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THE  
CHURCHMAN

APRIL, 1895.

ART. I.—THE CONTINUITY OF THE ENGLISH  
CHURCH A DOCTRINAL PERPETUITY, NOT A  
MERE EXTERNAL SUCCESSION.

WE hear so much about the “continuity” of the Church, and the word has become so favourite a text in the ecclesiastical oratory of the day, that we are led to ask for a clear definition of a term which may have so many meanings, even in the minds of those who have taken it up with so much apparent unanimity, but perhaps have never agreed on a common measure for its meaning. Many interpretations of it must readily occur to every intelligent mind, for there may be (1) a continuity of corporate existence; (2) a continuity of outward organization; (3) a continuity of doctrine; (4) of sentiment; or (5) of practice; and we are therefore justified in asking the many who make it the theme of their discourse in which of these meanings they are employing the term—whether in one or more, or in all of them. Applied to the Christian Church, it is obvious that continuity may be either applied (i.) to its existence; (ii.) to its external organization; (iii.) to its doctrines; or (iv.) to its ritual and ceremonial observances.

I. Of the continuity of the existence of the Church, no doubt can arise in the minds of any believer in its Divine origin and first constitution. For it is founded in the great initiatory rite of baptism, and on the teaching of the doctrine of Christ which originally preceded, but now succeeds, that great introductory qualification for the citizenship of the kingdom of Christ upon earth. In the belief of the Church of all ages, everyone who is thus qualified forms a part of the long and unbroken succession of the Church, and here the meaning of continuity is clear, and the claim universally admitted. And it is to the Church in this sense, and in no other, that the perpetuity of the presence of Christ is promised. It is to the *ecclesia dispersa* in all its branches, as consisting

of all the baptized of every age and place, and not to a hierarchy or to any inferior organization, that our Lord uttered that supreme assurance, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The Roman and the Reformed Churches here agree, and, by their admission of their members to baptism on the profession of the Apostles' Creed, establish for ever the inalienable franchise of the kingdom, and the indissolubility of the compact made between the Church and the individual believer. It must be clear from this that the existence of the Church no more depends upon its outward organization than the existence of a nation can depend upon its constitution or government. The relation between the two is that between the *esse* and the *bene esse*—the mere existence and the organized existence. From this primary continuity no subsequent qualification or change can separate any Church or body of Christians, however called or mis-called, who belong by baptism to the Church of the first-born—and who can never, but by an open renunciation of their faith or confirmed disobedience of the commandments it enjoins, be separated from the body. Those who cut off Christians from their communion on any other grounds than these, rather excommunicate themselves than those whom they have thus severed from their membership. "What injury can it do a man" (writes St. Augustine) "if human ignorance prevents his name from being recited among the members of the Church, if his evil conscience does not blot it out from the Book of Life?"<sup>1</sup>

II. The continuity of a Church may arise out of its external organization, and its proof rest upon the uninterrupted succession of its governing or teaching body. It was to this kind of continuity that Tertullian, Irenæus, Eusebius, and other chroniclers of the episcopal succession, had regard, when they preserved for us the lists of the bishops of the greater sees up to their time. But it must not be supposed that their ultimate object was to prove this succession for its own sake. It was rather to prove that the documents of our faith had had a succession of such trustworthy custodians that neither the corrupted Gospel of Marcion, nor the many apocryphal writings of that inventive age, could claim any authority against them. The idea of an Apostolic succession, like that which has produced so many pretentious pedigrees in our own time, was far indeed from their minds, as may be clearly proved from the fourth book of the treatise of Tertullian against Marcion. In his "*De Præscr. adversus Hæreses*," he shows that not only the churches founded by the Apostles, but those which were

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. 78, "ad Clerum Hippon. Eccl."

derived from them in later times, were truly Apostolic churches *pro consanguinitate doctrinæ*; as being *in eâdem fide conspirantes*, hereby proving that the perpetuation of the same doctrine is the only real continuity, the only Apostolic succession he recognised.

It is the primary argument of the champions of the continuity of our Church, as it has been for centuries the contention of the Church of Rome, that this outward succession has never been broken. But in neither Church can we see the slightest proofs of this boasted continuity. In the Roman Church, of which we were a collateral branch, the succession has been broken up by countless interruptions and intrusions, by innumerable schisms—by many a long interregnum, and by irregularities which in any other case would have made the succession altogether illegitimate. More fatally still has the universal simony which prevailed throughout Europe, and which that much misunderstood Pope, Gregory VII., strove in vain to remedy, rendered the whole succession rather a representation of Simon Magus than of Simon Peter. But we need not fall back upon the pre-Reformation history to show the gaps and breaks which the Roman Pontificate discloses throughout its long history. We pass on to the claim to continuity which is advanced for our own Church, and are bound on every testimony of history to admit that the so-called episcopal succession is fatally broken up, through the political changes and the arbitrary acts of the civil power, which rendered the history of our Church a kind of miniature representation of the Eastern Church in the days when bishops were possessed and dispossessed and again repossessed of their sees, and when the episcopate was a kind of appanage of the Empire. During such periods of usurpation, and often anarchy, there was certainly a continuity of the Church, but it was carried on by the *ecclesia dispersa*, and not by the episcopal succession, which was broken and dislocated in every joint.

To come to the Reformation period, can we honestly affirm that there was continuity in the successive breaks that our Church experienced from the days of Henry VIII. until the final settlement of Elizabeth? The question of the unbroken links of the ordination of the episcopate, which has evoked so earnest and so fruitless a controversy, must ever be regarded as secondary to that of the successive intrusion of bishops, and exile of their predecessors, which certainly, in earlier days, would have been regarded as constituting a fatal break in the succession. For, as St. Chrysostom declares in his discourse on St. Athanasius, "Not he who is forcibly intruded, but he who is forcibly ejected, is the true successor." Nor does he

recognise any true succession but by the suffrages of the whole people, which neither the intruder nor the ejected ever had.

Fortunately, in the midst of all this conflict and confusion, the foundation of the Church remained still—the continuity of the body was preserved in its original incorporation—the baptized and the professed yet remained. To assume that a perfect unity could exist between Cranmer and Warham, or (which marks a greater contrast) between Cranmer and Archbishop Arundel or Cardinals Bouchier or Morton, is so great an absurdity as at once to make the theory of a continuity impossible. Father Hudleston said rather shrewdly, "They must show their own cards, and not ours, if they would win the game." The pre-Reformation bishops belonged certainly to their pack, and not to ours. We have (as Montalembert observes) a wonderful power in moulding the past so as to suit the present, and, while repudiating the Papal authority, to live among the records of it as though they were in exact correspondence with our own practice—and he instances the carrying on of our ritual in Canterbury Cathedral amid all the traditions and monuments of the Papal reign. It is well that we have such a facility of adaptation, and are not too logical in carrying out the principle of an unbroken continuity.

Arguments have been deduced from the ready acceptance by the clergy and the people of the sudden changes of rulers and of doctrines which occurred at this period of confusion. But this is a sad and humiliating fact, which proves that the doctrinal continuity was broken again and again in order to prevent the loss of the temporalities, whose value appears to have greatly outweighed any spiritual consideration. Perhaps, however, the clergy who took these changes so easily were content to accept the doctrine of the continuity of the Church in its earliest sense, and to have the profession of a simpler form of Christianity secured to them, although its forms of expression were new and unwelcome. For it cannot be denied that the "new learning" did not find favour among the humbler classes, for even the irresistible power of the nobility, who profited so much by the change, was unable to prevent the "Pilgrimage of Grace" or the more serious rebellion in Yorkshire. Where, then, is the boasted continuity in the sense in which it is now so loudly claimed? Where is the unbroken succession, with all its well-joined links? That our Church came forth from the terrible conflict in safety and strength was the sole work of a wonderful Providence, and she need have no desire to look back upon scenes of so much horror, or to trace her succession through a series of crimes and a period of anarchical cruelty, or rather autocratical tyranny. There was indeed "a succession from darkness to light, from disease to

health, from a storm to a calm, from madness to sanity," to use the figurative language of St. Gregory Nazianzene; but that there was a peaceful and legitimate succession from one bishop to another no reader of history can venture to affirm.

III. But far more important questions arise from our third proposition. Was there a continuity of doctrine and teaching? If we admit that there was, we do away with the very *raison d'être* of the Reformation. It is safer to prove too little than to prove too much. For it may well be asked, Why, if our doctrines were identical with those which the pre-Reformation Church had held, did we sever ourselves from Rome, constituting ourselves a National Church, and, exercising the full rights of such a Church, set forth a body of doctrine not only different from the teachings of Rome, but diametrically opposed to them? To prove our continuity of doctrine with the pre-Reformation Church, we must reconcile the Articles of our Church with the Canons of the Council of Trent, which, though not altogether representative of the earlier Anglican doctrine, from which they swerve in many important particulars, yet exhibit to us a doctrine altogether irreconcilable with that of the Church of the Reformation. We rather see here a continuity of contrasts than of connections. We do not for a moment deny that had the Church of Rome of the Reformation period maintained the doctrines which she taught our forefathers in the day of their conversion, there would have been little reason for so complete a doctrinal severance. For in the authentic writings of Gregory the Great there is not a single doctrine which the Reformed Church of England has not religiously preserved, and there is not a vestige of those doctrines which now separate us. Transubstantiation has in them no place, and Mariolatry not a shadow of existence; the Scriptures are made supreme and exclusive, the extravagant claims of the Papacy are emphatically denounced. But this only proves that the continuity of doctrine was broken in a much earlier day, and broken once more when we returned to the teaching of the Roman Church in a better day. But wherever, or whenever, the links were broken, the continuity was broken with them. But the stones of the spiritual building (as Milton writes) may be contiguous without being continuous, and the continuity of the Church itself is not destroyed if the preservation of vital and essential truths is maintained, and the corporate existence of the body as it was formed by our Lord Himself remains inviolate. At one point, however, there was at the Reformation a breaking off from the Anglo-Saxon Church, if not also from the Church of the Norman period; and this was in the doctrine of the Divine authority of the Papacy, which was assumed to be involved in

the Petrine privilege. This doctrine, until the new learning of the Reformation, founded upon the teaching of the great synods and divines of the fifteenth century, had exposed the frauds and fictions upon which it rested, was regarded as a fundamental truth of Christianity. We trace it throughout the Anglo-Saxon charters, in which it has a conspicuous place in the motives and conditions alleged by the donors. Nor are we without proofs that other doctrines and practices, disused and disallowed at the Reformation, were held as matters of faith by our Saxon ancestors, among them the legend of the Assumption and of votive Masses for the living and the dead, which were ruthlessly confiscated for the benefit of a corrupt court. In any case, we cannot on historical grounds allege that there was a doctrinal continuity, though there might be an affinity, or (as divines phrase it) a consanguinity of doctrine and practice. A simple test of this continuity may be found in the question whether, on doctrinal grounds alone, apart from the vexed question of legitimate ordination, the cardinals and bishops of the pre-Reformation period would have recognised their successors as anything but heretical intruders. I once put this question in a direct form to the late learned and lamented Bishop Harold Browne, who held a high doctrine in regard to the continuity of the Church, and asked him whether he really thought that Cardinal Beaufort would have recognised him as his successor either in orders or in doctrine. To assert that the Church passed on unchanged through all the strange vicissitudes which it witnessed, which were as sudden as they were violent, is to assume what is not only incredible in itself, but a negation of all historical records and facts.

IV. From the question of doctrinal continuity we pass on to that of continuity of ritual and ceremonial observances, and all that constitutes the outward apparel of doctrine in public and private worship. Here we are bound to confess that there was a break in the continuity, and that, although our new services were founded on the ancient offices, the morning and evening prayers on the Breviary and our Communion Service on the Missal, the sacrificial idea was altogether eliminated from them, and all the occasional and festival offices so completely retrenched as to leave but few traces of them in the new ritual. Nor were the baptismal and ordination services without sufficient alteration to show that there was a break in the continuity, and that, though the new services more nearly resembled the primitive ones than the older ones, they could hardly be said to represent the mediæval Christianity of the pre-Reformation period. The commemoration of the saints and of the faithful departed, the offering of the elements as an oblation—these and other features of the service were

removed, though the consecration by the mere recital of the words of the institution, which had so greatly promoted the idea of a corporal change, was unfortunately preserved, instead of being superseded by the *ἐπίκλησις*, or invocation of the Holy Spirit, that sublime feature of all the Eastern liturgies. But we may well be thankful that, at a period in which liturgical history was so little known, and even the ritualists of the Western Church — Walafridus Strabo, Amalarius, Alcuinus, Isidore of Seville, Rupertus, Radulfus, and many other writers on the subject—were so little studied, we have so beautiful and simple a ritual, in which every necessary element of our worship is presented to us in language of unique and classic beauty, which has never been equalled in any other devotional work in our language. We have no need, therefore, to insist on the perfect continuity of our Church in its ritual features with the pre-Reformation Church, and still less desire to change its simple beauties for the more gorgeous and elaborate ritual which it superseded. We may say of these — “*Speciosiora nova non meliora.*” The Gregorian Sacramentary remains for us as a venerable monument of the past, and as a constant witness against the changes of doctrine which succeeded its compilation. Its sacred character has preserved it from the innovations of a later day, and every one of its prayers is a protest against transubstantiation, the denial of the cup to the laity, purgatory, and Mariolatry — as has been pointed out from the time of Berengarius to our own day, and can be distinctly proved by the ritual writers whom we have referred to. I entered upon this subject once with my learned acquaintance, the late Canon Rock, and undertook to prove from the Canon of the Mass and the ancient ritualists the novelty of the distinctive doctrines of Rome.

Enough has been said to show that our Church can claim that kind of continuity with the Church of every age which arises from the “one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all” (Eph. iv. 5); but that the constant breaks in its outward organization and structure have rendered the claim of a perfect continuity in this sense unhistorical and wholly inadmissible; that, unless we regard the history of the Reformation as a myth, we must admit that the continuity of doctrinal teaching and ritual practice was as completely broken as was the outward succession by the violent ejections and intrusions which succeeded one another from one reign to another during the Reformation period, and whose links not the most legal proof of a succession by the mere laying on of hands can repair.

Let us, then, cease to boast of such a continuity with the pre-Reformation Church, as would justify the Romanists in



their assertion that the Reformation was unnecessary, and that the Church needed no such stringent remedies to restore it to its first estate. Let us look fully and fairly into the face of history, and recognise its true features without attempting to distort them for controversial purposes. Above all, let us repudiate that fatal habit of self-adulation which has always been the bane of our Church, and which claims for it the self-acquired titles of "pure" and "Apostolic," and which has led us too often to look upon every other of the Churches of the Reformation (not to speak of the Nonconformist Churches of our own land) with the same superciliousness with which the Roman Church regards our own. Let us rather give "good proof of our ministry" than doubtful proofs of our succession.

Of the great Athanasius, Nazianzene has well said, "Though he was farthest from St. Mark in his presidential office, he was nearest to him in piety. For he who holds the same doctrine has also the same chair, while he who holds a contrary doctrine has a contrary chair."<sup>1</sup> This succession of piety and faith we may well claim for our Church from the days of the Reformation till our own. It is the highest succession—it is the best kind of continuity. For it is that kind of continuity which the primitive Church found sufficient for all its needs—when the first disciples "continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers" (Acts ii. 42).

ROBERT C. JENKINS.



## ART. II.—CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM.

God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken to us in His Son, whom He appointed heir of all things, through whom also He made the worlds; who being the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high (Heb. i. 1-3).

WHEN the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, the Temple was still standing, the morning and evening sacrifices were still offered, the magnificent ritual of the stately fabric was still observed with dazzling splendour. The Levitical dispensation had been established amidst remarkable manifestations of Divine power, by the ministration of angels and by the miraculous agency of Moses. Judaism had all the attractions which an ancient faith ever inspires. The Christian Jews resident in Jerusalem did not understand that their disciple-

<sup>1</sup> Naz., Orat. xxi.

ship meant separation from the ceremonial law. The orthodox Jew did not cease to be either a Jew or orthodox because he had been baptized into the name of Jesus Christ. It is somewhat difficult for Christians of this age to realize, that the Apostles James, Peter, and John observed the law of Moses, regularly attended the Temple services, joined in its ritual, and in every respect identified themselves with the nation and her hope. The position of these converts was analogous to that of many Englishmen before the Reformation, who found Christ in the Scriptures, and yet who never dreamed of separation from the Church to which they belonged. More than one of the Reformers in England and elsewhere, in the early days of their enlightenment, preached the finished work of Christ in the pulpit or in the market-place, and then celebrated the Mass. "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law." These Hebrew Christians did not perceive the difference between the transitory nature of the ceremonial law and the abiding character of the truth which lay beneath it—the distinction between "the shadow of things to come" and "the body," which "is of Christ." This position was a danger to many of those to whom this epistle was addressed. Their faith in their absent and unseen Saviour was becoming dimmed and clouded; things spiritual were obscured by things material; the means overshadowed the end. Hence, the main object of this epistle is to show the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, and that, so far from the Gospel being at variance with the Levitical law, the Gospel is the consummation of the law. This epistle is a prolonged demonstration that the old and new covenants stand to each other in the same relations as the shadow to the substance, the type to the reality. We who live in this generation can understand from the analogy of Nature that as the higher species are already typified in a lower stage of development, so, in the domain of revelation, the highest is not only prepared for, but is shadowed forth, by that which precedes in lower spheres.

There was another reason for the appearance of this epistle. It was a time of persecution. The Church of Christ in Jerusalem had just lost her chief pastor, her Apostle and Bishop, St. James, by a violent death. At the death of Festus, A.D. 63, Ananias, who favoured the Sadducees, persecuted the disciples who proclaimed the resurrection of Christ as transgressors of the law. Their goods were confiscated, many were stoned, and all were banished from the Temple courts, from altar and from sacrifice. "It was not wonderful that the Jewish Christians were dismayed at the prospect of being excluded by their

unconverted countrymen from the Temple they so dearly loved, that they gradually began to drift back to Judaism, that their passionate love of their country and of its magnificent traditions began to overpower their loyalty to their crucified King" (Dale, "Jewish Temple and Christian Church," p. 12). The time had come to proclaim to the Hebrew Christians the transitory nature of the Levitical institutions, and to draw their attention from that which was material to that which is spiritual, to the heavenly sanctuary, to the sacrifice once offered, and to the one Priest—the "Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." Whilst the author of this epistle shows that the ceremonial law was, in its nature and constitution, transitory and perishable, he at the same time proves that it prefigured that which could not pass away and fade. The types were shadows of things to come, whose glory all along had been that they were the forecasts of the substance which they foreshadowed. I will illustrate this transitory nature of the ceremonial law and the abiding truth which lay behind it from Schiller's celebrated "Song of the Bell." I give Mr. Arnold Forster's recent translation :

Come now, smash the outer shell,  
 For its purpose is achieved,  
 That our hearts and eyes may dwell  
 On the form therein conceived ;  
 Ere our bell we can unfold,  
 We must sacrifice the mould.

Ere a year or two had passed, the destruction of the Temple and the removal of their ecclesiastical and civil polity caused these Hebrew Christians to understand what St. Stephen's apology before the Sanhedrim clearly indicated—that if the sweet silver bell of the Gospel was to sound throughout the world, the mould in which it was cast must be broken ; in other words, that the ceremonial law must be abrogated. The shell and husk in which the precious kernel was hidden must fall away, in order that the kernel—Christ—may be presented clearly to the eyes of men. Not one stone of the Temple was to be left on another, that men coming unto Christ, "the living stone," might, as "lively stones," be "built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ."

To give one single instance of the argument of this epistle : The Hebrews regarded with devotion the provisions made by the law for dealing with the pollution of sin. The author shows that real purification cannot be gained by any sacrifices of "bulls and goats," but only through the offering of the blood of Christ, and that the absolute perfection of this one offering abrogates and annuls every other sacrifice. If this

epistle had been more carefully studied by the clergy in the past, and if its aspects of revealed truth had been more clearly proclaimed in the pulpit, we should not have had such a revival of mediæval error in this generation.

I must at once ask you to consider the verses at the head of this paper. They are the keynote of the subsequent epistle, its epitome and compendium. The arguments which follow are but the prolonged echoes of its opening strain. These verses contain two main divisions of thought :

- I. A contrast between the Old Revelation and the New.
- II. The nature and work of the Son of God.

#### I. A CONTRAST BETWEEN THE OLD REVELATION AND THE NEW.

Bishop Westcott writes: "The contrast between the Old Revelation and the New is marked in three particulars. There is a contrast (*a*) in the method, and (*b*) in the time, and (*c*) in the agents of the two revelations." "God, having of old time spoken to the fathers in the prophets, in many portions and in divers manners, hath spoken in these last days in His Son." The law of progression, which is stamped on creation, seen in God's providential government of the world, and experienced in the work of the Spirit in the individual soul, is clearly evidenced in Divine revelation. God did not at once open up the fulness of His mind, and unfold to view the treasures of His grace. His revelation was given "piecemeal"—in numerous portions (*πολυμερῶς*). Each fragment was in advance of that which went before.

I would observe, in passing, that if the researches of the higher critics prove that the writers of the historical books are largely compilers or editors of existing archives or records, rather than original authors, they will only illustrate more distinctly the meaning of *πολυμερῶς*—"many fragments." I must add my deep conviction that each portion was chosen under "selective inspiration," and that each writer, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, was preserved from error and was influenced in the selection of those portions which bore on the religious history of mankind. I can only allude to the "many methods"—as Wycliffe translates *πολυτροπῶς*, the "many manners"—in which Old Testament revelation was given. I do not think that the "many ways," as Tyndale translates the word, refer to the various modes in which God communicated His mind, by dreams and visions, etc., but they indicate the "various forms which the subject-matter of the communications was made to assume." There were types and predictions, psalms and songs, parables and proverbs. There were commandments and promises. There was history. Two-

thirds of the Old Testament are purely historical. The word "prophets" in the verse which we are considering implied not so much those who predicted the future, as God's commissioned messengers, who revealed His will. "The title 'prophet' is used in the widest sense, as it is applied to Abraham (Gen. xx. 7), to Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 10; compare xviii. 18), to David (Acts ii. 30), and generally to those inspired by God (Ps. cv. 15)."<sup>1</sup> These prophets were inspired by God, whether the matter of the communication referred to the past, the present, or the future. "God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets which have been since the world began" (Acts iii. 21).

The contrast between the voice of God in and through "the prophets long ago" and "in the Son at the latter part of these days" is one of degree, and not of kind. The New Revelation is a continuation of the Old. God is the Author of both. The moon and stars which shine by night are as much instances of creative skill as the sun in its noontide splendour. The revelation of light is fuller in the one case than in the other, and yet the light is of the same nature and kind. "The voice has never been broken, the accents have never been interrupted; there has simply been a change in tone and modulation, as the ear of the listener developed from the organ of a child into the sense of a mature man."<sup>2</sup> The subject of both Testaments is the same. The "testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." In the well-known words of Augustine: "Non vetere Testamento Novum latet, in Novo Vetus patet"—the New Testament is enfolded in the Old, and the Old Testament is unfolded in the New; or, as Hooker puts it: "What is the law but the gospel foreshadowed? what the gospel but the law fulfilled?"

"God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son." The same voice spoke in both; but in the utterances of the prophets there were but partial gleams, glances, aspects, and scattered fragments of revelation. In the Son there was unparalleled fulness. This stage of revelation is in vast advance of earlier stages of Divine communications. The writer proceeds to mention the various points in which the voice of God in Christianity is distinguished from His voice in Judaism. "God manifest in the flesh" is the keynote of the New Testament dispensation. Christ is the supreme revelation. He is essentially related both to God and man. "By virtue of His

<sup>1</sup> "The Epistle to the Hebrews," Westcott, *in loco*.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositor*, vol. x., p. 276.

transcendental relations, He has the consciousness which qualifies Him to deliver the Divine testimony to the Divine; by virtue of His being in history and within the terms of our experience, He has the generic or racial consciousness which enables Him to deliver His message to man. . . . The interpretation of God in the terms of the consciousness of Christ may thus be described as the distinctive and differentiating doctrine of the Christian religion."<sup>1</sup> In this fact, says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the New Dispensation far excels the Old. The "prophets were merely the organs through which the heavenly inspiration breathed; Christ was Himself the breath of inspiration." He was the Word, the articulate expression of the mind and heart of God to the human race. He was the "faithful and true witness"—the ultimate revelation of the Father. "No man knoweth the Father but the Son. No man hath seen the Father. The only-begotten Son, He hath declared Him." In Him, the God-man, "the divers portions," which were partial and fragmentary in the Old Testament revelation, received their unity; the scattered rays were gathered into one source of light. In Him, the Son, the "divers manners"—the heterogeneous revelation "in the prophets," became homogeneous. "The perfect manifestation takes up into itself the broken and imperfect voices. The dream fades in the reality, the vision melts in the tangible image, the type is lost in the antitype, the historical event is merged in One who professes to be the source of all history."<sup>2</sup> The prophets were the chords through which the heavenly music sounded; the incarnate Son of God was the complete instrument which gave to man the perfect melody of heaven. "Every prophet added his own touch to the glorious picture of the days of the New Covenant, until, after sufficient elaboration of the main figure, the painters all withdrew, and let fall the curtain for awhile. The Person is already depicted, who shall raise this curtain again, and with His own hand trace for His contemporaries the fulfilment of the prophecy."<sup>3</sup> The Son of God unites in Himself the whole of God's revelation.

## II. THE NATURE AND WORK OF THE SON OF GOD.

I can only comment on the grand sentences, "Who being the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of its substance," with great brevity. Dr. Newman, in his "Arians," says that the word "effulgence" expresses "the essentially

<sup>1</sup> "Christ in Modern Theology," by Dr. Fairbairn.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositor*, vol. x., p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Van Oosterzee, "The Image of Christ," p. 104.

ministrative character of the person of the Son." Dr. Owen writes: "The words denote the Divine nature of Christ; yet not absolutely, but as God the Father in Him doth manifest Himself to us." A luminous body is perceived by the splendour which streams forth from it. The Son is "the brightness of the Father's glory." The word *ἀπαύγασμα* is equivalent to the expression "Light of Light" of the Nicene Creed. It affirms the co-eternity of the Son with the Father, and asserts that He is "the everlasting Son of the Father, as the ray of light from the sun is coetaneous with the sun from which it flows by a natural process."<sup>1</sup> He is "the very image of His substance," *i.e.*, of His essential nature. The Son of God is not merely the "bright effulgence"<sup>2</sup> of His Father's glory, but the "image of His essence," which is eternal, invisible, and Divine. The glory of the Father is invisible to us until it shines in Christ. The Father's "substance" is hidden until it is impressed in the image of His Son. "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father." "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." Why this magnificent assertion of the Deity of Christ as a prelude to the words which follow: "When He had by Himself purged our sins"? Behold the perfection of the sacrifice in the infinite dignity of the Incarnate Son!

The verse which we are now considering is an epitome of the first two chapters of this epistle. The first chapter is one continued argument for the Deity of Christ; the second chapter for His humanity; and then in the first verse of the third chapter the writer bids us consider how by reason of His twofold nature He is fitted to be the "High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus." He is human, and can suffer in the same nature that sinned. He is Divine, and therefore He is able to meet the requirements of a law promulgated by an infinite Being, and to offer a sacrifice of an infinite value. Christ, in His twofold nature, is a bridge which spans the abyss which separates a holy God from sinful man. The ultimate reason for the Incarnation is to be found in the sin of man. The effulgence of "God's glory" and "the very image of His substance" in our nature "put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." He "Himself purged our sins." In this passage we are standing on the mountain-summit of the Incarnation, and we see around us seven mighty peaks in this Alpine region of thought. Let us gaze upon the first group of four. (1) The God-man is the end of all history. He "is appointed

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Wordsworth's Commentary, *in loco*.

<sup>2</sup> "Bright effluence of bright essence, increate" ("Paradise Lost," iii. 6).

heir of all things." (2) He is the beginning of all history. In Him and for Him God made the world—the ages—all that exists and moves in time. He is the spring from which all the streams of time have risen, as well as the sea into which they flow. He is the final cause of all human life. He is not only the goal of Judaism, but the climax of the world's history. (3) He is before all history. He is from everlasting, "the brightness of God's glory, the express image of His person." The Son is co-eternal with the Father. In "order to the being of a Son there must be a Father; but it is no less true that in order to the being of a Father there must be a Son. Fatherhood is no older than sonship; the one is only as the other is."<sup>1</sup> (4) He is throughout all history. He "upholdeth all things by the word of His power." I ask you to turn to the second group of three, and see how the Deity of Christ is allied with his offices of Prophet, Priest, and King:

(1) Prophet—God "hath in these last days spoken in His Son."

(2) Priest—"The brightness of His glory," etc., hath "made purification of sins."

(3) King—He "sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."

There are recesses in these lofty peaks into which no human glance can penetrate, and of which no human tongue can bring us information; but from these mountain heights, the silent mysteries of eternity, there flow streams of salvation which have irrigated and refreshed and fertilized the Church in every age, satisfied the thirst of individual souls, and the requirements of the highest and noblest intellects of the human race. The God-man, the Divine Priest, hath "purged our sins." Why, again I ask, this proclamation of Divine Majesty? Why did Christ Himself say, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and no man knoweth the Son but the Father. All things are given into His hands"? Why this proclamation of Divine authority over all creation? Only that He may give force to those matchless words of infinite pity: "Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest."<sup>2</sup> As in the passage before us we contemplate the Deity of the Priest, we understand why His sacrifice was "offered once for all"—why upon the cross He "made an end of sin." The Church is purchased by the blood of Him who is God. I ask you to draw one or two deductions from the words which I have so imperfectly considered.

(1) Since Christ was God, His sacrifice was one of infinite value. The sacrifice of our Saviour was either finite or

<sup>1</sup> Fairbairn's "Christ in Modern Theology," p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Saphir, "Lectures on the Hebrews," p. 68.



infinite; if it be infinite, there can be no necessity for repetition; if it were not infinite, then no repetition can make it so, for no number of finites can make an infinite. The Church of Rome, however, allows that the sacrifice of the cross was of infinite value, because offered by an infinite person. The doctrine of the Mass, apart from its blasphemy, is the most illogical which the human mind can conceive.

(2) Christ by the sacrifice of Himself "once offered" "made purification of sins." In virtue of this sacrifice, He is able, having entered into the heavenly sanctuary, to "make propitiation for the sins of the people" (ii. 17).<sup>1</sup> Under the law the high priest stood ministering; "it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin." When our High Priest entered the Holiest and presented the blood, He "sat down." The work was done—atonement was made: "it is finished." He "sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high."

(3) On the Day of Atonement, whilst the high priest was in the sanctuary, no other priest could minister. No other sacrifice could be offered. He was alone. The God-man by "Himself purged our sins." He is interceding within the veil, pleading the merits of His atoning blood. Has He come out? No! He is a "Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." "He ever liveth to make intercession for us." Until He come out, no other sacrificial priest can minister either in the holy place of the Church or in the outer court of the world.

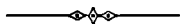
(4) Once more. This verse tells us that the body of Christ is at the right hand of God in heaven, and therefore not on earth. In the words of our Book of Common Prayer, "The natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one." There is a "real presence" on earth, to quote the words of Hooker. The "real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament."

I must conclude. Let us look up to the heavenly sanctuary!

<sup>1</sup> The author of this Epistle, when treating of Christ's sacrifice and its effects, uses the phraseology of the LXX. respecting the legal sacrifices. The Hebrew *Copher*, which signifies *atonement*, is sometimes translated *καθαρισμος*—that is, *purification* or *cleansing*, as in Exod. xxix. 36; xxx. 10. The verb *καθαριζω* is frequently used of the act of making atonement (Exod. xxix. 37; xxx. 10; Lev. ix. 15). It is also used to express the effect of this action in cleansing from the guilt of sin (Lev. xvi. 30). For use of verb, see Heb. ix. 22. That the word "purged," or "made purification," signifies cleansing of sins by *expiatory* sacrifice is evident, (1) because this purification is represented as effected by Christ without us, (2) because it was effected at once before He sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.

Behold the Prophet. The Father speaks. "This is My beloved Son; hear Him." With reverence we cry, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life!" Behold the Priest. "If any man hath sinned, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Behold the King—"the Priest upon the throne." See in Him the final triumph of redeemed humanity. In His kingdom every subject shall be a brother, a priest and a king unto God. Evangelical religion can never die so long as it honours the Holy Ghost in His word, and exalts the God-man in His offices of Prophet, Priest and King. The crucified and glorified Saviour is still a living and active agent in the affairs of time. For Him God "made the ages." He watches with intensest interest the fortunes of His Church. Let us, then, with St. Paul commit to Him the deposit—the deposit which the great Apostle committed to Timothy, *i.e.*, the Gospel in its integrity, which on the one hand belongs to us, the commissioned officers of Christ, to keep and guard from error and abuse, but which on the other none can keep and preserve but He who first revealed it—the Incarnate Son—the crucified, risen, and now glorified Head of the Church. "He upholdeth all things by the word of His power."

J. W. BARDSLEY.



### ART. III.—THE ORIGIN OF GENESIS I. TO IX.

#### PART I.

THE knowledge which we now have that the Book of Genesis is essentially a compilation; that it is, to a large extent, composed of documents, some of which are older, by several centuries, than the time of Moses, so far from shaking, increases, if possible, our belief in its Divine origin. Just as the fact that the Bible is a library of books, written by a great variety of authors over a period of some two thousand years, increases our admiration for it as the One Book of God, so should the discovery of a similar state of things with regard to the Pentateuch have the same effect upon us. The same may be said of the Book of Psalms, and, to some extent, of St. Luke's Gospel also. Nor need we wonder if some other prophet, when transcribing the Pentateuch centuries after the age of Moses, added somewhat to it. "The statement, for instance, in Gen. xxxv. 31, that 'these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' shows that it could not have been

incorporated into the Book of Genesis until after the rise of the Israelitish monarchy."<sup>1</sup>

Not many years ago critics were led to disbelieve in the possibility of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch by the conviction of the modernness of the application of writing to literature in the true sense of the word. They thought that literature, as such, had no existence before the age of Solon, or even of the Persian wars. It therefore became impossible to conceive of a Samuel, or still less of a Moses, sitting down to compose a history, or a code of laws. It was known that the Hebrews used a form of the Phœnician alphabet, and that no inscription in that alphabet had been found which went back even to so early a date as the time of Solomon. The angular shape of the letters also indicated that they were used only for inscription on stone, metal, or wood; the invention of letters composed of curves, for writing on parchment or papyrus, was supposed to have been of a still later date.

This theory was first shaken, we believe, by the discovery of a Jewish inscription, probably of the reign of Ahab or Hezekiah, the letters of which, though engraved on stone, nevertheless have round, instead of square, angles. Thus the oldest Hebrew inscription yet discovered indicates the employment of alphabetic writing for literary, and not for monumental, purposes in the age of the kings.

Other discoveries made later on have scattered this theory to the winds, and proved that the opposite of the statement of the critics is the case. We refer the reader to "The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments" of Professor Sayce, page 39, for the wonderful account of the literature of the Sabeans and the Mæans of Yemen and Hadhramaut. The professor states that, "in days which, if Dr. Glaser is right, were contemporaneous with the Exodus of Israel, Ma'in was a cultured and prosperous realm, the mart and centre of the spice merchants of the East, whose kings founded settlements on the frontiers of Edom, and whose people practised the art of alphabetic writing."

A new light has also been cast on the history of the Phœnician alphabet by the discovery of the written monuments of these ancient kingdoms of Saba and Ma'in. That alphabet can no longer be regarded as the mother-alphabet, but becomes the daughter of an older one. Philologists had long asserted that all the Semitic languages once possessed certain sounds which were subsequently lost in the dialects of Canaan, and accordingly have no symbols to represent them in the Phœnician alphabet. The symbols which represent these

<sup>1</sup> "The Higher Criticism and the Monuments," by Professor A. W. Sayce.

sounds have now been found in the written monuments of Saba and Ma'in. Again, every Phœnician letter had a name—the name of the first meaning "ox," the second "house," the third "camel," the fourth "door," and so on. Our word alphabet is a combination of the first two letters in a Greek dress. In most instances the names bear little or no resemblance to the earliest forms yet discovered of the Phœnician letters. "No amount of ingenuity, for instance, has been able to find any plausible resemblance between the earliest forms of the letters *k* or *n*, and the meaning of their names—*kaph*, 'the palm of the hand,' and *nun*, 'a fish.' But when we turn to the symbols as they appear on the monuments of Ma'in, the riddle is frequently solved, and we begin to understand why the inhabitants of Palestine gave the names they did to the letters they had borrowed from the merchants of Arabia."

But a still later discovery has carried back the history of Oriental civilization and literature to an age older even than that of the realms of Saba and Ma'in. This "discovery, made in Egypt in 1887, has revolutionized all our conceptions of ancient Oriental life and history, and has proved that the populations of Western Asia in the age of Moses were as highly cultured and literary as the populations of Western Europe in the age of the Renaissance." It has also enabled us to trace the origin of the oldest documents contained in the Book of Genesis to the land in which they had their birth, and, with a great degree of probability, to their author. This discovery was that of the cuneiform tablets of Tel-el-Amarna, by Dr. Flinders Petrie.

Tel-el-Amarna is situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, about midway between the towns of Minieh and Assiout. Amenophis IV., the last Pharaoh of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, being, on his mother's side, the grandson of a king of the country called Naharana by the Egyptians, and Aram-Naharaim in the Old Testament, was not only half an Asiatic by blood, but half an Asiatic also in religion. Amenophis forsook the worship of the gods of Egypt—in part, at least—and paid special homage to Aten, "the solar disc," the supreme Baal of the Semitic peoples of Asia, and changed his own name to Khu-n-Aten, "the glory of the solar disc." On his endeavouring to force the new creed on his unwilling subjects, the powerful hierarchy of Thebes proved too strong even for the Pharaoh, so he left the capital of his fathers, and built himself a new capital at the spot where Tel-el-Amarna now stands.

"On his departure from Thebes, Khu-n-Aten carried with him the official correspondence received by his father and

himself. It consisted of letters from the kings of Babylonia and Assyria, of Mesopotamia, Kappadokia, and Northern Syria, as well as from the Egyptian governors and protected princes in Palestine and the adjoining countries. It is this correspondence which has been discovered at Tel-el-Amarna, and its contents are of the most unexpected character."

The language of almost all the letters is Babylonian, and they are all written on clay in the cuneiform characters of Babylon. In two or three instances only does the writer use his own language, but even then the same characters are used. Strangest of all, not once is the Egyptian language or script employed. "The fact is at once startling and novel. It proves that in the century before the Exodus the Babylonian language was the common medium of literary intercourse throughout the civilized East, from the banks of the Nile to those of the Tigris and Euphrates; and that the complicated syllabary of Babylonia was taught and learned throughout the whole extent of Western Asia.

"It was difficult enough for the foreigner to learn the language, but far more difficult to master the cuneiform system of writing, which, as we have seen, the writers use even when they write in their own tongue. The cuneiform syllabary contains nearly five hundred different characters, each of which has at least two different phonetic values; in addition to which, each character may be used ideographically to denote an object or an idea. But this is not all. The cuneiform script was invented by the primitive population of Chaldea, who spoke, not a Semitic, but an agglutinative language, and, in passing to the Semitic Babylonians, not only did the pre-Semitic words, denoted by the single characters, become phonetic values, but words denoted by two or more characters became compound ideographs—the characters in combination representing a Semitic word, the syllables of which had no relation whatever to the phonetic values of the separate characters which composed it. It thus became necessary for the learner, not only to commit to memory the actual syllabary, but also the hundreds of compound ideographs which existed by the side of it. When we further remember that the cuneiform characters are not pictorial, and that their shape, therefore, unlike the Egyptian hieroglyphics, offers nothing to assist the memory, we shall begin to understand what a labour it must have been to learn them, and, consequently, to what a wide extension of knowledge and literary activity the letters of Tel-el-Amarna testify."

A considerable portion of the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna were sent from Palestine and Phœnicia. Canaan was, in fact, a centre of the correspondence which was going on with the

Egyptian court in the reign of Khu-n-Aten. Letters are dated from Lachish, Jerusalem, Gaza of the Philistines, Gaza near Shechem, Megiddo, and Bashan. There are others from the cities of Phœnicia, Gebal, Zemar, Tyre, and Sidon.

What a light does this throw on the meaning of several names of places which we find in the Old Testament. As, for instance, Kirjath-Sephar, "the city of books"; Kirjath-sannah, "the city of instruction"; Debir, "the oracle"; Nebo, "the Prophet," or "the speaker," etc.

But, above all, the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna reveal to us an almost perfect harmony existing between the history of the earliest Oriental civilization and literature and the earliest documents contained in the Book of Genesis. And this harmony becomes more manifest when we add to them the accounts of the beginnings of all things which are found in the cuneiform tablets of Babylon and Assyria. First of all, both accounts agree in tracing the origin of the civilization and literature of Canaan to Babylon. In Gen. xi. we read that the descendants of Noah journeyed eastward, and found a plain in the land of Shinar (or Babylonia), and dwelt there. And, later on, God called Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees, and brought him into the land of Canaan, and gave it to him and to his seed after him for a possession.

"Ur," says Professor Sayce, "or Uru, 'the city,' of the cuneiform texts, is now represented by the mounds of Mugheir, on the banks of the Euphrates," to the south of Babylon. "While Ur was a city of the Babylonians, Haran, where Terah died, lay far away in the north, in Mesopotamia. But it had been connected from a remote epoch with Babylonia, and its temple was dedicated to the Babylonian Moon-god, like the temple of Ur. Between Ur and Haran there was a natural connection, and a native of Ur would have found himself more at home in Haran than in any other city in the world." So much for the land in which we are to look for the origin of the earliest documents of the Bible.

The two systems of cult and culture, then, which had such an influence for good and evil upon Palestine had both of them the same land as their birthplace. Accordingly, the cuneiform tablets of Babylonia and Assyria contain just such a resemblance to the opening chapters of the Bible as we should expect to find in them. In both we find accounts of the Creation, the Sabbath, and the Flood. And in all three there are so many points of resemblance as to indicate that they must have had a common origin. The resemblances and differences between the Biblical and Babylonian accounts of the Creation are alike striking.

## 1. THE CREATION.

The very first words of the Biblical account "contain a negation of hero-worship, star-worship, animal-worship, and every other form of idolatry. They still more emphatically deny atheism and materialism, and point upwards from nature to its spiritual Creator, the Omnipotent, the Eternal, the Self-existing, the All-pervading, the Almighty" (Sir W. Dawson). Of such a Being the Babylonian account knows nothing. The idea of creation of matter is far from the thoughts of the author or authors of it. Matter, according to it, was eternal, and existed untold ages before the gods many came into existence. In our sense of the word "God," there was no God :

At the time when nothing which was called heaven existed above,  
And when nothing below had received the name of earth,  
Apsu (the abyss), the Ocean, who was their father,  
The Chaos of the deep (*Tiamat*) was she who bore them all.

When the gods were not created, not one as yet ;  
When they had neither been called by their names,  
Nor had their destinies been assigned to them by fate ;  
Then were the (great) gods created,  
Lakhum and Lakhumu issued forth first,  
Until the time they grew up and waxed old. Then Anshar and  
Kishar were produced after them.  
Days were added to days, and years were heaped on years,  
And Inlil and Ea were born in their turn,  
For Anshar and Kishar had given them birth.

The above are the first ten verses of an Assyrian epic of the Creation, which combines in a poetic form the cosmological doctrines of the chief Assyrian and Babylonian schools. As a great part of the tablets, or stone-books, on which they were written were broken, only a part of the whole is decipherable. Professor Sayce gives us a translation of 192 verses, of which the above are the first ten. They answer to the following first lines of our Bible :

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.  
And the earth was waste and void ;  
And darkness was upon the face of the deep (*tehom*).  
And God said, Let there be light ;  
And there was light.

The resemblances between them are striking. The first word of Genesis is *bereshith*, "in the beginning"; the Assyrian poem tells us that the watery deep was the *ristu* ("the beginning") of the heavens and the earth. The Hebrew *tehom* (or "deep") is the Assyrian *Ti(h)amat*.

But the differences between them are more striking than the points of resemblance. In the Hebrew poem the one supreme God is all and in all. It not only opens by ascribing creation

to Him alone, but in the thirty-one verses of the first chapter His name occurs thirty-two times. Not only in the first act, but through all the stages of creating, making, forming, and peopling the universe He is the sole agent, without partner, helper, or counsellor.

In the Assyrian there are gods many, but there is no GOD, and the gods that are were created apparently by the powers of Nature. The Hebrew *tēhōm*, or "deep," and the darkness that enshrouded it, were the creatures of the Creator. The Assyrian or Babylonian *Tiamat* was a mythological being—in fact, the *first* of the gods. "Where the Assyrian or Babylonian poet saw the action of deified forces of nature, the Hebrew writer sees only the will of the one supreme God."

There are many other points, both in these ten lines and in the rest of the Assyrian epic, deserving of notice, but we will only mention a few of them.

We take the following from Professor Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization," edited by Professor Sayce. After relating how each of the above gods duplicated himself, and took to wife the spouse whom he had deduced from himself; and how other divinities sprang from these fruitful pairs—first, the three gods who respectively presided over the moon, the sun, and the air; next, the lords of the planets, Ninib, Merodach, Nergal, the warrior goddess Ishtar, and Nebo; then the whole army of lesser deities, who submitted to Anu as their supreme master—the Professor goes on to narrate how "Tiamat, finding her domain becoming more and more restricted, desired to raise battalion against battalion, and set herself to create unceasingly; but her offspring, made in her own image, were like the phantoms men see in dreams—bulls with human heads, horses with the snouts of dogs, dogs whose bodies sprang from fish-like tails, etc. Tiamat furnished them with terrible weapons, placed them under the command of her husband Kingu, and set out to war against the gods."

Then we have a picture of the terror and helplessness of the gods, until Merodach alone has courage to enter the lists against Tiamat. Anshar sends his son Anu; but Anu is afraid. He sends Ea; but Ea, like Anu, grows pale with fear, and dares not attack her. Merodach, the son of Anu, alone believes himself strong enough to conquer her. Merodach equips himself carefully for the struggle. His bow and quiver full of arrows, his spear and thunderbolt, his body filled with devouring flame, and the other weapons of war, remind us of the armour which David rejected on the one side, and of the spear and shield, etc., with which Goliath met the shepherd-boy on the other.

Merodach passes through the serried ranks of Tiamat's



monstrous offspring, and penetrates as far as Tiamat. They draw near to one another; they fling themselves into the combat; they meet one another in the struggle. When Tiamat opens her mouth to swallow Merodach, he thrusts the hurricane into it; it fills her paunch, her breast swells, her maw is split. Merodach thrusts his lance into her paunch, bursts open her breast, binds the monster, and slays her.

Let us contrast with this the parallel account in the Hebrew narrative :

And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters,  
 And let it divide the waters from the waters. And it was so.  
 And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together  
 into one place,  
 And let the dry land appear. And it was so.

Note, on the one side, the feebleness and terror of the other gods, and the terrible struggle by which Merodach, the wisest of the gods, gained the victory; and on the other, the entire absence of all apparent effort, and the glorious energy of the calm fiat of Omnipotence, through the twice-repeated "And God said." "He spake, and it was done; He commanded, and it stood fast."

ROBERT BRUCE, D.D.

*(To be continued.)*



#### ART. IV.—THE JUNIOR CLERGY AND DIOCESAN PATRONAGE.

THE difficulty of getting Bills for the reform of our Church's organization passed by the House of Commons is a thing which was abundantly manifested two years ago in reference to the Criminous Clerks Bill, and we must always expect more or less of the same discreditable action on the part of the extreme political Dissenters, as to whose ideas of decency and morality the less said the better. The duty, however, remains with us to keep "pegging away" at practical reforms in our Church system. And we now desire to call attention to one practical reform which does not as yet seem to have been suggested by any of our lay or clerical friends. We refer to the need of some readjustment of the official episcopal patronage. The inequalities in this respect in regard to different dioceses do not seem to have struck men's minds, and yet such inequalities exist between our dioceses in the most marked and utterly unjustifiable degree. In fact, it almost seems to be the rule in the Church of England that where work is hardest promotion should be slowest—a very undesirable state of affairs, as all must admit. In all dioceses the

official patronage of the Bishop and of the Dean and Chapter is what those of the clergy look to for preferment who have not the advantage to possess wealthy and influential connexions, but whose only passport to promotion consists in merit—in other words, earnestness, diligence, and learning. Speaking generally, in agricultural dioceses, where clerical work is comparatively easy, and the strain of life not severe, the Bishop and the Cathedral Chapter have considerable patronage; whereas in those dioceses where the people are massed in large numbers, in urban and semi-urban districts, and where, in consequence, work is heavy, and clerical life is lived under a severe and continuous strain—such, for instance, as Rochester, Wakefield, and Liverpool dioceses—the Bishop has comparatively little preferment at his disposal.

The best way to illustrate this inequality is to give in tabular form

**THE OFFICIAL DIOCESAN PATRONAGE OF ENGLAND.**

Diocese.	Population.	Parochial Clergy.		Diocesan Patronage. No. of Benefices.	
		Incumbents.	Curates.	Bishops.	Chapter.
Canterbury ... ..	745,000	438	181	186	41
York ... ..	1,447,000	630	250	166	27
London ... ..	3,245,000	614	628	189	82
Durham ... ..	1,017,000	236	198	97	59
Winchester ... ..	976,000	551	258	117	30
Bangor ... ..	215,000	132	60	70	
Bath and Wells ... ..	429,000	473	132	48	24
Carlisle ... ..	424,000	293	81	54	31
Chester ... ..	730,000	265	142	64	14
Chichester ... ..	549,000	382	160	58	24
Ely ... ..	524,000	561	159	55	21
Exeter ... ..	629,000	496	180	42	52
Gloucester and Bristol	744,000	498	200	109	57
Hereford ... ..	217,000	426	87	32	30
Lichfield ... ..	1,196,000	472	202	102	13
Lincoln ... ..	472,000	581	135	102	31
Liverpool ... ..	1,207,000	200	210	9	
Llandaff ... ..	799,000	226	199	82	25
Manchester ... ..	2,644,000	515	335	147	23
Newcastle ... ..	509,000	164	68	24	
Norwich ... ..	710,000	914	253	95	44
Oxford ... ..	613,000	647	249	116	89
Peterborough ... ..	692,000	582	254	87	8
Ripon ... ..	1,020,000	351	170	74	11
Rochester ... ..	1,938,000	317	260	52	32
St. Albans ... ..	1,006,000	627	150	65	
St. Asaph ... ..	270,000	205	101	114	
St. David's ... ..	496,000	402	116	145	10
Salisbury ... ..	369,000	490	206	64	21
Southwell ... ..	975,000	491	181	62	
Truro ... ..	325,000	237	96	47	12
Wakefield ... ..	719,000	165	116	23	
Worcester ... ..	1,228,000	484	199	97	38

A study of this table reveals in a very unmistakable manner the uneven and haphazard distribution of official ecclesiastical Church patronage. Take, for instance, the two adjoining dioceses of Winchester and Rochester. In the former there are 258 curates for 551 benefices, or more than two benefices to provide a chance of preferment for each curate, supposing, for the sake of argument, that all benefices in the diocese are filled up by the appointment of curates working within the same geographical area. Affording a chance of promotion for these 258 curates, there are in the Bishop's gift no less than 117 benefices, and in the gift of the Dean and Chapter 30 more, making a total of 147 benefices in official ecclesiastical patronage to which these 258 curates may look for preferment. Coming to Rochester diocese, we find a very different state of affairs. The number of curates is not very much below the number of the incumbents. Chances of preferment must therefore be small. To provide preferment for 260 curates, the Bishop has 52 benefices and the Chapter 32—a total of 84; or, in other words, there is one benefice in diocesan patronage to every three curates. In Winchester diocese, where work is chiefly in agricultural parishes, performed under healthy conditions and without the rush and hurry which is so characteristic of modern town life, there is official diocesan patronage to the amount of more than one benefice to every two curates. In Rochester diocese, containing South London, with its teeming population and its bewildering social and spiritual problems, chances of preferment stand as follows, supposing, as we have said before, for the sake of comparison, that all the livings in the diocese are filled by clergymen working in the diocese. Supposing, therefore, the 84 benefices in diocesan patronage to be thus filled up, there remain 176 curates to be provided with preferment, and for this purpose there is a balance of only 233 benefices all told, including those in the gift of the Crown, the Lord Chancellor, incumbents of mother churches, the Universities and trustees, besides those livings in the gift of private patrons. Preferment in such a case must inevitably be slow indeed, and the more so, in increasing ratio, as the number of assistant curates is increasing, we believe, of late years, three times as fast as the number of incumbencies.

Upon the same hypothesis—viz., that the parishes in diocesan patronage are all filled by the appointment of curates working in the diocese—we should have in Winchester diocese 111 other curates to be provided with benefices, and for these there would be the balance of 404 livings remaining after deducting the 147 which are in diocesan patronage from the total number of 551 benefices within the limits of the

diocese. Thus, in Rochester diocese, outside the diocesan patronage, there are 233 benefices to provide preferment for 176 curates, or less than three benefices to every two curates, while in Winchester diocese there are 404 to 111 curates, or nearly four benefices to one curate. Thus the curate working in the quiet, steady-going agricultural diocese of Winchester has manifestly a vastly larger chance of promotion than his brother working in the busy diocese of Rochester.

Going into the adjoining diocese of Oxford, we find a still greater contrast. Here there are 647 benefices to 249 curates, or more than five benefices to every two curates. The diocesan patronage in the gift of the Bishop and the Cathedral Chapter amounts to 205 livings. Thus, there are diocesan benefices, if one may use the term, almost sufficient, so far as number is concerned, to provide for all the curates in Oxford diocese, while for the balance of 44 still, under the same hypothesis, unprovided for, there are no less than 398 benefices in private hands or in official lay or clerical patronage. A great contrast, indeed, to Rochester diocese. We do not forget that we have somewhat overstated the case in this instance, as the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church occupy a somewhat different position to an ordinary cathedral chapter, and have demands upon their attention arising from their collegiate status.

The same thing holds good in the Welsh dioceses; viz., that in those dioceses where work is easiest promotion is most rapid and abundant. In each of the North Wales dioceses the number of benefices is double the number of curates, and in each case the diocesan patronage alone is more than enough to afford promotion for every single curate. In St. David's diocese the proportion of benefices to curates is still larger, being no less than seven to two. And yet, with such good chances of promotion already before them, the curates of St. David's have such a further chance of preferment as is involved in the possession of 155 benefices in diocesan patronage for 116 curates. Compare these three agricultural dioceses with that of Llandaff, containing a rapidly-increasing population of 800,000, and including within its limits all Glamorganshire except Swansea and its district, and also the English county of Monmouth. The population in this case is massed in considerable mining villages, some of which are sufficiently large to be considered as towns; and while in most of the Welsh counties the population has been for a good many years steadily diminishing, in Cardiff and Newport and in the mining and manufacturing districts of Glamorganshire and West Monmouthshire, population has been for the last forty or fifty years increasing by leaps and bounds. Church-work is, in fact, carried on under great difficulties in this

diocese, where, moreover, the number of curates is almost equal to that of the incumbents. It is interesting to note that, with the single exception of the capital of the empire, there is only one other diocese in which there is so large a proportion of curates to incumbents, and that is the diocese of Liverpool, a city which, though far outside the geographical limits of the Principality, is constantly spoken of as "the capital of North Wales," just as Cardiff, which with Llandaff forms one city, is called "the capital of South Wales." It is, by the way, also a suggestive fact, which may well be mentioned in a day when we so often hear the Welsh spoken of as "a nation of Nonconformists," that the proportion of the population coming to the Bishop for confirmation is just the same in Llandaff diocese as it is in that of Liverpool. While thus in Llandaff diocese the number of junior clergy is so large in proportion to the number of the beneficed, the diocesan patronage only amounts to 107 benefices for 199 curates—a remarkable contrast, as regards a curate's chances of promotion, to, say, the adjoining diocese of Hereford on the east, and still more so to that of St. David's on the west.

Again looking at the table, compare Norwich and Newcastle. In the former diocese the proportion of benefices to curates is not very much short of four to one, while in the latter it is not so very much more than two to one. For the 253 curates of Norwich there are 139 livings in the official clerical patronage of the diocese, or considerably more than one to every two curates, while in Newcastle there is only one to every three. In Wakefield diocese the proportion is still worse, viz., only one to every five.

But by far the most startling contrast in the whole of the table is that between two dioceses—those of Lincoln and Liverpool—which come in immediate succession in the list. In Lincoln there are 581 benefices to 135 curates, or over four to one, a proportion which in itself is suggestive of rapid promotion for the junior clergy. But, still further, there are for these 135 young deacons and presbyters to look forward to no less than 133 benefices in the gift of the clerical authorities of the diocese—just one for each curate. Verily, he that hath, to him shall be given! Prospects of promotion are indeed excellent in this favoured diocese! And what of Liverpool? In that small but very thickly-peopled Lancashire diocese, the number of curates is actually greater than that of incumbents. Small indeed, therefore, must be a young clergyman's chances of becoming incumbent of a parish himself. But has not the Bishop patronage adequate, it will be asked, to afford reasonable prospects of promotion for young clergymen who are willing to spend and be spent in his crowded and busy

diocese? Alas! no. A glance at the table shows that he has the patronage of but nine benefices, and of these, four are only in his gift alternately with the Crown. The injustice of the present state of affairs stands out in a still more marked manner when it is remembered that fifteen years ago in the undivided diocese of Chester there was diocesan patronage available for promoting promising young presbyters to the extent of 82 benefices; viz., 14 in the hands of the Cathedral Chapter and 68 in the hands of the Bishop. Of these 68, Chester, with only 140 curates, secured, on the division of the old diocese, no less than 62, while Liverpool diocese for its share received 6. And the cathedral patronage remained entirely attached to the comfortably-placed clergy of the cheese-making county. Of all the contrasts in our Church, there is certainly none greater than that between Lincoln and Liverpool. In Lincoln diocese work is easy and steady-going; it is not even a mountainous diocese, with long journeys in winter-time over snow-clad, hilly roads, as in the case of St. David's or Bangor, but a quiet, agricultural county with parishes of only moderate size and with resident squires in abundance. Of Liverpool diocese the exact opposite has to be said. Parishes have in many cases overwhelmingly large populations, mining and manufacturing being the occupations of the people, except in the city of Liverpool itself, where shipping is of course predominant. About 25 per cent. of the population of the diocese consists of Irish Romanists. Resident landowners are very few, most of the landed aristocracy having "gone South"; and it is only too well known among Church folk how much less ready to recognise their obligations to their poorer neighbours are "the commercial rich" than the much-abused landed aristocracy of England. And even of the few resident landowners left in South-West Lancashire, a very large proportion—and those some of the wealthiest—are, as in North and East Lancashire, Roman Catholics. Thus, the clergy of Liverpool diocese have to work under every possible disadvantage. Could there well, we would ask, be a greater contrast than between Lincoln and Liverpool, so far as the temporal prospects of the clergy are concerned? And the inequality is every year being intensified. In 1880 there were 120 curates; twelve years later they numbered 210. Thus, while the population of that diocese had increased 25 per cent., the assistant clergy had increased 75 per cent.—a suggestively encouraging specimen, by the way, of the results of subdividing a large diocese. Taking everything into consideration, we shall not, perhaps, be far wrong in saying that while clerical work is on the average twice as wearing in the diocese of Liverpool as it is in

that of Lincoln, the chances of promotion for a young clergyman are five times as great in the latter as they are in the former diocese. As to which fact we can only say, "Verbum sat sapienti."

And now for the remedy for these grave, and utterly unjustifiable, and most harmful inequalities. Surely this must lie in a considerable measure of readjustment of patronage as between the various dioceses. Want of solidarity between its various parts is one of the greatest weaknesses of the English Church, and even of the whole Anglican Communion. It is so in a marked degree in this matter of diocesan patronage. A measure of redistribution of official ecclesiastical patronage is evidently needed. Nor is this any new idea. In 1847, when the See of Manchester was founded, the new diocese had allotted to it a number of livings in the dioceses of Durham and Lincoln, the episcopal patronage in those two dioceses being unduly large. The same had previously been done when Ripon became an episcopal see. Further action on the same lines is evidently needed, the more so that during the forty-seven years that have elapsed since the foundation of the first of the two Lancashire sees six more new bishoprics have been constituted. And it will be noticed, on looking at the table, that it is the new bishoprics which have fared worst. In the case of each of these six subdivisions, the new diocese has had to start without any endowments for its cathedral church, and Truro and Liverpool without any cathedral church worthy of the name. Thus, they have laboured under very serious drawbacks of a kind which were inevitable; but it was not by any means inevitable that the Bishop of the newly-constituted diocese should be without a reasonable amount of patronage, affording opportunities of promoting earnest workers among his clergy. If either way, the Additional Bishoprics Bill of 1878 should have erred on the side of undue generosity to these new dioceses, all of which have had special difficulties to contend with.

In dealing with this matter, we are of opinion that the patronage of the Cathedral Chapters should be dealt with in one general scheme along with that of the bishops. Thus, the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle have 31 livings, and the Bishop has 54—all these, though the number of curates is only 81. Two of the Chapter livings are situated in another diocese, viz., Newcastle, which is but poorly provided with diocesan patronage. We would suggest that these two should be handed over to the Bishop of Newcastle, and if the Chapter hand over 9 more to the same diocese of Newcastle, they will still have 20 benefices in their gift—quite enough, considering all the circumstances. If the Bishop of Carlisle,

moreover, were to transfer a dozen out of his 54, say six each to the Bishops of Liverpool and of Wakefield, he would still have 30 per cent. more patronage than his brother of Hereford possesses. Again, the Chapter of Durham Cathedral have 22 benefices in their gift in Northumberland, and 9 in Yorkshire, in addition to their valuable and extensive patronage in their own diocese. These 31 livings might well be divided between the two dioceses of Liverpool and Wakefield, giving, say, six to the Bishop of Wakefield, and the remaining 25 to his very poorly-endowed brother of Liverpool for his very numerous body of clergy. Again, it would seem not unreasonable that the Bishop of Winchester should transfer to the See of Rochester a certain number of his 117 livings, say 17 of them; and perhaps half a dozen of those in the gift of the Chapter of Winchester might also be transferred to the Bishop of Rochester. It is unquestionably much better when a Bishop's patronage lies in his own diocese, but where this cannot be, patronage in another diocese, especially if an adjacent diocese, is manifestly better than none at all.

And in this connection it may be remarked that in redistributing patronage it would be desirable, as far as possible, to give to any diocese benefices in a diocese fairly near, rather than in one far off. It would, for instance, be a greater gain to Liverpool diocese for the Bishop to have livings in his gift in Cheshire, in Yorkshire, in Westmorland or Cumberland or Northumberland, than in Kent or Dorsetshire. Many a man would gladly accept a living within 50 or 100 miles of his old sphere of work who would hesitate to remove 200 miles off. We have spoken of preferment chiefly from the assistant curate's point of view; but this is only one way of looking at the question. In such dioceses as Rochester, Liverpool, Wakefield or Newcastle, where parishes are so largely urban, incumbents get worn out comparatively early, and at fifty-five, or even at fifty, a man really needs to be removed to an easier sphere of work. He has, we will say, been an incumbent for fifteen or twenty years in some town parish in Liverpool diocese. His children have grown up in the town where he is beneficed, and been educated at the local grammar-school, and the elder ones probably also have started life in the same town. Perhaps one or two daughters are married and settled in the same locality. Altogether he is attached to the particular town by very strong ties. At the same time, he finds himself at fifty-five by no means able to get through the same amount of work as at forty-five, and he is conscious that it would be a gain to his parish if he were to make way for a younger man, and a gain to himself in health and general comfort of mind and body if he could obtain a sphere of work somewhere in the country or



in one of the comparatively small parishes of our old-fashioned country towns, where he could settle down to spend the remaining years of his life. Were such a man offered a parish within 50 miles of his present benefice, he would most gladly accept it; but if the benefice offered him were 150 miles away, he would certainly think twice before consenting to remove so far from the associations of the best part of a lifetime. The need of means for enabling clergymen in large towns to remove to less laborious posts is only too apparent to all who are well acquainted with clerical life and work in our large towns. Thus, it would be much better that additional patronage for the Bishop of Rochester should be obtained from the adjoining dioceses of Winchester, Canterbury and Oxford, than from the distant dioceses of Carlisle, Durham or York. The Chapter of Canterbury might well surrender ten of its livings to Rochester, and the Bishop of Oxford might perfectly well hand over, say, twenty of his livings to Rochester, and ten to Southwell.

Again, the Bishop of Lincoln might with advantage hand over, say, thirty of his livings, and the Lincoln Chapter eight or ten of theirs, to provide additional patronage for Southwell and Liverpool—say, ten to Southwell and thirty to Liverpool. The Bishop of Lincoln has eleven benefices in his gift in his cathedral city. If three of these were transferred to each of the Bishops of Rochester and Liverpool, the Bishop of Lincoln would still have five in his hands in that city, and half a dozen quiet but congenial spheres of labour would be provided for elderly incumbents of town parishes in Rochester and Liverpool dioceses, who, though no longer fully equal to the work of a parish of 8,000 or 10,000 people in a great city with its ever-changing population, would be fully competent to work one of average size in the quiet city of Lincoln. Not only would a change of work be provided for incumbents who needed it in two very populous dioceses, but Lincoln city itself would be benefited by having introduced into its parishes clergymen who had had experience considerably different to that obtainable in a quiet agricultural diocese. The one great advantage of our system of patronage is the variety it produces in the method of appointing to benefices, and for one individual, even if he be the Bishop himself, to have the patronage of so large a number of livings as eleven out of fourteen in one small town cannot be a wise thing. It puts quite too much power in one man's hands. Whereas, if our suggestion be carried out, there will be a most beneficial variety introduced. The same sort of thing holds good of the cities of Norwich, York and Exeter. In the first-named the Dean and Chapter have in their gift no less than thirteen churches, most of them with comparatively small populations. Three each might well be given to Southwell and Liverpool. Not long

ago the Dean of Norwich was announced to have prepared a scheme for uniting several of these small parishes in the cathedral city. Well, if the city of Norwich be the only thing to be considered, this would doubtless be a wise thing. But it is not. These little parishes have churches which, though poorly filled, perhaps, now, would very probably be fairly well attended under the ministry of men who had spent a stirring life in one of our great cities. The same holds true of York, where a similar scheme of union of parishes was suggested some half-dozen years ago, and of Exeter, where the Dean and Chapter have in their gift no less than twelve parishes, half of which might very well go to increase the diocesan patronage of, say, Liverpool.

We have, it will be noticed, made no suggestion for increasing the official ecclesiastical patronage of the diocese of London, although, as in the case of Liverpool and Llandaff, the number of curates equals that of incumbents; and for this reason: In London a curate has chances of promotion quite beyond those which exist in any other diocese. For the nobility and gentry, who have so many livings in their gift, come up to town for part of every year, and thus they have a chance of hearing, and often enough do hear, something as to what is being done in the parishes of the Metropolis, even to some extent as to what is going on in the parishes of the East End. And perhaps one who lives in the Northern Province, the clergy of which have for so many years been so systematically overlooked in the administration of the patronage of the Crown by successive Prime Ministers and Lord Chancellors, may be pardoned for thinking that London is more than able to look after herself.

In conclusion we would say that it is a manifest duty to remove from our Church such harmful inequalities as we have pointed out. And we would suggest, alike to clergy and laity, to the dignitary of the Church as well as to the quiet, steady-going parish priest, that some such scheme as we have suggested for some amount of redistribution of diocesan patronage is an absolute necessity, and should be put into shape without delay. We can but think that the House of Commons rather than the House of Lords would be the legislative chamber into which a Bill for this purpose should be introduced. Probably the best course to adopt would be for the Church party recently formed in the House of Commons to bring forward a resolution condemning these inequalities, and to thus secure the appointment of a Royal Commission charged to formulate a scheme by which the chances of promotion in the Church shall be rendered more equal between the various dioceses.

LAICUS LIVERPOLIENSIS.

## ART. V.—IRELAND ECCLESIASTICALLY CONSIDERED.

## PART I.

The misfortunes of a nation are not always the faults of her conquerors; they are sometimes vengeance resulting from her own crimes.—LAMARTINE.

OF all the Western Churches, the Church of Ireland was the last that recognised Papal authority. This took place in the twelfth century. Our thoughts are naturally carried back to the days of "Saint" Patrick. We need go no higher, for it cannot be contested that Christianity was planted in Ireland long previous to the date of the mission attributed to St. Patrick, A.D. 422.<sup>1</sup> I adopt the term "saint" by custom; but when Patrick obtained that brevet-rank in the celestial hierarchy is nowhere, to my knowledge, recorded. Biographers, however, are not wanting who have recorded wonderful miracles alleged to have been performed by him, the theory of development being wonderfully prominent the further we get from the time when the "saint" is said to have lived; while the curious fact stands undenied that he himself, although he is said to have solemnly recorded the history of his own life and labours in his "Confessions" (at least attributed to him, and said to have been written shortly before his death), abstains from taking credit to himself for the possession of miraculous powers. Joslin, in the twelfth century, introduced many additional fables in his "*Vita Patricii*" (*Acta SS. Mart.*).

The Roman Catholic Church celebrates the festival of St. Patrick on March 17 in each year. The Roman Breviary tells us: "By Divine admonition he was called to the salvation of the Irish; and the liberty of preaching the Gospel being committed to him by St. Celestine, the Pope, and being consecrated Bishop, he proceeded to Ireland. He constituted, by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, the See of Armagh the metropolis of the whole of Ireland." The Breviary proceeds to tell us: "Having been appointed to feed the flocks, he gave a proof of his future sanctity; for, being filled with the spirit of faith and of divine fear and love, he rose with activity before day, through snow, and frost, and rain, to pour forth prayers to God, being accustomed to pray one hundred times through the day, and one hundred times in the night." All this took place when he was a youth. After he was made Bishop of Armagh, we are told: "Besides his daily care of the Church, he never relaxed his unwearied soul from prayer, for they say that he was accustomed to recite daily the whole Psalter, together with the Canticles and hymns, and two hundred

<sup>1</sup> See Lanigan's "*Ecclesiastical History*," vol. i., pp. 1-9. Dublin, 1822.

prayers; that every day he worshipped God three hundred times on bended knees, and in every canonical hour of the day fortified himself one hundred times with the sign of the cross. Distributing the night into three parts, he spent the first part in running over one hundred Psalms and two hundred genuflections; the second in going through the remaining fifty Psalms immersed in cold water, and with his heart, eyes, and hands raised towards heaven; but the third he gave to light slumber, stretched on the bare stones."

Every Roman priest is bound to read these monstrous fables on every 17th of March, on pain of committing a mortal sin. And all these "ecclesiastical gymnastics" are, no doubt, placed to his credit in the celestial Bank of Merits, called "The Treasure of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

The above is an adaptation from the "Confessions," attributed to Patrick, in the "Book of Armagh." The earliest date given to the "Book of Armagh" is A.D. 807, which purports to contain the "Confessions" and other writing,<sup>2</sup> and the "Memoirs" of the "saint." It is written in ungrammatical Latin, and many works attributed to Patrick are undoubtedly spurious. The "Memoirs" speak of displays of miraculous powers of the "saint," to which he nowhere refers in writings attributed to him; in fact, these are fables of much later date.

St. Patrick is said to have come from the Clyde, and, born A.D. 372, to have become Bishop A.D. 433, and to have fixed his residence in Armagh. Notwithstanding the statement made in the Breviary, he never was a member of the Church of Rome in doctrine or in fact, nor did he derive his mission from the Bishop of Rome. The same Breviary tells us that Patrick was an Englishman, while the Jesuit Dr. Weniger, in his "Lives of the Saints," p. 334, says St. Patrick was a native of France.

In his "Confessions,"<sup>3</sup> he is represented as telling us that "the Lord chose him to teach the barbarous nations"—that "he was sent by God as an Apostle, even as Paul, to the Gentiles." He "was chosen by God to watch over the people of God"; "the Saviour ordained him for his merits"; "Christ chose him to be His Vicar on earth"; but there is not one word of the idle tale of his supposed consecration, or appoint-

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the Roman Breviary, edit. 1786, "revised by the decree of the Council of Trent," by command of Pope Pius V., and revised by the authority of Popes Clement VIII. and Urban VIII." Spring portion, p. 547. The Dublin edition, 1845, has the same tale.

<sup>2</sup> See the paper in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," iii., pp. 316-324.

<sup>3</sup> Edit. Villaneuva, pp. 193 *et seq.* Dublin, 1835.

ment by Celestine. His alleged consecration by Celestine is admitted by two learned Romish writers, Drs. Lanigan and Coglan, to be wholly apocryphal.<sup>1</sup>

The first intimation we find of Patrick's journey to Rome, or of his Papal mission to Ireland, is in "Hericus Vita S. Germani," i. 12 (Art. SS. Jul. vii.), written about the year 860.

Prosper Aquitanus, who was a notary of the Roman See, and friend of Celestine, in his "Annals of the Church," refers to Palladius being sent by Celestine, but that his mission was utterly sterile—in fact, a complete failure. But, what is very remarkable, Prosper makes no mention of St. Patrick, who, as is said, went to Ireland the very next year, though alleged to be sent by Celestine. Patrick himself, in the works attributed to him, neither directly nor indirectly alludes to his supposed connection with Rome—except in one spurious work, called "Charta de Antiquitate Avellonica," which the editor, J. L. Villaneuva, himself a Roman Catholic, admits to be such. Neither is any allusion found in the Hymn of St. Sechnall (Secundinus), composed in praise of St. Patrick; neither does it appear to have been known to the Irish writer, Murchin Macen Machteri, who wrote the Life of St. Patrick in the seventh century; nor in the much-relied-on historian Bede, who wrote his history early in the eighth century. In compiling his history, Bede was, as he tells us, supplied with materials for it from the archives of Rome. Bede records the mission of Palladius to Ireland, and often refers to the affairs of the Irish Church, but never once mentions even the name of Patrick! Indeed, there are historians who gravely doubt whether such a person as St. Patrick ever existed.<sup>2</sup> As a fact, he is mentioned by no authentic writer of a date anterior to the ninth century; he is entirely unnoticed by Bede, Cogitosus, Adarnan, and Cumman, who could not have omitted to name so distinguished a missionary had the fact ever reached them. The silence of early Roman writers about him is additional evidence that he had nothing to do with Rome.

O'Halloran, a historian of credit, says: "At a very early period Christianity was preached in Ireland. The constant enmity between this country [Ireland] and ancient Rome prevented any kind of friendly intercourse."<sup>3</sup> He names Palladius as having undertaken a mission to Ireland, but which is admitted to have been an utter failure. It lasted only two months! Cardinal Baronius, the "Annalist," went

<sup>1</sup> Lanigan, vol. i., p. 194. Dublin, 1822. Coglan, "Trias Thaumaturga," p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> See Gordon's "History of Ireland, from the Earliest Accounts," etc., vol. i., cap. iii., p. 29. Dublin, 1805.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., cap. iii., p. 29. Dublin, 1805.

so far as to assert that for the latter half of the sixth century "the Bishops of Ireland were all schismatics, separated from the Church of Rome."<sup>1</sup> And O'Halloran further tells us that "from this period [the seventh century] to the middle of the twelfth Rome and Ireland had no communication or correspondence." In describing the state of Ireland in the twelfth century, he says: "It does not appear that the Popes had ever enjoyed any direct authority over that Church [the Irish]. No proof whatever can be produced that the Popes nominated to the bishoprics amongst us."<sup>2</sup>

The candid priest Dr. Charles O'Connor, in his third letter, entitled "Columbanus ad Hibernos," says: "It will appear evident from the Irish annals, as well as from letters of the ancient Fathers, published by Usher in his 'Sylloge,' and from the lives of Jonas, that the Irish always appointed their own bishops, without so much as the knowledge of Rome."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lanigan again informs us that no Papal legate ever appeared in Ireland to exercise any spiritual jurisdiction in "that country until the twelfth century"; and the canonized saint of the Roman Church, esteemed as the last of the Fathers—St. Bernard—said: "Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, in the twelfth century, was the first who discharged the duties of Apostolic legate in Ireland."<sup>4</sup>

We are often reminded that "Saint" Columbanus recognised the supremacy of the Pope. The two epistles of Columbanus to Gregory I. and to Boniface (607), Bishops of Rome, tell a different tale. M. Languet, the eminent French Jesuit and historian, censures Columbanus as being heterodox, and declares from these epistles that "It is plainly saying that he [Columbanus] would not submit to the decision of Pope Boniface asked for, unless it agreed with his own principles."<sup>5</sup> In fact, he challenged Gregory's orthodoxy, and also that of Boniface: "Seeing that many entertain doubts of the purity of your faith"! On this subject I would refer to the eminent Roman Catholic writer, Montalembert, in his work "Monks of the West," vol. ii., pp. 408, 409, 441, 442, etc. Here we have various quotations from the writings of Columbanus, "appealing to the judgment of the 150 Fathers of the Council of Constantinople, who judged that the Churches of God among the barbarians should live according to the laws taught them by their fathers." The British and Irish bishops refused to accept laws from Rome.

<sup>1</sup> "Annales," ad an. 566, tom. vii., p. 577; and ad an. 604, tom. viii., pp. 195, 196. Antwerp, 1611.

<sup>2</sup> Edit. as above, pp. 116, 395.

<sup>3</sup> P. 43. Buckingham, 1812.

<sup>4</sup> "Oper.," tom. i., p. 674. Benedictine edition.

<sup>5</sup> "Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic.," liv. ix., l'an 602, tom. iii., p. 371.

The alleged fact (supposing the passage be genuine), that Columbanus addressed Gregory and Boniface, in a letter which apparently recognised their supremacy, is beside the question. Such language proves nothing, for Usher shows that the titles "Summus Sacerdos" and "Summus Pontifex," now exclusively claimed by the Church of Rome for her chief Bishop, were accorded to the Bishop of Kildare. But such language does not convey any such exclusive meaning as is proposed to be attached to it. What do Romanists say of Gregory Nazianzen, who said of Athanasius that, "on being made Bishop of Alexandria, he was made Bishop of the whole world";<sup>1</sup> and of Basil, who speaks of Athanasius as "having the care of all the churches, as much as that which was particularly committed to him"?<sup>2</sup>

As to St. Patrick, there is not a single trace in his "Confessions" that he recognised the authority of the Bishop of Rome. A canon of a synod said to have been presided over by St. Patrick is reported to have been passed that "the greater causes should be referred to the Apostolic See." Modern writers add the words "of Rome." The passage, however, attributed to St. Patrick is: "Si quæ causæ oriuntur in hac insulâ, ad sedem Apostolicam referantur"; but not a word about Rome. There can be no doubt that the See of Armagh was referred to, as that was called the Apostolic See of Ireland even so late as A.D. 1014.<sup>3</sup> The alleged original canon is given in the Appendix No. 117 of O'Curry's "MS. Materials for Irish History." But here, again, the Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Lanigan,<sup>4</sup> first quotes the words of St. Patrick as given above, then as to O'Curry's expanded version, he says: "I suspect this canon, as now quoted, is not quite as ancient as St. Patrick's time, and that it is a paraphrastic explanation of the original short one of St. Patrick, yet conveying its true meaning." That, of course, is his private opinion as a Roman Catholic. But we are dealing with *facts*, not *opinions*. He gives a cogent reason for branding it as spurious. "It seems," he says, "to allude to Scottish churches out of Ireland, which also should have recourse to the See of Armagh. Now, there were no such churches in St. Patrick's days."

The "Book of Armagh" has a historical interest as being the earliest record relied on, and deserves special notice. The translation of the canon in question, as given by O'Curry, is

<sup>1</sup> Orat. xxi., tom. i., p. 377. Edit. Morrell. Paris, 1630.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 69, tom. iii., p. 161. Benedictine edition.

<sup>3</sup> See Usher's "Religion of the Ancient Irish," cap. vii., p. 585. Cambridge, 1835.

<sup>4</sup> "History of Ireland," cap. xv., p. 391. Dublin, 1822.

as follows: "Also, if any cause shall arise very difficult and unknown to all the judges of the Scotch, it ought properly to be referred to the chair of the Archbishop of the Irish—that is, of Patrick—and to the examination of this Primate. But if the cause is such that it cannot be easily decided in this court, with the assistance of his wise men, then we determine that it must be sent to the Apostolic See—that is, to the chair of St. Peter the Apostle, which has the authority of the City of Rome." A marvellous expansion!

The genuineness of this canon has been questioned by Dr. Lanigan in his "History of Ireland"; but he, with Roman controversialists in general, takes for granted that this appeal to the Roman See had reference to ecclesiastical matters. There is not the slightest evidence of anything of the sort. The presumption is entirely the other way—"if any cause," and that was to be referred to the *judges*. Wynn, in his "General History of Ireland,"<sup>1</sup> to which Dr. Lanigan refers, leading on to this canon, observes: "In these transactions we do not find the Pope interfering, and we further read that the Irish bishops went on consecrating one another, and that there were no archbishops there till a certain legate of the Pope, seven hundred years afterwards, brought four palls thither—a custom which was, till that time, unknown in Ireland. There were, in fact, no archbishops in Ireland."

In a note, Wynn refers to the "Book of Armagh" as one of a series of "venerable manuscripts preserved to the present time." In a previous part of the note we are informed that the subjects under discussion were questions of genealogy, and of pedigree; more probably, one would think, attaching to titles to land and other secular matters. These subjects were said to be recommended to St. Patrick for examination by the King. The chronicles and genealogies were submitted to him, "but the saint modestly refused to act in a matter of this importance upon his own judgment."

It was, as alleged, on Patrick's recommendation that a convocation was summoned by the royal mandate of the "principal clergy, historians and antiquaries of the kingdom; writs to express the time and place of these meetings were issued." "By this learned committee, of which St. Patrick was one, were the genealogies of the principal families and the ancient records of the kingdom carefully examined and purged of all spurious relations, and then deposited in the archives of the island. These archives were entrusted to the care of the prelates of the kingdom, and among them is enumerated the 'Book of Armagh.'"

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 103, 104. London, 1772.



But if this be the true explanation, the "difficult questions" were clearly not theological, but merely secular; and therefore it is not only highly improbable, but absurd, to suppose that the See of Rome was consulted—the authority of the Bishop of Rome was in no way recognised; but the canon even as now presented to us, as amended, is disputed.

I cannot close this part of my subject without drawing attention to a very curious and unexpected circumstance. We know when certain parties fall out honest men come to their rights. I refer to the book entitled "*Primatus Dubliensis*," by Peter Talbot, the Roman Archbishop in Dublin, published in 1764. An unseemly ecclesiastical squabble took place between two rival archbishops. Talbot claimed for himself the primacy of Ireland as Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Oliver Plunkett, the Roman Archbishop in Armagh, wrote a book to prove that he (Plunkett) was Primate of Ireland as successor in the See of St. Patrick. Talbot demolished Plunkett's pretensions. Dr. O'Halloran and Dr. O'Connor, as I have shown, asserted that the Popes of Rome did not appoint or invest Irish bishops. Talbot undertook to prove, in the work mentioned, that the Pope did not make archbishops in Ireland before the twelfth century. At page 10 he writes: "It appears from St. Bernard's words that the Pall and the Primacy of St. Patrick were fabulous"! After quoting St. Bernard's words that "the Pall was wanting from the beginning," he concludes: "This was wanting from the beginning to the See of Armagh, and to all Ireland, as appears from the words of St. Bernard." In page 17 he says: "St. Patrick never was a Primate, nor even Archbishop, since he had not the Pall." In page 41 he adds: "I have consulted what authorities I could, and I have considered the annals treating of the matter, and I here seriously declare that I have fallen on no authority of credit who produces even a probable conjecture that, even at any time, the See of Armagh obtained the primacy of Ireland from the Apostolic See." A see claiming to be of Apostolic origin, and the claim to primacy, are two very different things. Rome claims to be apostolically founded, so did Antioch and other Eastern churches; but this fact did not confer a primacy. Talbot then claimed a primacy for his see, Dublin (page 26), on the plea that the Pall, or the insignia of the office of an archbishop, was first given to the See of Dublin by the Pope; and this estimable gift was conferred in the year of grace 1152, at the Synod of Kells. So that, according to this Romish Archbishop in Dublin, we are deliberately informed that Ireland never had an archbishop or primate until the middle of the twelfth century, and that neither Patrick himself nor any of his successors, until that period, ever was or were lawful

primates, or even bishops (according to the present Roman theory or requirement), simply because the Pope of Rome had not made them such. Bishops of the Irish Church were appointed by laymen, that is, by the Kings of Ireland, according to the discipline of the early Church. It was pointed out by the Roman priest, Dr. Charles O'Connor,<sup>1</sup> that King James I. was the legitimate descendant of the Kings of Ireland and the Kings of England. The crowns of England and Ireland were thus clearly united by legitimate descent, and since that day the crown of England and Ireland thus united has rested no longer on forgery or violence, but on a lawful title. According to Dr. O'Connor, our Queen is the descendant of the old Kings of Ireland, of Heber and Hereman, as well as of the Kings of England. The right of investiture or appointment of bishops was by ancient ecclesiastical and national custom practised in Ireland, and vested in the King many centuries before Papal usurped rule existed in that country, and it became vested in Queen Victoria.

In disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church, the very ancient rights have been taken from the crown by the act of Mr. Gladstone. Ireland was, until the twelfth century, equally independent of the Pope and of the Roman Church, and was equally independent of England. She was national in her Church and State.

The least politic part of Mr. Gladstone's Act, in depriving the Irish Church of her endowments, was that out of her revenues he gave £300,000 to perpetually endow Maynooth College, established for the education of Roman Catholic priests—educating them in thorough hatred of English rule, furnishing Ireland, at the present day, with the leaders of revolt, and for the separation of Ireland from the jurisdiction of Great Britain, placing her again practically under the dominion of the Pope and of the Roman Church. Previous to that confiscation an annual subsidy was granted to that institution in the estimates—the Budget—to be renewed only on their good behaviour. They were thus emancipated from control, and perpetually endowed from the revenues of a Protestant and State Church.

It now becomes necessary to show how Ireland became subject to Papal rule, and with it subject to England. It was the joint action of Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander III., striking an iniquitous bargain with our King Henry II.

I have briefly shown that Ireland was independent of Rome down to the twelfth century. To echo the words of Dr. Leland

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<sup>1</sup> "An Historical Address," No. 2, p. xlvi. Buckingham, 1812.

in his "History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II.": "All ecclesiastical authority in Ireland had, until about four years before the accession of Henry II., been by her own prelates."<sup>1</sup>

We need not repeat here the particulars of the quarrel between Henry II. and the rebellious Thomas à Becket. The haughty à Becket, though appointed by Henry first his Chancellor and then Archbishop, resisted the authority of the King, and would only acknowledge that of the Pope. Complications followed, which ended in the tragic fate of à Becket. He was murdered in his own cathedral. This had such an effect on the mind of Henry that a superstitious awe seized him, and resulted in his complete and servile submission to the Pope. He did penance by submitting to be lashed by monks. Once again the Pope obtained ecclesiastical dominion over England, and Henry became his abject slave. The Pope rewarded him in return. It was in this state of things in England that Henry turned a covetous eye towards Ireland, and conceived the idea of making a conquest of the country. The Pope, not by Divine right, but on the alleged authority of a forged gift called "The Donation of Constantine," claimed a supremacy over, and the right of disposal of, all islands throughout the world. Henry sent John of Salisbury to seek, at the hands of the Pope, a concession to him of Ireland. John of Salisbury, as he himself has left on record, obtained from Pope Adrian a concession of Ireland, "to be possessed by Henry by a hereditary right. For," continues the writer, "of ancient right all islands are to belong to the Roman Church by virtue of the Donation of Constantine, and he [Constantine] founded and endowed her [the Roman Church]."<sup>2</sup> The Pope sent by John "a golden ring, which the investment of law, in conveying Ireland should be made."

Dr. Lanigan, a Roman priest, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," of this forged Donation of Constantine" says: "This nonsense of the Pope being head owner of all Christian islands had been partially announced to the world in a Bull of Pope Urban II., dated A.D. 1091, in which, on disposing of the island of Corsica, he said the Emperor Constantine had given the island to Peter as his vicar."<sup>3</sup> Pope Adrian, in recompense for Henry's submission, granted him the concession of Ireland by solemn Bull. This Bull authorized Henry to raise an army,<sup>4</sup> to conquer and take possession of Ireland, and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., cap. i. London, 1773.

<sup>2</sup> *Metalogus*, lib. v., cap. ult., pp. 240, 241. Paris, 1610.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iv., p. 166. Dublin, 1822.

<sup>4</sup> For the text of this Bull, see Appendix A to this article.

“thus,” as the Bull proceeds, “to enlarge the borders of the Church, teaching the truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude, extirpating the roots of vice from the field of the Lord.” And after asserting the ownership of the land, he declared that “therefore he was the more solicitous to propagate the righteous plantation of faith in that island, and the branch acceptable to God, and that the Christian faith may be planted and grow up.” In return he stipulated that each house throughout Ireland should pay “a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter.” The people were to receive the King “honourably and with reverence as their head.” Not a single reference is made to the alleged mission of St. Patrick. Thus a mercenary and unrighteous bargain was struck between the Pope and Henry. With the Pope it was a simple matter of commercial transaction—a money bargain! O’Halloran gives a translation of this Bull as an authentic document.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lanigan, in his “Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,” of this Bull says: “Adrian’s Bull is of so unwarrantable and unjustifiable a nature that some writers could not bring themselves to believe that he issued it, and have endeavoured to have it a forgery. But their efforts were of no avail, and never did there exist a more real authentic document.”<sup>2</sup>

Henry was not able to carry out his ambitious designs in Adrian’s lifetime; accordingly, in 1172, he obtained from his successor, Alexander III., “a confirmation and ratification of the Bull, provided that the abomination of the land being removed, that barbarous people, Christians in name, may by your means be reformed, and their lives and conversation mended, so that their disordered Church being thus reduced to regular discipline, that nation may, with the name of Christian, be so in act and deed; reserving to St. Peter, and to the Holy Roman Church, as well in England as in Ireland, the yearly pension of one penny for every house.”<sup>3</sup>

Popes Adrian and Alexander had no very exalted idea of the Irish in those days; at least, they did not entertain the modern notion that Ireland was the “land of saints.”

Under Papal authority and patronage Henry commenced his crusade; he conquered Ireland and levied “Peter’s pence”; and now, for the first time, the Irish nation was subjected to English rule, and the Church of Ireland to Papal rule. It was at the Synod of Cashel in 1172 that the Irish bishops, under

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<sup>1</sup> “History of Ireland,” vol. ii., p. 360. London, 1778.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv., p. 164. Dublin, 1822.

<sup>3</sup> O’Halloran (as above), vol. ii., p. 368; and Dr. Lanigan (as above), vol. iv., p. 223.

the influence of Henry II., were first made to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome. The forged decretals of the early Bishops of Rome were then believed in as true as the Gospels. Many, however, still held aloof. It was not until the thirteenth century that the Pope appointed an archbishop in Ireland.

Such, then, was the origin of England's rule and that of the Roman Church in Ireland. The latter based on a forged document, the former accomplished purely for a mercenary consideration, and obtained by conquest, to satisfy the ambition of a vacillating, superstitious, and time-serving monarch.

C. H. COLLETTE.

(To be continued.)

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## Reviews.

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### THE HIBBERT LECTURES.<sup>1</sup>

- 1891.—*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God as illustrated by Anthropology and History.* By Count GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.
- 1892.—*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews.* By C. G. MONTEFIORE.
- 1893.—*Lectures on the Bases of Religious Belief.* By C. B. UPTON.
- 1894.—*Via, Veritas, Vita; being Lectures on "Christianity in its most Simple and Intelligible Form."* By JAMES DRUMMOND, LL.D.

BY the death of Mr. Robert Hibbert in 1849, a sum of money was bequeathed by him for the foundation of a trust fund, to be applied in a manner indicated in general terms by the testator himself, but with considerable latitude of interpretation to the trustees. For many years the funds were devoted to the higher culture of students for the Christian ministry, but subsequently it was deemed advisable to deflect the use of these funds somewhat, and employ them in the institution of a Hibbert Lecture, on a plan similar to that of the "Bampton" Lectures.

The trustees were fortunate enough to secure, as the first lecturer on the new foundation, the services of one of the most accomplished and learned scholars of this generation—Professor Max Müller. His lectures, on the "Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India," were delivered in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey in 1878. Every student of comparative religion is tolerably familiar with these brilliant lectures, which manage to combine a maximum amount of information with the maximum amount of lucidity—a combination at all times not very common, but never absent from any work to which Max Müller has set his hand. The object of the Hibbert Lectures was, as the memorial drawn up previous to their establishment stated, "the capable

<sup>1</sup> All the volumes of the Hibbert Lectures are published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate.

and honest treatment of unsettled problems in theology," freed from the "traditional restraints which in England have interfered with an unprejudiced treatment of the theory and history of religion." The memorial bore the signatures of many of the leaders of "advanced thought"—among them Dean Stanley, Dr. Martineau, Principal Caird, and Canon Cheyne.

The whole tone of the lectures from first to last has been "advanced"; and, with two exceptions, the lecturers have all been Unitarians or Theists. The two exceptions are Professor Sayce and the late Dr. Hatch. The predominant bias, therefore, of the Hibbert Lectures is clear. Hence we need not look in any of the fifteen volumes, of which the series consists, for any of those "confirmations" of the Christian religion, or those "refutations" of opponents which we are accustomed to look for in the Hulsean or Bampton Lectures.

The object of the present brief paper is to give a sketch of the last four sets of lectures delivered on the basis of the Hibbert trust. They are in every way characteristic of the series as a whole, now brought to a close by the publication of Principal Drummond's "Via, Veritas, Vita." Count d'Alviella's work on the "Idea of God" stands first on our list—not indeed in worth, but in priority of time. The book, so its author tells us, is to be regarded as a continuation of his "Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought in England, America, and India." The book is frankly naturalistic—that is, discarding any notion of supernatural agency in the production of religious ideas, it seeks to find a justification for, and explanation of, the highest developments of religion in the lowest forms of religious culture. The comparative method has been pursued throughout; the old theory that man began at a high level of culture is rejected; and the genesis of the "Idea of God" is sought for in the worship of natural objects, and in the adoration paid to the dead. The debt which D'Alviella owes to Dr. E. B. Tylor is, of course, ample, and due acknowledgment of the debt is made throughout the work.

The simple animism of early ages, and the worship of ancestors, are steps, according to the theory of Tylor and others, by which man gradually climbed to a higher pedestal of thought. Little by little the objects of nature are no longer adored *themselves*, but it is the personality with which they are supposed to be endowed to which worship is addressed. Hence the gradual emerging of Polydemonism and, a little later still, Polytheism, in all its multiplicity of forms. In the struggle for existence between the conflicting powers, naturally enough there would be certain gods who attained pre-eminence to the exclusion of other gods, who were gradually subordinated to a lower rank in the hierarchy of heaven. This would almost inevitably eventuate in what Max Müller has aptly termed "Henotheism," or a successive belief in single supreme gods; and this, be it observed, is a great step towards that Monotheism which has characterized the religions of all the highest races. Still, the movement from Henotheism to Monotheism is slow and arduous; the dualistic stage, during which the struggle for order and the struggle for good successively manifest themselves, must previously be passed through. It is not, however, very easy to see how the various steps of this evolution succeed one another; gaps are numerous, and the very ease with which the development moves on is apt to excite suspicion in the reader's mind. Last in the mighty scheme comes Monotheism, born, not like Athena from the head of Zeus, fully armed, and endued with all perfection and grace, but in due time as the summit and crown of the long religious evolution of the remote past. God has become at length the absolute unity, the One without a second. I have sketched in, shortly, but (I think) sufficiently, the main features of that theory of religious develop-

ment which is to the front just now, and which is supposed to satisfy religion on the one hand, and the claims of science on the other. The real fact seems to be, however, that this supposed explanation, when adequately tested, explains nothing. How are we to account for the known fact that, thousands of years ago, in the dim dawn of history, man had attained some of the noblest thoughts upon the being of God and His relation to men which have ever been made known to the world? The Egyptian "Book of the Dead" or the "Maxims of Ptah-hotep" alone afford demonstration of this. The earliest records we possess tell the same tale; they point to a time far back when all men everywhere acknowledged one supreme Being. Take the Rig-Veda, for example; at the period when the earliest hymns were produced two systems co-existed, the one wholly naturalistic, the other resting on a moral and spiritual basis; and the remarkable fact is that the latter system was by far the more ancient of the two.

Naturalistic interpreters say, "This may be all very true; but in the pre-historic period things were as we maintain; and it is useless to rely upon written records, which are, one and all, of comparatively recent growth." In other words, we are asked to discard known data, and base our conclusions entirely upon the dominant hypothesis of evolution, which, however true in many directions, becomes totally inadequate when rigidly applied to the explication of religious ideas. Evolution or development there has doubtless been in religion as elsewhere; but to make this word an "Open, sesame!" for unfolding all things in heaven and earth is simply an abuse of terms. Indeed, as the late Canon Cook so admirably said in the introduction to his extremely learned and valuable work, "The Origins of Religion and Language" (a work, by the way, most unjustly ignored; perhaps for the reason that its line of argument is too cogent and convincing to be wholly tasteful to men with preconceived notions): "All ascertainable facts . . . are absolutely irreconcilable with the theory which regards all spiritual and soul-elevating religions as evolved by a natural process from a primitive naturalistic polytheism; they support the view, which alone supplies a true, rational, and adequate account of the movements of human thought, according to which religious beliefs were first set in motion by communications from God."

We may now pass on to the second of the four volumes under review.

Mr. Montefiore's lectures may be looked upon as giving, in a comparatively brief compass, the net results of modern criticism, so far as it bears upon the Old Testament. Destructive this criticism, of course, is; and there can be no room for doubting that its general acceptance among people must seriously affect their conception of Christianity itself as a Divine revelation. This is often denied by critics who wish to "push" their views, and obtain greater currency for them in the minds of the orthodox; but the denial is itself disingenuous. Once concede the main position demanded by the higher critics, and we are bound, in common honesty, completely to readjust the whole body of our religious opinions. Internal relations must be adjusted to external relations, in religion as in other things. Now, I do not say that some sort of adjustment is not necessary; possibly it is inevitable, for it is absurd to suppose that our mental focus may not require alteration in view of the vast discoveries of recent years, and after the perpetual labours of hundreds of devoted students in the field of archæology and criticism. Doubtless it may well be that the "fresh light," sprung from what quarter soever, will dazzle and bewilder us; the advent of a new truth has a tendency to disconcert men at the first.

But fresh adjustment of mental focus, in obedience to the demands

of just and equitable criticism, is one thing; a complete *volte-face* is another. Yet it is the latter movement which we are bound to execute, and without delay, if Mr. Montefiore's conclusions be true. There is virtue, however, in that little word "if." No dispassionate student will peruse the Hibbert Lectures of 1892 without recognising their cleverness, their brilliancy, and their speculative daring. Of course all the lecturer tells us *may* be true; but sober judges will ask for proof. Now, I do not hesitate to affirm that, for a multitude of the statements made in the course of these nine lectures, positive proof there is *none*—none whatsoever. Ingenious theorizing; subtle generalizations, hiding, in the mist and cloud of them, those particulars without which the very position to be established melts into thin air; hasty and incomplete surmises, which disregard any awkward facts which would run counter to them, and catch eagerly at the straws of every hypothesis which has wriggled itself into momentary notice—all this sort of thing one becomes only too familiar with as one turns the pages of Mr. Montefiore's interesting work—alas! as interesting as it is unconvincing.

With the various conflicting problems which the progress of Old Testament criticism has given birth to, we are not here concerned; these are matters for which specialists are alone sufficient. But upon the *results* of this extreme criticism sensible men, who are not specialists at all, are competent to pass judgment; that judgment will assuredly be given, sooner or later, against the baseless speculations of Wellhausen and his followers. The reaction is, in the opinion of competent observers, already setting in; and the pendulum of criticism, which has swung so far in one direction, will return to a more settled equilibrium. We shall probably learn that the hypothesis of two (or three) Isaiahs is a needless piece of critical radicalism, the differences between the earlier and later chapters being perfectly well accounted for on the simple supposition that they represent the early and later work of Israel's greatest prophet. The Psalms, too, when we can look at them again through an undistorted medium, will appear to be, not the exclusive work of post-Exilic writers who (we are asked to believe) composed hymns in a dialect as unfamiliar to them as Chaucer is to us, but the book of Israel's praise, contributed to by various hands at various times, but containing the choice products of the sweet psalmists of Israel from the earliest period down to the close of the Canon. Finally, throughout the "Divine library of the Old Testament" we shall see the working of one Divine Spirit, controlling its authors—known and unknown—superintending its compilation, and guiding its destinies; and we shall refuse to accept any hypothesis, though never so deftly framed, which relies for its force upon causes purely naturalistic.

Mr. Montefiore's book might have remained as a landmark in the history of Old Testament criticism, had he not permitted himself to be biased so completely in favour of a theory, as to be unable to see where that theory breaks down. It is valuable, however, from many points of view, and of the author's desire to get at what he believes to be the truth there can be no question; furthermore, it is useful in showing that, while a rigid traditionalism in matters Biblical is impossible (and irrational to boot), the counterblast provided by the higher criticism is even less rational, even less possible. For the moment, would it not be wise to collect still further facts and more trustworthy data than we have hitherto been content to accept, at the same time avoiding those allurements of theory and speculation which have proved a stumbling-block in the way of orthodox and progressive alike?

In Professor Upton's excellent work we have the philosophy, so to speak, of the Hibbert Lectures clearly defined and put before us in a singularly attractive form. Its general view of the universe agrees in



the main with that of Lotze, as set forth in "Microcosmus." Lotze's theory is a sort of ideal-realism, which is striking the dominant note of philosophy in Germany at the present time.

Professor Upton's book aims, not at representing theology from any orthodox standpoint, but at finding a natural and rational ground for theism in the normal self-consciousness of man. Hence, while fully sympathizing with those who contend for the felt immanence of God in His rational order, and who shrink from that notion of God which is so occupied with His transcendent majesty as to forget His ever-present power and love. Professor Upton summarily dismisses from his philosophy any idea of Incarnation, as Christians understand the term. The only Incarnation contended for in these lectures is one which, though more completely manifested in Christ than elsewhere, "is by no means peculiar to Him, but is, in its essence, the intrinsic property and highest privilege of all rational souls."

The book, in consequence, has a chill about it which seems to cling to all books written from the purely theistic point of view. Elevated as its philosophy is, chaste and noble as its ethical system declares itself to be, one inevitably feels a lack of colour and warmth throughout its pages. Its ethics yield, or seem to yield, no satisfaction to the heart, though intellectually they are complete enough. And what energizing power of a living personality have we in a moral code which is content with reiterations of the "categorical imperative," and in frigid insistence upon the claims of duty? Motive-power is lacking; and, in the life of a man, motive-power is requisite if he is fully to realize his own boundless potentialities, and give utterance to the hidden things of his inmost spirit. Now, motive-power must come from without, for man cannot create such a power wherewith to move himself; and this motive-power can only be drawn from One who is Himself the source of all moral suasion and the fountain of spiritual strength. He must also be able to sympathize with man, suffering with him in his sorrows and sharing in his joys. Christ alone, the God-man, "in whom dwelleth all<sup>1</sup> the fulness of the Godhead in bodily shape," answers to the ever-present, ever-recurring needs of human life in all its manifoldness and subtle complexity. Disguise it as we may, pure Theism logically ends in some form or other of sublated dualism; it is the glory of Christianity that it has taught men that behind this dualism a synthesis may be looked for. In the Son, God has made Himself object to Himself, and so ceases to be pure subject; in the spirit He has returned upon Himself again in an eternal reconciliation. This is the dialectic of the highest Christian philosophy.

If Professor Upton's book is the philosophical outcome of the teaching of the Hibbert Lectures, not less may we regard Dr. Drummond's work as the summing up of its teaching on the *practical* side. Christian students will welcome it and prize it—so far as it goes; for its ethical teaching is based upon the life and words of Christ. There is no dishing up here of an emasculated theology; the teaching of the book does not pretend to be some ethical substitute for religious faith. But while we welcome and value these lectures, so singularly reverent in tone, so beautiful in their setting, we need not blind ourselves to one significant fact—that the Christ of these lectures is not the *living* Christ of the Gospel, but a *dead* Christ. Dead, too, for all that His words live on as a potent and never fading influence in the life of humanity. For us, who believe that we are permitted to see with deeper insight into the mystery of God, "He is not dead," but "ever liveth to make intercession

<sup>1</sup> Πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεϊότητος σωματικῶς.

for us." The difference between the two standpoints is vital; to minimize it would be disloyalty to the highest truth. In presence of this, all other difficulties vanish away; and it is upon one thing alone that the entire problem finally hinges—"What think ye of Christ?"

On all sides we may observe, if our attention is wisely directed, a desire—a world-hunger, I had almost said—to get back to the historic Christ. The "return to Christ" is, as Dr. Fairbairn<sup>1</sup> has justly noted, one of the great religious tendencies of our day. But that return is not a return to a dead Christ, buried in His rock-hewn grave in Judea nineteen hundred years ago, but a return to a *living* Christ, who truly moved with gracious presence among His fellows, and was indeed a man, tempted and tried even as men are tried and tempted to-day, and who yet was something divinely more. It is in Him, and none other, that we see "all things summed up—man, humanity, creation—in the last issue of life, and united to God."<sup>2</sup>

EDWARD HENRY BLAKENEY.

February 27, 1895.

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## Short Notices.

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*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity.* By Professor A. B. BRUCE, D.D. T. and T. Clark. Price 7s. 6d.

Professor Bruce's previous studies in Christian doctrine have long since earned the gratitude of students of the New Testament. Among living apologists his name stands deservedly high. Scarcely any thoughtful expositor would care to be without his "Training of the Twelve," on the whole his most valuable contribution to contemporary theology. The present work on St. Paul's conception of Christianity is intended as a companion to the author's "Kingdom of God," published six years ago. We have no hesitation in commending the new book to the notice of our readers. It is not an "epoch-making" book (the phrase has been so misused of late years that one is tempted to distrust it), but it is certainly a book which no student of early Christianity can well afford to neglect. It is written with a striking fulness of knowledge, and in an admirable spirit, and Dr. Bruce has lavished his best efforts in elucidating the main drift of St. Paul's conception of Christianity. With many of the writer's conclusions we venture to disagree, for they are considerably less Pauline than were the views of the great Apostle himself. Here and there, too, as one pauses to reconsider the argument, the feeling that is uppermost is that what is being pressed upon our immediate attention is not so much "St. Paul's Conception of Christianity," as Professor Bruce's. But, perhaps, in a work of this kind, such an event is not altogether avoidable.

There are twenty-one chapters altogether in the book; and one may safely say that there is no single chapter of all the twenty-one which does not amply deserve detailed notice of some sort or other. No review, in fact, would be quite adequate which did not run to pretty well the same length as the volume itself. We cannot, however, close this brief reference to a really noteworthy book, without thanking Professor Bruce for having furnished us with so stimulating and careful an inquiry into a subject fraught with the highest interest. Even where complete agree-

<sup>1</sup> "Christ in Modern Theology" (1893).

<sup>2</sup> Westcott, "Gospel of Life" (1892).

ment with the author's opinions is impossible, one cannot but recognise the lucid and temperate manner in which the argument is handled, and the candour with which an opponent's case is considered. E. H. B.

*A Year's Sermons.* Vol. ii. (July to December). By RICHARD W. HILEY, D.D., Longmans.

This is a volume of plain, simple and practical sermons, based upon one of the Scriptures appointed by the Church to be read on Sunday morning. In a striking preface, Dr. Hiley pleads with his brethren "to magnify their office as *preachers* of God's Word, and to let nothing interfere with careful preparation for the pulpit." We have not read all the sermons in the book, but if "A Retrospective Review," "God and Cæsar" and "Apparent Failure," may be taken as specimens, we can sincerely commend them for their sound common-sense. The sermon "Evil Advisers" contains some excellent advice for young men. The book bears ample traces of that "careful preparation" that Dr. Hiley so much desiderates. There is nothing contentious or exceptional in the entire 381 pages.

*Great Principles of Divine Truth.* By the late Canon HOARE. Edited by Rev. J. GURNEY HOARE, M.A., Vicar of Aylsham. Nisbet and Co.

This volume of sermons and papers by the sturdy champion of Evangelical truth at Tunbridge Wells will be welcomed by Canon Hoare's many admirers. As his son says in the preface, "His clear head and mathematical mind rendered him eminently capable of seeing the points of a subject, and putting them in such a way that they are easily grasped by others." Such subjects as "The Holy Spirit the author of all acceptable worship in public and in private," and "Holy Scripture: its inspiration, supremacy and sufficiency," are treated with a directness and an absence of "beating about the bush," which leaves no room for doubt as to the writer's meaning. Possibly some of the sermons may appear slightly too combative, but Canon Hoare evidently believed in no half measures when writing of the errors of Rome. Here and there, scattered over pages of sound teaching and sober counsels, we note one or two caustic sallies at—to take one instance—the tendency in many churches to elaborate the musical portion of Divine worship. "We hear," Canon Hoare writes, "a great deal, in these days, of 'hearty worship,' and from my heart I wish our worship was more hearty than it is. But heartiness does not consist in the quantity of music. *We do not keep our hearts in the pipes of our organ.*" He evidently had little in common with the introspective Christian, as the following sentence shows: "You cannot put a thermometer into your soul to ascertain whether your love is at blood-heat or below freezing-point, for the moment you do so the temperature is certain to fall to zero." The paper "Nothing Between" is an admirable statement of Evangelical doctrine, and will be read with profit by those who require a succinct refutation of the propositions of the Council of Trent, and a defence of the Articles of our Church. The editor, on the whole, has done his work well, though had he cut out some of the redundancies necessary in the pulpit but wearisome when in print, he would have earned the gratitude of busy readers. An excellent portrait of Canon Hoare faces the title-page.

"*Hereafter and Judgment.*" By the Rev. W. H. TUCKER, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambs. Elliot Stock, 1894.

One rises from reading this book profoundly impressed with the complexity and importance of its subject. The author undertakes no less task than passing under review all the references to Satan and man's destiny in Holy Scripture, and endeavours to harmonize them and to clear up the crude ideas of average Churchmen upon so awful a theme. The book is full of thought, and is the work of a mind keenly alive to

modern problems and the difficulties encountered by young intellects in reconciling the narrow notions of partially instructed Christians with their inner convictions of the nobility of the Gospel. His "desire was to examine the whole subject with calmness and with as unprejudiced a mind as he could bring to it towards the close of a long life of belief." This he does "in plain, almost colloquial language." There is, however, a singular lack of system in the arrangement of the author's arguments. The book is divided into two chapters only, one of which runs to 165 pages. Had the matter been separated into seven or eight chapters, greater clearness would have resulted. In the middle of a commentary on the references to hell in our Lord's parables, Mr. Tucker breaks off into a disquisition of twenty-four pages on the nature of the Deity and the use of the word "eternal," and then returns to the parables. Earnest and thoughtful men will not mind such errors of arrangement, but will feel grateful to the author for an honest, if somewhat mystical contribution to Christian thought on a subject too often avoided in our pulpits. The book possesses the invaluable quality of making its readers think.

*Sita, and other Poems.* By E. AYLMER GOWING (Emilia Aylmer Blake). Elliot Stock.

This prettily-bound volume is evidently the work of a sensitive and patriotic Englishwoman. Some of the most stirring public events of the last two years are treated with much vigour, though we may observe in passing, that a few lines in the poem "Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence," read in the light of subsequent events, might have been omitted. "Sita," the opening poem, a picture of Indian life, has a certain cadence, rendering it suitable for recitation. The dénouement of the story, however, is hardly natural. "The Little Hero of the Thames" and "Khartoum" are excellent.

*The Truth-Seeker.* ANONYMOUS. S.P.C.K. Price 6d.

This is indeed "a little book for the perplexed." We do not remember having read so noble and yet so persuasive a defence of the Faith in so small a compass. It is designed to meet the questionings of those who "feel that two thousand years of Christianity have not done what they ought to have done, and fear that the remedy is not adequate to the disease. Sick at heart in the bitterness of disappointment, they are tempted to give up the problem of life as an enigma incapable of solution." The little volume should have an extensive circulation among thoughtful people. We have read every word with profit.

*Spiritual Thoughts for Busy People.* S.P.C.K. Price 6d.

This collection of meditations from the works of Bishop Fénelon, for each day of the month, is one of the same series of quaintly-bound booklets as "The Truth Seeker." We are much struck with the thoughts on "False Liberty" and "True Devotion."

*A First Book on Church Principles.* By Canon GARNIER. S.P.C.K.

An outline, succinct but clear, of the doctrines held by the Church of England. Though written from the standpoint of a High Churchman, this little volume is noticeable for the moderation of its tone, and its apparent readiness to meet opponents half-way. The subject resolves itself into three main divisions—doctrine, fellowship, worship—of which the first two are here dealt with, Canon Garnier reserving the last for separate treatment. We differ from the writer on not a few points, but we gladly bear testimony to the many excellent things in his book.

*Mrs. Heritage.* By F. E. READE. S.P.C.K. Pp. 219. Price 2s. 6d.

A very well-written and interesting story, suitable for lending library, mothers' meeting, or hospital ward.

*The Law of Service.* By JAMES P. KELLEY. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1894. Pp. 143. Price 4s.

Those of our readers whose interest in altruism was stimulated by the Rev. W. A. Purton's paper in our January number will welcome this little book as giving a bird's-eye view of an altruist's application of the Divine Law of Service to every department of human activity. To submit the book to a comprehensive analysis would occupy more space than we can spare, but we may safely say that it is an elaboration of the duty already binding on every Christian to "bend all our powers to do the will of God in the service of His creatures, and that without qualification or reserve" . . . "we are to repudiate the distinction between sacred and secular, as applied to the legitimate concerns of life. In trade or politics, in art or athletics, in literature and scholarship, in digging ditches or dealing in stocks or keeping hotels, we are to be as devout as in preaching sermons, singing psalms or smoothing the pillow of the dying." In the chapters in which our author reviews the present social and religious system, he points out weak joints in our armour, and makes many caustic observations upon the anomalies he reveals. He has, however, no specific for the disease he diagnoses: "The evolution in detail of a civilization, in which the evils of the present day shall be minimized, no man can now trace out." However, he makes one practical suggestion in his remarks upon journalism, and that is that a newspaper should be started "which should stake all on its uncompromising loyalty to the highest principle," and "must be essentially Christian." We should not think Mr. Kelley was an orthodox Christian from one or two hints he throws out in the chapters entitled "Theology," "The Church—Instruction," and "Theoretical Teaching of the Church," yet there is a breezy candour and a shrewd insight in all his criticisms such as should rouse the pulse of the many against whom the charge of "other-worldliness" can be fairly made.

*Clerical Life and Work.* By the late Canon LIDDON, D.D. Pp. 377. Price 5s. Longmans.

This volume contains Canon Liddon's sermons at the anniversary festivals of theological colleges, ordinations, and consecrations, with three memorial sermons on Samuel Wilberforce, John Keble, and Dr. Pusey. It is uniform with his other works. Of course, here the sacerdotal side of Dr. Liddon's teaching is far more prominent than elsewhere. Apart from that, the sermons breathe his knowledge of character, his penetrating sympathy, his absolute devotion to the service of God, his theological learning, and his literary culture. Young men who have no sympathy with the sacerdotal school will have much to learn from the earnestness, the devoutness, and the knowledge in this volume.

*A Catechism on the Chief Points of Difference between the Church of Ireland and the Church of Rome.* Pp. 47. Price 2d. Dublin: Charles and Son.

This admirable catechism is prepared by five clergymen of the Archbishop of Dublin's diocese, and its use has been authorized by several of the Irish diocesan synods. It contains clear, Scriptural, evangelical teaching on the subject of the Church; the Rule of Faith; the Creeds; Papal Supremacy; Infallibility; Sin and Forgiveness; Penance; Purgatory; the Sacraments; Transubstantiation; the Sacrifice of the Mass; Withholding of the Cup; Veneration and Invocation of Saints and Angels; Image Worship; the Worship of Relics; and Prayers in an Unknown Tongue. In an appendix are found: The Novelty of some of the Romish Doctrines; The Creed of Pope Pius IV.; and some larger books recommended on the whole subject.

This little book should be in every cottage of the United Kingdom.

*The Message of Israel.* By JULIA WEDGWOOD. Isbister and Co. 1894.

"The following pages," says the authoress in her preface, "embody an attempt to bring the results of recent criticisms before the reader of the Old Testament, so far as the message which the Bible contains is made clearer by such criticism." There is evidence throughout the book of a careful study of the works of modern critics, and the book will be welcomed as a good résumé of the views at present held by the school of Wellhausen. But, while it shows the utmost readiness to accept "critical" conclusions, the book displays little of that cautious spirit which refuses to accept the latest fad from Germany, merely because it is new. What we want is less of what is new, and more of what is true; and, unfortunately, that is precisely what we do not always get. The general tenor of the authoress's own opinions may be gathered from the following quotation: "The test by which Biblical criticism must stand or fall is its power to render the moral purport of the Old Testament intelligible. If under its analysis the history and literature of the most remarkable people of antiquity ceases to be an 'abracadabra,' from which here and there we derive edification, and becomes a rememberable chapter in the history of thought, then the newer criticism will mould our Bible, and, in teaching us to read it, will vindicate whatever is destructive in its own work. If it fail in this respect, all its arguments will be so much waste paper."

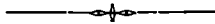
The book is decidedly worth reading, for it is a conscientious piece of work, although written with a distinct bias. There are some useful hints, too, to be gleaned from the footnotes which abound in its pages, and one is grateful for the index. This, however, might be enlarged in scope with advantage.

*Self-Improvement.* R.T.S. Library, No. 31. Price 6d.

A well-printed abridgment of the famous Todd's "Student's Manual," full of wise counsels to young men. Todd, despite the criticism of Dr. Robertson Nicoll, continues to exercise a great influence. Many who have been kept back by the minutiae of the original edition will welcome this abridgment.

*Life's Battle Lost and Won.* R.T.S. Pp. 190. Price 6d.

This little book, the same in size and price as "Charles Ogilvie," will also make a nice reward book for elder boys.



#### THE MONTH.

A LETTER from Rome in the *Monde*, which is well informed on Vatican matters, states that the Pope has decided not to issue the decree of the Holy Office as to the validity of Anglican orders. "In spite of the opinion of several Cardinals and religious orders, Leo XIII. thinks that to solve just now so serious and complex a subject might involve a risk of retarding the great current of union which is drawing the Anglican *élite* towards Rome."—*Times*.

Dr. Percival, the new Bishop of Hereford, has long been marked out for such an appointment. He was Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Junior Mathematical Scholar in 1855, Double First Class Moderations in 1856, Double First Class B.A. in 1858, M.A. 1861, Hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews University in 1870. He was ordained Deacon in 1860; Presbyter 1861; was Headmaster of Clifton College from 1862-1878; examining chaplain to Bishop Temple, of Exeter, from 1869-1882; Prebendary of Exeter 1871 to 1882; Select Preacher at Oxford 1882 and

1888; Chaplain to the Bishop of London from 1884 to 1886; President of Trinity College, Oxford, from 1878 to 1887; Canon of Bristol from 1882-1887; and Headmaster of Rugby since 1887. He is an ardent social Reformer, and firmly opposed to the revival of sacerdotalism.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Manchester, Wakefield, and Bath and Wells, and Bishop Selwyn, to whom the Diocesan Synod had delegated the choice of a successor to Bishop Kennion in the See of Adelaide, have unanimously selected the Rev. John Reginald Harmer to fill the vacancy. Mr. Harmer, who was educated at Eton and subsequently became a scholar of King's College, Cambridge, is in his thirty-seventh year. In 1878 he won the Bell Scholarship, and in 1881 he gained the Caius Prize and took his degree as fifth classic. He was also Evans prizeman and Scholefield prizeman, and obtained a first-class in the Theological Tripos. From 1883 to 1889 he was a Fellow of King's, and since 1890 has held a Fellowship of Corpus Christi, of which society he is at present dean and tutor. Mr. Harmer, who was ordained deacon in 1883 and priest in the following year by the late Bishop of Durham, was licensed to the curacy of Monkwearmouth. From 1884 till the time of his death he was domestic chaplain to Bishop Lightfoot, and became his literary executor and the editor of his posthumous works. He is one of the examining chaplains of Bishop Westcott. The Bishop-designate was recently married to Miss Somers-Cocks, a niece of Lord Somers.

The Rev. William Page Roberts, upon whom the Queen has conferred the vacant Canonry of Canterbury, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, taking his B.A. degree in 1861, and his M.A. in 1865. He was Curate of St. Thomas's, Stockport, from 1861 to 1864, and Vicar of Eye from 1864 to 1878. In the latter year he became minister of St. Peter's, Vere Street, Marylebone. He is the author of several volumes of sermons: "Law and God" being published in 1874, "Reasonable Service" two years later, and "Liberalism in Religion" in 1888.

The living of Bovey Tracey, Devon, vacant by the death of the Rev. the Hon. C. L. Courtenay, Canon of Windsor, has been offered by the Earl of Rosebery to the Right Rev. George Wyndham Hamilton Knight-Bruce, Bishop of Mashonaland, and has been accepted by him. He has also been appointed Assistant Bishop in the diocese of Exeter.

The accession of the Rev. the Hon. W. B. Ponsonby to the Bessborough earldom brings the number of temporal peers who are in holy orders to four. The three others are the Marquis of Normanby, Canon of St. George's, Windsor; Lord Scarsdale, Rector of Kedleston; and Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin.

At the close of a lecture given by Canon Mathews, Vicar of Appleby St. Lawrence, at Carlisle, on the Welsh Disestablishment question, Mr. A. N. Bowman (the Bishop's Secretary and Registrar) asked why the measure proposed to deal with property given to the Church prior to 1703. Canon Mathews said 1703 was fixed nominally as the date of the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty; but the real reason was that from that date began the system of State grants to Dissenting ministers. Since that date £2,600,000 had been granted for the purpose of completing churches and endowing poor livings, through the machinery of Queen Anne's Bounty; but the grants made by the State to Dissenting ministers in the same time amounted to no less than £3,000,059.

A great work for Islington has been completed by the indefatigable Rural Dean, Mr. Barlow. Seven poor parishes have been provided with endowed curacies—All Saints', St. Matthew's, St. Matthias', St. Peter's, St. John Baptist's, St. David's and Emmanuel's. In each case a sum of £2,000 has been raised, partly through the Bishop of London's Fund, partly through the London Diocesan Home Mission, partly through local contributions. In each case a sum of £2,000 has been granted out of annual income by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, from the estates of Bishops and Cathedral Chapters in their hands. The scheme of endowed curacies was started by the Bishop of London; nowhere has it been so vigorously adopted as by the sympathetic and prudent Vicar of Islington and his energetic local clergy.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel held its annual meeting on Friday, the 15th inst., at the office of the National Society, the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding. The secretary presented the reports of the auditors and treasurers. From the latter it appeared that the gross income of the society had increased in 1894 by £9,248, which was due to the large amount of legacies received; that under the item of subscriptions, collections, and donations to the general fund, there had been a decrease of £950, of which £590 was due to the falling off of the remittances from foreign parts, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of Canada having sent less by £540 than in 1893. The general parochial organization throughout the country showed an increase of about £1,200, twenty-one dioceses having increased their contributions by £3,028, and thirteen having fallen to the amount of £1,839. Ireland had remitted in 1894 more by £540 than in 1893.

The statistical records of the work of the Church of England, which appears in the new volume of the "Official Year Book," give evidence of continued vigour and progress. The voluntary offerings of Churchmen (excluding those which did not come under the immediate direction or cognizance of the clergy) for the specified period—viz., the year 1893—amounted to £5,650,490. Of this sum £1,182,435 has been spent on church building and restoration, £36,197 on burial-grounds, £176,346 on the endowment of benefices, and £87,920 on parsonage-houses. In regard to the Church in Wales, it may be observed that the total net income of the clergy arising from tithe rent-charge, glebes, pew-rents, fees, Easter offerings, interest on funded property and from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and other sources, was £186,046, whereas the voluntary contributions for Church work amounted to £240,643. Another table of some interest is that relating to the Metropolitan Hospital Sunday Fund. Last year the total sum collected was £35,802, of which the Church of England contributed 728,368. The total sum raised by the fund for the twenty-two years (1873-1894) was £695,504, of which £534,995 was contributed by the Church of England. The confirmation statistics yield the following figures for 1894: There were confirmations at 2,728 centres, and the number confirmed was 214,122—viz., 86,881 males and 127,241 females. For the ten years (1874-1883) the number of confirmees was 1,652,052, and for the ten years (1884-1893) 2,127,864.

Canon Burnside, Rector of Hertingfordbury and hon. editor of the "Official Year-Book of the Church of England," sends us the following summary of voluntary contributions for Church work in 1894. It has been practicable to take account only of sums raised by offertories in Church and such parochial organizations as would come distinctly under the immediate direction or cognizance of the clergy. It was obviously



impossible to embrace individual offerings privately conveyed to central societies and institutions. For these reasons the total sum of £5,650,490 cannot be taken to represent a comprehensive statement of voluntary offerings of Churchmen for the specified period :

Diocese.	Total Amount.	Diocese.	Total Amount.
Canterbury ... ..	£245,124	Llandaff ... ..	£102,545
York ... ..	238,011	Manchester ... ..	314,166
London ... ..	620,259	Newcastle ... ..	77,286
Durham ... ..	92,908	Norwich ... ..	129,334
Winchester ... ..	270,519	Oxford ... ..	228,111
Bangor ... ..	33,705	Peterborough ... ..	180,436
Bath and Wells ... ..	114,673	Ripon ... ..	164,127
Carlisle ... ..	92,090	Rochester ... ..	409,048
Chester ... ..	170,199	St. Albans ... ..	218,432
Chichester ... ..	201,677	St. Asaph ... ..	52,634
Ely ... ..	109,208	St. David's ... ..	51,758
Exeter ... ..	159,277	Salisbury ... ..	123,531
Gloucester and Bristol ... ..	181,065	Sodor and Man ... ..	8,199
Hereford ... ..	66,651	Southwell... ..	160,288
Lichfield ... ..	199,998	Truro ... ..	59,349
Lincoln ... ..	84,220	Wakefield ... ..	112,856
Liverpool... ..	168,564	Worcester ... ..	210,241
			£5,650,490

The Duke of Devonshire has promised £1,000 as a start towards the cost of the proposed enlargement of St. John's Church, Buxton, and £200 for a Higher Buxton Mission Church.

The vicar and churchwardens of Shireoaks, Notts, have been informed that Miss Mary Plant has left by her will £1,000, less legacy duty, to the parish church.

The Church of England Temperance Society has received £100 from Lady Howard de Walden towards the fund which is being raised to relieve the society from past deficiencies.

Colonel Clapham, of Manchester, who received a legacy amounting to £1,000 under the will of the late Miss Harrison, of Wakefield, has agreed to place it at the disposal of Archdeacon Donne (Vicar of Wakefield) and the churchwardens for the erection of a new reded in Wakefield Cathedral.

The late Miss Walker, of Barton-upon-Irwell, Manchester, has bequeathed £2,000 upon trust, the interest of which is to be paid to the incumbent of St. Chad's, Over, Cheshire. Miss Walker stipulated that the tombs of the Davenports, of which family she was a member, shall be, in return, kept in good order, failing which the income is to be handed to the Manchester Royal Infirmary.

The Church House has received an anonymous donation (from 'A. B.') of £1,000.

A meeting of the committee of the Blakeney Memorial Fund was held at Sheffield on Friday, when it was reported that promises had been received amounting to £4,095. It was decided to place a bust in the parish church, with a pedestal and suitable inscription. A sum of £1,000 is to be presented to Mrs. Blakeney, and the rest of the fund will be invested in the purchase of an annuity for her.