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\nu\omicron\varsigma$ stand contrasted in the New Testament. It is, therefore, a complete misconception to assume that lights "before the Sacrament" were ever used to teach an abstract doctrine about the illuminating power of Christ, or of His Spirit, as Mr. Gedge imagines: for, "always, everywhere and by all," they have been employed to teach that within the consecrated host hanging in the pyx, screened in a tabernacle, or lying upon the "altar," prior to reception, and therefore independent of the faith or unbelief of the recipient, the body and blood of Christ are *there* as "the light of the world." Upon that belief depends both the adoration of the Host and the "sacrifice" of the Mass. "Historic continuity" proves that the lights upon the High Altar "before the Sacrament" at Lincoln Cathedral mean now just what the same lights meant when similarly burned prior to the Reformation, viz., that behind them is the Object of worship in honour of whose "Real Presence" they are lit. The Royal Injunctions (or, rather, Visitation Articles) of 1549, and the Injunctions of Ridley, (1550) and Hooper (1551), forbade *nominatim* two of the practices now charged upon the Bishop of Lincoln on the express ground that they were a "counterfeiting of the Popish Mass," and that they were contrary to "the King's Book of Common Prayer," viz., that very First Prayer Book which, though no longer legal, is claimed by Bishop King as the source of the ornaments rubric upon which he bases his published defence. King Edward VI., Ridley, and Hooper are higher authorities as to the recognised symbolism of altar lights, and of singing the *Agnus Dei* before the Host than any which can be produced on the other side. Ridley refused to enter the choir of St. Paul's until the altar lights had been extinguished. Yet, by so doing, he and his colleagues who "lit that candle, which by the grace of God shall never be put out," assuredly did not mean to deny that Christ is the true Light of the world.

2. *The Agnus Dei*.—Mr. Gedge asks, "Is it possible that any humble Christian should think it wrong to sing 'Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world'?" The innocent ingenuity of such an inquiry must not blind us to its entire irrelevancy. Ridley and Hooper thought it *very* "wrong to sing the *Agnus Dei*" in presence of the consecrated wafer as an act of worship addressed to "the Blessed Sacrament." And that is the precise practice which the Church Association are seeking to eradicate, yet which readers of the CHURCHMAN are invited to condone, or, rather, to vindicate and preserve as being beyond reproach!

3. *The Mixed Chalice*.—Mr. Gedge tells us that "the mixed

chalice typifies the water and the blood from Christ's riven side which flowed." But he forgets that that was not a "mixed" stream at all. On the contrary, it was the visible *separation* of the two which the Apostle "saw and bare witness" to as a proof of the *completed* death which constituted the "finished" sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, but which the Mass, according to Lincoln Use, seeks to supplement. The "confusion of substance" can be no fit symbol of that *unamalgamated* duality of nature which the Athanasian Creed affirms. "The majesty of Christ's estate hath not extinguished the verity of His manhood," and, therefore, cannot be imaged by the wine in the chalice swallowing up a few drops of that fluid of which the prophet Isaiah (i. 22) spoke disparagingly as being an adulteration. St. Paul uses for the "corruption" of doctrine in 2 Cor. ii. 17, the very word taken from the Septuagint version of the prophecy to which I refer; and the symbolism thus authenticated is both more germane as well as more authoritative than the inconsistent alternative interpretations which Mr. Gedge selects out of half a dozen others equally fantastic and wanton.

4. *The Sign of the Cross.*—Mr. Gedge defends the "reverent use on a solemn occasion" (at the individual choice of the celebrant) of certain aërial crossings. But he forgets that our 34th Article does not permit such liberties to be taken with public worship at the caprice of individuals, and that the burdensome load of superstitious ceremonies complained of in the Preface to the Prayer Book of 1549 arose from acting upon the advice which he now renews.

"Some ceremonies entered into the Church by indiscreet *devotion* and such a *zeal* as was without knowledge; and for because that they were *winked at in the beginning* they grew daily to more and more abuses."

5. *The Eastward Position.*—Mr. Gedge defends this on the ground that, "so far as he had been able to ascertain (*sic*), it is not intended to teach any particular doctrine." It would be of great interest to know what steps Mr. Gedge has taken to "ascertain" this. Did he never read what Dr. Pusey said at St. James's Hall in 1874?

"The standing before the altar means the primitive doctrine of the Eucharistic *sacrifice*, and the bowing after Sarum Use at consecration means Eucharistic *adoration*."

Such was Dr. Pusey's answer to the celebrated letter dated May, 1874, in which Canon Selwyn said:

"It is *notorious* that the position facing eastward is the expression of a belief that the consecrating minister performs a *sacrificial* act; by it is signified and expressed the solemn *oblation* and *sacrificial presentation* made by the celebrant after the example of Christ."

Mr. Gedge thinks that "the nearer anyone is to believing in

the Real Presence, the more anxious he should be that the bread and wine be seen." But if he would turn to such old-fashioned High Churchmen as L'Éstrange, Wheatly, and Nicholls, he would find that long before Ritualism was invented, the opposite doctrine was everywhere recognised. Professor J. J. Blunt (no fanatical Puritan) wrote of the rubric :

" This done, he returns to the north side and breaks the bread, and takes the cup before the people, *i.e.*, in their sight, the Church not wishing to make the manner of consecration—as the Romish priest does—a mystery. Thus the former position was merely taken up in order to the subsequent act, that the priest ' may, with the more readiness and decency, break the bread.' So that they mistake this rubric altogether, I apprehend, and violate both its letter and spirit, who consecrate the elements with their back to the people, after the manner of the Church of Rome."¹

The actual experience of Christendom is at variance with Mr. Gedge's *à priori* reasonings about what " *should* be ;" and (what may strike him as of more importance) he is not consistent with himself. For in the same breath he quotes Bishop Ken : " When at Thine altar I *see* the bread broken and the wine poured out, oh, teach me," etc. ; and yet asks : " What devout communicant lifts his eyes from his Prayer Book to see the act of breaking the bread or lifting the cup from the Table ?"

The answer to that would require much time to complete the needful enumeration. To begin with, unless the Apostles had so done, we should have lost the voucher of those who " bare record " as to the not utterly trivial acts which the Master bade them " do in remembrance of Him," and a knowledge of which was granted to St. Paul by express revelation. How could such acts conduce to His " remembrance " if the disciples were so " devout " as to be gazing fixedly all the time at their Psalters, from which (*after* the consumption of the consecrated viands) they " sang an hymn " ? The compilers of our Liturgy were so far from regarding that manual as the *Kiblah*, that they prescribed " decency " in the performance of the manual acts " before the people " ; and " decency " in outward acts necessarily has reference to the spectators. Cosin urged that the breaking of the bread is a " *needful* circumstance belonging to this Sacrament." Wren arranged the pews so that " the people would the better hear and *see* what the minister said and *did* in his administration."² The Welsh Prayer Book, authorized by Convocation and by the Act of Uniformity, provided for the manual acts being done " in the sight of the people."³ Bishop Gauden, one of the anti-Puritan

¹ " Parish Priest," 6th edit., p. 333.

² " Parentalia," p. 78.

³ Perry's " Report," p. 501.

divines at the Savoy, published a devotional work, "The Whole Duty of a Communicant," which received the imprimatur of Archbishop Sancroft who acted as secretary at every stage of the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661. In this work occurs the following direction :

At the time of the consecration *fix your eye upon the elements* and at the actions of the minister. . . . we ought joyfully to meditate after this manner, etc.

Bishop Gunning, another of the Revisers, required his churchwardens to certify as to the due performance of these manual acts, which they could hardly be required to do if no devout person might "lift his eyes from his Prayer Book" in the manner eschewed by Mr. Sydney Gedge. Beveridge, Ken, Wilson, Horneck, Kidder, and many other devotional writers on Holy Communion, appeal to the sense of sight (*visibile signum*) as designed by our Lord to enkindle gratitude. A sacrificial feast was never "partaken" with closed eyes; and the early Christians regarded "the spiritual Divine table as a memorial of that first and ever memorable table of the spiritual Divine Supper." What right, then, has either the "devout" Mr. Gedge or Bishop King to rob the people of this Divine provision for their benefit? For as Archdeacon Yardley, who wrote in 1728, observes, respecting the Prayer of Consecration, the English celebrant

"doth not stand before the altar as the Romish priests do, nor, like them, pronounce the words in a low voice, to countenance their pretended miracle of transubstantiation, and to make the people gaze with wonder on those who are thought to perform it in that secret manner, but the priest in the Church of England says the prayer with an audible voice, as in the Primitive Church, that the people may hear and join with him, and stands so as he may with readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands; that they may *observe and meditate upon those actions which are significant* and proper to this rite."¹

6. *Rinsing and Ablution*.—That the officiating clergyman should ostentatiously drink the rinsings of the chalice and of his own fingers (over which water is poured, lest a crumb or drop of the deified "substance" should adhere to them), Mr. Gedge regards as a proof of great carefulness in "obeying the direction" of the rubric to consume "reverently"! What Mr. Gedge, as matter of taste, calls "reverent," the Primate of the Northern Province more justly characterized as "disgusting." And, be it remembered, there is no "limited liability" in public acts of an idolatrous nature. "*Oratio communis fit per ministros ecclesiæ in personam totius populi*," says Lyndwood. "He that biddeth him God-speed is partaker of his evil deeds," says St. John (cf. 1 Tim. v. 22). We do not go to

¹ "Rational Communicant," p. 96.

church to "fix our eyes upon our Prayer Books" or to say our "closet" prayers, but to join in a common act of public worship, of which the minister is but the mouthpiece, and for which every layman has his own individual share of responsibility.

Leaving the details of ritual observance, Mr. Gedge next assures us that Bishop King merely holds that "the Christian ministry came from above;" and that Viscount Halifax "expressly *limits* (*sic*) the presence of Christ to the heart of the believer." Such rash and inaccurate statements ought not to be published, and Mr. Gedge incurs grave responsibility by making them. Pope Leo and Cardinal Manning both teach that Christ is "present in the heart," and that "the Christian ministry is from above." But neither the Bishop of Rome nor the Bishop of Lincoln will adopt Mr. Gedge's further denial that it is Christ present in the bread and wine who is the Light of the world, to whom the *Agnus Dei* is to be addressed as being on the "altar," and who is offered up at each mass by the sacrificing priest. Neither of those divines will repudiate as a

"soul-destroying superstition that the priest who can work this miracle is a mediator between man and God, between the sinner and his Saviour, a vicar of Christ, who has power to forgive the sins of a confessing penitent."

Yet those are Mr. Gedge's own words, selected by him to bring to a definite issue the whole matter. I unreservedly accept that challenge. I say that Mr. Gedge's representation of the teaching of Viscount Halifax and of Bishop King is a complete and entire misrepresentation of their well-known and repeatedly published public utterances and teaching. That is a plain and definite issue of fact. Space will not permit me now to copy out the evidence on this matter. Suffice it to say, that for one penny the readers of the *CHURCHMAN* may see *pages* of such evidence collected by Mr. Hanchard in his "Sketch of the Life of Bishop King" (*Kensit*). I have examined his references, and take the responsibility of saying that they are entirely trustworthy. As to the President of the E.C.U., the single extract given in our annual report just published, may suffice.

What is it, then, which we are now fighting about? It is as to the truth or falsehood of such doctrines as these:

1st. That Christ is continuously offering in heaven a propitiatory sacrifice for sin.

2nd. That this imaginary sin-offering is represented on earth at each mass.

3rd. That this mass-offering is applicable to the sins of the dead, the absent, and even to the benefit of the animal and vegetable creation.

4th. That the priest is not a mere "ambassador for Christ," but an ambassador to Christ, mediating authoritatively on behalf of sinners.

5th. That the Divinely revealed and *ordinary* channel for the remission of post-baptismal sin is sacramental confession, and absolution granted judicially by a priest sitting *pro tribunali*.

6th. That Christ has given to bishops *only* a power of jurisdiction indefeasible by Nations, Kings, and Parliaments, and also a power of legislation which mere laymen have no right to share—except casually and on sufferance. *Durante beneplacito*: by the permission of the Successors of the Apostles.

Such doctrines, I say, are now taught in theological colleges, approved by examining chaplains, and adopted by a steadily increasing majority of the clergy without any active remonstrance, so far as is known, by Mr. Gedge and those friends of "position, influence, and reputation" whom he modestly forbears to particularize. Mr. Gedge says that, "by arguments and exhortation," the truth should be maintained. So say we; but we have not been content with "prave 'orts," but have *done* something in the way of "teaching," and "argument." We can point, for instance, to a long list of publications which, at least, attempt to deal with the errors which Mr. Gedge says should be "resisted unto blood," but which, so far as the world is permitted to know, his friends give not the smallest evidence that they understand or even recognise. Mr. Gedge has set an "example" of candour, and I desire to come behind in no gift. At every crisis in which "Zion in her anguish with Babylon must cope," Mr. Gedge has hitherto been found a consistent supporter of compromise with error as being the only means of averting disestablishment. If it be true, however, that hostile "Counter-associations" to the Church Association, including "nearly every man of position, influence, or reputation among evangelical men," have been secretly formed all over England, I will ask Mr. Gedge to tell us what *one* thing they have done to manifest their intelligent acquaintance with the very existence among us of the six root heresies I have above enumerated. Where is their "teaching," their "argument," their "exhortation"? Surely they should not continue any longer to hide the light which (Mr. Gedge says, and we have only his word for it) is in them. On his own chosen ground of "argument and exhortation," then, the C. A. is "in evidence," and Mr. Gedge's "Counter-associations" are not.

I would further point out to him that an Established Church, as such, is a mundane institution, and that the perversion of its endowments, and the violation of money contracts, and the abuse of the "veto" created by statutes, and the "freehold" tenure of parochial, diocesan, and territorial rights and

immunities cannot be dealt with by the mere force of "example," or by the influence, however great, of the tract distributor. Legislation is needed, and still more the *enforcement* of good and wise laws, which are now being deliberately broken with a high hand by men who (like the Pharisee in the parable) proclaim themselves to be, in some distinctive sense, "holy men." Surely something more than "argument" is here needed: "These things ought ye to have done, and *not to leave the other undone.*"

We are told that by our action we "have established the use of the surplice in the pulpit." Now since the dress of the preacher has never been made the subject of litigation, or of a judicial decision, this alleged fact would, on the Gedgian system of "reasoning," go to show that it was the *absence* of "persecution" which had caused the change. That does not help Mr. Gedge's contention very much. And the five years which have been absolutely free from any "prosecutions" of ours (and during which Mr. Sydney Gedge was, *ex hypothesi*, "resisting unto blood") have been remarkable for the unprecedentedly steady and rapid increase of Romish teaching and organization, and of ritual illegalities, within the Established Church. But we are told that we have "obtained from the highest courts the declaration that it is lawful to affirm" Mr. Bennett's doctrines. Surely that is an extraordinary statement for a lawyer to make. Everybody remembers that Mr. Bennett's judge was the brother-in-law of Archdeacon Denison, and that his "judgment" was in substance the very same *Catena* (compiled for Denison's defence) which had been proved twenty years before, by Dean Goode,¹ to consist of downright misquotations. Also, that this advocate-judge succeeded in striking out (on technical grounds) from the articles of charge the "reception by the wicked," for which our 29th Article had been devised (like *theotokos*, or *homoousion*) as the touchstone of (eucharistic) heresy. Lastly, that Mr. Gladstone pitchforked two brand-new judges (one of whom had never before sat as a judge) into the Court of Appeal within a week of the trial, a circumstance to which the *Church Times* of April 21, 1876, attributes the acquittal of Mr. Bennett.

With these facts before him, a gentleman who professes Evangelical principles thinks it candid and fair to assert that an offence acquitted only *in personam* in a given case was thereby judicially pronounced to be "established as lawful." A verdict of "Not Proven" means the pronouncing "lawful" everything *charged* against the person acquitted! As though one murderer acquitted proved the "lawfulness" of murder! I

¹ "Nature of Christ's Presence," pp. 829, 779, 871, 768, 869, 889.

submit that Mr. Gedge's representation of the Bennett judgment is unfair in spirit even more than in the letter; and I ask my readers to compare with it the actual judgment itself, from which the following extracts are taken:

The Real Presence.—The Church of England holds and teaches affirmatively that in the Lord's Supper the Body and Blood of Christ are given to, taken, and received by the faithful communicant. She implies, therefore, to that extent a presence of Christ in the ordinance to the soul of the worthy recipient. As to the mode of this presence she affirms nothing, except that the Body of Christ is "given, taken, and eaten in the Supper *only* after an heavenly and spiritual manner," and that "the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten is faith." Any other presence than this—any presence which is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receiver—the Church does not by her Articles and Formularies affirm or require her ministers to accept. This cannot be stated too plainly.

The Church of England by the statement in the 28th Article of Religion that the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, excludes undoubtedly any manner of giving, taking, or receiving, which is not heavenly or spiritual.

Sacrifice.—The Church of England does not by her Articles or Formularies teach or affirm the doctrine maintained by the respondent. That she has *deliberately ceased to do so* would appear clearly from a comparison of the present Communion Office with that of King Edward's first book, and of this again with the Canon of the Mass in the Sarum Missal. It was no longer to be an altar of sacrifice, but merely a table at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's Supper.

It is not lawful for a clergyman to teach that the sacrifice or offering of Christ upon the cross, or the redemption, propitiation, or satisfaction wrought by it, is or can be repeated in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; nor that in that ordinance there is or can be any sacrifice or offering of Christ which is efficacious in the sense in which Christ's death is efficacious to procure the remission of the guilt or punishment of sins.

But the point on which I desire to grapple with Mr. Sydney Gedge is the assumption that,

The illegality of these additional ceremonies being admitted, those who break the law should be punished. Possibly; but it is not your business to put the law in force for that purpose. There are high officers in the Church, and if they do not their duty, your conscience is not burthened.

That is, that Bishops should be not only fatherly advisers and patrons, but informers and prosecutors, as well as "personal" judges! Mr. Gedge must pardon us if we cannot accept him as the arbiter of our consciences. To us it seems the clear duty of every member of the Church, "in his vocation and ministry," to resist each and every attempt to pervert the endowments of an Established Church to the systematic propagation of Popery. Whether Mr. Gedge approves or not, the law has assigned to "aggrieved parishioners" the duty and the power of "putting the law in force." Still, though not a "man of position, reputation, or influence," the "aggrieved" has something to say for himself. He may point out that it was at their own request (though

at our expense) that the Bishops had the law ascertained for them. Whereupon, they have "with one consent begun to make excuse" for not keeping a promise made *in verbo sacerdotii* by the Primate of England, viz., that when once the law was made clear, they would not be wanting on their parts as the Ordinary administrators of that law. With twenty recorded vetoes staring him in the face, even Mr. Gedge will hardly pretend that the Bishops have kept that promise. Such, then, being the facts, we may consider Mr. Gedge's theory either from a political (or constitutional) standpoint, or from a purely ecclesiastical one.

On the civil side, we have to remember that England is neither a Despotism nor an Oligarchy, but that every citizen shares in the legislative powers of the State. And with power comes its inseparable correlative, *responsibility*.

On the ecclesiastical side, all "Evangelicals" who deserve the name are witnesses for the right of the "Church," as distinguished from the clergy, to take an active part in the government of its own affairs. They call to mind that whereas the heresies which desolated the Church emanated from ecclesiastics who were reputed "men of great learning and piety," the defence of the Catholic faith rested again and again with the laity or with mere deacons like Athanasius.

I know that Mr. Gedge won't heed anything that I say, but perhaps he will listen to the Rev. John Henry Newman, who, as the acknowledged leader of the Bishop of Lincoln's school, said :

The Episcopate, whose action was so prompt and concordant at Nicæa, on the rise of Arianism, did not, as a class or order of men, play a good part in the troubles consequent upon the Council; and the laity did. The Catholic people, in the length and breadth of Christendom, were the obstinate champions of Catholic truth, and the bishops were not. This is a very remarkable fact, but there is a moral in it. Perhaps it was permitted, in order to impress upon the Church—at that very time passing out of her state of persecution to her long temporal ascendancy—the great Evangelical lesson, that not the wise and powerful, but the obscure, the unlearned, and the weak constitute her real strength. It was mainly by the faithful people that paganism was overthrown; it was by the faithful people, under the lead of Athanasius and the Egyptian bishops, and in some places supported by their bishops or priests, that the worst of heresies was withstood and stamped out of the sacred territory.

The laity have, then, it may be, some little share of common-sense, of learning, and of that inspiration for which we pray in the opening collect of the Communion Office. If anybody could persuade us otherwise, it would be Mr. Sydney Gedge. But with the four Gospels in our hands, and the teaching of Church

¹ Newman's "Arians," p. 445.

history to guide us, I for one cannot doubt that the laity are the "Ecclesia" of the LXX. and of the N.T., and that the "Voice of the Church" (so often talked *about*, but so seldom "heard") is to be sought ultimately in the enlightened conscience of the educated Christian laity, guided by that Holy Spirit whose gifts are promised even to "secular" persons, and whose aid now, as of old, will not be wanting to the prayers of His faithful people.

HENRY MILLER,
Secretary Church Association.

Reviews.

John Ward, Preacher. By MARGARET DELAND. F. Warne and Co.

THIS little book is run on the same lines as "Robert Elsmere." It is slighter and even more superficial, and that authoritative, assertive air of pseudo-scientific criticism, which makes Mrs. Humphry Ward the Jules Verne of theological science, is wanting. There must certainly at the present time be some craving for anything that discusses in an intelligible and attractive way the fundamental truths of Christianity, for both these "religious novels," as we suppose they should be designated, have met with an immense circulation. This is a healthy sign, but it is a matter for regret that works so attractive in style, and interesting in story, should tend either to lead altogether astray, or to leave a mist of bewildered doubt.

The effect wrought by "John Ward" is of the latter description. Mrs. Deland fears to tread where Mrs. Ward rushes in; and though she sets a theological riddle, is very far indeed from answering it, and does not even attempt to do so. In her case the crux is eternal reprobation. It will be remembered that the Divinity of our Lord supplied Mrs. Humphry Ward with the theme for a novel, and that she effectually disposed of it. But the maze of uncertainty in which one is left after reading "John Ward" is hardly less unsatisfactory than the other book's flippant conclusion; in fact, we are led up so carefully to the question, a certain way out is left so suggestively open, that one is almost driven to supply reasons for himself why he should take it; which subtle procedure obviates the sense of deficiency, of floundering about, that a perusal of "Robert Elsmere's" shallow argument leaves. We supply the necessary inference, and the author is saved the trouble of doing so.

John Ward, a Presbyterian minister, becomes engaged to Helen, the niece of Dr. Howe, professedly a clergyman of the American Episcopal Church, but whose opinions are, to say the least, lax, and whose conduct is confessedly non-Christian. Now, this is one of the unfairest methods of the story. This worldly "divine," with his "handsome face," his "big, jolly laugh," and his "good-natured voice," is presented to the outward eye in a very attractive garb, while we are allowed to see the workings of his mind to such an extent that one is inclined to read between the lines so far as to infer that he is a type of the majority of his brethren. Such is possibly the conclusion that the author would wish to be drawn. Dr. Howe shows us those who use religious principles as they use good manners, who think it is gentlemanly to believe the Bible, or at least to

say they do, while their real opinion is a matter for their own private consideration. He is always being driven into a corner, and so skilfully that one at first sight would feel inclined to go in the corner with him; though, on a very small reflection, it would be perceived that no difficulty was involved. But, unfortunately, few do reflect when reading novels. For example:

"If you thought the Bible taught that slavery was right, what would you do?"

"I could never think anything so absurd," the rector answered, a shade of contempt in his good-natured voice.

"But if you did," John insisted; "even if you were unable to see that it was right—if the Bible taught it, inculcated it?"

Dr. Howe laughed impatiently, and flung the end of his cigar down into the bushes, where it glowed for a moment like an angry eye. "I—I? Oh, I'd read some other part of the book," he said. "But I refuse to think such a crisis possible; you can always find some other meaning in a text, you know."

In this weak way the portly figure of the rector looms out all through the story. We are indeed told, when he uses an oath, that it is his first since he took orders; but we are also shown, in perhaps the most finely-written passage of the book, how, when he doffs his usual habit, and dons his clerical, visiting a dying friend, and trying, professionally, to say some words to comfort the soul standing on the river's brink, he is thus met:

"Ah, yes," said the sick man; "but I should like to approach this from our usual point of view, if you would be so good. I have every respect for your office, but would it not be easier for us to speak of—of this, as we have been in the habit of speaking on all subjects, quite in our ordinary way, as it were? You will pardon me, Archibald, if I say anything else seems—ah—unreal?"

We are told that Dr. Howe rose and walked to the window, and there was a tightening in his throat that kept him silent. We don't wonder at it, but we do wonder that the author gives him as a counterfeit presentment of a minister of the Gospel. The blackboard of his character typifies instead in an unmistakable way those who are Christians because their fathers were—because they were brought up in it, and because it would be bad form to be otherwise. What the doctor really believed he knew not, and the Christian's glorious hope was to him a dim mirage.

John Ward, the Presbyterian preacher, on the other hand, is a character of spotless beauty—perfection walking about in a black coat. He marches through life, and temptations wither under his feet. Sin seems to shrink from him. His earnestness and virtuousness are "positively aggressive." It tires your eyes to look at him, and you have to shade your face with your hand. And this saintly and really attractive character holds the most rigid and unbending doctrines of the strictest of Calvinistic sects.

Of course he dies; a great deal of fine, sentimental work is introduced, as in the scene of Robert Elsmere's death. And Helen, Dr. Howe's niece, and the preacher's wife, is shown to us as a singularly pure and noble-minded woman, who, as she gazes on the rigid and impossible virtue of the one, and the revolting inconsistency of the other, wavers, loses her balance and falls. So naturally, too, that it would seem to be the inevitable result. First, doubt creeps into her mind, then despair, and then denial. Despairing of rising to the exalted height of her husband's righteousness, and doubting the value of a Christianity as set forth by the easy hypocrisy of her father, she becomes an Agnostic.

This is the conclusion of the whole matter. Not a word about the true Christian life of faith and humble endeavour—not a hint of the future solution of mysteries now veiled.

Helen Ward is used in just as unfair a way as Dr. Howe. In many respects her character is very lovable—in most respects—and evidently she is intended to approach as near to the unapproachable—a perfect woman

—as possible. But she behaves in a deplorably weak manner. Fresh from the relaxing atmosphere of her uncle's "religious" opinions, she is plunged into the icy and wind-swept region of Calvinism. No wonder that it takes her breath away at first; but, then, she never seems to breathe freely again. Surely her faith must have been faithless to collapse so miserably and so soon. In fact, she confesses so:

"If I had ever been intensely religious it would be different, I suppose. I should care for it as a sacred past; but it was never more than pleasant. What I called my spiritual life had no reality to me."

(Christianity "pleasant"! It will be called "pretty" in the next religious novel, we suppose.)

In fact, the rise, progress and fall of what poor Helen called her spiritual life are equally distorted and unreal. It begins on shadows—a few wreaths of misty religious truth seen in a dim, unnatural light to the languid strains of a mock organ. When this little collection of vapour is blown upon by the blast of adverse doctrine, it is scattered to the winds, and no particle of solid rock appears. Nor are any means taken to stay this dispersion.

To begin with, Mrs. Deland seems to confuse eternal reprobation with eternal punishment. The latter she admits in a reluctant, unwilling way (it is, indeed, an unavoidable admission to anyone who accepts Holy Scripture), and she repeats, under several connections, that the consequences of sin are eternal. But although we are not directly informed by God's revelation in what unending retribution consists, she thrusts before Helen's eyes without alternative a species of torture founded on Jonathan Edwards. The fact remains, however, that we do not know, have not been informed, in what the punishment of the other world consists; and joined with this we have the blessed fact of deliberate opportunity of option for every human soul. Yet the author slurs this over, and hides it with the harsh and crude idea of eternal reprobation in such a way that the two seem to be inseparably commingled.

Again. In the "hour of trial," when we pray for Jesus to stand by us, Helen flees from Him. She does not seem to offer one prayer. As for the Bible, that is an unknown quantity. Here, indeed, the author is unfortunately true to life. It is marvellous how people will read any quantity of books and theories on the Bible, but will never dream of searching *in* the Bible. Helen seems never to have looked on its glorious promises during all her life.

And so in her fall—she falls with suspicious ease. No one having really had in his possession the pearl of great price would let it roll away so unconcernedly, and watch it vanishing with such an absence of effort to recover it. The patent fact is that Helen never was a Christian, and the hidden fact is that a true, humble and sincere Christian life is not even distantly approached in this book, except in the unfortunate instance of John Ward. No one can serve as an example of a Christian who is armed with prayer by proxy and a dust-covered Bible, but anyone can who tries, in however lowly a way, to serve his Lord, and to maintain "pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father." Of this the author seems ignorant, or, as is more likely, she shirks it.

Poor Helen is left in an unhappy state of collapse and uncertainty—verily in Professor Huxley's "dark and trackless forest," peering ahead for the hand that is by her side, and saying sadly, "I will not comfort myself with little candles of memory or desire, and say, 'This is light.' Perhaps light will never come to my eyes, but I will wait, for I believe there is light somewhere." But it is not books like "John Ward, Preacher" that will bring light to any darkened soul; nor could Helen hope to evolve it out of her own imagination.

But is it upright and frank of the author to leave her sitting idly there,

with her hands folded, waiting for light, when a box of matches and a lamp stand beside her in the Word of God? Why did she not turn to St. Paul's vivid words, for advice, "Awake thou that sleepest, and Christ shall give thee light?" What is the use of pondering over mysteries, the solution of which, if arrived at, would not help us an inch on our way to salvation, when we know that we must be up and doing our best, feeble though it is, for the Master's sake? And at any period when life's dismal realities overpower for a moment our weak strength, surely then is the time to look forward with longing relief to the Christian's bright hope of a season when all will be clear.

Not so with Mrs. Deland—all the hope of futurity is summed up in words which seem to portray the acme of her religious meditations: "It is too late for anything—any religious aid, I mean—when a man comes to look death in the face. I suppose all one can do is to say: 'Let my friendship go with you through it all—all this unknown to us both.'"

Any thoughtful person, well grounded in the faith, would see through our author's thin shreds of philosophy; but the danger lies in thoughtless perusal and careless acceptance. W. A. P.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism Critically Considered. By S. W. KOELLE, Ph.D. Sc. S. Rivingtons.

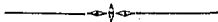
YET another Life of Mohammed! was our exclamation, as we took up this volume, but we rise from the perusal of it with the conviction that the author was fully justified in presenting it to the notice of the reading public. He writes—which is an inestimable advantage—as one who has an intimate personal acquaintance with his subject; not derived merely from the study of books, or from casual intercourse with Mohammedans whom he has met with in the social circle. He has been, as he tells us, some forty years acquainted with them, first on the west coast of Africa, then in Egypt, Palestine, and European Turkey; he knows not only their creed, but also those traditions with which it is associated, and is further fully cognizant of the effect which their faith has upon the life. In his preface he makes a very just remark with reference to the comparatively small success of missionary labours: "What a mass of superstitious rubbish has to be swept away from the path of the pious Moslem, before his vision can become unimpeded and free enough to perceive the all-surpassing spiritual majesty of Him who could say, 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father'!" This view of the case is almost entirely ignored by many who speak so slightly of efforts made for the conversion of Moslems to the Christian faith. They forget how much has to be unlearned; they fail to remember that, whilst in some points the Mohammedan creed may seem to be in unison with the truth of the Word, yet it is so overlaid by tradition as to present few points of real unison. Let us take, for instance, the following passage translated from the Rawzet ul Ahabab: "When Adam had been sent out of Paradise to this earth, he became exceedingly sad and downcast, and thus made complaint to God: 'O God, I am distressed because I can no longer hear the voice of the angels.' The Most High gave him this answer: 'O Adam, I have sent a house to the earth which the angels compass about, just as they surround My Throne in heaven; therefore turn towards it, and become familiar with it.' Upon this Adam, who at that time was in India, walked to the House of the Kaaba, God sending an angel with him to show him the way. Every one of Adam's steps was 50 parasangs long, and every spot upon which he trod was destined to become a city, as also the space between his feet to become cultivated. In a very short time he reached the Haram, where he found a temple, consisting of a single celestial hyacinth, with two doors of greensmaragd,

"one on the east side and the other on the west side. Then God sent an angel to teach Adam the ceremonies of the pilgrimage." This quotation speaks for itself, but if any of our readers entertain any doubt as to the nature of the traditions so current among Moslems, we can but refer them to the second book in our author's work, entitled "Mohammed Viewed in the Moonshine of Tradition," with the full assurance that they will agree with the conclusions arrived at, viz. : "It is mainly this un-naturally magnified, this unhistorical and fictitious Mohammed, who sways the heart of the Moslems, and keeps them from recognising in Jesus Christ the true Saviour of man, the Way, the Truth, and the Life in the full sense of the word."

In the first book of this work the historical Mohammed is brought before us, with which we are necessarily more familiar. Here we may observe that Dr. Koelle frankly states that he writes from the standpoint of a Christian, and for our part we can hardly understand how a devout believer in the credentials of the Christian faith could do otherwise. He is, however, careful to bring before us the authorities on which he relies for the statements he makes, and we are only expressing what we believe will be the verdict of all candid readers of the volume before us, that if the various visions with which Mohammed avers he was favoured had been as fully brought under public notice as in the present case, a different estimate would have been formed as to his claim to be styled a Prophet of God.

One main point of interest in the survey of Mohammed's life is the relation subsisting between the Meccan and Medinan periods, in which there has been a great conflict of opinion. Many writers consider that in the former period he was animated by a sincere religious spirit, whilst in the latter he was led astray and became a base apostate, and a carnal worldling. This our author very strongly condemns, and asserts in very plain words: "This ardent preacher, this zealous reformer, the austere prophet of Mecca, pleading amidst annoyances and opposition for more toleration and the bare recognition of his teaching, is in reality the seed and precursor of the military commander, the insatiable conqueror, the despotic autocrat of Medina." This we believe to be undoubtedly true, and that the Meccan period was the germ of the Medinan. Our space will not permit us to enter more fully into the reasons for the foregoing conclusion, but an attentive reading of the author's work will show that he has good grounds for the opinions he has formed on this and other facts of Mohammed's life. In this age, when the undisguised attempt is openly made to exalt unduly the false faiths of the world, it is refreshing to find a man of real ability, who has the courage of his opinions, coming boldly forward to express his honest convictions, even though they may be opposed to the current tone of modern thought. We do not doubt that Dr. Koelle will be taken to task by those who hold the advanced opinions of the day, but if he is met by fair argument, and not by mere declamation, we are much mistaken if he will not be able thoroughly to hold his own and to gainsay his opponents.

W. E. RICHARDSON.



THE MONTH.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury gave judgment, on the 11th, on the protest entered by the Bishop of Lincoln against his Grace's jurisdiction. The conclusion of the judgment (singularly full and lucid) runs thus :

The Court, therefore, although by an entirely different line of inquiry, has arrived at the same conclusion which was arrived at on purely legal principles by the unanimous judgment of the Lord High Chancellor, with four Judges and five Bishops, who constituted the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to advise her Majesty in August, 1888. The Court decides that it has jurisdiction in this case, and therefore overrules the protest.

The *Record* says :

We doubt whether anyone has been surprised at the decision of the Archbishop in the Lincoln case. It was a foregone conclusion in any English Court of Justice that the St. David's case, so pertinaciously fought and so often reheard nearly two hundred years ago, should be followed in all subsequent cases. Lord Chief Justice Holt may have been wrong, as Bishop King's counsel stoutly maintain he was; but it is surely rather late in the day to find it out. The interest and importance of the Primate's judgment, which on all hands is agreed to show rare power and ability, seem to us to consist not so much in the result it lays down as in the road by which he reached that result.

The *Guardian* says :

The claim maintained by the Archbishop in his judgment, by virtue of his Metropolitan authority and by that alone, to cite, try, and sentence one of his Suffragans, is undoubtedly what is called, in slang language, "a large order." Even by those who may have thought it inevitable, after the Watson case had been so distinctly accepted by the books as a precedent, it is yet felt as a surprise, in the sense in which a thing is often a surprise, when after being only talked about it becomes a reality. . . . Bishops, then, who in spite of the alleged anarchy, are still looked upon with great reverence, as almost irresponsible in what they say and do officially, are, it seems, as much at the mercy of the law as the presbyters and deacons whom they have occasionally sent before the courts.

By a majority of 53 (284 to 231) Mr. Dillwyn's motion against "the Church of England in Wales" was rejected. The amendment, after an admirable speech, was moved by Mr. Byron Reed.

The Bishop of London, we record with pleasure, has appointed the Rev. William Sinclair to the Archdeaconry of London.

The death of the Rev. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne (the famous "S. G. O." of the *Times*) has called forth tributes of respect on every side. Lord Sidney recently contributed a paper to the CHURCHMAN.

We have pleasure in inserting the following letter from Captain Kearney White, on the Scripture Readers' Society for Ireland :

May I entreat the kind attention of your readers to an advertisement which appears in another part of your valuable magazine? It is with great reluctance that we have to appeal for special assistance at this time, but, under the circumstances, it will be seen to be unavoidable. If the example which has been so generously set by those whose names appear is promptly followed, the committee will soon be relieved from the burden at present pressing upon them, and the necessity of reducing the number of their faithful Scripture Readers. The Archbishop wrote the following weighty words :

"The Palace, Stephen's Green, Dublin,
"16th April, 1889.

"DEAR CAPTAIN KEARNEY WHITE,

"I trust that the effort you are making to extricate the Scripture Readers' Society from its present financial difficulties may, through God's blessing, be crowned with success.

"Yours faithfully,
"PLUNKET, DUBLIN."