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THE
CHURCHMAN

APRIL, 1894.

ART. I.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM.¹

“These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, let no man despise thee!”—Titus ii. 15.

THE Church of England has a story stretching now over centuries. She boasts a long roll of distinguished sons, faithful to her teaching. These, if they have had the good fortune to be alumni of this University, are always proud to recall among their titles to honour their ancient connection with Oxford. The divine, the lawyer, the man of letters, the statesman, however high they may rise in their several callings, never forget that first and foremost they were Oxford men.

What Oxford has done in the last fifty years for the Church we love so well is in the memory of us all. Even those who in some points perhaps disagree with the teaching which bears her honoured name give witness to the noble revival of Church life, so largely owing to the Oxford school. As a member of another University famous, too, in the annals of our country, I can venture to record an ungrudging admiration, and to express an unstinting praise, of Oxford and its work.

But such a storied past as yours carries with it deep and vast responsibilities; far and wide is the influence which teaching issuing from this famed centre exercises. *Words* spoken here, *books* written here—the *words* are repeated, the *books* are read again and again, in lonely villages, in busy towns, not only in England, but in the Greater Britain beyond the seas. The very “silences” of Oxford, or any topic which *touches* men’s hearts, have their weight, and exercise an influence far and wide.

The great army of ordained clergy of our Church, the smaller but still great army of Nonconformist teachers of Christianity, receive always with respect, often with enthusiasm, any

¹ This paper is the “Pride” sermon, preached before the University of Oxford on Sunday, November 26, 1893.

teaching which bears, or seems to bear, the hall mark of Oxford. In countless instances the views and opinions of these men, many of whom have scant leisure to study for themselves, are moulded and shaped by the teaching which emanates from this great centre.

Many questions of absorbing interest of late have occupied men's minds and hearts, such as grave and pressing political disputes, the relations between capital and labour, the ever-present problem of increasing poverty; but it will, I think be readily conceded that no question is of deeper importance than one which has comparatively lately come to the front among us, and which touches the trustworthiness of our Bible.

Men in the busy world on first thoughts may smile at such an assertion. What, would you claim a *foremost* place among the burning questions of the day for a subject which at first sight appears mainly to concern a few scholars?

But the points involved in this scholars' subject affect—at least, so think some of us—our hopes of eternal life, for they seem to touch, ay, even to threaten, the very foundation stories of our faith.

Now, the peculiar *theme* laid down as the subject of the sermon I have been invited to preach before you gives me the opportunity, or rather lays upon me the obligation, of dwelling upon some of the possible results of pride, and frees me from the charge of presumption in dwelling upon such a subject as "intellectual pride," and its too probable consequences, before such an audience.

Let me begin by boldly telling you what is in the minds, if not on the lips, of very many of our most thoughtful brother Englishmen. In the last years a few scholars of distinguished ability among us have joined hands with a famous foreign school of divinity. The results of their joint studies have alarmed and disturbed many earnest and devout souls. These scholars—some of us think on insufficient grounds—have attacked the traditional belief of centuries, ay, of all the Christian centuries, in our Old Testament. Their theories, which in not a few cases they put out as *certainties*, appear to many of us as utterly subversive of the very foundation of our loved religion.

Let me plainly in a few words sketch out what we understand to be the heads of the teaching pressed on us by the leaders of the so-called Higher Criticism. We are now asked to disbelieve generally the traditional teaching we possess respecting a large portion of the Old Testament, to set aside as *worthless* the teaching of the Jewish people respecting their own (prized) Scriptures, teaching which has endured not for 2,000 years only, but for an indefinite period before even that distant date.

We are asked to discredit the solemn teachings of the Church in the matter of the Old Testament Scriptures in all the Christian ages, to put aside as false and wrong the opinions of the great Catholic doctors in all times and in all lands, from the days of Justin and Irenæus to the days of Pusey and Liddon.

"Incende quod adorâsti" would seem to be the motto adopted by the new destructive school.

At the risk of appearing to exaggerate, I will briefly set before you some of the startling results of the Higher Criticism, as they *appear* to the majority of the people who have devoted any attention to the contest now going on respecting the criticism of the Old Testament.

Up to a very recent date—in the question of the Old Testament—the Church in its teaching followed generally the tradition of the Jewish Synagogue—a tradition certainly held by the Jews *before* the Christian era. This most venerable Hebrew tradition taught that the Pentateuch in its present form was substantially the work of Moses.

Among Christians we may affirm that no shadow of doubt existed respecting the historical existence of Abraham and the patriarchs. The story of the deliverance from Egypt, the desert wanderings of Israel, the construction of the tabernacle in the wilderness by divinely instructed builders, the separation of the tribe of Levi by Divine command, the Aaronic priesthood, the institution of the Passover—all these things related in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua were received as *historical* facts; and the canonical Epistle to the Hebrews has been ever received as the undoubted inspired commentary on much of this ancient honoured story.

Not a few of the Psalms, too, so loved of men, by Church and synagogue alike, were looked upon as undoubtedly the work of David, of Solomon, and of inspired men of their school who lived in the early days of the Hebrew monarchy.

Now a teaching of considerable authority has gone forth which with no uncertain voice proclaims—to use the words of an aged and learned prelate of our Church—that "in the grand and elevating narratives shrined in the Pentateuch, received as Holy Scripture by the Christian Church for nearly two thousand years, by the Jewish Synagogue for a longer period still—narratives by which the hearts of millions have been made to feel the nearness and the awful holiness of God—that in these sacred narratives *there is not one word of historic truth*; that they are but *fictitious* narratives—narratives which *pretend* to be contemporary with Moses, and to give an account of the ordaining of the institutions above referred to

by the Divine command of God—are, in fact, simply the invention of an age many hundred years (seven or eight hundred) later than Moses, and have their origin, not in any Divine revelation, but, forsooth, in the *political* needs of the heads of the Jewish community in an age shortly before, during, or after the Babylonish captivity.”

Then, as regards the Psalms: Neither David, nor Solomon, nor the men of their school, who lived in the early days of the monarchy—*none even* of the fourteen generations who lived between David and the carrying away into Babylon—had any real hand in the composition of the Psalter. One solitary Psalm alone, the xviii., writes a very distinguished scholar of this school, is the only possible pre-Exile Psalm!

To speak of the treatment of the *prophetic* books at the hands of the Higher Criticism would be impossible in the narrow limits of a single sermon. I cannot, however, refrain from dwelling very briefly upon our Lord's testimony to the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets, which make up the Old Testament volume. This testimony, whatever be the value we set upon it, can never be left out when we discuss the questions necessarily involved by the demands of the new criticism.

That Jesus Christ, as represented in the Gospels, estimated the Old Testament Scriptures very differently to the new teachers no one would attempt to deny. In the Gospel narrative, I believe the Lord cited or referred to passages in the Old Testament Scriptures more than four hundred times! His knowledge of them was evidently of the most exact and comprehensive nature; to Him Abraham and Moses were real historical personages; the incidents related in the Pentateuch and Joshua belonged to history, and not to fiction. He regarded these writings pre-eminently as Holy Scripture; of Moses He speaks as having given the Law, as having written of Himself.

Now, could Jesus Christ have been mistaken in His estimate of these Old Testament writings? May we assume that “the limitation of our Lord's humanity, and the degree of what is technically called His *kenosis*, was of such a nature that His knowledge in regard to the authorship and composition of the books of the Old Testament was no greater than that of the masters of Israel of His own time?”

To this grave question, one still among us, who from his great learning, his acknowledged scholarship, his well-nigh unrivalled reputation as a profound theologian, has the fullest right to be heard on this point, thus argues: “Can we,” he asks, “feel hesitation or difficulty in maintaining distinctly and firmly this most certain truth, that the Lord Jesus Christ did verily in His human nature not only know all that has been

known or can be known as to those Holy Scriptures which He came to set forth and to fulfil, but, further, that owing to the union of the two natures, and to the inflowing of Divine gifts and powers into His sinless humanity, every question relating to the Scriptures must be considered as finally and for ever settled by Him whensoever it can be shown, by the nature of His utterance, that the question must have been really before Him."

But even for the sake of argument—but only for the sake of argument—granting that the testimony of the Lord before His crucifixion to these Scriptures may be set aside, and the doctrine of the *kenosis* so far accepted as to understand a limitation of historical knowledge during the period of His humiliation, what must we say to the plain statement of St. Luke's report of our Lord's words spoken *after* His resurrection? Surely no voice of Christian teacher can be found to suggest any idea of *kenosis then*? For in His teaching during the forty days after His resurrection, when He arrived at the term and limit of His earthly existence, He in no wise modified or lessened His authoritative references to the Old Testament Scriptures, again studiously referring to the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms as the Scriptures bearing witness to Himself. Surely, then, any limitations that some might conceive as voluntarily accepted during the period of His humiliation were not only withdrawn, but were impossible to conceive in the case of the *glorified Lord*. Twice in the last chapter of St. Luke, which treats of the resurrection life of Jesus Christ, we find a plain statement from His blessed lips, setting, as it were, an authoritative seal upon the teaching respecting the law of Moses, the prophets, and the Psalms, which He had given them during the days of His humiliation.

And these definite statements of our Lord—*this seal* upon His former repeated teaching respecting the Old Testament—never let us forget, was put forth by Him, when robed in the glorious resurrection body—put forth in one of those momentous interviews with His followers, at the very period when He told them "how all power was given to Him in heaven and in earth."

To what conclusions will all this lead us? It is impossible to me, and to many who think with me, to reconcile the thought of ascribing ignorance to our Lord *after* that He had risen from the dead, with the Catholic view of His adorable person. Will not these conclusions, *if adopted*, necessarily lead to new and modified conceptions of Him, whom the Catholic Church loves as Redeemer and adores as very God of very God?

But are not these teachers of the new criticism—these "wanderers from the Old Testament psalter"—perhaps un-

consciously, cutting themselves off from the old Catholic tradition? I speak with all humility, with the voice of the most tender-loving remonstrance. Let them look round. They stand alone; they have no ancestors to whom they dare refer. By the light of their own intelligence they are determining the gravest questions of criticism. They are telling us *which* of the sacred writings possess any historical truth; they are settling *the age* in which each was written—nay, more, they are unfolding for us *the very motives of each writer* in the statements which he makes—motives sometimes comparatively innocent, sometimes purely corrupt. “Motive purely corrupt.” I pause a moment. The writer I quote was not alone in this estimate. Is this too strong language? One of the last letters I received from a scholar and divine deservedly held in high honour by this University, whose sympathies were ever broad and generous—too broad some would say—I allude to Dr. Plumptre, the late learned Dean of Wells—contained the following words. He was speaking of that gifted German scholar, widely known as the foremost of the teachers of the Higher Criticism, and whose conclusions largely form the basis of the teaching adopted in England:

“If we accept *his* conclusions,” wrote Dean Plumptre, “the Old Testament in its narrative and its laws is simply the most false and fraudulent history in the literature of the world.” (This letter was published in the *Guardian*.)

The leaders of the Higher Criticism in England have somewhat taken by surprise those among us who love the old paths made for us by the great teachers of the Catholic Church. As long as the novel speculations were confined to foreign schools, comparatively little attention was excited in England; we were accustomed to a succession of strange and daring theories emanating from Tübingen and other foreign centres—theories arousing but a partial and languid interest among us, and after a time mostly refuted and forgotten.

It is, however, the adoption by some honoured names in our great English Universities of these novel speculations which has disturbed and unsettled so many near and dear to us. Surely—argue not a few outside these honoured walls—surely if *Oxford* gives these startling novelties countenance, and as it appears, at least, on the surface, raises no *audible* voice of protest, giving, as it would seem, a *silent* acquiescence, if not a direct approval, there must be something in them! Perhaps, after all, the Higher Criticism is right, and the Jewish Synagogue and the Catholic Church has been from the beginning wrong, and for all these centuries have taught error

for truth—an error endorsed by our Divine Master Himself even in His resurrection life!

May not we who love the old paths, and would walk therein—may not we, in all gentleness and sad humility, bid our brothers and sisters *outside* these loved walls—men and women who watch with deep anxiety, and the *voices* and the *silences* of Oxford—may we not bid these wait? for the last word on these momentous topics has not as yet been spoken.

Some well known among us have already put out strong protests—strong in English common-sense—strong, too, in scholarship. Fearlessly they claim to refute the telling and specious arguments; arguments based on the language of the several books; arguments based on the so-called anachronisms; arguments based on the alleged absence of all evidence of the existence of a Mosaic law and institutions between the Exodus and the later days of the Hebrew monarchy.

These men, and others like them, are not terrified by the bold and sweeping criticism of their brilliant adversaries; they acknowledge the skill and the boldness of the attack, but they know Him in whom they trust, and are sure of victory at last.¹

Yes, we are sure of victory in the end. But in the meantime it is the *outside* world, who have scant leisure for study, for whom they fear. It is the shipwreck of these countless souls they dread. This dread of the effect of the strange, novel theories of this new, cheerless teaching is shared by many an earnest worker, thinker, scholar in divine things.

Since I wrote these words, only a few days ago, a sad and singular confirmation of them has appeared. This very month a third aged and honoured prelate of our Church has sounded the same note of alarm in his public triennial charge to his assembled clergy. Let me quote his words. They are few but solemn. "It is my deliberate opinion"—he is speaking of the whole system of Higher Criticism—"that it is calculated to *shake the faith of millions*, and to strike a heavy blow at the two great foundation-truths of Christianity."

Now, the comparatively recent and novel attack necessitates on the part of the defenders new lines of research and study. I dare predict that a real advantage will in the long run accrue

¹ The scholars and writers of the schools whose conclusions we depreciate are by no means so confident of *their* eventual triumph. One whom many a disciple, even of the higher criticism, would shrink to follow in his cheerless conclusions, positively predicts a possible, nay, a probable ultimate defeat. Some may term Renan's remarkable words almost a prophecy: "It is not impossible that, wearied with the frequent bankruptcies of Liberalism, the world may yet become Jewish and Christian."—"Hist. du Peuple Israel," tom. i., p. 7.

to the Church from studies specially undertaken to meet this strange and novel attack.

The net result of the threshing out the various questions raised some time ago by the Higher Criticism of the *New Testament* has been to place the several books of the New Testament canon upon a surer basis in the estimation of all serious critics than they occupied at any previous period. We are immeasurably the richer for this prolonged but now almost closed contest.

I should scarcely like to close this brief but studiously gentle protest against the new views without just indicating (it would be impossible, of course, to do more) some of the lines of refutation already suggested by the advocates of the old traditional school in the case of *one* or *two* of the more weighty arguments urged by the "new teachers."

One of the most weighty of these is the argument of *language*. The Hebrew of the Pentateuch, says the Higher Criticism, is not the Hebrew of the age of Moses, but of a much later age. "The uniformity of the language of the Old Testament is partly explained by the fact that the ancient mode of writing *only* the consonants did not provide for the variation of those variations in vowel sounds which usually marks the history of languages; and when at a later period a system of vowel points was adopted, a uniformity in this respect would be the result." But Professor Robertson, whose words I have quoted, goes on to say "that it must not be supposed that there is no difference between early and late productions. The Books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah betray their late date by the presence of the so-called Chaldee portions." Again the Pentateuch has a more limited vocabulary and certain archaic spellings; there are many words, too, says the Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the Pentateuch which occur nowhere else. There is little to fear on the side of the opponents of the new school from a searching and scholarly inquiry here.

One more example I would quote here. It is alleged there is an absence of all evidence of the Mosaic institutions between the time of the Exodus and the later times of the Jewish monarchy, especially of institutions of such singular importance as the *setting up of the tabernacle*, the *separation of the tribe of Levi*, and the *substitution of the Aaronic priesthood*.

Now, this assertion—I quote here from the Bishop of Bath and Wells—is at first sight a weighty one, but is scarcely borne out by the facts of the case.

The tabernacle is mentioned over eighty times in the Pentateuch; in each of the historical books which follow the Pentateuch—Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings,

1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles—it is mentioned once or more, in all about eighteen times. How is this (asks the Bishop) compatible with the non-existence of the tabernacle till after the time when these historical books were written?

A similar argument is followed out with great success with regard to repeated allusions to these leading characteristic institutions of the Mosaic Law occurring again and again in the historical books above mentioned, containing the history of the people between the age of the Pentateuch and the later times of the Jewish monarchy.

On the same points I would refer to the lately-published work of Professor Leathes, who has conclusively shown from accumulated internal evidence that all the prophets, those of Israel as well as those of Judah, the *earliest* as well as the *later* ones, were intimately acquainted with the Pentateuch.

“I would put it,” strikingly says the same venerable Prelate, “to every honest mind, that if the Pentateuch and its great institutions were all late inventions seven or eight hundred years after Moses, why were the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles kept, as we see they were—why was there an unbroken series of highpriests from Aaron to Abiathar and Zadok, as we see there was, and onwards down to the destruction of Jerusalem?”

“Why was there a body of priests and Levites always evidently existing? Why, through the most unsettled times, was there one tabernacle with the ark of the covenant, the table of shewbread, the ephod?”

And yet we are told that all these things were absolutely unhistorical inventions!¹

These are only examples. But, as said before, in England we are only on the threshold of the controversy. Years may probably elapse before the advocates of the old belief have said their last words.

Of so novel a nature, and covering so broad an area, are the thoughts of the Higher Criticism, that to refute them exhaustively will not be the work of two or three years—scarcely even of a generation. Advisedly, too, I use the words “of so *novel* a nature,” for I believe I am accurate in stating that the arguments of the Higher Criticism—forged in the schools of Germany, forged with hammer and anvil, lying

¹ Since the above words were spoken in the Oxford University pulpit the weighty work of that most distinguished archæologist, Professor Sayce, has been published (“The Higher Criticism and the Monuments”), simply shattering not a few of the more important conclusions of the leaders of the “new” school. The concluding words of the learned author are remarkable: “*The evidence of oriental archæology is distinctly unfavourable to the pretensions of the Higher Criticism.*”

for two centuries unnoticed in the workshop of the poor excommunicated Jew, Spinoza, and since adopted by a few great English scholars—*never occurred* to either friend or foe of revealed religion *before Spinoza* dreamed his strange destructive dream, and his German disciples and English scholars took up and brought to light his cheerless theories. I ought, perhaps—when I say these arguments never occurred to friend or foe of revealed religion before Spinoza—to accept some half-forgotten suggestions of Aben-Ezra, and some vague uncertain theories put out by the early heretics, especially in the Clementine homilies.

In conclusion, I would add, if I have said one harsh word, or given utterance to one unkind thought, in all humility I ask the pardon of anyone who may feel wounded or hurt, either by the word or the thought. Those distinguished scholars who have adopted and are teaching theories so deeply at variance with all that I, and those who think with me, hold dear and prize, are, I fear, teaching what, alas! they *think* is truth. We may shrink from their views, but we may and should honour the men, for they know not what they do! In a few short years we and they shall be far away from the applause or the condemnation of *men*—we shall be awaiting the summons to a bar of judgment very different to that bar of public opinion where we are both preparing now to plead our cause.

Let us both remember how in that day, *love*, in the great word's highest sense, and only *love*, will cover the multitude of sins, and will win for us the smile of Him who sits on the great white throne.

In this sweet holy spirit of divinest love and divinest forbearance, let us wage what we both deem our holy war; avoiding all thought of bitterness—all words of violence and anger. Remembering both the awful pressing danger of human pride entering in and poisoning all our works and days. On the side I call mine, we have to contend with the pride of tradition—the pride that we are the party who are holding fast and close—perhaps too close, too blindly, to the story of a noble and illustrious ancestry, an ancestry of well-nigh three thousand years!

On their side, they must fight—no light or easy task!—the pride of human scholarship, often erring, often exaggerating; a pride ready to trample ruthlessly beneath the feet the faith, the hope, the joy, the trust of millions of brothers and sisters—weak brothers and sisters, perhaps, in their scholar-eyes, but still men and women for whom Christ died!

Let us both remember in the hour of our mutual pride in our work and teaching, how, perhaps, the holy awful Judge is

looking on that work and teaching with very different eyes to ours; or, in the words of Gregory, quoted by our English Hooker: "Sordet in conspectu judicis, quod fulget in conspectu operantis."
H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.



ART. II.—THE LEGEND OF ST. URSULA AND THE
ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS.

OUR readers have been able to trace in the history of the Veronica Handkerchief the successive stages through which the mythical legends of the Mediæval Church have passed from their first rude inception to their perfect, though perhaps not final, development. Through a series of changes of persons and places and names, we have seen the gradual formation of a very interesting and romantic personality, and out of a mythical Berenice have witnessed the creation of a still more mythical Veronica. As we get farther on into mediæval mythology we find the ingenuity and adaptiveness of the legendary authors becomes less visible and is replaced by a boldness of invention which is almost startling. A conspicuous instance of this change presents itself in the Legend of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins, whose very doubtful relics are familiar to all who are acquainted with the churches of Cologne, in whose walls this very miscellaneous collection is so carefully preserved. In this case a mythical saint has been created, who is acknowledged by the learned of the Roman Church never to have had a corporal existence, and a Pope has been extemporized for the occasion who has no recognised place in the Petrine chain, while a British-Armorian romance has been interwoven with a legend of German martyrology to complete the triumph of mediæval credulity. But the introduction into the scene of the imaginary Pope Cyriacus, who, according to the fashion of the age, was sainted, brought a new element of a legal character into this series of impossibilities. For to complete the story, and enable the imaginary pope to accompany the eleven thousand virgins on their expedition, it was necessary that he should resign the Papacy and surrender his authority to a successor. This renunciation, religiously believed in for several centuries, was alleged as an important precedent in the controversy which was raised on the election of Pope Boniface VIII., whether a pope had the power to resign his authority and hand it down to another. A remarkable treatise on this subject was composed by the famous canonist, Ægidius de Columna, in which he refers to this instance of the pseudo-Cyriacus, which forms one of the corner-stones of the Ursuline legend. The imaginary

Pope thus obtained an illicit introduction into the body of the decretals, from which he was not removed until the end of the sixteenth century on the revision of the Canon Law by Pope Gregory XIII.

In order to explore successfully this wonderful maze of impossibilities, we will place ourselves under the guidance of a learned Neapolitan divine and canonist, the Abate Carlo Blaschi, whose examination of the forged decretal epistles and investigation of their object and origin led him into several of the by-ways of history, and notably into that upon which we are entering. In an appendix to his work "*De Collectione Canonum Isidori Mercatoris*" (Neap., 1760) he discourses "*De Pseudo-Cyriaco Papa Comite S. Ursulæ ac MXI. Millium Virginum et cum eis Martyrium passo*" (p. 213).

He begins by alleging that "the fable of Pope Joan gave occasion to the fiction of another equally fabulous Pope, Cyriacus, who renounced the Papacy, and, with St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins who accompanied her, was driven on shore at Cologne and there obtained the crown of martyrdom." He leads us back to the most ancient of the martyrologists of the Western Church, Usuardus, to see whether we can find any mention of the famous Ursula, who has given her name to a numerous order of devotees, who religiously believe in her existence and history. But Usuardus is ominously silent. The only saints he recognises on the anniversary of St. Ursula are "St. Martha and St. Saula, with many other martyrs." Some have supposed that Saula is a mere corruption of Ursula, but he more reasonably conjectures that the name Ursula comes from the combination and blending together of the two saints—that Marth-saula, corrupted into Arth-saula or Arsaula, settled down at last into Ursula. We thus arrive at a single personality and find her at the head of many other martyrs. The fact that the Church of Cologne gave no separate commemoration to St. Martha and St. Saula on the day of their anniversary tends to show that their memorial merged in that of Ursula and to corroborate our author's theory. Having secured the central figure of the story, we have now to inquire how this incredible number of followers came to be grouped around it. A certain monk, of Prüm, by name Wandebert, a contemporary of Usuardus, describes a massacre of a thousand saintly virgins on the banks of the Rhine, a number which Otho of Frisingen (1140) brings up to the orthodox standard affirming that "Attila during his incursions crowned with martyrdom eleven thousand virgins at Cologne." Our own chronicler, or, rather, romancist, Geoffry of Monmouth decked out the narrative in a manner worthy of his inventive powers. According to him, the British Emperor, Maximus, appointed

his General Conan King of Armorica, who demanded from the King of Cornwall his daughter Ursula, together with eleven thousand virgins, who were to be assigned as wives to his new military settlers. They, falling into the power of the Huns on the borders of the Rhine, were slain by them out of hatred to their faith and modesty, in which Ursula confirmed her companions. The interpolation of the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gemblours¹—for the passage is an evident interpolation—gives the following enlargement of the story :

“ More famous than every other war, was that which the glorious army of the eleven thousand holy virgins engaged in, led by the holy virgin Ursula. She was the only daughter of Nothus, a most noble British prince, and was, while under age, demanded in marriage by the son of a most cruel tyrant. Seeing her father, who feared God, in a state of great anxiety between the alternative of forcing his daughter, who was devoted to God, to marry, and of offending the tyrant if he refused to give her up, she was divinely inspired to give him, as he hesitated, this advice: that he should assent to the tyrant, proposing [to him this condition—that he and the tyrant should choose ten virgins, each young and of beautiful form and noble race, and that to each and all of these ten thousand virgins should be added; that eleven vessels should be provided for them, and a truce of three years granted them for carrying on their virgin life, her design in this proposal being, either from the difficulty of the condition to turn the tyrant away from his design, or to give her the opportunity of dedicating all her companions to God. On this understanding, the virgins, the vessels, and the necessary expenses being provided, for three years they carried on the prelude of the war to the wonder of all, until in one day, through the force of the wind, they were driven to a port of France called Tiel, and thence to Cologne. There they were admonished by an angel to direct themselves towards Rome, and came by ship to Basle and thence on foot to Rome. Returning by both places in the same manner to Cologne, they were attacked by the Huns, and, suffering martyrdom from them, triumphed in a new and marvellous manner, and made Cologne more glorious through their blood and burial there.”

The description of Sigebert exhibits the myth in the second stage of its development. We have now St. Ursula, her eleven thousand companions, her arrival at Cologne, the pilgrimage to Rome by land and water, and, if we may venture to call it so, the return ticket which brought the excursion-party to so sad an end. We hear nothing, however, of the fate of the

¹ Fl. 1110.

eleven ships which seem to have miraculously disappeared, though they come again into use on the return journey. Thus far the story is *totus teres atque rotundus*. But one important figure is still wanting—the imaginary Pope Cyriacus. This final development was left to the imagination of one Robert, a monk of Auxerre, who in his chronicle, composed about 1220, gives us these interesting particulars, grounded on the revelation given to the Venerable Mother Elizabeth, of the nunnery of Schönaug, in the diocese of Trèves :

“Of the blessed community and martyrdom of the eleven thousand virgins, we ought not to think otherwise than was revealed to the venerable nun Elizabeth, to whom, in our time, viz., in the year 1156, this Divine instruction was vouchsafed. Nor did she merely tell us at what time these virgins suffered, but even who was the father of Ursula, what her kindred, of how many of the religious, both lay and ecclesiastical, the college of virgins was composed, and who were they who suffered with the virgins and how they endured martyrdom. She says that a certain Pope of the city of Rome named Cyriacus, the nineteenth in succession after Peter, suffered with them. He was the successor of Pontianus, and ruled over the Church for one year and ten months, and in his place ordained a holy man who was called Anteros, and, departing from his see with the eleven thousand virgins, relinquished the Papacy. For, as he was a native of Britain, he is said to have had many kinswomen in the number of these holy women. And because he left the Holy See against the wish of the clergy, the same body erased his name from the catalogue of the Roman pontiffs. But he acted with security, because it was divinely revealed to him that he should receive the palm of martyrdom with these same virgins. This holy college of virgins suffered, according to the preceding narration, about the year 237.”

We here have the full development of the myth, and are introduced for the first time by means of a special revelation to an imaginary Pope, who, to every painter of the Ursuline legend, must become almost a central figure in the wonderful group.

But the introduction of a renouncing Pope, though very useful to the painter, is a most inopportune revelation to the canonist and the divine. For the universal reception of the completed legend occasioned the opening of the question whether it is possible for a pope to resign, and furnished a precedent to the resistance which was threatened to the election of Pope Boniface VIII. under similar circumstances. It was this which occasioned the elaborate treatise of Ægidius Colonna, which was first printed at Rome in 1554. It is a remarkable

proof of the influence of the Ursula legend at a period of great scholastic and legal learning, that a Roman of the great house of Colonna could for a moment assume the possible existence of a Pope Cyriacus. Yet he deals with it as though it were a fact, and brings it in as a third instance in proof of the legitimacy of a papal resignation. "We may bring forward," he writes, "even a third example in Cyriacus, of whom it is written, that he was crowned with martyrdom in company with Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins. For it is written of him that it was revealed to him one night that he should receive the palm of martyrdom with these virgins. Then, gathering together the clergy and the Cardinals, contrary to the will of the citizens, and above all, of the Cardinals, he renounced the dignity and office of the Papacy before them all."¹ It would seem that the vitality of an error is in the exact proportion to the excess of its absurdity. "It is wonderful," continues the Abate Blaschi, how long and how widespread was this fable, as though it were a historical narration, so that Natatis Alexander writes on it: 'No fable has been related by more authors as a true history than this has been.' The ancient divines employed it, among other arguments, to prove that a pope could delegate his power to a nuncio."²

But our author has given us in the course of his argument on the decretal epistles some important suggestions on the motives which led to the formation of the Ursuline legend. It is now very generally admitted that one of the primary objects of the pseudo-Isidore was to elevate the order of Metropolitans, and to give it somewhat of its ancient status. There are indications, moreover, of a special desire to elevate the metropolitanical see of Mayntz, which had to contend for influence with the richer and more temporally important archbishopric of Cologne. To the rivalry of these great electoral sees in their treasuries of relics our author traces the first germ of the Ursuline legend.

"The occasion," he writes, "for the formation of this fable was probably given in the year 805, when Riculphus, Archbishop of Mayntz, placed in the Church of St. Alban in that city, then newly built, the relics of St. Alban, St. Aureus and St. Justina, and their companions, besides many other martyrs, enshrining them in more decent and worthy receptacles. And besides (which appears certain), lest Cologne should have any cause for envying Mayntz the possession of the English Pope Joan, it was pleased to invent another fable like that, nay, even a far more illustrious one—that of Pope Cyriac, also a Briton,

¹ "De Renunt. Papae," c. 24, pp. 2, 32.

² "De Collect. Cann. Isidor," p. 217.

martyred together with St. Ursula and her companions at Cologne, and there buried. And indeed, in order to prove the supposititious discovery of the body of the pseudo-Cyriac, and of the other companions of St. Ursula, in the year 1155 St. Elizabeth, a nun of Schönaug, in the diocese of Trèves, had as supposititious a revelation."¹

This revelation, which, we are told, had a second edition, with additions, in the year 1183, brings us to the practical results of the entire legend, and to the marvellous collection of miscellaneous and heterogeneous bones which the walls of the Church of St. Gereon and others in Cologne present to the eye of the astonished visitor. It would appear from the almost miraculous growth of this legend during the three first centuries of its history that the higher the bid is made in the market of credulity, the more certain it is to secure a purchaser; for the series of impossibilities which follow one another in this extraordinary story are probably without a parallel, and certainly are unsurpassed, in mediæval legendary records. The merging of two obscure saints into one, in order to create the grand personality of St. Ursula; the creation of a pope who has no existence but in the legend, in order to give an additional glory to this noble army of martyrs; the invention of his tomb and its inscription, and of the bones of the whole "college" of virgins—this combination of wonders must leave but one greater wonder to surpass them: the fact that the exposure of the fraud was comparatively so recent, and that even yet it has its devoted adherents.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, a Franciscan nun, by name Angela di Merici, established a religious order under the patronage of St. Ursula, which is represented by the Ursuline nuns of our own day, and whose object is the instruction of the young, in which useful occupation they have been very successful. That their pupils are instructed in the history of their imaginary patroness and her companions, we may reasonably suppose; nor can we entertain any fear that the "sancta simplicitas" which accepts the legend with a childlike docility can be in any way injurious to their uninquiring minds. The poetical heroine may still live to point a moral, as well as to adorn a tale, and to suggest the truth that, by a little skill and ingenuity, we may provide against many of the dangers which threaten us, and make conditions with the enemy which may render it impossible for him to do us serious injury.

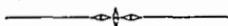
In reviewing the stages of the Ursuline legend, we cannot but see how largely the rivalry of the great sees and monasteries contributed to the work of legendary invention. The

¹ "Blaschi di Coll. Cann. Isidori," p. 116.

possession of relics was a constant invitation to the inmates of monasteries, both male and female, to illustrate and identify them by means of visions and revelations, a notable instance of which we have seen in this history. The burial-places of saints and martyrs were often thus discovered, or, more accurately speaking, *invented*. It was thus that the regular clergy were able to minister to the needs of their secular brethren, who were the exhibitors of the treasures of the relic-chamber.

The immense literature which is devoted to the illustration, identification and cultus of relics and sacred places in Italy, France, and other countries, proves that the reign of legend and vision has still a very wide province. There are still the St. Elizabeths to dream dreams and see visions, and still the chroniclers eager to accept them, and the exhibitors ready to make merchandise of them. Thankful we may well be that "we have a more sure word of prophecy," which "came not by the will of man, but by holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

ROBERT C. JENKINS.



ART. III.—THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, THE TORAH OF THE TEN TRIBES.

I.

IN entering on this subject it is necessary to guard against a mistake which is not very uncommon—the confusing two entirely different things which are both generally called by the same name, "the Samaritan Pentateuch."

By the Samaritan Pentateuch is sometimes meant the translation of the Pentateuch into the Samaritan language, the date of which is uncertain, the Samaritans themselves assigning it to about a century before the Christian era, and European scholars to one or two centuries after it. The Samaritan language is an Aramæan dialect, the use of which is now confined to the small remnant of Samaritans still existing at Nablous. In the present inquiry we are very little concerned with this Samaritan translation, except to distinguish it from what is also called the Samaritan Pentateuch—the Hebrew Pentateuch written in Samaritan letters—which may be more correctly designated the Samaritan Codex.

The Samaritan Codex is found in manuscripts, of which all the ancient copies are in the possession of the Samaritans at Nablous. They were known to the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, and by some of them highly valued and reckoned more genuine than those in the ordinary Hebrew

characters, but were lost sight of in the Middle Ages. They were brought to light again in the sixteenth century, when they gave rise to much controversy, which lasted two hundred and fifty years, and suddenly ceased about the time of the birth in Germany of the new critical school. On the history of which disappearance of the Samaritan text from discussion, more remains to be said further on.

The Samaritan Codex consists of the Pentateuch and the Pentateuch only, written not in the square characters which we call Hebrew, but in what are acknowledged on all hands more to resemble, or actually to be, the ancient Hebrew characters. They are similar to those found on the Moabite stone. The Hebrew words are written in this Old Hebrew character. The number of Samaritan letters is the same as that of the Hebrew alphabet; they occur in the same order, and they bear most of them somewhat similar names. In the Samaritan language they are not used with exactly the same powers as in Hebrew. But in the Samaritan Codex, letter corresponds to letter without any reference to its employment in the Samaritan language. For example, the letter *It*, corresponding to the Jewish *Kheth*, is silent in the Samaritan language, but takes in the Codex its proper place as a consonant with a sound of its own. The Samaritan has no written vowels, but has rules for supplying them, and the words read according to these rules would be very different from the traditional and, there is no reason to doubt, correct pronunciation of the Hebrew text as committed to writing in the vowel points and accents by the Masorites. In examining the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, we have to dismiss from the mind the Samaritan language and the Samaritan use of the ancient Hebrew letters in which the Codex is written. The Samaritans are the guardians of it, but it remains to be proved, if it can be proved (for it has never been proved yet), that they stand in any other relation to it.

Very careful guardians of it they have been. Like the Jews, they have numbered the words and found the middle word in the Law. And so jealous are they in their custody of the manuscripts that those which are ancient are not shown to strangers. When Kennicott was editing his Hebrew Bible he came into possession of six Samaritan manuscripts, which he collated with the Jewish manuscripts and printed copies; and he placed every variation from the best edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, in the Hebrew character, in juxtaposition with the Hebrew text. But these are copies not earlier than the fifteenth century. The manuscripts of which they are copies are carefully guarded from the inspection of all who are not Samaritans at Nablous.

It has been supposed that the square character was introduced by Ezra, or at all events on the return from Babylon. But this is certainly a mistake. Anyone looking at the Old Hebrew letters such as are found on the coins of Hyrcanus II., and comparing them with those in which the Hebrew Scriptures are written or printed now, would naturally conclude that there was no connection whatever between the two. They appear totally and altogether dissimilar. On the Moabite stone more than eight hundred years before Hyrcanus II., there is substantially the same character as on his coins, though not identically the same in all the letters. But it is an astonishing thing to look at various alphabets from the time of Hyrcanus downwards, placed side by side, and to observe their gradual transformation into the square character. In some, if not all, of these successive alphabets, the same letter has many forms—as many, I think, as six in one case.¹ The present Samaritan alphabet is not exactly the same as any of these alphabets, but resembles all the older ones, and has not in any way developed, like the later ones, towards the square character. Some of the letters are identical with those of Hyrcanus II. and with those of the Moabite stone, but some are different.

It must be borne in mind that we have no opportunity of examining any really ancient Samaritan manuscript of the Hebrew Pentateuch. The number in European libraries—mainly at the Bodleian, where Kennicott deposited those he possessed, and at St. Petersburg (I have not heard for certain of any others)—is very small, and of these some are very imperfect. They are copies, written in the letters now used by the Samaritans. The ancient manuscripts are all at Nablous, and the high-priests will not allow any of them to be seen except by Samaritans.²

The only exception to this rule which is recorded was in the case of a Russian officer, who is said to have seen the oldest manuscript, on which there is an inscription relating to the name of its transcriber, but the genuineness of his information is not considered quite reliable. Such inscriptions in Samaritan manuscripts occupy a marginal space between two columns of writing, the successive letters being placed in the order and in the position in which they first occur in the text, so that a short inscription may spread over the margin of several pages.³

¹ There is a book, courteously shown to me, in the Coin Department of the British Museum, in which these alphabets are placed side by side, with their variations noted.

² Nutt, "Fragments of a Samaritan Targum," 1874.

³ *Ibid.*

The impossibility of seeing the actual manuscripts, of which those in Europe are copies, prevents us from knowing whether the letters are precisely identical with those in which these latter are written. They were familiar to the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, by whom they were recognised as written in the ancient Hebrew character; but it would be rash to assert that the Samaritan copyists of the fifteenth century imitated them exactly. Between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries there may have been modifications in Samaritan writing. There was evidently no reluctance to show the manuscripts in the third and fourth centuries. They were perfectly well known to Origen and Jerome. The reluctance exhibited now is probably the result of Moslem invasion. Where there is Mohammedan rule, it always produces secrecy among the conquered who do not embrace the faith of their conquerors. But nothing can be less probable than that manuscripts so jealously guarded should have been replaced by new copies; and we may therefore feel certain that there are at Nablous manuscripts of the Samaritan Codex older than any at present known of the Jewish Codex. No Jewish manuscripts exist which have not passed through the Masoretic recensions. Whatever the history of the Samaritan Codex or the merit of its various readings, at all events there are manuscripts of it at Nablous, which in all probability were actually seen by Jerome and by Origen, and which, waiving all disputed points, are the most ancient manuscripts known of any book of Holy Scripture, whether of the Old or New Testament.

So far we are on undisputed ground; and so we are in respect to the completeness of this Codex, what it embraces, and what it excludes. It embraces all the five books of Moses—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. It is the Pentateuch, what the Jews called the “Torah,” the Law. There is no Samaritan “Hexateuch.” The Samaritans have a Book of Joshua, but it is not the Book of Joshua of our Bibles, nor is it written in the Hebrew language. That they have not the Book of Joshua, considering how valuable it would have been to Samaritan controversialists, wishing to maintain that Gerizim was the mountain where men ought to worship, to be able to show that it not only was meant to be, as taught in Deuteronomy (Deut. xxvii. 12), but actually was the mountain of blessing (Josh. viii. 30-35), is surprising, and needs investigation. But such is the fact. The Samaritan Codex consists of the Law, the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses, and contains nothing else.

Three questions at once present themselves for our con-

sideration. Kohn, the most recent writer of a monograph¹ on the subject, mentions only two as discussed at large by him—the one, whether “the Judaico-Hebraicus or the Samaritano-Hebraicus” Codex be the older and genuine? the other, how it happens that the ancient versions and the Septuagint are so often in agreement with the Samaritan Codex where it differs from the Hebrew?² But important as these two questions are, there is another which is of far greater importance, What is the absolute age and history of the Samaritan Codex? whether, as compared with the Hebrew, it is older and more genuine or not, when did it originate? It may be comparatively younger, and yet be absolutely of extreme antiquity. And if by critical investigation it can be proved, and has, I think, been proved by Gesenius and Kohn, to be of more recent origin than the Hebrew, and its various readings shown even to be worthless, which I am as far as possible from conceding, the result must necessarily be that, whatever the antiquity of the Samaritan Codex, the Jewish Codex, except as altered by the Masoretic recension, must be more ancient still.

Kohn’s opinion as to the antiquity of the Samaritan Codex is that it originated by degrees soon after Ezra. He rejects altogether the opinion of Grotius and others that it was derived from the Septuagint, the thousand agreements with the Jewish against the Septuagint being decisive on this point; and he rejects also the opinion of Gesenius that both originated in some unknown, unmentioned popular edition of the Pentateuch, of which, he rightly urges, there is not a particle of evidence, and expresses as his own opinion that, though a corrupt edition of the Jewish Codex, it is, nevertheless, the foundation of the Alexandrian version.³ But the thousand agreements of the Septuagint with the Hebrew against the Samaritan, contradict Kohn’s view as decisively as the thousand agreements of the Samaritan with the Hebrew contradict the view of Grotius. Either the Jewish manuscripts which the Septuagint translators used were in numerous places much more like the Samaritan manuscripts than the Masoretic, and in as many more much more like the Masoretic text than the Samaritan, or else they had both Codices before them.

In one of the most popular articles on the Samaritan Codex, that in Smith’s “Dictionary of the Bible,” it is stated that in 1815 Gesenius “abolished the remnant of the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch. So masterly, lucid, and clear are his arguments and his proofs, that there has been and will be no further question as to the absence of all value in this Recension,

¹ “De Pentateucho Samaritano,” 1865.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-36.

and in its pretended emendations."¹ But the writer proceeds, before ending the article, to say: "Since up to this moment no critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, or even an examination of the Codices since Kennicott—who can only be said to have begun the work—has been thought of, the treatment of the whole subject remains a most precarious task, and beset with unexampled difficulties at every step. . . . It is, however, this same rudimentary state of investigation—after two centuries and a half of fierce discussions—which has left the other and much more important question of the *Age and Origin* of the Samaritan Pentateuch as unsettled to-day as it was when it first came under the notice of European scholars."²

In Herzog we find similar statements. After saying that the Masoretic recension is more original and purer than the Samaritan, the writer adds that: "On the other hand, the peculiar phenomenon needs explanation, that the Septuagint in more than a thousand places agrees with the Samaritan against the Hebrew, but conversely, also, in as many places with the Hebrew against the Samaritan,"³ showing the independence of the Septuagint and the Samaritan. And the writer of another article says, that on the two points the recognition of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans and the building of their temple, "we are very imperfectly informed, since as to the first point we know absolutely nothing."⁴

In the present day we are not much in the habit of sitting down before questions of this kind, and considering their solution hopeless. I can find no reference to the subject in Wellhausen's "Die Composition des Hexateuch," nor in the "Prolegomena." In his criticisms in both these books on 2 Kings xvii., a chapter in which it could not be forgotten, it is not mentioned. Nor do I find any allusion to the subject in Driver's "Introduction." It is evidently not a welcome topic with modern critics. Professor Ryle, in his "Canon of the Old Testament," does indeed mention the Samaritan Codex, but with the vague expression, "very generally and very naturally supposed," gives an explanation of the origin of it without making himself altogether responsible for it. Nor does he notice the view maintained by early Fathers, and by many of the greatest Hebrew scholars, including Kennicott himself, for two hundred and fifty years before the rise of the so-called "higher criticism." It goes, indeed, without saying, that the history of the Samaritan Codex, which was held to be true in Origen's time, and which Kennicott believed him-

¹ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," 1863, vol. iii., p. 1108.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1111.

³ Herzog, "Real Encyclopädie," Band I., s. 283.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Band XIII., s. 342.

self to have placed on an impregnable basis, is absolutely inconsistent with the various and late dates and divided authorship assigned by Wellhausen and his followers to the Pentateuch, or, as they choose to say, the Hexateuch. They cannot exist together, and the persuasion on their own minds, that in some way Gesenius had "abolished the remnants of the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch," was so necessary a condition of their studies, that perhaps we ought not to wonder at their refusal to think of it. It was a necessary postulate, and it was highly suitable that what seems to have been Gesenius's first literary effort should have been on this subject.

The history of this question in more recent times after the rediscovery of the manuscripts is worth considering. In the two hundred and fifty years of controversy, the view that the Samaritan Codex was the Pentateuch of the Ten Tribes from whom the Samaritans had received it, and that its various readings were of great value, met with strenuous opposition from those who advocated what was called the "Hebrew verity," or absolute accuracy of the existing Masoretic text. It was supposed, it is difficult to say why, that in some manner Protestant truth was strengthened by maintaining this "Hebrew verity," and the fact that Morinus, who was the first in modern days to draw attention to the importance of the Samaritan text, was a Jesuit professor, excited suspicion. When the adoption of the view by learned Protestant divines had removed that suspicion, another of an opposite kind, equally groundless, was created by the attempt of Kennicott to do, with the help of the Samaritan Codex, the same work for the Old Testament which had long been aimed at for the New—collating manuscripts and correcting the text. It was looked upon as Rationalistic. The injustice of this soon became apparent to thoughtful men, but his work was not followed up. And then there arose that more recent school of criticism which, whether higher or lower, is altogether subjective, and absolutely dependent, not on facts which, when discovered by the learned can be verified by the common-sense of mankind, but on a supposed gift of discernment and infallibility of judgment in certain men, which has the right to demand universal and unquestioning submission.

In respect to the question before us, it is not a little curious to observe the working of this new law of Biblical criticism. The complete change of front with respect to the Samaritan Codex of the Pentateuch is attributed to one man. Gesenius is a name with which everyone is acquainted as that of a distinguished Oriental scholar, and also one of the initiators of the new critical school. He may be best described as the great Hebrew lexicographer. Whatever errors of theological opinion

may have found their way into his lexicon, it is invaluable as a repertory of Hebrew learning, and has never been replaced by a better. Gesenius wrote a book on the Samaritan Pentateuch, an academical dissertation, on taking his doctor's degree.¹ It is divided into two unequal parts. In the first and shorter part, he discusses its age and origin in a very cursory manner, admitting that the Samaritans might have received it before the Exile from the Jews, if the Jews themselves had it, but refusing to admit what the then commencing "higher" criticism was labouring to overthrow, the antiquity of the Jewish Codex. As he would not allow that the Jewish Pentateuch existed in the time of Jeroboam, it was necessary to deny that the Samaritan existed either.² This denial he does not affect to sustain by any proof. He asserts that there is no historical evidence on the subject, and that all we can do is to take refuge in a conjecture³ which has found no supporters. Kohn notices it to reject it, as we have already seen. Smith's Dictionary and Herzog's Encyclopædie say that we still know nothing about the age and origin of the Samaritan Codex, which amounts to this: that, assuming the truth of modern critical opinion, the history of the Samaritan Codex is an inexplicable mystery.

ART. IV.—TA TEEΣAPA ZQA.

IN Jerome's prologue to the Four Gospels the following passage occurs:

Hæc igitur quattuor euangelia multum ante prædicta Ezechielis quoque uolumen probat, in quo prima uisio ita contextitur. Et in medio sicut similitudo quattuor animalium et uultus eorum facies hominis et facies leonis et facies vituli et facies aquilæ. Prima hominis facies Mattheum significat, qui quasi de homine exorsus est scribere Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David filii Abraham. Secunda Marcum, in quo uox leonis in heremo rugientis auditur Uox clamantis in deserto Parate uiam domini, rectas facite semitas eius. Tertia uituli, quæ euangelistam Lucam a Zacharia sacerdote sumsisse initium præfigurauit. Quarta Johannem euangelistam qui adsumtis pennis aquilæ et ad altiora festinans de uerbo dei disputat. Cetera quæ sequuntur in eundem sensum proficiunt. Crura eorum recta et pinnati pedes et quocumque spiritus ibat ibant et non reuertebantur et dorsa eorum plena oculis et scintillæ ac lampades in medio discurrentes et rota in rota, et in singulis quattuor facies. Unde et apocalypsis Johannis post expositionem uiginti quattuor seniorum, qui tenentes citharas et fialas adorant agnum dei, introducit fulgura et tonitura et septem spiritus discurrentes et mare uitreum et quattuor animalia plena oculis, dicens Animal primum simile leoni, et secundum simile uitulo, et tertium simile homini et

¹ "De Pent. Sam., Origine, Indole et Auctoritate."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.

quartum simile aquilæ volanti. Et post paululum Plena inquit erant oculis, et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est. Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur quattuor tantum debere euangelia suscipi et omnes apocriforum nenias mortuis imâgis hereticis quam ecclesiasticis vivis canendas.

This passage may be compared with Irenæus, "Adv. Hæret." III. 11, where the same idea is even more fancifully expressed. It is summarized as follows:

ὁτιοία ἡ τῶν ζῶων μορφή τοιοῦτος ὁ χαρακτήρ τῶν ἐναγγελίων. τετραμορφα γὰρ τὰς ζῶα τετράμορφον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

Here, as in the quotation from Jerome given above, the likening of the four Evangelists to the four animalia in Ezechiel is used primarily as a proof that there were to be only four Gospels. With that question we are not now concerned. But the use of such an argument may rightly be taken into account when we are estimating the value of other statements made by the same writers. We are about to consider the theory that the four living creatures of the Johannine Apocalypse (which are confessedly drawn from those of Ezechiel) represent the four Gospels. Of this theory the statements of Irenæus and Jerome are the origin and the mainstay. But they stand there, in their respective texts, side by side with an argument which is replete indeed with the early Christian desire to find Christ in all things, even in the recondite images of the Old Testament, which yet could not possibly be used to prove that the Gospels should be four in number, after that the critical capacity of Christendom had been even slightly developed.

The application, therefore, of the symbols to the Evangelists loses force, because of the intrinsically weak framework, by the side of which, and in the midst of which, it is found when first made.

Yet it must not be supposed that the number, four, has nothing to do with that which we have to consider. On the contrary, it is more than probable that the number, four, is the prime source of the theory. With the fondness of apocalyptists for symbolic numbers we are all familiar. While three is the signature of the Divine, four is the emblem of nature. It is the Pythagorean Tetractys, Quaternio. There must be something in the New Testament which would correspond to the four great natural symbols of Ezechiel. What was there which had four for its number? Only the Gospels! The number is complete, perfect. As the four winds of heaven, and the four elements, and the four corners of the earth; so the Gospel, like the Temple, standeth four square, a tower built upon four rows, a bench resting upon four legs (*cf.* Irenæus and the Shepherd

of Hermas). It is the coincidence of the number which has given birth to the theory.

But, wheresoever it took its rise, the fact remains that since the time of Jerome the four living creatures have held their own as emblems of the Evangelists. The attempt to transfer them to the four archangels, or to the four greater prophets, has been regarded as the expiring effort of an envious Judaism. The thought once promulgated was too picturesque to be easily parted with. It not only satisfied, it even delighted, the simple mind of the early Church. The most ingenious theories were invented for the attribution of each particular symbol to each particular Evangelist. Not one of the reasons given by Jerome, in the passage cited above, has even the smallest claim to be called satisfactory. Only by the greatest possible ingenuity can it be detected that St. Matthew is the man, because he portrays the Man Christ Jesus; that St. Luke is the calf, because he speaks more of sacrifice; that St. John is the eagle, because he soars up to heaven; that St. Mark is the lion, by the strange comparison of *vox clamantis in deserto* with *vox leonis in heremo*.

Yet even such fanciful reasons were sufficient. The lion became for ever the Christian emblem of the second evangelist. And when the men of Venice stole the supposed relics of St. Mark from Alexandria, and carried them away to consecrate the island home of the Queen of the Adriatic, they stole also his lion as their emblem. And it stands to this day, cast in bronze, upon the column of the Piazzetta, and is still to be seen, emblazoned in gold, upon the decaying standards of the old Venetian Republic.

And this fanciful idea of attributing the four Evangelists to the four animalia, though it be, as we believe, devoid of any foundation whatsoever, has been perpetuated by Christian painters and architects throughout the ages. "It meets us," says Mrs. Jameson in her beautiful book upon "Sacred and Legendary Art" (vol. i., p. 101)—"it meets us at every turn—in the mosaics of the old Italian churches; in the Decorative sculpture of our cathedrals; in Gothic stained glass; in ancient pictures and miniatures; on the carved and chased covers of old books." There is scarcely a reredos or a window in a reformed church which does not embody this representation, picturesque but entirely fanciful. In spite of its intrinsic improbability, it is deeply ingrained into Christian symbolism; and the argument by which the true meaning of the symbols is apparently substantiated will undoubtedly be unwelcome to some.

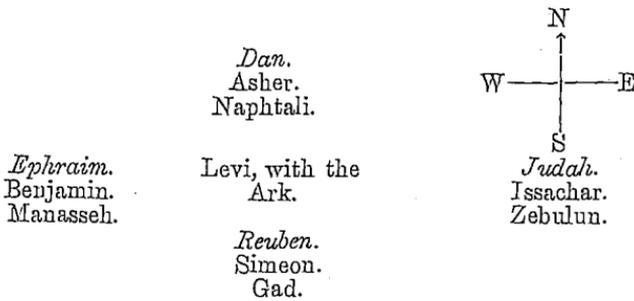
Yet that argument is clear, and is supported by evidence of considerable weight. The evidence, of course, is fragmentary,

and the conclusion is arrived at by piecing together into one the *disjecta membra*, of which sufficient have already come to hand. Just as in the restoration of Greek art it is possible to find the limbs of a once famous statue—one here, one there; just as the labour of the skilled archæologist can put them together; just as the priceless statue of Hermes at Olympia was found in one place, and the infant Dionysus, who ought to have been in his arms, in another place, both having been preserved for posterity by a landslip, which overwhelmed them in apparent destruction; just as now they are recognised and identified, by the aid of a passage in Pausanias, as the incomparable work of the great artist Praxiteles; even so it has been possible for modern scholarship to piece together into one the fragments of evidence with regard to the four living creatures, and to establish as an almost indisputable fact that they are emblems which, by the mind of an ancient Jew, must have been well understood and easily recognised; that they are part and parcel of that symbolism, drawn from the ancient history of Israel, by which the whole of the Apocalypse is permeated; that they are nothing less than the four standards of the four brigades of the children of Israel in the wilderness; and that they represent, in their collective capacity, the armies of the Lord.

It is unnecessary to remind the Biblical student of the essentially Jewish feeling with which the Johannine Apocalypse is saturated, of the mass of Jewish imagery, from the history of the Old Testament, with which its pages are crowded. The heavenly city, the new Jerusalem, is a glorified Apocalyptic picture of the camp in the wilderness. Twelve tribes, three on each of the four sides; twelve gates; twelve thousand furlongs; twelve times twelve cubits; and twelve foundation-stones, all but identical with those of the high priest's breast-plate, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel; in the midst the throne of God, fulfilling the type of the ancient ark.

All this may be read at a glance in Exod. xxviii. and xxxix.; Num. ii.; Ezech. xlvi. and xlvi. ; and Apoc. xxi. Without doubt, if we want to find the meaning of the four living creatures, we shall find it in that camp.

Let us study with a little care Num. ii., referred to above. It is written there that the march through the wilderness took the form of a hollow square. In the centre was the ark, typifying the presence of Jehovah, surrounded and guarded by its Levite band. On each of the four sides three tribes were brigaded. If the march of the children of Israel be regarded as eastward, the following will be the diagram:



the leading tribe, the head of each brigade, the *standard*-bearer being named first in order. Levi surrounds the ark, and Joseph counts for two, in the persons of Ephraim and Manasseh. It will be noticed that the advance-guard consists of children of Leah, the rear-guard of children of Rachel; the wings are composite. The arrangements in Ezek. xlvi. and in Apoc. vii. are somewhat different. The rear-guard is correctly quoted in Ps. lxxx. 2, Before Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh, etc.

For our purpose the chief interest of this brigading lies in the fact that each is bidden "to pitch by the standard of his house," Judah, Reuben, Ephraim and Dan being specified as the four standard-bearers. In front, as an advanced guard, was the brigade of Judah. Here at least we have Scriptural evidence that his emblem was a lion. Jacob, when he blessed his sons, is recorded to have said (Gen. xlix. 9): *Σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων*. Apoc. v. 5 speaks of *ὁ λέων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα*. In Num. xxiii. 24 Balaam, looking upon the foremost standard, says: *ὡς σκύμνος ἀναστήσεται ὡς λέων γαυρωθήσεται*; and in the next divination (xxiv. 9), *ἀνπαύσατο ὡς λέων ὡς σκύμνος τίς ἀναστήσει αὐτόν*. This foremost standard we know to have been that of Judah.

Of the other symbols only one, the ox, as the standard of Ephraim and Manasseh, seems to be alluded to. In the blessing of Joseph (Deut. xxxiii. 17) Moses is made to say:

Ἐρωτόκοκος ταύρου τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ κέρατα μονοκέρωτος τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ where μονοκέρως translates 𐤇𐤍𐤃!

Rabbinic authority, however, does not seem to be wanting. If we turn to Lightfoot, "Clavis Apocalyptica," Cantabrigiæ, 1632, p. 2, we read as follows:

Hebræi ex vetustâ majorum traditione (hac parte non temere aspernandi) rem integre descriptum eunt in hunc modum.

Ad orientem erat Vexillum Judæ cum sociis tribubus figura *Leonis*.

Ad occidentem Vexillum Ephræmi signo *Bovis*.

Ad austrum Vexillum Reubenis signo *Hominis*.

Ad septentrionem Danis signo *Aquilæ*.

Aben Ezra ad II. Num. Majores nostri dixerunt quod in Reubenis Vexillo fuit figura *Hominis* propter inventas (inquit ille) mandragoras. (Sed hoc ineptum est.)

In vexillo Judæ figura Leonis quomam ei Jacob ipsum assimilavit. In vexillo Ephræmi figura bovis, juxta quod dicitur (Deut. xxxiii. 17) primogehitus Bovis. Denique in vexillo Danis figura Aquilæ.

Eadem hic habet Barnachman et Chazkumi ad cap. 3.

Istiusmodi rationem Talmudici innuere videntur. Quatuor (inquiunt) sunt superbi (vel qui emineant) in mundo. Leo inter feras. Bos inter junenta. Aquila inter Volucres; et homo cui Deus supra omnes, pulchritudinem largitus est ut omnibus imperaret.

Ezechiel (i. 4) converso ad Septentrionem Vultu, quasi obviam sibi prodeuntes conspiceret. Quæ tum ei e regione obversabatur anterior erat et directa cherubinatorum facies, nimirum Hominis, eoque Hominis facies austrum spectabat: Unde sequitur quæ eidem Ezechieli ad dextram fuisse dicitur facies Leonis orientem; quæque ei ad sinistram, Bovis, occidentem; aquilinam denique faciem spectasse aquilinem.

Atque eadem quidem ratio suadit, ut illos quoque Cherubinos, qui arcam Dei in Templi adyto obumbrabant, simili, hoc est quadriformi, facie fuisse existimemus, præsertim cum de iis, qui in Templi parietibus cœlabantur, rem ita se habuisse testatur, quod apud eundem de dimidata ipsorum sculptura legitur (Ezech. xli. 19), ubi duabus faciebus, ut in ejusmodi celatura necesse fuit, in plano parietis absorptis, reliquæ tamen duæ, Hominis et Leonis, hinc inde versus palmas utrinque ascriptas, eminuissæ perhibeantur.

It has been necessary to quote thus at length from a book not easily accessible. The four symbols combined represent the whole of the host of Israel. They are worked in again into Solomon's temple (3 Kings vii. 29):

Ἐπὶ τὰ συγκλείσματα . . . λέοντες καὶ βόες καὶ χερουβίμ,

wherein it may be surmised that the eagle and the man are combined under the appellation of the cherubim, or possibly that the four divisions of the nation had now been practically reduced to two, Judah (the lion) and Ephraim (the ox). These, in fact, were the two sections into which, in the time of Solomon's sin, the nation was actually cleft. We pass over the possible allusion of Isaiah xi. 6—the lion (Judah) shall lie down with the ox (Ephraim). The names in this passage probably have not the tribal significance. We have said enough to show a good and satisfactory origin for the similitudes of Ezechiel, upon which the similitudes of the Johannine Apocalypse are confessedly founded. They are similitudes, or symbols, chosen obviously because they are types of physical strength—king of beasts, king of birds, king of workers, king of all creation. For this reason the two named first have always been chosen as crests for helmets, and as rallying-points for armies. All four represent man's idea of the importance of physical force; and to the mind of the Jew this fourfold combination would represent the strength of the whole nation, in all its various developments, prostrating itself before the throne of God.

Out of this fact several most interesting issues necessarily

follow as to the Messianic expectation of the essentially Jewish passage (Apoc. iv.), in which reference is made to the lion of the house of Judah; but with this we cannot now deal. The meaning of the four emblems can scarcely be doubted. The fanciful application made through so many centuries is devoid of foundation.

WILLIAM COVINGTON.

ART. V.—PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

The living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything, neither have they *any more* a reward, neither have they any portion for ever in anything done under the sun.—Eccles. ix. 5, 6.

If the tree fall towards the south or towards the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be.—Eccles. xi. 3.

THE lesson given us in these texts is clear. They teach us that the fate of the dead is fixed; as the Latin Vulgate renders it: “*Viventes enim scient se esse morituros, morituro vero nihil moverunt amplius, nec habent ultra mercedem.*” Where the tree falls there will it lie; and nothing that we can do in their behalf can avail them, or add to their happiness. Their future doom is fixed: “*Nec habent partem in hoc cæculo et in opere, quod sub sole geritur*”; for they have no part or portion in anything done under the sun on their behalf by the prayers or intercession of the living. “For it is written, Every one of us shall give an account of *himself* to God” (Rom. xiv. 12); “Whose end shall be according to their works” (2 Cor. xi. 15). Again, our Lord said even: “Every idle word that men shall speak they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned” (Matt. xii. 36). St. John gives us in a vision the scene of the last judgment: “The book of life” was opened; “and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books according to their works” (Rev. xx. 11); “and they were judged every man according to their works.” How, then, can a man be justified before God by the prayers of the living, much less by payments to a priest, on tariff prices, to offer masses for the souls of the dead? If the theory is reasonable, then the unfortunate defunct who may have no charitable friends to perform these offices for him would have less chance than his more fortunate brethren. It is wiser to leave the dead to the tender mercies of the Almighty, and He will deal to each a righteous judgment. The Lord alone knoweth the heart of man, “is gracious

and merciful," long suffering and of great goodness. Why then, seek to interfere in that judgment?

"Prayer for the dead" is neither a doctrine nor a practice of the Church of England. Our reformers, by successive stages, eliminated this pious but superstitious practice from our Church service.

The teaching of the Church of England is clearly set forth in the third part of the sermon concerning prayer in the Homilies:¹

Now, to entreat of that question whether we ought to pray for them that are departed out of this world or no. Wherein, if we will cleave only unto the Word of God, then must we needs grant that we have no commandment so to do. For the Scriptures doth acknowledge but two places after this life: the one proper to the elect and blessed of God, the other to the reprobate and damned souls, as may be well gathered by the parable of Lazarus and the rich man.

Then, after quoting St. Augustine's exposition of Luke xvi. 19-26, the Homily quotes Eccles. xi. 3, as confirmed by John iii. 36, and observes that Augustine "doth only acknowledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for a third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such to be found in all Scripture." Chrysostom and Cyprian take a similar view. The Homily continues:

Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the gross error of purgatory out of our heads; neither let us dream any more that the souls of the dead are anything at all holpen by our prayers; but as the Scriptures teacheth us, let us think that the soul of man, passing out of the body, goeth straightways either to heaven or else to hell, whereof the one needeth no prayer and the other is without redemption. The only purgatory wherein we must trust to be saved is the death and blood of Christ, which, if we apprehend with a true and steadfast faith, it purgeth and cleanseth us from all our sins, even as well as if He were now hanging upon the cross. "The blood of Christ," saith St. John, "hath cleansed us from all sin." . . . He that cannot be saved by faith in Christ's blood, how shall he look to be delivered by man's intercessions? Hath God more respect to men on earth than He hath to Christ in heaven? "If any man sin," saith St. John, "we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins."

The subject of prayer for the dead is inseparably involved with the question whether Christianity is a Divine revelation or a mere human invention. If the latter, prayer for the dead certainly forms an essential part of it; but if a Divine revelation, then is prayer for the dead finally and irrevocably excluded. From the first line of the Old Testament to the last of the New not one jot or iota occurs to sanction it. The paramount and vital fact, therefore, still remains unassailed

¹ Oxford edit., 1844, p. 299.

and unassailable, that in these sacred records not a vestige is to be traced of prayers for the dead, nor even the faintest allusion to such a practice. Whoever, therefore, values his religion as a revelation from on high, and not a fond conceit of man's invention, must resolutely banish prayers for the dead from his convictions. "To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."

As a sentimental and pious emotion there would appear no immediate objection to the practice. In most cases, perhaps, it would be limited to an affectionate remembrance of a dear departed relative or friend; and this is the only plea that can be advanced. But the practice in the Church of Rome is inseparably connected with two dangerous delusions. One, that the defunct is in a state of torment, in that imaginary abode called purgatory—yea, even those who die in grace and the faith of Christ, but who have not performed "satisfaction" in this life, the penalties imposed by a priest in their so-called sacrament of "penance"; and prayers are offered to the Almighty to relieve them from that distressing position or state. It calls in question the justice and judgment of God. The other delusion is, that the bereaved relatives are too often induced to pay to the Church tariff prices to assume that duty by requiem masses, which are pretended to relieve the defunct; and if prayers for the dead were formally sanctioned by our Church these results must follow.

The practice was one of the first innovations in the Christian Church, but on a very different footing or intention as subsequently "developed" in the Roman Church. In the New Testament, neither in the discourses of our Lord, nor in the records of the Evangelists, nor in the letters of the Apostles to the various churches which they organized or directed, nor yet in the pastoral epistles to individuals entrusted with the superintendence of particular churches, is there the faintest suggestion of a practice which now forms a portion of the universal teaching of the Church of Rome. But some three hundred years after Christ we do find some kind of prayers for the dead; but these were offered, not to relieve souls from a state of torment, but for those believed to be in a state of perfect peace (for whom Romanists do not now pray)—for all righteous persons deceased: patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, the blessed Virgin Mary, etc., whom they did not pray *to*, but *for*; they prayed for a consummation of their happiness, and that the Lord would grant them His promised mercy in the day of judgment. Hence we find in the early liturgies coming from the East such prayers. For example, in the liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, said to be

that of Chrysostom (A.D. 400), we find the following prayer: "We offer unto Thee, O God, this reasonable service for those who are at rest in the faith; especially for our most holy, immaculate, and most blessed Lady, the Mother of our Lord, the ever blessed." And in the liturgy of the Church of Egypt, ascribed to Basil (A.D. 370), Gregory Nazianzen and Cyril of Alexandria, we have the following: "Be mindful, O Lord, of Thy saints, our holy Fathers, the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, especially the holy, glorious, and ever-blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord."¹

But all these prayers have been eliminated from modern Roman service-books, and they have substituted prayers *to* in the place of *for* the righteous dead. A notable example of this I may mention of Leo I., Bishop of Rome (A.D. 440 to 461). In the ancient missals the Church of Rome prayed *for* the soul of Leo, which at a later period was changed into a prayer to God by the intercession of "St. Leo" on behalf of themselves, by their new doctrine making him an intercessor for us, who by the old doctrine was supposed to intercede for us.

From these early prayers the late Dr. J. H. Newman admits that the doctrine of purgatory is a natural development; and Dr. Wiseman, in his "Moorfields Lectures,"² said: "I have no hesitation in saying that the doctrines—praying for the dead and purgatory—go so completely together, that if we succeed in demonstrating the one, the other necessarily follows." But he was met by the terms of the early liturgies. In p. 66 he says: "There is no doubt that in the ancient liturgies the saints are mentioned in the same prayer as the other departed faithful, from the simple circumstance that they were so united before the public suffrages of the Church proclaimed them to belong to a happier order." But he does not tell us when that took place. It was not until the year 1438, at the Council of Florence, that this council undertook to deliver a dogmatic decision on the vexed question with the Fathers as to the state of souls after death. The Jesuit Veron, in his "Rule of Catholic Faith,"³ tells us that this question "has since been decided in the affirmative by the Council of Florence—namely, whether the souls of the blessed are received in heaven, and enjoy the clear vision of God before the resurrection and the last day of judgment."

And here I may quote a remarkable passage from the late

¹ Elliot, in his "Delineations of Popery," 1851, p. 278, and Hall, "Doctrine of Purgatory and the Practice of Praying for the Dead Examined," 1843, give many extracts from these liturgies.

² Vol. ii., p. 254, 2nd edition, 1851.

³ Waterworth's translation, 1833, p. 82.

Dr. J. H. Newman's work on "The Prophetical Office of the Church"¹ while a minister in our Church. He quotes the observations of the Benedictine editors of the works of the Venerable Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (died A.D. 397), in the "Admonit. in Lib. de Bono Mortis":

The following passage [he writes] occurs in this introduction to one of the works of St. Ambrose² on occasion of that Father making some statement at variance with the present Roman views of the intermediate state: "It is not, indeed, wonderful that Ambrose should have written in this way concerning the state of souls; but what seems almost incredible is the uncertainty of the holy Fathers on the subject from the very times of the Apostles to the Pontificate of Gregory XI. [1370-1378] and the Council of Florence [1438]; *that is, for almost the whole of fourteen centuries—for they not only differ from one another, as ordinarily happens in such questions before the Church has defined* [the italics are Dr. Newman's], but they are even inconsistent with themselves, sometimes all wrong, sometimes denying to the same souls the enjoyment of the clear vision of the Divine nature." It may be asked, How is it the fault of the Benedictines if the Fathers are inconsistent with each other and with themselves on any point, and what harm is there in stating the fact if it is undeniable? But any complaint with them [the Romanists] would be on a different ground, viz., that they profess to know better than the Fathers; that they, or, rather, the religious system which they are bound to follow, consider questions to be determinable on which the early Fathers were ignorant, and suppose the Church is so absolutely the author of one faith that what the Fathers did not believe we must believe, under pain of forfeiting heaven. Whether Rome be right or wrong, this instance contains an acknowledgment, as far as it goes, that their religion is not that of the Fathers.

As to purgatory, that belief was first raised to an article of faith by the Council of Florence (1438), by a decree passed at the second session:

We decree . . . that if any true penitents shall depart this life in the love of God, before that they have made satisfaction by worthy fruits of penance for faults of commission and omission, their souls are purified after death by the pains of purgatory, and that for their release from these pains the suffrages of the faithful who are alive are profitable to them; to wit, the sacrifices of the masses, prayers and alms, and other works of piety which, according to the appointment of the Church, are wont to be made by the faithful for other believers.³

The beatified "Martyr" Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in his "Confutation of Luther," admitted that—

There is no mention at all, or very barely, of purgatory in the ancient Fathers. The Latins did not at once, but by degrees, admit this doctrine, and the Greeks do not believe it at this day. And purgatory, *being so long unknown*, it is no wonder that in the first times of the Church there was no use of indulgences; for they had their beginning after men had been awhile scared with the torments of purgatory.⁴

¹ London, 1837, pp. 78, 79.

² Amb. Oper., tom. i., p. 385, Paris, 1686.

³ Labb. Concil., tom. xiii., col. 515, Paris, 1671.

⁴ Roffens, Luth. Confut., Art. 18, p. 200, Colon., 1559.

It is clear, therefore, that prayer for the dead in its modern phase and purgatory are developments of the early practice of the Church; and that such a practice must ultimately lead to the efficacy of masses for the dead, for the relief of souls supposed to be suffering the torments of purgatory.

An interesting question here presents itself, What evidence comes from the monumental records of the countless multitudes of Christians buried in the Catacombs for hundreds of years? I believe one or two modern inscriptions have been produced having some reference to a prayer for a departed one. It must be remembered that the Catacombs continued in use till the twelfth or thirteenth century; and in the course of 600 years, and of 600 miles of tombs—as De Rossi informs us they would be if laid out in a straight line—the contemporaneous opinions of Rome would, of course, be reflected in the Catacombs of Rome. A modern inscription may be competent evidence for a modern opinion, but a very different proof indeed of an ancient one. “Make a distinction between times,” says St. Augustine, “and the Scriptures will be consistent.” Apply the same to my argument—an appeal from modernism to antiquity; but the production of some isolated inscriptions from the Catacombs will not establish an ancient authorized practice; nor have we any evidence when during those thirteen centuries the inscriptions were made, or by whom. But it is somewhat imprudent for a Roman Catholic to appeal to the Catacombs. Those evidently lately written inscriptions are dangerous ground for a Papal foot to tread. On the graves of 7,000,000 Christians computed to be buried there in the first three centuries,¹ no mention of the Virgin ever occurs, no “Ave Maria,” no “Ora pro Nobis,” no “Requiescat in Pace,” no cross, and, of course, no crucifix. Next to the Bible, the Catacombs bear testimonies most confirmatory of Protestant, and most destructive of Roman Catholic belief. The learned and most laborious Roman Catholic, Professor Jules de Launay, entered them as an ardent Romanist, and quitted them a staunch Protestant. Mr. Hemans, author of “Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy,” once a convert from the Anglican to the Roman Communion, retraced his steps after studying the Catacombs.

“Roma veduta, fide perdute,” is a common Italian proverb; and if the moral and religious atmosphere of Rome above ground is apt to engender doubts of the soundness of the Papal creed, subterranean Rome is sure to confirm them. Hence Dr. Charles Maitland’s permission to copy some of the

¹ Farrar, “Lives of the Fathers,” vol. i., cap. i., p. 70.

inscriptions in the Lapidarian Gallery was withdrawn, and the surrender demanded of those he had already made.¹ Hence the suppression of Rusul Rochette's book. Like the martyrs it describes, it was too faithful to be supposed to live.² Hence the attempts of De Rossi to shore a tottering cause by the rotten props of mistranslation and forgery. Too thoroughly prejudiced for the candour required in an antiquarian, he entered the Catacombs predetermined to find the Roman Catholic faith there, and where he could not find it he created it. The "Roma Sottorranea," compiled in a similar spirit by Northcote and Brownlow from De Rossi's work, was heralded into the world as about to achieve great things for Rome, but how poor the results may be seen in Mariotti ("Testimony of the Catacombs," Part II., p. 83).

But this, to some extent, is a digression—the temptation was too great to be avoided. Enough has been said to show that there is as little authority for prayers for the dead in the ancient Catacombs as in the still more ancient Scriptures. Why, then, seek to introduce or encourage now a practice fraught with dangerous results, totally unsanctioned by the divine Lawgiver, and unknown to the Church? If, however, the word "prayer" is used in the widest sense, including praise and thanksgiving, no doubt our own favourite service gives hearty thanks for those who, being delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity, and pray that the dead, as well as the living, may have the time hastened of their perfect consummation and bliss, in strict accordance with the close of the revelation to the living and beloved disciples.

As for those who, on the close of their time of probation, have been righteously doomed to a state of punishment, it is no less the conclusion of reason than of Scripture, that it would be arrogant presumption to expect that our prayers will reverse the verdict of the Most High, and transfer to heaven those who have been judged worthy of it, and for those who have already been accepted as denizens of heaven; surely it is our part to rest not only content, but joyful. Still less should we borrow from the heathen an imaginary purgatory, confessedly unknown to the Scriptures, and for many centuries to the Church, and fancy that any multitude, however great, of private prayers will reverse the deliberated award of Him in whom truth, wisdom, and justice are combined. Can more unbecoming arrogance be imagined than for the creature thus to presume to dictate to his Creator—

¹ Dr. Charles Maitland, "The Church in the Catacombs," chap. i., p. 8, London, 1846.

² *Ibid.*, cap. iv., p. 151.

Snatch from His hand the sceptre and the rod,
Rejudge His justice, and be God of God?

Desperate attempts have been made to enlist the Fathers in support of the modern theory. The "Leading Case" relied on is the prayer offered up by Augustine, the African bishop, on behalf of Monica his mother. We find the following passage in his "Confessions":

Although she having been made alive in Christ, even while not yet released from the flesh, so lived that Thy name should be praised in her life and conversation, yet I dare not say that from the time that Thou didst regenerate her in baptism no word came out of her mouth contrary to Thy commandments.

He therefore prayed for her forgiveness. But mark the sequel. He adds: "I believe Thou hast already done what I ask, but accept, O Lord, the free-will offering of my mouth." But Augustine had no belief in an intermediate state of temporal torment. He thus states the faith of the Catholic Church. In his tenth Homily on the First Epistle of St. John he recognised only a state of bliss or a state of misery.

For as to the man who lived and is dead, his soul is hurried off to other places, his body is laid in the earth . . . [as to the soul] either in Abraham's bosom he rejoices, or [as to the body] in eternal fire he longs for a drop of water.

Again, in his nineteenth Homily on St. John:

They that have done well will go to live with the angels of God; they that have done ill to be tormented with the devil and his angels.

Again,

The first place in which the Catholic faith, by Divine authority, believes in is the kingdom of heaven; the second is hell, where all apostates and those who are alienated from the faith of Christ shall suffer everlasting punishment. Of any third place we are entirely ignorant, neither shall we find that there is any such place in the holy Scriptures.¹

In his eightieth epistle "Ad Hesychium," he observes:

In whatever state his last day shall find each person, in the same state the last day of the world shall find him; for such as every man in this day shall die, such in that day shall he be judged.²

Jerome wrote:

While we are in the present world we may be able to help one another, either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we shall come before the judgment-seat of Christ neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah can entreat for anyone, but everyone must bear his own burden.³

But, in the estimation of any faithful member of the Church of England, the opinion of any Father whatever, when un-

¹ Pelag., *Hypognost.*, tom. vii., p. 884, Lugduni, 1562.

² Tom. ii., p. 399.

³ Hierom., *Lib. iii.*; Comment in Galat., cap. vi., tom. iv., col. 311, Paris, 1706.

authenticated by the warranty of Holy Writ, is of no more avail than the fine dust in the balance would be as a counterpoise to the standard weights of the Temple. On this, as on one of its choicest foundation-stones, is reared our Church's belief that the "Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man to be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." And not only to the Church of England, but to Protestants of every denomination, and to Romanists themselves, is it essential to resist the encroachments of insidious doctrines, the most effectual engines ever invented for the aggrandisement of the priesthood (I allude to payment for masses for the dead, the hiring of a priest for delivering souls from purgatory), and the impoverishment of the laity. We want no solitary father confessor buzzing in the ear of a sick person that he must purchase alleviation of purgatorial pains by no small sacrifice of the family inheritance. Round the bed of the dying Protestant stand affectionate friends and relatives, sorrowful, no doubt, but not with the agonizing sorrow that the object of their distress must be plunged, the very moment of his departure, into the excruciating tortures of purgatorial fires.

Theirs rather is the consolation, or rather the triumphant feeling :

Is this a death-bed where a Christian lies ?
Yes ; but not his—'tis death itself that dies.

As energetically, though not, perhaps, so beautifully, was the same sentiment expressed by the Christian Virgil at a time when Roman priests would fain persuade us that purgatory was the predominant creed of Christendom :

Dei perennis numen adserentibus
Nihil pavori est ; mors et ipsa subjacet.¹

Both writers being alike inspired, as by many other cheering passages of Scripture, so especially by I Cor. xv. 55, 57 : "O death, where is thy sting ? O grave, where is thy victory ? The sting of death is sin ; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

C. H. COLLETTE.

¹ Prudentius, Peristephanon, x. 288.

ART. VI.—THE SHARE OF PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION IN THE REFORMATION.

Concluded.

ON November 28, 1554, a strange scene was witnessed in Parliament. The legate, Cardinal Pole, had obtained from the Pope the concession that all who were in possession of alienated Church lands might keep them as an equivalent for reviving the recognition of the Papal supremacy. The legate met the Parliament, and harangued them in presence of King Philip and Queen Mary. Next day the two Houses voted almost unanimously their repentance for their schism, and their desire to be received back into the unity of the Catholic Church. The day after, November 30 (St. Andrew's Day), they appeared before the Cardinal and desired absolution on their bended knees. The Cardinal, rising with extended arms, pronounced the absolution of the nation, and its entrance again into union with Rome. Convocation, like Parliament, had petitioned for absolution, and on December 6, 1554, a week later, they appeared before the Cardinal at Lambeth and were solemnly reconciled.

An address was passed shortly after by the Lower House of Convocation to the Bishops for the punishment of heresy. The Bishops at once obtained from Parliament the revival of the statutes 5 Richard II., st. 2, c. 5, and 2 Henry IV., c. 15, as well as 2 Henry V., c. 7. It was under the last of these that Bishop Stubbs thinks that most of the Marian murders took place.

The Church of England, says Archdeacon Perry, was thus thrust back into the condition in which it was before 1529. All the gains of the Reformation—gains which had been acquired at so great a cost—were wrested from it; its nationality was again obscured, and the vast mass of superstitious follies and abuses implied by the name Rome was again heaped upon it. The effects of this retrogressive step, so glibly voted by the Parliament (and the Convocations), were now to be witnessed; and amidst the fearful scenes of the next four years was to be generated in the breasts of Englishmen that indelible hatred of "Popery" which was to be at once the support and the difficulty of the Anglican Church of the future.

On her accession, Queen Elizabeth, like Edward and Mary, proceeded at first by proclamation and the appointment of commissions. "In the proposals for the religious settlement no mention was at present made of taking counsel with the Convocation, as it was well known that nothing in the way of reforming views could be hoped for from that body. Every

element of this sort had been fully weeded out of it by Queen Mary, and both Upper and Lower Houses were completely of accord to maintain the most extreme dogmas of the old religion. The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury immediately framed resolutions in favour of transubstantiation, the propitiatory sacrifice of the altar, the supremacy and Divine authority of the Pope, and the right of the spirituality alone to determine things relating to the faith, sacraments, and discipline of the Church. These resolutions the Lower House sent up to the Bishops; but even Bonner did not dare to present them to the Queen. The dread of *præmunire* was strongly present. The resolutions, except the two last, were signed by the two Universities."

Elizabeth's first Parliament restored to the Crown all its ancient jurisdiction over all courts and persons. It gave Elizabeth the same power of visitation and of appointing commissions for the exercise of that jurisdiction as had been granted to her father in the time of Thomas Cromwell. The general Visitatorial statute is still unrepealed. Mr. Dibdin (*Brewer's "Church of England,"* p. 294) and Hale (*"Royal Supremacy"*) have pointed out that the Visitatorial power still continues. If so terrible a misfortune, for instance, were to occur as any Archbishop of Canterbury in future days joining the Church of Rome, and refusing to resign, it is probable that this is the only power that could deprive him.

The Act was two months before Parliament, and contained clauses repealing all the Acts made about religion in the reign of Mary, and reviving those passed in the reigns of Henry and Edward; restored *congé d'élire*; enacted penal clauses against maintainers of Papal supremacy; and ordered all clergymen, magistrates, officers, and public functionaries to take an oath of loyalty to the Queen's supreme jurisdiction in things temporal and spiritual.

After a great debate on religious and ecclesiastical matters had been held in Westminster Abbey, an Act was passed declaring that, whereas at the death of Edward VI. there remained one book of Common Prayer, this book is re-enacted with certain minute alterations specified as made therein. The second book was accordingly revived, and remains in substance to this day the choice of the English nation. Strenuous opposition was offered in the Lords, as the Bishops urged that the clergy were altogether opposed to the English book. The Act of Uniformity establishing it was, however, passed on April 28, 1559.

In compliance with the power given to the Crown, commissions were now issued for the Provinces of Canterbury and York to test the feelings of the clergy. Including fourteen

Romish Bishops, only 189 of the clergy are said to have refused the new laws and to have been deprived, and of these six were Abbots.

The last Parliament and Convocation with which we have to do in this rapid sketch met on January 12, 1563. On the 29th, at the Chapter House of St. Paul's, the Bishops sanctioned the Thirty-nine Articles, reducing their original number (forty-two) by three. The Lower House—excepting, perhaps, a small minority—signed after some demurrage. The Queen gave her ratification a year later. The Articles carried with them the approval of the Prayer-Book and the Supremacy. They were finally accepted and enacted by Parliament in 1571 (13 Eliz., c. 12).

It is interesting to notice that the lapse into Roman heresy under Queen Mary was by an Act (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6) that was passed before the restoration of the papal supremacy by a later Act (c. 8) of the same session. As Professor Corrie says: "The Queen imprisoned Judge Hales for enforcing the then existing laws respecting public worship, arbitrarily deprived thirteen Bishops of their sees, and intruded others into their offices, without reference to any other authority except the royal will" ("Church and State in England," p. 130). Queen Mary took quite as personal a part in the settlement of religion as Henry VIII., Edward VI., or Elizabeth.

Church and State had thus done their parts, says Perry, in re-establishing the condition of things in the matter of religion which had been rudely broken up by the disastrous reign of Mary. The Romanists had been clearly shown that, in spite of the threatening aspect of foreign affairs, and the strength which they could still count upon in the country, the Government of the Queen was strong enough to enforce their submission, or leave them exposed to considerable peril. On the other hand, the more fanatical reformers had learned that the Queen and the country, as represented by Parliament, were determined to uphold the ancient Church of the land, purified as it was from its main defects, and not to run into the eccentric courses of the foreign reformers.

That Elizabeth was right in appointing a commission of divines to review the Prayer-Book of 1552, and in waiting for the subsequent confirmation of a Convocation in which the Romish elements would be in a minority, is clear, since it was a return to the *status quo* as regards that great monument of the joint work of Church and State recently overthrown by violence. The alterations were slight; but that of the Eucharistic service helped to reconcile the Romanists who attended the reformed service for twelve years after the

Convocation which accepted the Act of Uniformity, until, indeed, the Bull of Excommunication issued by Pope Pius V. inaugurated the dissident Roman Church in England.

In all this retrospect we see much that is abnormal and irregular, and that we regret. But we must remember that what we are looking at is a great and intelligent people struggling and heaving with various measures of success to break through the meshes of a dark and heavy spiritual tyranny, and to arrive at the truth and simplicity of the Apostolic and primitive age. At such a period it is impossible that everything should be smooth, orderly, and constitutional. In all we may see the overruling hand of God, making the best of frail human errors and mistakes, and guiding the event to the happiest issue of which the circumstances and materials admitted. At one time the Parliament takes the lead, at another the King; or, again, the Council, or the Archbishop, or the Convocation. For the general result we can be thankful, even while we cannot approve all the steps. What Professor Burrows says of the reigns of Henry and Edward is true of the whole period: "The restoration of the Church of England to the primitive model was effected by the joint action of clergy and laity. It cannot, however, be doubted that as Henry VIII. and his Parliament, representing the laity, exercised a powerful influence upon the clergy, which drew them reluctantly into line with himself, so the Council and Parliament of his successor, along with the young King, led the way to the more complete Reformation and Establishment which exists in the present day. The doctrinal formulæ, which thus became the law of the land, were, however, all prepared for the laity by Bishops and divines, of whom Cranmer was by far the chief."

One great lesson we may with perfect impartiality draw from the whole survey, and that is that the clergy without the laity are a maimed and ineffective portion of the Church of Christ. In the times of Holy Scripture the Apostles associated with themselves the unofficial members of the Church. In primitive times the laity had the due influence through the principle of election. It was when the clergy separated themselves from the laity and became lords over God's heritage that error, superstition, and professional narrowness and blindness set in with an increasing tide. However roughly the influence of the laity was reasserted at the Reformation through King and Parliament, we may rejoice that it made itself felt. Had the Reformation been left to the clergy alone, we should probably have remained as Papal as the Church of France or the Church of Spain. The other alternative would have been the sweeping away of all the ancient landmarks by a flood of

reforming enthusiasm, as in Scotland, Switzerland, Holland, or Scandinavia. Is it not better to be as we are, reformed, no doubt, somewhat roughly, but shaped by God's good hand into a Church which maintains its continuity with the past, is Catholic in all the essential points of Catholic unity, and has the courage to find its own way back to primitive practice and truth? May we not be thankful to be the Christian adaptation of the ancient unbroken body first planted in these islands, moulded into its present condition of peace and prosperity by the agonized life-struggles of a wise and understanding people?¹

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Reviews.

Religion. PAR G. DE MOLINARI. Pp. 260. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie.

M. DE MOLINARI is known as one of that band of French Roman Catholics who are striving to reconcile the great mass of their indifferent countrymen to the Church of Rome. In so far as their efforts tend to disseminate a form of Christianity, they are a very welcome relief from the so-called "realism" which pervades French writings generally, each in their kind, but there is grave matter for doubt whether France will ever be converted by ultramontanism. The French Church is becoming more and more ultramontane. Père Didon is more so than was Gratry, the Comte de Mun than Montalembert. What will be the end of these things it is not difficult to tell. It is madness to think that logical France will ever become superstitious again.

In one respect our author recognises the impossibility of Papal claims meeting with recognition. He is afraid that his book will please neither the enemies of religion nor its habitual defenders on this very account. For he is opposed "on principle" to an established Church. His aim is to show the gradual growth of religion among men, to prove that religion is a human necessity, that it has a part to play in the future of still greater importance than in the past, but that in order to effect this it must be always freed from state control.

It is easy to see that by this argument a great deal more may be meant than is readily apparent. If by freedom from state control it is meant that a foreign power, such as the Pope, may have the liberty to make the most stringent regulations for those Frenchmen who regard him as the Vicar of Christ, without any sort of restraint or supervision from the paternal government of the country, that would only be going from one state control to another. Everything lies in understanding terms, and using them always with the same meaning. If M. de Molinari means a really "free" church, under the regulation of no one but its own members, well and good; but if he implicitly defines "free" as under papal dominion unchecked by any restraint, that is an altogether different thing. However, he does not openly declare himself on this question. His position is this: There is no "established"

¹ I have had the advantage on several points in this paper of consulting my learned friend Mr. J. T. Tomlinson.

Church in France. He is trying to persuade his co-religionists that they are better off without one, and at the same time to convince socialists that the true remedy for social evils lies in (R.) Catholicism.

But, as we have remarked, he is afraid that his attempt will please neither party. It is true that the French socialists are bitterly opposed to any dream of establishing the Church. But, then, they wish to destroy the Church. Not only her, but all religion, according to M. de Molinari. Their opinion is that religions are superstitions exploded by modern science. Religions must therefore be placed strictly under the law, their right of property be limited, their right of teaching the young forbidden, so that in time they will perish of inanition. They are convinced that, separated from State aid, religions will not be long in disappearing.

M. de Molinari remarks that it is a curious thing that the conservative classes, who are convinced that religion is imperishable, seem to agree in believing, with those who wish to destroy it, that its existence is bound up in its union with the state. They would wish to restore the old connection as it was in the days of Louis XIV., and in their opinion the present comparative "freedom" of the Roman Church is a thing to be earnestly deprecated by all of its followers. M. de Molinari argues against both these positions. He strives to show the socialists that religion corresponds to a deep and inherent want in human nature, an ineradicable sentiment. It alone renders possible those laws without which society would degenerate from civilization into savagery. On the other hand, he would teach the clericals that it has always been a source of corruption to religion to find herself possessed of monopoly and privileges, and that a separation between Church and State, far from destroying true religion, would result in extending and improving it.

In pursuance of this design, the book before us is devoted in its earlier chapters to an account of the growth of religion in general. We can necessarily only give a brief sketch of his argument. Roughly speaking, there are three divisions: The first age, fetishism; the second age, an enlightened heathenism; and a religious individualism ending in Christianity. The fundamental axiom which prefaces the whole is that religion answers to a need which has been manifest at all times and amid all varieties of humankind—a need both intellectual and moral. When humanity was in its primitive stage, this need was satisfied by fetishness or idolatry; at first even without priests, for the savage units were too much occupied in the struggle for existence to indulge in any luxuries—even religious. Later, when production became sufficiently easy to render possible some beginning of the system of division of labour, the sorcerer or medicine-man appeared, who combined just so much religious ceremony as was adapted to tribal needs with medical and other services. In the second age, man, after having created gods in his image, modelled Divine institutions on his own. With a growth in human division of labour came the specialization of attributes and functions to different gods. With a settled human government came the idea of a Divine constitution and different grades in Divine rank. Laws of hygiene and morality which experience showed to be necessary or beneficial to men received the impress of Divine sanction. Public worship grew and developed. Rites and ceremonies multiplied. Priests were paid and set apart.

But this complex and highly-developed state of affairs was destined to give way to the religion revealed by God. Christianity arrived at an opportune moment. A few centuries earlier, when each country was united to its own religion by indissoluble ties, and incessant wars rendered commerce difficult, it would have been difficult to propagate it. Besides, when it appeared, the different pagan cults were in full decay,

and no longer satisfied the needs which gave them birth. Christianity was intrinsically superior, and satisfied man's highest needs in the highest way.

Such is a summary that might be made of the earlier chapters. Of course, the ideas are old, but they are set forth clearly and succinctly in crisp and logical language. If the book were written for English circulation, one would be inclined to wish that the Divine revelation of Christianity had been more unmistakably noticed. Nowadays one must always bear in mind the necessity of insisting that Christianity is not an evolution, but a creation. It is quite true that it appeared at the most appropriate time, but that was the work of its Maker, not the accident of its surroundings.

The next few chapters trace the progress of Christianity, its struggles against Paganism, the religious monopoly of the Middle Ages, the Reformation, the philosophical reaction of the eighteenth century. These questions are now of mainly historical interest. The author treats them with a very fair spirit, and in a clear and intelligible manner. There are a couple of interesting chapters on the relations between religion and science.

Then comes what we have referred to as the real object of discussion in this volume. It is the relation of religion to the social crisis. The social crisis, *bien entendu*, as it exists in France. In England we have a habit of getting necessary reforms without talking about them very much; in France it has always seemed necessary to bawl at the top of the voice. There is no denying the patent fact that sociology is a different study in the two countries. Partly from national temperament, partly from our greater commerce and manufactures, and, need we shrink from saying, partly from our pure and reformed worship, the influences that tend to social reform in England are immeasurably more sedate and safe than those across the Channel. Hence M. de Molinari's anxious speculations and suggestions are only of interest in so far as they reveal the condition of things in his country; we can read them with indulgent sympathy; but they throw no light on the relations of Church to State in England, or the relations existing between religion, labour, and capital, or the "new" Trades-Unionism, or the hundred and one social "questions" that meet us in magazines and at diocesan conferences. Hence it is not necessary to follow our author's pages closely. We would only remark, that those who are interested in French affairs, or who desire to gain some knowledge of them, will be well suited. After discussing the social crisis, and the different wants which have produced it, various remedies are examined. Collectivism is dismissed. Political economy has its part to play; it must enlighten the conscience, while religion should arm it. The *rôle* of religion is not ended, it is really more important now than ever it has been. M. de Molinari has some very weighty remarks against clericalism, which we cannot refrain from giving (p. 150):

"Clericalism, or the alliance between religion and politics, is no less injurious to the clergy it demoralizes than to the religion it discredits. By delivering themselves to politics, by intervening in elections, by intriguing to set the government in the hands of their own supporters, the clergy not only neglect the religious and moral culture of the people, which ought to be their sole interest, but they contract the immoral customs and fall into the vicious practices which are inherent in professional politics (*politicianisme*)."

These are sound words, and no less courageous than true. They express very clearly the author's main contention, that religion can only fulfil her function with the necessary efficacy by being placed under a *régime* which procures her independence from State control or contact

with politics. In Great Britain, all religions are to some extent under the control of the State; but it is those who claim to be most independent, that are most in contact with politics.

W. PURTON.

Plain Sermons. By Bishop OXENDEN. With Memoir and Portrait. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

To many this will be a very welcome volume, alike for the collection of twenty-four sermons which it contains, and for the deeply-interesting memoir with which it opens. We learn that the good Bishop himself chose the sermons. It is superfluous to observe that they are marked by his well-known and well-loved characteristics of fervour, simplicity and directness. The author of the *Pathway of Safety* speaks again in these discourses on "The Protection of God," "The Cry of the Heavy Laden," "God's Gift of Quickness" and the like. The last one possesses a pathetic interest. It is on "The Reality of the Christian Life." The Bishop never preached it. It was the last written by him, and was prepared for January 10, 1892. Its closing words are: "Ask yourselves this most vital question, 'How do I stand before God? not what is my state in man's estimation, but what is His verdict who looks beneath the surface and knows all, the very secrets of my heart?' Brethren, I will say no more at present. I will speak of the Christian's after-history in another sermon, if God permits me to preach it."

Could we find a more striking example of a preacher's responsibility? It is very charming to read of the life of such a man. Of course many are familiar with his "History of my Life." But this little memoir holds an interest of its own. The onlooker sees most of the game, the chronicler sees more than the autobiographer, in some respects. We are convinced that all who have benefited by the Bishop's books, or his spoken word, would deeply enjoy this account of his life. If one were disposed to take any exception, it would be perhaps to the semi-apologetic tone in which, once or twice, the Bishop's Evangelicalism is alluded to. And yet—we are told—"He shows, without argument or contention, with no bitter side-glance to those who differ, that they need not go, to have their hearts aroused for salvation, to the wandering evangelist, to sensational excitement, to blatant noise; in the Church of England they can find all they need. Christianity can speak to the heart of the ignorant, the uneducated, or the child, without being coarse or vulgar." Is not the one fact in his character the reason for the other? Bishop Oxenden chose, or perhaps rather was chosen to imitate our Lord in this "the poor have good tidings preached to them."

W. PURTON.

Christ and Economics. By CHAS. WM. STUBBS, M.A. London: Isbister and Co., Limited.

This is one of the volumes in the "Gospel and the Age" series. Mr. Stubbs' utterances on labour questions have commanded respect ever since the appearance of his book on "Village Politics"; and his latest production, the collection of sermons before us, will certainly confirm his reputation as a bold and original thinker.

There are nine sermons proper; one paper on the "Church and Labour Movements" read at the Hull Church Congress, and another paper on the "Church in the Villages" read before the Christian Social Union. It cannot be denied that the sermons are to a very great extent what is termed unconventional, and it would not be uncharitable to wonder how many ordinary parish clergymen there are who would feel justified in selecting similar topics or employing similar phraseology. But Mr. Stubbs is a specialist; he is, moreover, guarded in his treatment

of these debatable questions, and even where one would not be disposed to fall in with his views, it is always a gain to find them clearly and fairly stated.

We may observe at once that the book is conceived from a democratic standpoint. Consequently those whose views are anti-democratic, and there are many such even nowadays, will find much to regard with disfavour. Yet who would deny that it is a useful thing to read the statements of one's opponents? There is at least no hard language; and where even very democratic changes are suggested, they are conveyed in temperate and logical expressions. We repeat that it would be useful for parish clergy, country and town alike, to make themselves at least acquainted with views such as Mr. Stubbs propounds. We shall do no injustice to the author in calling him a Christian Socialist. In the principal of his sermons he examines what he terms the Political Economy of the Sermon on the Mount. We all know that there are certain apparent inconsistencies between the principles of that sermon and the ordinary rules of civilized life to-day. Mr. Stubbs discusses several explanations of the difficulty, but his own is that the Sermon on the Mount is the unalterable standard, not of the Christian practice, but of the Christian spirit. It is not a code-book, or a collection of statutes, to which we may turn in any particular difficulty, and find the corresponding remedy indexed and set forth on a certain page, but rather the heroic ideal, the essence of the spirit of Christ, which is to be the standard of our daily life.

Having made this generalization, the author discusses various details of industrial life as they are affected by religion. In a brilliant sermon on "Dives and the Pauper" the appalling inequality between the extremely rich and the extremely poor in our country comes under consideration. Some striking passages from Anglican prelates and other speakers are quoted which allude earnestly and even apprehensively to this social chasm. In contradistinction to these there is a clear-cut, cold, logical passage in a recent speech by Mr. A. J. Balfour, which discourages, apparently, human attempts to work a distinct improvement in social conditions. Mr. Stubbs finds fault somewhat heavily with Mr. Balfour's utterances, which are at least lucid and logical. We confess that we are left somewhat in the dark when we look for the author's own proposals of remedy. Beyond bidding us hope and wait, there is not much that we can lay hands upon.

Of the other sermons one is especially worth consideration. It is one on "What is Culpable Luxury?" and the lesson is drawn from the anointing with spikenard of our Lord's hands and feet. The inference, we think, is one of the utmost importance in Church parochial work, namely that all expenditure is justifiable which can be shown to be productive, not only in material comfort to those in need, but productive of such pure and noble feeling as shall add to the sum of the world's unselfish happiness.

With Mr. Stubbs' observations on the interference of the clergy in industrial disputes we are thoroughly in accord. He quotes approvingly the Archbishop of Canterbury's saying, "Understand, and you will not interfere." It is, indeed, unwise for a clergyman, without the proper technical training, to engage in discussions on subjects of a highly technical character. How can he argue profitably with either a coal-owner or a pitman on the subject of the duration of the hours of labour, when he knows quite well that he would permit neither to dictate to him on the correct interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric? Yet the principle is the same in each case.

Mr. Stubbs' own opinion of the ultimate solution of labour troubles is that it is to be found in co-operation. The worst of it is that co-

operation, for some reason or other, does not seem to find favour among the great mass of the workers. How little adoption it has found! The old school of Trade Unionists prefer a rigid line of distinction between themselves and the employers, from whom they extort the best possible terms for themselves. The "New Unionism" is nothing more nor less than a form of collectivism, state control of wages and time, and ultimately, no doubt, State ownership of land and capital. Neither of these can be called friendly to co-operation.

As regards the Socialism of the street, the author's language is wise and moderate. He is evidently in sympathy with many of the democratic ideas which to-day are fermenting in society. He does not claim more for these movements than that they should be regarded with respectful attention, with polite expectation. Yet there is a note of warning in much that he says which it would be well for some to read and ponder over. We quote from a sermon on the "Sins of Usury": "It cannot be doubted that the world is moving onwards towards some great social reconstruction. The very air vibrates with the tramp of coming change. It is all very well for you to speak of the labour leaders, and the trade agitators, and the Socialists, and the anarchists, as the 'dangerous classes.' No, it is *you* who are the dangerous classes—if your superfluities and luxuries tempt the passions of the destitute; if your opulence, instead of being a grand means, a solemn trust, a grave responsibility, is merely a source of sensual indulgence and vacant worthlessness; if but a mere fraction of your accumulated goods is given to the perishing; if your extravagances are a challenge to the covetous, your ostentation a temptation and an evil to the envious, if your hand as an employer lies heavy on those whom you employ—then, I say, it is you, and not the Socialists, who are 'the subverters of society and the torch-bearers of revolution.'"

This is an outspoken passage from a book that contains many such.

Short Notices.

Chinese Central Asia; A Ride to Little Thibet. Dr. LANSDALL. Two vols., pp. 968. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Lansdell is indisputably the greatest English modern traveller. He has been several times through Siberia and China, but the present journey is the greatest of all his efforts, and gives information of countries hardly known at all.

The author's first important work was "Through Siberia," and his second "Russian Central Asia," including Kuldga, Bokhara, Khiva, and Merv. The present volumes are a mine of intelligence about one of the least known regions of the earth, with its strange and ancient tribes. Besides his own observations, Dr. Lansdell has collected all the reports of surveys of other travellers in neighbouring districts. There are three clear and valuable maps illustrating different parts of Central Asia, besides eighteen illustrations, most of which are from photographs taken during the journey.

The author was received with the greatest kindness by the Russian and Chinese authorities, and every facility was given for the prosecution of his inquiries. His aims were known to be philanthropic, and in no sense military or political. He carried about with him a medicine-chest, which left a grateful remembrance behind him wherever he stayed; and also large parcels of the Scriptures in languages of the different tribes he

was to visit. His energy and perseverance in travelling these unknown tracts and surmounting every obstacle and delay are almost incredible. English readers are always interested in works of travel, and it is safe to say they have never had one placed before them about that vast and mysterious quarter of the globe of greater value to ethnological and geographical science. The style is quiet and unobtrusive, and the author relates the most extraordinary adventures in a matter-of-fact manner far more impressive than any amount of embellishment.

Speculum Sacerdotum. By CANON NEWBOLT. Pp. 321. Price 7s. 6d. Longmans.

This is a series of twenty-three very impressive, important, and beautiful addresses to young clergymen. The accomplished writer, as his title indicates, writes from the sacerdotal point of view; but there is little in the book which will not be of use to those who hold the ministerial principles of the Reformation. The tone throughout is one of devout and earnest piety, with deep knowledge of human life and character, and absolute personal humility and sincerity. We may well wish to see the personal qualities recommended in these thoughtful and sympathetic chapters reproduced in every parsonage and curate's lodging in town and country.

Week-day Religion. J. R. MILLER, D.D. Pp. 280. Price 3s. 6d. Hodder and Stoughton.

This is one of the "Silent Times" series, and it may be taken as a companion volume to the preceding work. It consists of thirty-two brief, pointed, and suggestive chapters on personal religion, which are so true and wise that they are sure to be followed with blessing. The headings of a few chapters may be quoted: Help for Worried Week-days; The Marriage Altar—and After; Weariness in Well-doing; Thoughtfulness and Fact; Manly Men; Personal Beauty; Amusements; The Choice of Friends; and Ethics of House-Decoration.

Clews to Holy Writ. By MARY L. G. PETRIE, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

The organization known as the "College by Post" has done good work. Begun by two or three girls in the summer of 1881, it has grown till students to the number of three thousand have entered its classes. That part of the college organization which embraces the study of the Bible is called the Chronological Scripture Cycle. The volume before us contains a three years' course for studying the whole Bible in its historical order. The Bible is divided into nine portions of about one hundred and thirty-two chapters each, every one is subdivided into different sections, and the whole scheme forms a most comprehensive plan for a consecutive study. So much for the system; the matter of the papers is equally good. There is really a vast quantity of information gathered together and neatly arranged. Short biographies of the great Scripture heroes, dates, lists, explanations and comments are all skilfully combined. The result is a work that will be exceedingly valuable to Bible teachers and students. Not the least useful feature is a good table of questions for examination at the end.

Septem Ecclesiæ. Thoughts on the Epistles of Christ to the Seven Churches. By the Rev. H. ORPEN-PALMER. London: Elliot Stock.

This is a homiletical treatise on the early chapters of the Apocalypse, or, rather, a combination of exegesis and sermons. A peculiar and not

unwelcome feature is the use of copious quotations in verse. These are real indications of a wide extent of reading, and some true poetical gems will be found, ranging from the "Pilgrim's Progress" to Miss Rossetti. Nor is scholarship unrecognised, or the established facts of critical research ignored—there is enough to give evidence that the author is well competent to write on his lofty themes. Altogether the collection of essays is likely to prove of much utility to that harassed class, the preparers of many sermons. We cannot help thinking that it was superfluous to bind up with such a work a long supplement in blank verse on the "Tragedy of Jezebel."

Holy Men of God. By Rev. J. ELDER CUMMING, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

A truly interesting volume, inasmuch as it is a collection, not of biographies, but, as far as possible, of autobiographies. Within the limits to which of necessity the chapters are confined, each "Holy Man" is left to tell his own story, with the intention that the reader may discover the real inner life of such men. The compiler does little more than string these extracts together, on an explanatory thread, with admirable results. There are seventeen lives in all, including those of two women—Madame de la Motte-Guyon, and Sarah Pierrepont, wife of President Jonathan Edwards. The saints chosen range from St. Augustine to T. D. Harford-Battersby and John Dickie of Irvine. It goes without saying that there is very much in such life-histories to instruct and encourage those who would emulate the holy and humble men of God. The compiler has made his selections with much discrimination and true insight.

What think ye of the Gospels? By the Rev. J. J. HALCOMBE, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

An immense amount of research is compressed into this handbook of Gospel study. One special feature in its composition is an endeavour to demonstrate clearly the wonderful similarity between all the different parts of the Fourfold Record. The author meets with considerable success in this; one may not altogether agree with everything that he says, but his arguments have invariably a backing of facts. The main contention is that St. John's Gospel was first written, and that the other three were based upon and grew out of St. John's in a very unusual but perfectly natural manner. The attempt to establish this thesis is not only deeply interesting to follow, but contains a vast quantity of matter that will be very useful to the Bible teacher. Mr. Halcombe's care and industry in collecting facts is well known.

A Year's Sermons. By RICHARD W. HILEY, D.D. London: Griffith Farran and Co.

Very plain, practical sermons, which it is at once a pleasure and a profit to read. Thoroughly Evangelistic, they are yet eminently adapted to the needs and cares of the everyday man. In a sermon on our Lord's temptations, what could more clearly enforce the lesson taught by His resistance to the second temptation than such a passage as the following?—

"In practical life, the Saviour's rule would teach a man to take due care of his health and habits of life, to observe all the caution that experience and wisdom suggest; to do otherwise is to tempt God. It will bid a man exercise caution in the choice of employment or occupation before he enters it. Is this an occupation on which God has promised His blessing? Does success in it depend on forethought, industry, care? If not, it is wrong. Such a rule would proscribe

betting, gambling in all its forms. It is placing our substance in a position over which there is no control. He that thrives, thrives by another man's ruin; that is tempting God—it is wrong. In any other occupation one may out-do another by showing greater industry, greater energy, greater talent; he has therefore legitimate ground for success. But to seek to thrive by another man's misfortune, to stake the means God has given us, at a perilous uncontrolled hazard, He denounces as tempting His providence."

The Official Year-Book of the Church of England. Pp. 734. Price 3s. S.P.C.K.

The whole of the matter of last year has been reviewed and renewed according to the latest facts and statistics. It is a perfect marvel of industrious and skilful compilation, and does much to explain the quiet zealous work of the Church in its almost countless varieties and adaptations.

The Welsh Church and Welsh Nationality. By DAVID JONES. Pp. 117. Simpkin and Co.

This courageous and original work should be read by all who are interested in the Welsh Ecclesiastical controversy. Mr. Jones's idea is frankly to admit mistakes and shortcomings and to see how they can best be remedied. He maintains that the Anglicizing policy does not represent the wisest and justest administrative principles of the Welsh Church; and that the advanced section of Welsh politicians do not reflect the truest political instincts of the Welsh nation. Wales is not a solitary instance of the Anglicizing policy and its effects. It has made Ireland Roman Catholic, Scotland Presbyterian, and Wales largely Nonconformist. Where the population is English, and does not require the services of Welsh-speaking bishops and clergy, there the Church stands its ground. Where the population is predominantly Welsh, and demands Church ministrations in the vernacular but did not receive them in an adequate measure, there the people deserted their spiritual mother for the Nonconformist chapels, where they found their own tongue.

Why am I a Member of the Church of England? By the Rev. EDWIN NOYES. Pp. 8. Price 3d. Sears and Co.

A simple and clear account of five or six good reasons for being a member of the National Church. The ideas are true, and well expressed.

An excellent Map of London has been published by the S.P.C.K., divided into ecclesiastical districts. The old mother-parishes are coloured green, and the new districts red. It is a work that has long been desired, and is of great utility. It should be hung not merely in London Parish Clubs and Institutes, but in those of the country also, that persons going to London may know in what parish they are to live.

MAGAZINES.

We have received the following (March) magazines :

The Thinker, The Expository Times, The Religious Review of Reviews, The Review of the Churches, The Newbery House Magazine, The Anglican Church Magazine, The Foreign Church Chronicle, The Church Missionary Intelligencer, The Evangelical Churchman, The Church Sunday-School Magazine, Blackwood, The Cornhill, Sunday Magazine, The Fireside, The Quiver, Cassell's Family Magazine, Good Words, The Leisure Hour, Sunday at Home, The Girl's Own Paper, The Boy's Own Paper, Light and Truth, The Church Monthly, The Church Missionary Gleaner, Light in the Home, Awake, India's Women, Parish Magazine, New and Old, The Bible Society's Monthly Reporter, The Cottager and Artisan,

Friendly Greetings, Little Folks, Our Little Dots, The Child's Companion, Boy's and Girl's Companion, The Children's World, Maybreak, Day of Days, Home Words, Hand and Heart, The Home Visitor, and The Jewish Herald.

No. 9 of the "Excellent Women" Series (R.T.S.) is a short sketch of the life of Ann Judson, a noble woman who sacrificed her life for the conversion of the Burmese in the early part of this century; and Messrs. Nisbet have sent us the latest addition to their "Brief Sketches of C.M.S. Workers," which gives an interesting account of the life and work of the Rev. Robert Turlington Noble, C.M.S. missionary to the Telugu from 1841 to 1865.



THE MONTH.

ON Feb. 28, the eve of St. David's Day, the annual festival service in Welsh was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. The congregation numbered over 8,000. The service began with two processional hymns, "Coronau gwych y ddaiar," to tune "Chenies," and "Mae Eglwys Dduw trwy'r ddair a'r nef yn un," to "Ffigysbren." The Rev. E. Killin Roberts, curate of All Saints, Margaret Street, took the first portion of the prayers, and introduced the "hwyl" (a method of intoning up and down the scale, so admired by Welsh congregations), and the latter part was intoned by the Rev. Morris Roberts, of St. Benet's, Queen Victoria Street. The Psalms, sung to Gregorian chants, were cxxxvi. and cxxxvii. The first lesson (Isaiah iv.) was read by Sir J. H. Puleston, president of the committee, who also initiated the festival, and the second (Romans x.) by Rev. J. Crowle Ellis, chaplain of St. David's, Paddington, and hon. secretary of the festival. For the festival Mr. David J. Thomas wrote special musical settings of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*, and the composer throughout the service presided at the organ. The anthem selected was that by John Thomas, of Blaenauanerch, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel," and the hymn before the sermon was "O Lfefara, addfvyw Jesu," to tune "Hyfrydol." Archdeacon Griffiths took for his text Exodus xiv. 15. He emphasized the importance of the religion of the heart as distinguished from that of the head. Nowadays religious disputes and controversies embittered national feeling, and it would be a good thing if Christians could be persuaded to choose between what was human and Divine in religion. In social and political affairs the progress of Wales during the past half-century was very marked; indeed, "Walk forward" seemed to have been carved upon everything connected with the Principality. Having referred to the services rendered by the Welsh Church in olden times, the Archdeacon touched upon the obstacles to her present success, for he felt bound to admit that the affection of the Welsh towards the Church had greatly diminished, and Cambria's day of trial was at hand. Amongst other obstacles, he particularly emphasized—(1) the want of leaders; (2) religious strife and bitterness; (3) religious indifference; (4) the creeping into the Principality of agnostic and atheistical tendencies. The sermon, which was delivered in Welsh, lasted fifty minutes. The service was concluded with two more hymns, during which a collection was made, and Stainer's "Sevenfold Amen," the benediction being pronounced in Welsh by Canon Browne. Mr. Dyved Lewys conducted the choir of 300 voices, the women being seated outside the chancel rails. There were over sixty stewards, who were superintended by Mr. R. A. Lloyd.

The preacher is one of the most prominent Evangelical clergymen in Wales. On the Eisteddfod platform no one has attained so much popularity during the past thirty years. In all national movements the Archdeacon is always to the fore. He is very popular also with the Nonconformists. Some years ago a dispute arose in a Nonconformist chapel in Neath. Matters came to a crisis, and a secession was on the point of taking place. It was decided, however, to refer the whole dispute to an arbitrator. Archdeacon Griffiths was fixed upon. He gave his decision in due time; the storm immediately blew over, and the Archdeacon was instrumental in welding together the different sections into a united body once again.

A meeting was held lately at the National Club, Whitehall Gardens, under the presidency of Sir C. Robert Lighton, to hear some account of the work of the Church Association under their new scheme formulated some eighteen months ago. The chairman, in the course of his remarks, said that the funds of the association were no longer spent in litigation, but in spreading Protestant truth throughout the country by means of meetings, travelling vans and colporteurs. Their work had progressed satisfactorily, their income had increased, and 2,000 new members had last year been added to their roll. The Rev. T. H. Sparshott, deputation secretary, in describing the work of the association, said that the work of their travelling vans and colporteurs was most important, and they now had a number of vans travelling about in the villages and towns. Each van cost £200, and about the same amount was required annually for maintenance. In six months their colporteurs had sold 20,000 books and pamphlets, and given away some 70,000 tracts in various parts of the Kingdom. The spring conference of the association would be held next week at Bradford.

An audience which crowded Exeter Great Hall in every part assembled on March 9 to bid "God-speed" to three missionary Bishops who are about to leave England to take part in the Church Missionary Society's work in Africa and Japan. These are the Right Rev. Alfred R. Tucker, Bishop in Eastern Equatorial Africa, the Right Rev. Henry Evington, Bishop Designate in Kiushiu, Japan, and the Right Rev. Herbert Tugwell, Bishop Designate in Western Equatorial Africa. Earlier in the day Sir John H. Kennaway, the President of the society, had occupied the chair at a preliminary meeting, which was also held in the large hall, and was largely attended. At the meeting last night the Bishop of Carlisle presided, and remarked that after twenty years of incessant missionary toil Bishop Evington was about to go forward as the missionary Bishop of South Japan. Bishop Tucker had gone forth again and again, had recovered and buried at Uganda the bones of his predecessor, Bishop Hannington, and was now about to go out again. The task of Bishop Tugwell was one of great delicacy, difficulty, and danger, but it was believed he would be equal to the honourable, though hazardous, post he had elected to fill. Bishop Tugwell, Bishop Tucker, and other speakers also addressed the meeting.

Much regret is felt at the retirement of the Rev. Dennis Hird from his position as one of the secretaries of the Church of England Temperance Society on account of the publication in one of the society's journals of a synopsis of his somewhat extreme political opinions. Mr. Hird writes to the *Times* :

Will you allow me to thank those who so kindly signed the protest (printed in your issue of yesterday) against the action of the London Diocesan Board of the Church of England Temperance Society in practically dismissing me? At the same time, I wish

to prevent any further mistake in this matter. The board and I have both done what we felt bound to do. When my enforced resignation had been accepted I wrote to the Bishop of London, according to the usual form, to ask if I might resign. His lordship replies: "I think you are doing quite rightly, and you have my full permission to resign." This is final. On no conditions could I take office again under the London Diocesan Board. I wish this to be clearly known for the good of Church temperance work in this diocese, as it would be a great pity to divide the new board on the question of its secretary, for all its energies will be needed to develop the work of the society.

The governors of the Corporation of Queen Anne's Bounty, at their annual meeting on March 14, made a distribution of surplus funds in grants to meet benefactions on behalf of poor benefices in England and Wales. They are unable fully to respond to all the applications made to them, the benefactions offered being of the value of £48,379. The benefices approved for augmentation were 150 in number, ranging in value from nothing to £200 per annum. The total amount of grants promised by the governors was £35,000.

An important meeting of the Bishops of the Church of Ireland was held on March 20th, under the presidency of the Primate. The Archbishop of Dublin read a communication to the Primate, signed by himself and the Bishops of Clogher and Down, in reference to the consecration of Bishops for the Reformed Churches of Spain and Portugal. This communication contained the following statements:

It is clear to us, in the first place, that the reason given by our episcopate collectively for the adoption of the resolutions of 1889 was not any objection on the ground of principle to a compliance with the prayer of the memorialists. That decision was evidently based on two principal grounds—first, "a difference of opinion" which then prevailed to such an extent as to render it inexpedient "in the interests of unity and peace" that the Irish Bishops should take such a step themselves; secondly, a hope which was then entertained that the memorialists might "before long" succeed in "obtaining the aid" for which they sought from some other source. It has, we think, been since made sufficiently plain that this "difference of opinion" has undergone considerable modification, especially within our own Church. It has also become clear that the hopes which were entertained six years ago concerning the transmission of the episcopate to these reformers from some other legitimate source have been unfortunately and hopelessly disappointed. Upon these grounds alone we might claim that the altered circumstances of the present time are such as fully to justify a reconsideration of the decision arrived at in 1889. . . . Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that in other respects the lapse of time has materially strengthened the claims of these memorialists. It is now almost fifteen years since these reformers first approached the Irish Bishops with the same request which they are making at the present time. During that interval they have met with sore discouragements. They have encountered the bitter hostility of open enemies. They have been treated with apathy, sometimes with obloquy, by those whom they had expected to be their friends. And yet, in spite of every inducement to obtain the episcopate through some irregular channel, or to throw in their lot with the various unepiscopal denominations by which they are surrounded, they have, nevertheless, adhered with singular patience and steadfastness to the resolve that, come what will, their churches shall be organized after the primitive model. Each passing year has thus borne fresh witness to their constancy. But in the interests of justice and of church order alike, the time, we think, has come when the fidelity of these reformers should be no longer subjected to so severe a strain. . . . In view of all these circumstances, we now submit to your grace the intention which—not lightly, we hope—we desire, God helping us, to carry into effect. Unless—as we trust may not be the case—we be met by a formal protest in the shape of a resolution passed by the Bench of Bishops or by the General Synod of our Church, it is our purpose, God willing, under the further conditions specified below, to visit Spain and Portugal, and there to consecrate for each of these two Churches a Bishop, who shall have been chosen by the Synod of that Church, and of whose fitness we ourselves, after due investigation, shall be fully satisfied.

The conditions specified include (1) an affirmation by the Synods of those Churches of guarantees similar to those which, of their own accord, they offered in 1883; and (2) the provision of an endowment fund. The Bishop of Derry moved, and the Bishop of Cork seconded, a resolution

to the effect that there was no sufficient reason for departing from the spirit of the resolution of 1889. This was, however, lost. The Bishop of Killaloe then moved, and the Bishop of Meath seconded, the following resolution, which was carried (the Bishops of Derry and Cork not voting):

That considering the length of time during which the applications of the Spanish and Portuguese reformers for the consecration of Bishops have been before us, the difficulties under which they have laboured, and the progress made during that time in numbers, in the adoption of liturgical services, in the building of churches and forming of congregations, we would not regard it as an indefensible exercise of the powers entrusted to the episcopate if, at the request of such congregations, the Archbishop of Dublin, who is intimately acquainted with the history of the movement and with the characters of those who are carrying it on, acting in concert with two other Bishops who may be willing to act with him, either of the Church of Ireland or of a church in communion with the Church of Ireland, should, if he shall so deem fit, proceed to Spain and Portugal and there confer episcopal orders upon the two clergymen chosen in these two countries respectively by the representatives of the said congregations, and of whose personal fitness the consecrating Bishops shall be duly satisfied.—*Times*.

At a Consistory Court held in Ripon Cathedral on March 13th, the Bishop of Ripon passed judgment on the Rev. Alexander Blair, vicar of Allerton - Bywater, Yorkshire, charged with being intoxicated while officiating at a funeral, depriving him of his vicarage and benefice and all privileges thereto belonging. This is the first case in the diocese of Ripon under the Clergy Discipline Act.

The new Vicar of St. Augustine's, the Rev. Joseph M'Cormick, has been eighteen years at Hull, but a considerable proportion of his earlier clerical career was spent in London. Having been ordained as deacon by the Bishop of London in 1858, his first curacy was at St. Peter's, Regent Square, where he remained for two years. From 1860 to 1864 he held the Rectory of Dunmore East, in the diocese of Waterford, but he returned to England in the latter year, and was for three years curate of St. Stephen's, Marylebone. In 1867 he accepted the Perpetual Curacy of St. Peter's, Deptford, which he resigned on appointment, in 1875, as Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull. He became Rural Dean of Kingston-on-Hull the same year, and in 1884 was appointed to the Prebendal Stall of South Newbold, in York Minster. He is an honorary chaplain to the Queen. Dr. M'Cormick is a warm-hearted Evangelical Churchman, a staunch supporter of missionary work at home and abroad, and a thoughtful and eloquent preacher. He will be much missed in Hull.—*Record*.

Another important London appointment has been announced this week. The vacancy caused in the Westminster Chapter by the death of Canon Rowsell has been filled by the nomination of Canon Basil Wilberforce, who has already resigned his living at St. Mary's, Southampton. He will, however, take charge of the parish of St. John's, Westminster, which has hitherto been held by Canon Furse; for, according to the words of the official announcement, "the Queen has approved the appointment of the Rev. Canon Furse to the Canonry of Westminster, vacant by the death of Canon Rowsell; and the appointment of the Rev. Basil Wilberforce to the Canonry vacated by Canon Furse, to which the living of St. John's, Westminster, is attached." Canon Wilberforce is a frequent speaker at Exeter Hall, where his fervent addresses on temperance are usually enthusiastically received. It is believed that Archdeacon Farrar is amongst the many converts he has won to the side of total abstinence. He is a High Churchman, but he has always been on the best of terms with Nonconformists, and in Mr. Spurgeon's day was some-

times heard on the platform of the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Some few years ago he became involved in a controversy with Bishop Harold Browne as to his right to attend a service at a Dissenting place of worship in his own parish and give an address.—*Record.*

The Rev. Ronald Bayne, who succeeds Canon Barnett at St. Jude's Whitechapel, has, no doubt, been chosen by the Lord Chancellor because of his perfect sympathy with the work associated with the parish. Mr. Bayne was an Exhibitor of University, Oxford, and exercised a remarkable influence for good over the men of his time. Before going to Greenwich he was one of Mr. Barnett's curates in the days when the Rev. C. L. Marson, whom he succeeded in the rectory of Orlestone, was also a curate of St. Jude's. Mr. Bayne is a son of Dr. Peter Bayne, and has himself been a considerable contributor to contemporary literature.—*Record.*

The vacant incumbency of Portman Chapel has been filled up by the appointment of the Rev. Percival Smith, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cheltenham. He is expected to begin his new work at Portman Chapel in a few weeks. Under his able ministrations Holy Trinity Church, Cheltenham, has maintained that position of deep spirituality for which it has long been renowned. All the parochial machinery has been kept up to the mark, and over £700 per annum has been sent away from the church for Home and Foreign Missions. An interesting feature of the work is the prayer-meeting in the church on Sunday evenings, in which laymen join.—*Record.*

At a meeting of the council of the Bishop of St. Albans' Fund for East London over the Border on Thursday at 28, Great George Street, Westminster, the Bishop presiding, it was announced that the income for 1893 was £11,239. There had been many more individual contributions, but fewer large gifts. After providing for the living agents up to Midsummer the general fund showed a deficiency of £3,158, and the special building fund of £1,904. It was resolved to entertain no more applications for building grants until the deficit was wiped off; and only to make additional living agency grants when a pledge of help had been given and work commenced. Two grants were made under the last head, making the annual sum required for the 114 living agents and for nineteen mission rents £9,100 a year. Canon Procter, hon. secretary, reported that, after reckoning all that had been received for 1894, there was still a deficiency of £1,948 on the general fund, and of £1,873 on the special building fund. Eleven important applications had to be deferred altogether.

Lord Grimthorpe, who spent upwards of £150,000 in the restoration of St. Albans Abbey, has undertaken the restoration of St. Peter's Church, in the same city, at a cost of £30,000. The church will be closed for twelve months to enable the work to be carried out as conveniently and rapidly as possible.

Miss Dickons, of Mansfield, has given a donation of £300 towards the erection of a new church at Mansfield, in place of the iron building known as St. Mark's.

At a meeting of the Court of Common Council it has been resolved that a *conversazione* should be given to the colonial, Indian and foreign delegates who would arrive in London next June to celebrate the jubilee of the Young Men's Christian Association; the cost of the entertainment not to exceed £1,000.