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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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APRIL, 1889.

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ART. I.—ERASTIANISM: ITS NATURE AND TRUE  
LIMITS. THOUGHTS FOR THE TIME.

THE word "Erastianism" will, I doubt not, arouse in many of my readers the feeling of fear or anger, or both. And, perhaps, without asking whether Erastus himself was what is now called an Erastian or not, we may be allowed to use the word for convenience' sake. I suppose it to apply to those who consider the Church to be a mere department of the State, thinking that the State has the right as well as the power to deal with the Church as it pleases.

Nor do I deny that there is a real danger of wrong being done to the Church by the State. We know that the Cæsars of old did not always recognise "the things of God" as they ought to have done. And though we have great cause to thank God for the measure of peace and prosperity which He has given us, and the favours which by His mercy we have found here in England from both rulers and people; yet, so long as sin is in the world, and so long as well-meaning men can make mistakes, we have no right to depend on the prevalence of right principles and sound judgment in the rulers of the State at all times. Whether they be kings or queens, classes or masses, they may be misled—may be actuated by wrong motives, and commit great injustice, inflicting great injuries on the Church.

But, then, the Church herself is not infallible nor impeccable. Taking the promises in their largest sense, it is plain that there is no absolute security from error for the Church of any particular age and any particular country.

Clergy and laity, bishops, priests and deacons, councils, convocations, synods, all are liable to err. And so, considering what the State is, and what we ourselves are, it behoves us to search very diligently, and see very clearly, what God's

will is, lest we should on the one hand get into trouble by a misguided conscientiousness, or on the other hand bring discredit on God's true religion by our cowardice in yielding where we ought to resist.

And this is the more needful for us, because thereby we may hope to be more united ourselves, and so when resistance is needed, to act with greater weight, and to disarm some, at least, of those who would otherwise be hostile to us. In this, as in everything else, union is strength, division is weakness.

The question I wish to consider is, not how far it is right or wise of the State to interfere with the Church, but how far it is right for the Church and her members to submit to the State, its kings, parliaments, judges and magistrates.

I intend therefore not to deal with the Liberationists, who, regarding the Church, not as a single organized body or society, but as an indefinite number of independent societies or unattached individuals, think that the State ought not to take any notice of any of them.

But at the opposite pole from the Liberationists are those who think of the Church and State as two independent bodies of men, who may, like two merchants, enter into partnership on such terms and for such a period as they may agree upon. They suppose that, except under some such partnership, the State ought not to have any authority, or the State Courts any jurisdiction over the Church, in matters properly called spiritual; and that it is the duty of the Church to resist any attempt to exercise such authority or jurisdiction. They think also that the Church ought not to enter or continue in this supposed partnership, except when and so long as the State approves itself to the Church as a truly Christian State, its legislature and courts of justice being regulated on truly Christian principles.

There is no doubt much to be said for this view of things. For it is clear in itself, and clearly declared in Scripture, that we must obey God rather than man.

But, on the other hand, as we are also clearly told that the powers that be are ordained of God, and that those that resist the power resist the ordinance of God, we see that such resistance *may* involve us not only in much trouble, but also in a real contradiction to God's will.

We cannot wonder if this apparent conflict of authorities has led to very serious scruples of conscience, burning questions, controversies, and even bloodshed. And the difficulty is aggravated by the presence of another, which is practically if not theoretically connected with it, namely, how far the authority of the Church is confined to or concentrated in that

of the clergy (whether Bishops or others), or whether the laity ought to have any voice in the Church.

But when we remember that God is a God of order, and that He not only placed all things in order at the first creation, but, since the time that sin brought discord into the world, has made provision for the ultimate "restitution of all things," and in the meantime has promised to those who obey Him a guide and directory by which they may know His will, we may certainly expect to find somewhere a resolution of our doubts, if we seek it aright. Setting ourselves to discover and to do His will, we shall find that there is no such conflict of authorities as to leave us uncertain which we ought to obey.

Where, then, are we to look for a solution of our problem? How are we to find out when and where we are bound by our duty to God to disobey the laws of the State? Our first and highest authority must, of course, be the Bible. After this we may consult the history of the Church at large and our own Church of England in particular.

But it seems to me that the very earnest and very voluminous controversial speeches, sermons and writings, which have crowded our newspapers, pamphlets, and reports of late years, have almost, if not altogether, abstained from any real investigation into Bible principles. These seem to me to have been assumed, as if there could be no question about them. If in this I am mistaken, as is very possible, I wish to be enlightened. If I am right in this, I hope my present attempt will lead abler and better men to "search the Scriptures" more thoroughly, and correct me where I am wrong.

In the patriarchal ages we find no distinction between Church and State. As far as we can see, all authority, civil and religious, was in the same hands. Abraham exercised both, and so did Melchizedek. So did Moses at first. And when the priesthood was established as a separate order under Aaron, Moses still held the highest place even in spiritual things.

So also throughout the Old Testament history, though God did not permit the kings to perform priestly functions in their own persons, the ordering of the priesthood and of all things relating to Divine worship, subject to the command of God, was under their authority. Thus in Joshua i. 8, "Thou shalt command the priests." See also chap. vi. 6; viii. 30, etc. We find abundant instances in the reigns of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah. Among these it has been noticed that Jehoshaphat, in establishing courts of justice, appointed Amariah the chief priest to be the head "in all matters of the Lord." And it has been argued that this

precedent ought to be followed in all cases: so that, though the supreme authority may nominally be in the Sovereign, he can only exercise it by appointing one or more Bishops; and that laymen therefore ought not to be appointed as judges in spiritual causes. But, at all events, the appointment was by Jehoshaphat; and what was done in one instance need not have been done always. Solomon deposed one high priest and appointed another. And throughout the history it is clear that many things were done, and done rightly, by royal authority, without any consultation of or reference to the priests.

It has been said that this action of the Jewish Kings is not to be taken as a precedent, because they reigned by direct appointment from God, the Jewish polity being a theocracy. But it is by God's providence and appointment that all kings reign (Dan. ii. 21-37). And therefore not only is it a sin against God when they oppress His Church. It is their duty, though too often they know it not, to promote God's true religion among their people (2 Sam. xxiii. 3).

Of this we have one instance in the order given by the King of Nineveh on Jonah's preaching. We have another in the history of Nehemiah. For, though he was a Jew, the authority by which he acted was solely that of the Persian King, under whom he was governor. And this instance is worthy of special notice, because of the contest between Nehemiah and the high-priest Eliashib, in which it is clear that the lay-governor's authority was as far above that of the high-priest, as his conduct was more loyal to God.

In truth, from the time when Aaron made the golden calf, to that in which Annas and Caiaphas and the overwhelming majority of the Sanhedrim united in condemning our Lord, we find that even the priesthood appointed and consecrated by God Himself was liable to err, and did err most grievously; and that it was the duty, not only of the Kings, but of all pious Israelites, to resist them. Hence we gather from the whole history of the Old Testament Church that the State authorities were supreme. Is there anything in the New Testament to show that God has adopted a different rule for the Christian Church? We find provision made for the appointment of ministers of divers orders in the Church, who are to have authority over the household of God. But the Old Testament, as a whole, is not abolished. It is still "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." And I find nothing in the New Testament to contradict the teaching of the Old Testament in the point we are now considering.

And we must remember that not only among the Jews

were the Church authorities subordinate to those of the State, but that the same custom prevailed in all the civilized nations of the world. In all countries and in all ages the Kings were either themselves supreme pontiffs, or had authority over them. If in God's purpose this order was not to prevail in the Christian Church, we should expect the change to be clearly stated in the New Testament. In fact, we find very much to the contrary. Our Lord's answer to the Pharisees and Herodians, about the tribute-money (Matt. xxii. 21), has been much misunderstood. But the very fact that He in one sentence combined the two spheres of human duty, the two tables of the law, shows that those two clauses are not, as it was thought by some, to be separated, but united (see accordingly Stier, Alford and Ellicott); and this necessarily. For all the things of Cæsar are certainly in God's domain; and therefore some of the things of God must also be in Cæsar's domain. "To Cæsar"—*i.e.*, according to Apostolic interpretation, to bad as well as good, to a Nero as well as to an Alfred, also to the governors, judges, magistrates, and others in authority under them—"render," not only tribute, but all that is their due: obedience, fear, honour, respect; not to despise dominion or speak evil of dignities. But all this with the one all-pervading limit—that we must obey God rather than man.

Again, in Matt. xxiii. 2, we read: "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." Note, our Lord does not say in Aaron's, but in Moses' seat: the seat of the King (Deut. xxxiii. 5). For the Sanhedrim, which took cognisance both of civil and of ecclesiastical matters, contained laymen as well as priests.

As our Lord Himself, so also His Church in the times of the Apostles, found no favour and scant justice from the rulers of this world's power. But still Christians were not only told to pray for Kings and all in authority, but to submit themselves. For even the rule of a Nero was the ordinance of God. And St. Peter says expressly that the King is supreme.

The deference to royal authority which St. Paul enjoined on others he showed himself in a noteworthy case—his appeal to Cæsar. This is the more remarkable from its contrast with the rebuke he had given to the Corinthian Christians. In their disputes with one another on secular matters, which were apparently of the kind which among us would be referred to the County Courts, he had told them that they should rather suffer wrong than go to law before unbelievers. But here it was no secular interest that was at stake. It was a trial for heresy, involving the central truths of Christianity; and St.

Paul distinctly stated it as such: "Of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question." Yet, even in such a case, so far was he from refusing to plead before a secular court, and desiring to have this question tried by the spiritual tribunal of the Sanhedrim, he not only pleaded and argued before Felix and Festus, but appealed to Cæsar, to the Roman Emperor Nero!

We are well assured that this was no cowardly device of a man who was thinking only of himself, and hoping to save his life by a mere trick. He never thought of himself: always and everywhere of the cause entrusted to him. And it was this very cause that he submitted to the judgment of Nero. Nor are we to suppose that this appeal proceeded from any sudden fear or impulse of his own mind. We can hardly doubt that it was suggested to him by our Lord's own words, "Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of Me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome" (Acts xxiii. 2, and see 2 Tim. iv. 17).

We may suppose that the way in which the cause would come before Nero would be this: that the Jewish religion was recognised by the Romans as that of a dependent nation, in the same way in which the Hindu or Mohammedan religion is recognised by our courts in appeals from India; so that the question to be tried may have been, whether Christianity was a heretical departure from the Jewish religion or a normal development of it. Of course, the result of his appeal was uncertain. And if the sentence was against him, he would suffer death rather than deny his Lord. But as God's providence had placed him under Nero's authority, His Spirit might dispose the Emperor's heart to decide rightly. At all events, St. Paul did not consider that there was any sacrifice of principle in his owning Nero's jurisdiction in such a cause.

It is probable that the appeal was successful, as it seems that after his two years' imprisonment in Rome he was set at liberty. But soon afterwards, as we know, a heathen persecution followed the Jewish one. And thenceforward till the time of Constantine the ruling powers were almost always hostile to Christianity, and the questions which we are now considering could not arise.

One remarkable exception occurred in A.D. 272. The heretic Bishop of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, favoured by Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, had caused great trouble in the Church, two large synods having failed either to convince or get rid of him. But when Aurelian, the Roman Emperor, had conquered Zenobia, the orthodox Bishops appealed to him, though he was a Pagan. Their appeal was successful, and the

heretic Bishop was displaced. (See Eusebius, E. H., vii., c. 30, and Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report, i., p. xv.) It is true that civil rights were involved, but those rights depended on the question of doctrine. And if the Emperor had chosen to have that question argued before him, the Bishops who appealed to him could not consistently have refused. They would no doubt have been glad of the opportunity of bearing witness to Christ before Aurelian, as St. Paul had done before Nero, hoping that by God's providence the Emperor would give a just judgment, even if he were not converted to Christianity.

But this was, as I have said, an exceptional case. In general, the Roman Emperors before Constantine were hostile to the Church; and this fact deprives us of much help which we should otherwise have had from the early Church for our present inquiry. For during those centuries, while the Church organization was being gradually consolidated, almost the whole power of the Church fell into the hands of the Bishops and clergy. We cannot tell what shape the primitive Church would have assumed under Christian Emperors. Long before Constantine's time the Church had left her first love, lost her first purity, was distracted by heresies and schisms, and even the Catholic Church had in a great measure become corrupted and worldly. Hence, when the rulers of the State became Christians, the Church had, in part at least, lost the power of leavening the nations; and all the efforts of an Athanasius, an Augustine, a Chrysostom, were unable to stem the tide, which in course of time brought the Empire to its fall and well-nigh overwhelmed the Church. So, whether we look to Constantinople, alternately ruled by monkish fanaticism and courtly frivolity, or to Rome, with its clerical ambition growing into Popery, we can only with reserve take as a ruling precedent what was done in those days.

It was natural for the Emperors, imperfectly acquainted with Scripture and with few landmarks to guide them, sometimes to shrink from the responsibility of giving any decision, and sometimes roughly to throw the sword into the scale, in order to settle some party dispute which was disturbing the Church.

But though often the Church suffered by the officious and unwise meddling of the State authorities, though often the Emperors or their favourites supported grievous heresies, yet as a whole, I believe that their interference was beneficial, as checking more serious evils. For the Church was neither pure enough nor united enough to stand alone safely. At all events, it is clear that in general the authority of the Emperors was owned by the Church.



I may name four Emperors who took a large part in the management of the Church—Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and Charlemagne. Of Justinian we read that the Eastern Emperors, “and he most of all, regarded themselves as clothed with a supreme executive authority over the religious no less than the secular society. No such distinction as was afterwards claimed in the West between the temporal and spiritual powers had then been thought of.” (“Dictionary of Christian Biography,” iii. 556; see also 558.) Of Charlemagne we read that in A.D. 796 the newly-elected Pope sent him, in token of submission, the keys and standard of the city and the keys of the sepulchre of St. Peter (“Dictionary of Christian Biography,” i. 458); that after his coronation he was adored by the Pope, “more antiquorum principum” (*ibid.*, 459); that he appointed Bishops as he appointed Counts (*ibid.*, 460); that in ecclesiastical administration Charles insisted on the submission of all ecclesiastical authority to the kingly and imperial; that Bishops and Counts were alike summoned in the same terms to the great national assemblies (*ibid.*, 461. See also Hallam, ii. 218. I may also refer to the “Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,” s.v. “appeal” and “jurisdiction,” and to the account, in the same work, of the Third Council of Toledo under King Reccared).

From the *later* Church history on the Continent there seems more to be learnt in the way of warning than example. We cannot admire either Guelphs or Ghibelines. But we should notice that Charlemagne’s death, A.D. 814, very nearly marks the beginning of that great revolution which set the Church above the State, which brought more than one monarch to the Pope’s foot, and under which the Christian world is still suffering more than many of us are aware. For it was soon after Charlemagne’s death that the famous *forged decretals* first appeared. Accepted as genuine in an uncritical age, and cited by Pope Nicholas I., they afterwards formed the basis of Gratian’s “Decretum,” and so of the whole canon law of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Turning now to the Church of England, I suppose we may take as sufficiently correct what is said in the Statute of Provisors, 25th Edward III., that it was founded in the estate of prelacy by Edward I. and his progenitors, and the earls, barons, and other nobles of the realm and their ancestors.

The Bishops of the Anglo-Saxon Church were appointed by the Kings either with or without the Wittan. The Bishop and the Sheriff used to sit together in the administration of

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Salmon’s “Infallibility of the Church,” pp. 444, etc.; also Döllinger’s “Erklärung,” and Janus on the Vatican Council. ¶

justice. But William the Conqueror separated the Church Courts from the civil. The results of this step soon began to be felt. The Roman canon law, based, as I have said, on the forged decretals, was introduced into England and attempted to be enforced by Thomas à Beckett. The "freedom of the Church," guaranteed by Magna Charta, seemed only to put a papal tyrant in the place of a regal one. Bishop Stubbs, in his "Ecclesiastical History," describes the Church Courts of those ages as centres of corruption, which the Church failed to overcome, but acquiesced in the failure rather than allow the intrusion of the secular power (vol. iii., 373). So it seems that what were technically called "Courts Christian" were not always really Christian Courts.

The "Reformation Settlement" has been the subject of so much observation and discussion that I need say nothing on it here beyond this, that I believe Mr. L. T. Dibdin is right in his opinion,<sup>1</sup> that, in fact, the legislation which concerned the doctrine and substance of the Church was by the combined Act of Convocation and Parliament, while that which concerned discipline was by Parliament alone. This also, I think, has been the course since the Reformation.

I must now call attention to the writings of some of our greatest Church authorities on the question now before us.

To Richard Hooker our Church system, as it then existed, appeared quite satisfactory. I do not therefore find much in him which bears on our present question. But there is one sentence to the point in E. P. VIII., vi. 13: "They that received the law of Christ were for a long time scattered . . . Christianity not exempting them from the laws which they had been subject unto, saving only in such cases as those laws did enjoin that which *the religion of Christ* forbade." This religion is surely that of the pure Word of God, from which nothing may be taken, and to which nothing may be added by man. So, according to Hooker, it is this alone which exempts us from human laws.

My next authority is Bishop Andrewes, who in his "Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine," pp. 326-340, shows that as the highest authority rests in the Sovereign, he is to be obeyed unless it appears clearly and evidently that his commands are cross to the immediate commands of God; and that, in case of doubt, the command of a superior is sufficient cause to remove the doubt, he being God's deputy. The same principles were enforced by Bishop Andrewes in his "Tortura Torti," of which a summary by Canon Meyrick has been published at

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<sup>1</sup> See his "Church Courts," second edition, Hatchards.

Messrs. Rivington's under the title, "The Limits of the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England."

In quoting from Jeremy Taylor's "Ductor Dubitantium," my only difficulty is an *embarras de richesses*. But if any of my readers who are not familiar with his writings will only be persuaded to study the whole of the third book of this great work, they will be richly rewarded for their trouble.

In chapter iii., after discussing the nature of the supreme civil power in any commonwealth, whether it be in one person or more, he quotes the saying of a martyr: "Because we are sure that these laws are against the commandments of God, we despise them." Then Taylor adds: "But if we be not sure, but are in doubt whether the laws are just or no, we are to presume for the laws and against our own fears" (Heber's edition, vol. xiii., 442).

At p. 470 we have Rule iv.: "The supreme civil power is also supreme governor over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical. . . . If this rule were not of great necessity. . . . I should have been unwilling to have meddled with it, because it hath so fierce opposition from the bigots of both parties—from Rome and from Scotland, the Papist and the Presbyterian; and they use not to be very kind to any man who shall at all oppose them." At p. 492, Rule v.: "Kings have a legislative power in the affairs of religion and the Church." At p. 493: "The things of the Church, which are directly under no commandment of God, are under the supreme power of Christian Princes. I need no other testimony for this but the laws themselves which they made, and to which Bishops and Priests were obedient, and professed that they ought to be so—*e.g.*, divers Popes who gave command to their clergy to obey such laws, which themselves had received from imperial edicts. For there are divers laws which are by Gratian thrust into his collection which were the laws of Christian Princes."

At p. 498, Rule vi.: "The supreme civil power hath a power of coercion of every person in the whole order ecclesiastical." At p. 501 the Bishop quotes from Balsamo: "The patriarch shall be judged of the Emperor, who hath cognisance over the power of the Church for sacrilege or heresy or any other crime." At p. 504: "If the pulpit says amiss we are not bound by it; but if the Court [of Judicature] judges ill we may complain, but we must submit."

At p. 518, Question v.:

Whether is to be obeyed, the Prince or the Bishop, if they happen to command contrary things? To this I answer that it is utterly determined that the Emperor is to be obeyed against the will of the Bishop. . . . Whatever is left undetermined by God, that the supreme power can

determine. And in such things, if there could be two supreme powers, the government were monstrous, and there could be no obedience. Now the supreme power hath in this no limit, but that which limits both powers, the laws of nature and the laws of Jesus Christ; and if there be anything commanded by the Prince against these, the Bishop is to declare the contrary, *i. e.*, to publish the will of God, provided it be an evident matter, and without doubtful disputation . . . I do not say but a temporal law may be against the canons of the Church, but then we are to follow the civil law, because the power is by the law of nature supreme.

At page 530, Rule vii. : "The supreme civil power hath jurisdiction in causes not only ecclesiastical, but internal and spiritual." At page 537, "The supreme civil power hath authority to convene and to dissolve all synods ecclesiastical." At page 540, "The supreme civil power hath a power of external judgment in causes of faith."

At page 543, Rule viii. : "The supreme civil power is to govern in causes ecclesiastical by the means and measures of Christ's institution—that is, by the assistance and ministries of ecclesiastical persons." But this is only stated with some reserve; for we read in page 545 :

But that this manner of empire may not prejudice the right of the empire, it is to be observed that in these things the Emperors used their own liberty, which proved plainly that they used but their own right. . . . This I observe now in opposition to those bold pretensions of the Court of Rome and of the Presbytery, that esteem Princes bound to execute their decrees. If the Prince must confirm all that the clergy decrees, he hath not so much as a judgment of discretion. He must by a blind, brutish obedience obey his masters of the consistory or assembly. But if he is not bound to confirm all, I suppose he may choose. . . . So when it is said that Princes are to govern the Church by the consent and advice of their Bishops, it is meant not *de jure stricto*, but *de bono et laudibili*. . . . So now there is nothing that can prejudice their authority, unless they decree against the law of God.

Of course, the extracts I have given from Jeremy Taylor's great work can show only a very little of the profound learning, deep thought, and careful discrimination which characterize it; but I have given enough to show that he entirely supports my conclusion.

To the same effect is Bishop Burnet's Commentary on our 37th Article. He says :

It is certain that this power does not depend on the Prince's religion; whether he is a Christian or not; whether he is of a true or false religion. By the same tenure that he holds his sovereignty he holds this likewise. Artaxerxes had it as well as David or Solomon, . . . and the Christians owed the same duty to the Emperors while heathen that they paid them when Christian. Every soul is subject to the higher powers. As to ecclesiastical causes, it is certain that as the magistrate cannot make void the laws of nature, so neither can he make void the law of God. . . . The only question which can be made is concerning indifferent things; for instance, in the canons or other rules of the Church. . . . It seems

very clear that in matters that are indifferent and are determined by no law of God, the magistrate's authority must take place and is to be obeyed (Page's ed., pp. 596-97).

In the early part of the last century there was a hot debate on this very question. Bishop Gibson's "Codex," first published in 1713, was looked upon by some as an attack on the liberties of the laity, on the supremacy of the Crown, and the authority of Parliament. In 1735 a very severe criticism on Gibson's work, by Michael Foster, afterwards Justice of the King's Bench, was published at Lord Hardwicke's suggestion. One of Gibson's notions there censured, was that the canons were binding on the laity. This, however, was put an end to by the decision of Lord Hardwicke and the Judges of the King's Bench, in the famous case of *Middleton v. Croft*. An answer to Michael Foster's work, written, as it was said, by Dr. Andrews, an ecclesiastical lawyer, at Gibson's suggestion, appeared shortly afterwards.

Thus we may consider Gibson and Andrews as representing the High Church Party of that day.

Bishop Gibson was in favour of "spiritual causes being referred to spiritual persons." But he admitted that the last resort of all ecclesiastical courts was given to the King, and that the King might appoint laymen as delegates. Of the Church laws, common, canon and statute, Gibson admitted that this last was reckoned the first in authority. And though he complained of some of our State legislation in Church matters, he said that the view with which he mentioned this was not upon a question of law, but of expedience only.

Dr. Andrews speaks to the same effect. He says that nothing is said in the introduction to the "Codex" that could be pretended to be a denial of the power of Parliament to interpose in ecclesiastical matters when and in what manner they may think fit.

[For further information as to this controversy I may refer to a paper of mine, to be found in the Report of the Derby Church Congress.]

What, then, shall we say to these things? If there is any truth in the principles here laid down; if the teachings of Holy Scripture are at all like what they are here described; if those Bishops who appealed to Aurelian were right; if all those Early Fathers were right who looked to and depended upon the help and authority of the professedly Christian Emperors; if our 37th Article and 55th Canon are right; if Hooker and Andrewes, and Jeremy Taylor and Burnet were right; if (*i.e.*) we are under no such dual system of government as has been imagined, but clergy and laity alike are

under the simple rule of submitting themselves to the powers that be, unless their commands are plainly contrary to God's own Word—then does it not seem that many of our present difficulties must vanish like smoke? For not only are the ritual practices, about which there is so much controversy, entirely untouched by anything in the Bible, but so also are the Courts of Judicature, in which those practices have been condemned.

But suppose the rule I suggest is not accepted, what other shall we propose, so as at once to satisfy the demands of Scripture, and to secure with any probability some *modus vivendi* with the State? For if we accept Disestablishment, as has been proposed, we are not free from the control either of Parliament or of the Law Courts. Nor is it easy to foretell either the mode of Disestablishment or its consequences. Should we have the same freedom of access to the people that we have now? Should we have the means of supporting our ministers? Should we escape the danger of a still further schism—the separation into two or more Churches of those who are now divided into parties? And, talking as we do about unity, can we bear the thought of a fresh schism without horror? Can we think of our present party divisions without grief?

As we are now, though our relation to the State may not be what we should like, it might be very much worse. Parliament has not interfered with our "Liberty of Prophesying" nor with our Church Services according to the old accustomed ritual. Those who know Parliament best, tell us that if we were only united in what we wanted for the better fulfilment of our work, it would almost certainly be granted. And if the Courts of Law are not what we like, we should be much worse off if there were no Courts at all, no means of defending either our spiritual or our civil rights; if we had to complain with Habakkuk: "The law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth."

Our Judges are not infallible any more than we are, but they are famed all over the world for their learning, their integrity, their patience and diligence in hearing both sides, and in finding out the truth as far as they can. What is perhaps still more important, we have a Bar, composed of men of the greatest ability and the highest character. Whatever our cause may be, we have the opportunity of getting it brought before the Court in all its force. And if there is any reason to think that justice has not been done us, we can have the matter tried again in a rehearing.

There are some now who wish that, as in former years, we had Bishops for our Judges in ecclesiastical suits. But

Bishops have no longer the monopoly of learning. And in our days the Bishops are so much better employed in their spiritual duties, that they have neither the time nor the aptitude to act the part of Judges. The judicial mind, the power of taking in and balancing both sides of an argument, and of deciding independently of preconceived opinions, is of far more consequence than, a previous knowledge of the facts and the particular points of law involved in any case. These latter are brought forward by counsel on either side, and in a difficult matter the Judges can make themselves acquainted with them. The former can seldom be acquired except by long habit.

Let us not be like Cowper's kite, which in trying to get higher broke its string and came to the ground.

Instead of fretting because things are not just what we should like, let us take our circumstances as God's Providence.

Suppose, for instance, we were a Church of Christian Moors. Suppose the Sultan of Morocco, in a strange fit of liberality, had given us leave to hold our services, only on the condition that our ministers wore the turban and burnous, should we reject the concession? I trow not.

Let us, I say, make the best of our circumstances, and remember that our task is to let our light shine before men.

In an age of false doctrines, heresies and schisms, let us cultivate truth, unity and concord. Let us try to understand our brethren who differ from us, to compare notes, to meet together in the spirit of love, whether at a round table or in a court of law, and so by all means to understand what we ought to do.

In an age of lawlessness, let us set the example of loyal and dutiful obedience to those whom God has set over us.

Then we need fear nothing.

ROBERT W. KENNION.

Acle Rectory.

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## ART. II.—THE PASSOVER.

OF the three great festivals in the Christian year, only one, that of Christmas, bears a name which is a plain definition of the event to which the day is devoted and dedicated. Of the many interpretations which have been assigned to *Whitsunday*, that only which explains the two first syllables as identical with *wisdom* traces a connection with the gift of the Holy Ghost, the effusion of *wisdom* from on high, which the Church then celebrates. But Easter, the "Queen of Feasts," most strange to say, goes under a heathen name—a name which is derived through Saxon sources, but is ulti-

mately equivalent to Astarte and Ashtoreth, whose worship is so severely denounced throughout the history of Israel. Once in the A.V. (Acts xii. 4) this word is introduced as a translation of τὸ πάσχα, *the passover*. It would have been better had the words *Pasch* and *Pentecost* been retained in ecclesiastical usage to designate the two Christian feasts which have continued and perpetuated in a higher form the Passover and the Feast of Weeks of the old covenant. The latter, indeed, only fixes the date of the festival relatively as a sequence to the former, and the former is a transliteration of the Greek word, which is a similar reproduction of the word which stands in our Hebrew Bibles as the original of *passover*. Familiar as this word *passover* is to us, it may not be an uninteresting question, especially at the present season, to inquire what is meant by this term, and what was the nature of the act embodied in this word.

In our language it is indefinite and doubtful whether we are to understand *passover* as representing the act of superposition or the act of omission—a hovering over to protect, or a fitting past to avoid. The latter is, doubtless, the impression generally accepted by ordinary readers of the Bible, and it is also the interpretation given in most of our leading commentaries and lexicons. We need not crowd our pages with quotations from such authorities, as most of them are within the reach of our readers. Still, we venture to think that the former interpretation can put forth the more forcible claims for acceptance derived both from external and internal evidence. It would appear that in ancient times and among the earliest translators the same doubt and hesitation existed, so that a certain amount of indefiniteness, or even of contradiction, is traceable in the renderings of the word *passover*, both when it represents the noun and the verb also. Let us examine, first, the evidence concerning the verb in the radical passage which gives the account of the institution of the rite in Exod. xii.

The Greek version of the LXX., which takes us back nearly three centuries before the Incarnation, renders ἐγὼ ἐπάσω, in ver. 13, "I will pass over you," A.V. and R.V. by σκεπάσω ὑμᾶς, "I will cover you;" but in ver. 23 ἐπάσω, "He will pass over," by παρελεύσεται, "He will pass by." The Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome reproduces the same uncertainty, but inverts the order, rendering the verb in ver. 13 by *transibo*, "I will pass by," and in ver. 23 by *transcendet*, "He will cross over." The Jewish Targum is consistent, and supports the interpretation of sparing by *covering*; דים is used as the explanatory term.

We may now seek for further aid by consulting the testimonies available concerning the noun. The LXX. did not



attempt a translation of the noun  $\pi\alpha\sigma\chi$ , but merely transliterated it by  $\phi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\chi$  or  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\alpha$ . Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, who was born B.C. 20, renders by  $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\alpha$ , *offerings for a safe passage*; Josephus, who flourished during the latter half of the first century of our era, by  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\alpha$ ; Aquila, who translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek in the second century, rendered it by  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . Both of these words are capable of either interpretation (see Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, s.v.  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\alpha\iota\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ). Symmachus, who also made a translation in the same century, renders it by  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , *a defending*; and the Græco-Venet., a version made between the eighth and the eleventh centuries, by  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\alpha$ , *a leap*. It may be added here that the Syriac version, as might be expected, retains both the noun and the verb in the equivalent and almost identical word of the Hebrew text.

It will be seen that, as we have said already, there was a certain amount of trepidation among these translators to determine positively the exact meaning of the word, some inclining to one interpretation and some to another, and the same at different times favouring different renderings, and some using indefinite terms. Internal evidence might have gone a long way in settling the question, had a careful examination and comparison of passages been made; but no attention was called to the matter apparently till the alternative and preferable interpretation was suggested by Vitringa, and afterwards was taken up by Bishop Louth. If any doubt, however, still lingered or difficulty were felt in any minds on the subject, every obstacle seems now to be removed by the discovery that  $\pi\delta\delta$  is not of Hebrew but of Egyptian origin, and in that ancient hieroglyphic language the meaning of the word is to "spread out the wings over" an object, and so "protect" it. We are indebted to the learned Canon Cook, of Exeter, for bringing this before students of the Bible. In his notes upon Exodus in the "Speaker's Commentary" he writes: "It is remarkable that the word is not found in other Semitic languages except in passages derived from the Hebrew Bible. In Egyptian the word *pesh*, which corresponds to it very nearly in form, means to 'spread out the wings over,' and 'to protect'; see Brugsch, D. H., p. 512." And, again, in the Canon's valuable essay on Egyptian words in the Pentateuch, he says: " $\pi\delta\delta$ . The Semitic derivations are doubtful. The Egyptian *pesh-t* corresponds very nearly in form, and exactly in meaning and construction. Champollion, Gr., p. 446, gives two examples: 'to extend the arms or wings over a person,' 'protecting him.'"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The adoption of this ancient hieroglyphic into Hebrew usage is one, but far from being a solitary instance, of the strongest proofs that the

It will be seen from what has been advanced that all interpreters agree that the word signifies to *spare*; but the question is whether that sparing of the Israelites was effected by an act of Divine interception, by the protecting wing of Deity, or by the præter-mission, or passing-by, of the destroying angel. The external evidence, in our estimation, vastly preponderates in favour of the former.

Let us see if Scripture will lend us some light to guide us in the path of our inquiry. The testimony of the chapter which contains the history of Israel's redemption and of the institution which preserved the memory of it, claims our first notice. It is said in Exod. xii. 12, "For I" (that is, Jehovah) "will pass  $\text{אֶבְרָחָה}$ " (this is a totally different word from that under our consideration) "through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt." And in ver. 13, "When I see the blood, I will pass over  $\text{אֶפְרָחָה}$  you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you when I smite the land of Egypt." And similarly, but still more distinctly, in ver. 23, "For Jehovah will pass through  $\text{אֶבְרָחָה}$  to smite the Egyptians; and when He seeth the blood upon the lintel and on the two side-posts, *Jehovah* will pass over  $\text{אֶפְרָחָה}$  the door, and will not suffer the *destroyer* to come in unto your houses to smite you." From both these passages, especially the latter, we infer that although Jehovah was the ultimate author both of the preservation of His people and of the plague that destroyed the firstborn of their foes, yet the immediate agents of these acts, the Saviour and the smiter, were personally distinct. To the destroying angel was committed the office of executing the judgment; and Jehovah reserved to Himself the office of sheltering His people from the stroke, which otherwise would have fallen on all the inhabitants of the land, Egyptians and Hebrews, alike. Thus, while the one was busied in spreading death and desolation through the land, the other was intent on delivering the dwellings which, according to the Divine prescription, bore the seal of blood. This passage is adverted to in Heb. xi. 28, where the same distinction seems to be observed: *πίστει πεποιήκε τὸ πάσχει καὶ τὴν πρόσχυσιν τοῦ αἵματος, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ὀλοθρεύων τὰ πρωτότοκα θύγῃ αὐτῶν.* The *destroyer* in Exod. xii. 23 is rendered by *ὁ ὀλοθρεύων* in the LXX.; the same word is retained in this Epistle, and this, it may be observed, is the only instance of the use of the word in the New Testament.

The next passage to which our attention may be directed is

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author of the Pentateuch was well acquainted with the language, and such knowledge supports the early date usually assigned to the Pentateuch and the authorship of Moses, and goes far to refute the recent theories of Kuenen, Welhausen, Robertson-Smith, etc.

Ps. xci., which is manifestly a poem composed upon the subject now under our consideration. The previous psalm, both by its title and by an old tradition, is attributed to Moses. Without pressing the Jewish canon that a psalm without a title is to be referred to the authorship of the preceding one, it is certain that the two psalms deal with kindred subjects: the former setting forth the sins and sufferings of the people in the wilderness, and the latter rehearsing the deliverance of Israel at the time of the exodus from Egypt. Thus we have mention made of "the noisome pestilence," "the terror by night," "the pestilence that walketh in darkness," and the "ten thousand falling at Israel's right hand, but not coming near them." All these expressions point conclusively to this crisis in their history. But how was the deliverance effected? The first and fourth verses tell us: "He that dwelleth in the *secret place* of the Most High shall abide under the *shadow* of the Almighty;" "He shall *cover* thee with His *feathers*, and under *His wings* shalt thou trust; His truth shall be thy *shield and buckler*." And again, in the ninth and tenth verses: "Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my *refuge*, even the Most High, thy *habitation*, there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any *plague* come nigh thy dwelling." The idea maintained throughout the psalm is that of shielding and protecting by interposition. But the figure in the fourth verse, borrowed from the sheltering care of the mother bird brooding over her young ones, carries us on to another passage of still greater interest, because the same word is employed as in the history of the passover, and shows that the prophet was well acquainted with that event and understood the meaning of the word which described it. In Isa. xxxi. 5 we read: "As birds flying, so will Jehovah Sabaoth defend Jerusalem; defending also He will deliver it, and *passing over* ה' יִפְּזֵהוּ He will preserve it." It is distinctly taught here that Jehovah will shield the beloved city as birds do their nests. Now, when the parent bird espies the approach of some well-known enemy, she does not flit by or omit her young ones, but flutters, hovers, and broods over them, so as to be between her nest and the threatened harm. She enwraps her fledglings with her sheltering wings, and *passes over* them to screen them from the foe. Though the meaning here is incontrovertible, the ancient translators seem to have felt the same hesitation in pronouncing a final opinion as to the exact force of the word as in the radical passage in Exodus. The act of sparing is sufficiently enunciated, but the mode in which that act was performed is equivocally stated. The version of the LXX. has *πρωτοῖσενται*, *He will protect*; some copies have *ὑπερβήσεται*, which may mean either (see Liddell and Scott's Lex., s.v.). There is

also another reading—*περιβήσεται*, *He will go round for the purpose of protecting*, which Bishop Louth thinks is the true one. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion have *ὑπερβαίνων*, the Latin Vulgate *transiens*, and the Targum *He will deliver*.

But we have another passage of Scripture to produce which claims the highest interest, as it suggests the interpretation of the word as taught by our blessed Lord Himself. In St. Matt. xxiii. we read that at the beginning of the last week of our Lord's earthly career He made His public entry into Jerusalem, and when He looked down from the hillside upon the city He exclaimed, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth" (*ἐπισυνάγει*) "*her chickens under her wings*, and ye would not" (ver. 37). We must call to mind the season at which these words were uttered and the attendant circumstances. It was the *passover* week; the city at His feet was busied in making preparation for the feast. He was about to fulfil the type of Israel's ransom from the house of bondage, and to become the "very Paschal Lamb," and to accomplish His decease, the *exodus* (see St. Luke ix. 31), at Jerusalem. How fitting, therefore, was the reference to the miracle that attended the salvation of Israel from Egypt, now that the type was about to give place to the Antitype! Moreover, if this reference is accepted, there is something singularly striking in the fact that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic word, which had been adopted into the text of the Hebrew Scriptures and sanctified by the highest symbolism, should have its full meaning, which had been to some extent forgotten or obscured, restored and reasserted by the lips of the Lord Himself. Thus interpreted, the passover was the type and token of all future deliverances, at once the promise and the picture of salvation. So also, it is to be noted, it was the seed and source of sacrificial and sacramental ordinances under both covenants. We trace in the passover lamb the embryo of the whole Levitical system. All the various sacrifices of the Law were branches developed from this root. The burnt offering, the sin, and trespass, and 'peace offerings had each their proper features and functions, but each reflected some phase that was contained in the nucleus of this original rite, which was the mother of them all.

We do not think we are overstraining the argument or introducing a too refined fancy into our interpretation if we urge that the *passover* lamb was, according to the above view, understood to be the lamb of *covering* or *protecting*, and that the word which we render *atonement*, which is both the essence and the end of the sacrifices under the Law, literally signifies

covering. The latter is the Hebrew rendering of the former, which we have shown to be an Egyptian word; or, if this be thought pressing the point too much, it must be conceded, at all events, that it was an application of the lesson contained in the word. The blood of the atoning sacrifice sprinkled on the penitent offerer was a shield that sheltered him from the demands of justice, and a token that cancelled the claim that condemnation had against him. Moreover, this parentage of the passover is not restricted to Jewish rites and ceremonies; it forms also the foundation of the highest of the Christian sacraments—the Lord's Supper. In Exod. xii. 47 we read: "All the congregation of Israel shall *keep* it"; literally it is "shall *do* it"; and when our blessed Lord presided at the passover feast, which "with desire He had desired to eat" with His disciples, He quoted or applied this very phrase in the ever memorable "*Do this* in remembrance of Me"—"Do this as My memorial. No longer celebrate the deliverance from Egypt, but the *exodus* I am now accomplishing—the sacrifice I am about to offer to God as the 'one all-sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.'"

Looking back through the vista of the ages illuminated, as they are, with miracles of Divine interposition and ordinances apocalyptic of the love and purposes of God, we see how far-reaching the passover was from the day of its institution alike in type, doctrine, and ritual. It was the first-sown seed of sacramental mystery, the first picture drawn of the central sacrifice upon the Cross, and the first spark of dawn that unfolded from "the womb of the morning" the rays of that light that shines brighter and brighter to the perfect day of His presence, when the Son of righteousness shall "pass over" His elect, and enfold them in the bosom of salvation for ever and ever.

F. TILNEY BASSETT.



### ART. III.—THE JESUITS AND CASUISTICAL MORALITY—PROBABILISM.

*Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Charakteristic des Jesuitenordens. Aux Grund ungedruckter Aktenstücke bearbeitet und herausgegeben von IGNAZ VON DÖLLINGER und Fr. HEINRICH REUSCH. Nördlingen, 1889.*

THE Company or Society of the Jesuits has been figuratively described as "a naked sword, whose hilt is at Rome, and whose point is everywhere." This sword is rightly described as naked. It is never sheathed, and has never

ceased to fight. It has won some notable victories both in the past and in the present. But a strange fatality seems to be attached to its triumphs. They are Cadmean victories; equivalent to, or worse than, defeats. They have been disastrous to the cause in which the triumph has been won; and not unfrequently have been disastrous to the Society itself. The Jesuits have obtained, if not supremacy, at any rate immense influence, in various governments all over the world. And their success has generally led to political catastrophes, which have recoiled upon the schemers whose policy prepared the way for them. This has markedly been the case in *Spain*, now reduced to a fifth-rate Power, after having once been near to obtaining the supremacy in Europe; in *England*, where Roman Catholics are specially excluded from succession to the throne; and in the *States of the Church*, which have been lost, and probably lost for ever, to the Papacy. In education and in society the result has been similar. In *France*, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits were dominant as the religious trainers of the educated classes, and also as the confessors of the King. And long before the century was over France was in the hands of Deistical and Atheistical revolutionists, from whose influence she has never recovered. If one were asked to single out the main cause of the appalling irreligion which at the present moment desolates French society in its lower, middle and upper classes, one could hardly come nearer to the truth than by naming Jesuit influence upon the home policy of Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup> In missionary work the same result has been obtained: abundance of converts won over, but no Christian Church established. What has become of the once flourishing missions of the Jesuits in Japan, in China, and in Paraguay? And the wrecks of Jesuit missions, where anything has survived, as in India, have not been helpful to other Christian missions which have followed them.

But perhaps the most signal instance of this tragic characteristic, of winning successes which are the sure forerunners of disaster, is found in the estimate of themselves which they have everywhere produced. Wherever they have been most influential, they have been able to guide statesmen and kings, to instruct the young, to fill churches, to make recruits; but they have not been able to win confidence or affection. They have invariably provoked mistrust and dislike, and that pretty nearly in proportion to their success. Unknown men or societies are often distrusted and disliked because of people's

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<sup>1</sup> Döllinger's *Akademische Vorträge*, vol. i., pp. 394, 396, 411. Nördlingen, 1888.

ignorance respecting their characters and aims. Yet, as these become known, the suspicion and opposition die out. But, in the case of this strange Society, increased knowledge of it does not dissipate popular prejudice. On the contrary, it is where people have had most experience of the character, aims, and methods of the Society, that the distrust and dislike are most profound; and this is true quite as much of Roman Catholic countries as of Protestant states.

There is a remarkable passage at the opening of Plutarch's life of Pericles, in which he points out that it does not follow, because a man produces things which we greatly admire, that, therefore, the man himself is entitled to our respect. We take pleasure in his products, but we do not wish to produce them ourselves. Whereas, in the case of virtue, we not only admire the products, but desire to imitate the producers of them. His illustrations under the first head are startling, especially as coming from a Greek. "No generous-minded young man," he says, "at the sight of the statue of Zeus at Pisa, ever wished to become a Phidias, or on seeing that of Juno at Argos, to become a Polycletus." But we may discard his illustrations, without disputing his principles, which may help us to understand the feelings with which the Jesuits have been commonly regarded. They have often inspired wonder and admiration; but they have seldom won trust or love. Many individual Jesuits have been nobly self-sacrificing and devoted, but the Society as a whole has been self-seeking and arrogant. Experience has proved to the world that while the Company has been professing to work for the extension of Christendom and for the defence of the Roman Catholic Church, what it has had chiefly at heart has been the extension of the influence of the Jesuits. Their machinery for accomplishing their ends will always excite wonder as one of the most marvellous systems ever elaborated and carried out into practice by man. But it is by its results that it is judged; and its results, however brilliant here and there, have always lacked that great test of good and solid work—stability. It is too soon to estimate the results of their last great successes—the proclamation of the dogma of the Infallibility and the promotion of Liguori to be a Doctor of the Church. But it does not need the gift of prophecy to foretell that *these* triumphs also will bring their own proper disasters, both to the Society which so unscrupulously schemed for them, and to the Papacy which became its tool and the receiver of its stolen goods.

Two causes have contributed to this notable want of solid and stable success.

First, the Society of the Jesuits, with all its greatness, has been singularly lacking in great men. This is not really

surprising. The system is specially adapted for crushing out all individual independence. Men of strong originality were either broken by the system or broke away from it. Either the subtle discipline, with its "sacrifice of the intellect," reduced them to the ordinary level, or, if their independence proved invincible, as in the case of Descartes and Pascal, they withdrew from the discipline, and took their own, and even a hostile line. Such a system may make a Bellarmine, but it cannot retain a Voltaire.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, their moral teaching has almost from the first been blown upon as doubtful, dangerous, and destructive of moral principle. Like the unjust steward in the parable, they have been perpetually lowering the accounts. They have expended infinite pains upon tampering with the standard of duty, in order to make it easier and still easier for men of weak will and self-indulgent habits to approximate to the low standard prescribed. And while many formal Christians, who are too timid to break entirely with religion, and too cold-hearted to wish to do more than the absolute minimum of duty, have eagerly accepted the moral teaching of the Jesuits, men of stronger minds and wills, whether believers or not, have been scandalized by teachers, who seemed to aim at bringing down morality to the level of the vicious, instead of trying to raise weak and corrupt human nature to desire and seek after the more excellent way.

This general condemnation of the teaching of the Jesuits has been both reasonable and unreasonable. It has been reasonable where it has condemned ethical methods, which resulted in making all doubtful practices allowable, and at the same time made many things, which are plainly forbidden, doubtful. It has been unreasonable when it has urged this plain abuse of casuistry as a ground for condemning casuistry altogether; and this latter position is still exceedingly common. "Casuistry" is one of those question-begging words like "innovation" and "coercion," which suggest a sinister meaning directly they are named. You have only to show that a man's proposal is an innovation, or that his policy involves coercion, or that his argument is casuistical, in order to create a prejudice in the minds of the audience. And yet, if we are to have any improvements made, we must have innovations; and if laws are to be enforced, there must be coercion; and if cases of conscience are to be treated on any kind of principle, we must have casuistry. Whether we know it or not, we are all of us at times called upon to be casuists. Either for ourselves or for others we have to decide between two courses of action,

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<sup>1</sup> "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th ed., vol. xiii., p. 651.



both of which seem to be obligatory, but which are absolutely incompatible. Unless we are to toss up, we must have some principle on which to decide, which is the higher duty, which *ipso facto* cancels the other. And directly we try to determine this we have become casuists, and are self-condemned if we blame the Jesuits for doing the like. It is for the principles which they have laid down in deciding cases of conscience, and not for attempting to find principles upon which to decide such things, that the Jesuits have often deserved reprobation.

But even in the condemnation which has justly been pronounced upon the casuistical principles adopted by the Jesuits, some injustice has been done. The Jesuits have sometimes been blamed, when the fault lay rather with the Roman Catholic system. In maintaining a low standard of morality, the Jesuits are only following out to its logical consequences the system which they have been told to administer. Given the Roman premises, then the Jesuit policy follows as a matter of common sense. Grant that every Christian must go to Confession and there obtain absolution, or else he will lose his salvation, and then it becomes imperative to fix a *minimum* of duty, and to fix it as low as possible. Every effort must be made to prove that practices of which ordinary Christians are frequently guilty are not mortal sins. In the case of a mortal sin, a priest cannot grant absolution, unless the penitent promises never to commit it again. And when a penitent finds that he cannot obtain absolution for sins, which he is willing to confess, but not willing to promise to abandon, he ceases to go to Confession: and his salvation (according to Roman doctrine) is forfeited. Yet even when we have put the blame on the right shoulders, and have admitted that the Roman system is responsible for the principle that the *minimum* standard of duty must be fixed as low as possible, we may still justly condemn the Jesuits for having fixed that standard at a point which is not only intolerably low, but has a tendency to subvert morality altogether.

This disastrous result has come about in two ways, to both of which blame must be attached, but one of which is much more culpable than the other.

First, *casuistry has not been studied with sufficient reference to first principles of morality.* Casuistry, as indicated above, is a *necessary* science. We may not like it; but, unless cases in which duties appear to clash are to be decided haphazard, we must have principles to guide our decisions; and, as the general principles of morality are inadequate, we must seek for something more special, and this we can get only by having resort to casuistry. But casuistry, although a necessary science, is a dangerous one; and against its dangers we must

be perpetually on our guard. It treats of *exceptional* cases. It supplies us with rules to guide us in exceptional cases : and constant study and application of such rules is apt to lead to the fatal position of looking upon the exceptions as the rule. Unless we are constantly taking into account the established general principles of morality, we shall easily fall into the error of considering that what is allowable as the best solution of an exceptional difficulty is allowable generally. Into this error their casuistical methods have frequently led the Jesuits.

Secondly, *casuistry has not been studied with a pure motive*, viz., with a disinterested desire to save responsible beings from committing serious mistakes of conduct in difficult cases. No one acquainted with their history could affirm that this had been the guiding principle of the Jesuits. Starting from the assumption that it is best for the human race that it should be under the influence of their Society, they have made everything, their casuistry included, subservient to that end. One enormous source of influence is the confessional ; and no pains have been spared to make Jesuits popular as confessors. Everything which would frighten ordinary penitents away must be avoided ; everything that would attract them must be studied. In plain language, confession must be made as easy, and absolution be granted on as easy terms, as possible. Not the moral interests of mankind, nor the salvation of souls, has been the end of Jesuitical casuistry, but the maintenance and extension of the influence of the Society of the Jesuits. And a low motive has produced a low morality.

In connection with this second point it is worth noting that the Jesuits, although frequently spoken of as an "Order," are never so called in their official documents. They are a "Company" or a "Society." The distinction is, perhaps, worth preserving. It points to the radical difference between the Jesuits and other religious Orders. Other Orders cut themselves off from the world ; they withdraw, either entirely, or to a considerable extent, from society : whereas it is of the essence of the Company of the Jesuits that its members should remain in the world and mix freely with society. In no other way can the influence over men of the world and the affairs of the world, which is the end and aim of this unique Society, be maintained.

The general lowering of moral principles which has prevailed in the casuistry of the Jesuits was not absolutely confined to them, and it did not take place all at once. At first the lax principles were taught by individual theologians only, and some of these were not Jesuits. Not a few Jesuits dissented from them and wrote against them ; and the final triumph of the more lax doctrines did not take place without severe and

protracted controversy, both inside the Society itself, and also between representatives of the Society and other authorities in the Roman Church. But what decided the issue of the conflict inside the Society was the conviction of the majority of members that the adoption of a more severe standard of morals would be prejudicial to the influence of the Company. And the triumph of the more lax principles among the Jesuits has carried with it a similar triumph throughout the Roman Church: for the promotion of Liguori to be the unassailable Doctor of the Church constrains every Roman Catholic to believe that in all his voluminous writings, which abound in lax teaching, there is nothing whatever contrary either to faith or morals. The conflict in the Society itself has been at times acute, and for some years it was a struggle of the General of the Jesuits (whose constitutional powers are immense), backed by a minority, against the remainder. But, although the General had for a considerable time the approval and assistance of the Pope, he was defeated; and the cause which was felt by the large majority to represent the *interests and influence* of the whole body, triumphed. The details of this momentous and protracted struggle have now for the first time been made known to the public in the book which is named at the head of this article. The industry of Dr. Döllinger and Dr. Reusch has collected from the archives and public library at Munich a large quantity of hitherto unprinted documents, which they have just published, together with a very full explanation of their contents; and the world will henceforth be able to judge, not merely the charges brought against the Society by Pascal in the famous "Provincial Letters," but the whole controversy as written by those who took part in it. It remains to be seen how the Jesuits will deal with this less brilliant but far more complete exposure. Answers to attacks sometimes advertise the attacks without refuting them. And this has largely been the case with the attempts to answer Pascal. It is said that the Court of James II. at St. Germain were so charmed with the extracts from the "Provincial Letters" given in Père Daniel's reply to Pascal, that they at once sent off to Paris for the "Provinciales," and read no more of Père Daniel; and it may be safely said that every attempt to refute Pascal, from those of Pères Annat, Daniel, and Nouet, to that of the Abbé Maynard in our own time, has passed into oblivion, either without producing any effect whatever, or with the sole result of making the famous letters still more widely known. Pascal's book still holds the field. It is to be found in almost every book-shop; while the answers to it are known only to the curious, and are possessed by very few. Possibly the present generation of Jesuits may think it the wisest

policy to ignore this revelation of the dissensions in their Society.

The subject-matter of the controversy was the doctrine of *Probabilism* with the kindred question of *Attrition*.

Probabilism can hardly be explained without an explanation of several other terms which relate to the same question; and, therefore, following the example of Dr. Reusch, we may clear the way by a short statement. With regard to a great deal of conduct, it is doubtful beforehand whether it is permissible or not, and therefore doubtful afterwards, whether the agent has acted sinfully or not. What principles are to guide us in such cases, and especially those of us who have to direct consciences and receive confessions? Moral theology distinguishes five or six different views.

1. *Tutiorism*. The safer course must always be adopted, however probable it may be that any other course is lawful. If I am not quite sure whether it is fair to do a certain action, I must abstain from doing it, although I may have excellent grounds for believing that it *is* fair. This view is sometimes called *rigorism*.

2. *Probabiliorism*. The safer course may always be followed; but the less safe course may be adopted when it is decidedly more probable that it is allowable than that it is not.

3. *Æquiprobabilism*. The less safe course may be followed when it is as probable that it is allowable as that it is not.

4. *Probabilism*. The less safe course may be followed, even when the balance of probability is against its being allowable, if only there are grounds for believing that it *is* allowable. Of Probabilism there are several varieties, two of which need to be carefully distinguished: (1) The amount of probability in favour of the less safe and less probable course must be a genuine and solid probability, based upon good and tenable grounds; (2) The amount of probability need not be very great. So long as there are *some* reasons for thinking that the action is allowable, or indeed so long as it is not certain that it is forbidden, it may be permitted. This latter is the *lax Probabilism* which has worked such untold mischief by producing a *partie de la morale relâchée* in the Church.

The defence is sometimes made that the whole purpose of this casuistical teaching has been misunderstood. It is not meant to teach the laity how to act, but to help the clergy to deal with persons who confess that they *have* thus acted. "They are not receipts given to penitents, to sweeten for them the remedy of confession, but rules of judgment and conduct for priests." They were never intended for general use by untrained persons; and it is Pascal and others who are to blame if the general knowledge of them has caused abuses.

But the answer to this lies on the surface. If large numbers of persons find themselves systematically treated with great indulgence by their confessors, they will draw their own conclusions as to the principles on which the confessors give absolution and *advice*. Again, it is impossible to keep books written for the clergy out of the hands of the laity; and if the laity are told that very questionable conduct is permissible, it does not much matter whether they obtain this information from books or from confessors. And, lastly, assuming that the laity never read such books, that is no healthy condition of things in which there are so many cases of conscience to be dealt with in the confessional—*i.e.*, in many cases *after* the sin has been already committed. The history of both Judaism and Christianity has shown that the minute exposition of the law on scientific principles is attended by dangers which can be avoided only by constant reference to the spirit of the law as distinct from the letter of it. And this safeguard both the Pharisees and the Jesuits neglected. Protestant casuists have kept more free from these evils. For the most part they do not go so much into detail; do not draw the distinction between mortal and venial sins in so mechanical and external a manner; are much less under the influence of Probabilism; and do not recognise *Probabilitas extrinseca* at all.<sup>1</sup>

Pascal's attack (1656), followed up by his friends Arnauld and Nicole, gave a decided check to Probabilism. Spain was the special home of this doctrine, and the defence of Jesuit teaching on the subject by the Spanish Jesuit Moya (Amadæus Guimenius), was severely censured by the Sorbonne, 1665, and a little later was condemned also at Rome. Bishop Antoine Godeau, of Venice, opposed Pirot's answer to Pascal, and called Probabilism an invention of the father of lies. Alexander VII. proposed to issue a Bull against Probabilism, but was dissuaded from so doing by the Jesuit Cardinal Pallavicini, and contented himself with condemning, in 1665 and 1666, forty-five lax opinions of casuists. In 1679 Innocent XI. condemned sixty-five more. Whereupon the casuists raised the question whether these condemnations had been delivered *ex cathedra*; and Caramuel, one of the worst of them, declared that no power on earth had authority to condemn a probable opinion, and that these condemned opinions, although now *pro foro externo* untenable, yet *quoad forum internum* remained intact and probable.<sup>2</sup> The lengths to

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger and Reusch, pp. 26, 27. *Probabilitas extrinseca* is based simply upon the authority of theologians. If a single theologian of repute can be quoted as saying that a certain act is allowable, that creates an extrinsic probability that it is allowable.

<sup>2</sup> In 1871 the present writer was in Paris with Père Hyacinthe, and one

which they went opened the eyes of Pallavicini, and towards the close of his life (1667) he rejected the Probabilism which he had taught in 1649; and he commissioned the Spanish Jesuit Elizade, who, like himself, had revolted from Probabilism, to write against the doctrine, and include a retraction from Pallavicini himself. Elizade did so, but his superiors would not give him leave to print the work. Nor is this surprising; it contains some plain speaking: "The Gospel is simple, and condemns all duplicity; it knows only Yea, yea, Nay, nay. Modern morality is not simple, but uses the duplicity of Probabilism, and says Yea and Nay together, for its principle is the probability of contradictory opinions." Some of the opponents of Probabilism contented themselves with advocating Probabiliorism; but Elizade went much further, and contended for a very rigorous form of Tutorism. Others asked how the toleration of such lax moral teaching in the Church was to be brought into harmony with the doctrine that the Church is under the guidance of the Holy Spirit as a pillar and ground of the truth, while Protestant controversialists roundly declared that the prevalence of so huge an error in the Roman Church was a proof that it was not the true Church at all.

That the Roman See should have shirked giving a formal decision on the main question looks as if it either had not much trust in its own infallibility, or else did not believe that Roman Catholics in general put much trust in it—*i.e.*, it was afraid that its decisions would not be obeyed, and, moreover, would give dire offence to the Jesuits, who were a great deal too useful to Roman interests to be lightly crossed in their leading policy. Just as Paul V. was afraid to publish his Bull against Molina, so Alexander VII. was afraid to publish his against Probabilism; and, so far from checking, he actually encouraged the doctrine of Attrition. And all this while the Jesuits were trying to take both sides in the controversy. Thus, when outrageously immoral teaching was pointed out in Bauny's writings, they condemned it as the "mark of an abandoned conscience" and of satanic influence, but declared that Bauny had never written this—the passage was a forgery. When this line could be taken no longer, they defended the teaching as harmless. It was not the formal decisions of Popes, but the activity of those who were commonly stigmatized as Jansenists and heretics, which fought—and for a time with considerable success—the battle of Christian

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day the Père stated that a priest had been to visit him who had declared that he had two consciences, an external and an internal: "With my external conscience I accept the dogma of the Infallibility; with my internal conscience I reject it."

morality against immoral casuistry. But the condemnation of the sixty-five Jesuit propositions by Innocent XI. was their last signal victory; and the answer to it was the destruction of Port Royal (1710) and the downfall of Jansenism in France.

But from Spain, the headquarters of Probabilism, and from a Spanish Jesuit far more eminent than Elizade, came the most determined opposition to the lax moral teaching of the Jesuits. This was Gonzalez, who from 1687 to 1705 was General of the Society. Tirso Gonzalez de Santalla was for ten years (1655-1665) Professor of Scholastic Theology at Salamanca, and then for eleven years (1665-1676) mission-preacher. As professor he had taught Probabilism; but his work as a missionary showed him the disastrous consequences of such teaching, and for several years he employed his summer holiday in working out the question, and in writing a thorough criticism of the system which concerned itself much more with the probability of everything than the truth of anything. In 1673 he sent his book to Oliva, the General of the Society, at Rome; but the General, by the advice of the five revisers to whom the work was submitted, refused permission to print it. Among the things objected to in it as opposed to received doctrine was the proposition that the right rule of conduct is not probability, but truth or firm moral conviction. Besides which, it was considered outrageous that a member of the Society should bestow praise upon writers who opposed its teaching, and who, if the book appeared, would say that the eyes of the Jesuits had at last been opened to the errors of their ways.

When Innocent XI., in 1679, condemned the sixty-five propositions, he was told that some of them had been combated several years before by Gonzalez. The Pope sent for a copy of the treatise, and had the MS. examined by two theologians, one of whom expressed entire approval, the other slightly qualified approval. The report was laid before the Inquisition. Formal approval of Gonzalez's work was then sent to the Nuncio at Madrid to convey to the author, and the General of the Jesuits was instructed that he was not to allow members of the Society to advocate Probabilism nor to attack its opponents. In this matter entire submission to the Pope was expected.

Oliva died November 26, 1681, and his successor, Charles de Noyelle, followed him to the grave December, 1686. Innocent XI. wished Gonzalez to be the next General, and by a narrow majority he was elected July 6, 1687. Both he and the Pope regarded this success as providential—to save the Society from the abyss of Probabilism; but differences with Lewis XIV. and other matters caused serious distractions, and it was not until 1691 that the new General took a decisive step

and sent a treatise on the subject, in the care of two theologians, who were not Jesuits, to Dilligen to be printed. This work has disappeared, but the description of it by friends and foes shows that it was a sort of introduction to a new edition of the work shown to Innocent XI., but never printed. In printing it abroad without the leave of the Magister Sacri Palatii and of the Cardinal Vicar, he had violated decrees of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII., and of this fact his enemies were not slow to remind him. The new Pope, Innocent XII., ordered that the whole of the edition should be brought from Dilligen to Rome; but this order was cancelled. The printed copies were detained at Dilligen, and were no doubt afterwards destroyed.

Discussions respecting the publication of Gonzalez's main treatise against Probabilism still continued, and among other persons the King of Spain interfered to protect the General from the attacks of his subordinates; but it was not until 1694 that Gonzalez, even with the powerful assistance of the Pope and the Inquisition, was able to get a work which had been approved by them fourteen years before published. The baffled leaders of the Jesuits were furious, and began to talk about deposing the General. In a Congregation it was resolved by seventeen to sixteen votes to call a General Convocation of the Society; but Gonzalez's friends were able to induce the Pope to prevent this decision from being followed, on the pettifogging plea that  $17 + 16 = 33$ , and that half of 33 is  $16\frac{1}{2}$ , so that the statutable majority of "more votes than the half" had not been obtained; seventeen votes being only *half* a vote more than the half! But Innocent XII. was under pressure from Madrid and Vienna, and welcomed any plea.

The much-discussed work of Gonzalez—which at last appeared, and with his name and title, in the spring of 1694—had been so revised and corrected and toned down, that not a few readers were disappointed by its contents. Père la Chaise, the confessor of Lewis XIV., wrote to Gonzalez that he had expected something much more stringent, and that the teaching in the book was more lax than they would tolerate in France. However, it had at first an enormous circulation, and within twelve months was reprinted twelve times. And it would seem as if it had considerable influence in the Society itself. When a General Congregation met in 1696 his friends were in the majority. It was much attacked, but it was also powerfully supported. A French theologian named Antoine Charles wrote in praise of it, but advocated a still stricter morality (1695). He said that the supporters of Probabilism did not aim at condoning sin: but, seeing how hard it is to induce men to tread the narrow way, they *tried to make it broader*, so as not to frighten the weak from the path of virtue. A still



more important work on the same side was published by a Spanish Jesuit, named Camargo (1702), and dedicated to Clement XI. He stated that in Spain persons of his views were frequently, though without success, denounced to the Inquisition as Jansenist heretics. Other Jesuits took the line of trying to prove that there was no essential difference between the teaching of Gonzalez and the Probabilism in vogue among the Jesuits. But when the least has been made of the difference between the two there remains this fundamental distinction, that, whereas the ordinary doctrine was that it was sufficient to know that an opinion was regarded as *probable* by competent theologians, Gonzalez maintained that, before venturing to act on the opinion, you must *yourself* be convinced that it is *more probable* than the opposite opinion. Thus the judgment of others will not warrant your practising vivisection unless you conscientiously believe that it is more probably right than wrong to practise it.

During the last years of his life Gonzalez seems to have been affected in his mind, and Tamburini was appointed General-Vicar. When Gonzalez died, October 27, 1705, Tamburini was elected his successor. The treatment which he received from some members of the Society was such that the Jesuit Bonucci wrote from Rome, September 9, 1719: "He will be the second General that in our days we shall have driven out of his mind." But the General of the Jesuits, and the Pope, and the Inquisition, were not the only authorities who exerted themselves to check the immoral teaching which prevailed (and nowhere more completely than in the Society of the Jesuits) under the name of Probabilism. Neither in time nor in energy had Bossuet been much behind Pascal in denouncing these errors, and many other French bishops took a similar course. It was in 1663 that he spoke out in strong terms, and on the very occasion when he was pronouncing a funeral eulogy on Nicolas Cornet, the Grand Master of the College of Navarre, who had been the first to discover the famous Five Propositions in the writings of Jansenius. Cornet, like Bossuet himself, was no friend to the rigorism of the Jansenists; but, like Bossuet, he knew what to think and say about those "worthlessly subtle spirits, who reduce the whole Gospel to problems, weary casuists by their endless consultations, and in truth labour for no purpose but to obscure the moral law." And the casuists themselves, who gratify such people, Bossuet calls "wandering stars, who confound heaven and earth, and mingle Jesus Christ with Belial; a monstrous union, which dishonours the truth, the simplicity, and the incorruptible purity of Christianity." In the famous Assembly of the Clergy in 1682, it had been proposed that

measures should be taken against lax principles of morality, but the pressure of the great questions of the relations between Church and State and between Pope and Church prevented anything from being done. In the *Assemblée du Clergé* at St. Germain-en-Laye in 1700, Bossuet took care that the subject should not again be squeezed out. Before a special committee he laid 153 lax propositions, and during two months of sittings conducted the discussion of them. The committee laid 127 of these propositions before the General Assembly as worthy of censure; and the condemnation of them was unanimous. In order to estimate this condemnation aright, one must remember that not only Bossuet, but men like Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, La Tellier, Bishop of Rheims, and Godet des Marais, Bishop of Chartres and director of Mme. de Maintenon, took a prominent part in it. And the effect of it for the moment was enormous. No French writer for some time to come ventured to defend Probabilism. And in the second half of the eighteenth century French treatises which took the opposite view were frequently translated into Italian, and helped to increase the discredit into which Probabilism had fallen in Italy as well as in France. In 1762 the Parliament of Paris ordered 163 Jesuit treatises on moral theology to be burned, primarily because of their teaching in reference to Church and State, but also because of their lax morality; and it published *Extraits des assertions pernicieuses et dangereuses en tout genre que les soi-disants Jésuites ont dans tous les temps soutenues*, in order that all the world might judge of the kind of teaching which they condemned. In 1767 the Jesuits were driven out of France and Spain; and in July, 1773, Clement XIV., by the famous brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, declared that it was necessary for the peace of the Church that the Society of the Jesuits should be suppressed, extinguished, and abrogated for ever. The greatest care was taken in wording the brief to set forth how disastrous to the Church and how ruinous to individual souls the work of the Society had been, and also to prevent any legal quibbling as to its validity and authority.

But the Jesuits were quite equal to the occasion, as they were when Innocent XI. condemned their immoral teaching in 1679. On that occasion they made subtle distinctions in order to show that what had been condemned was not precisely what they taught, and that what was condemned externally might be internally tenable. Now they contended that for them no Papal decree was binding in a country in which the sovereign had not sanctioned its publication. Consequently in Russia, under Catherine II., and in Prussia, under Frederick the Great (two sovereigns to whom Christianity

itself was an open question), they waited until the storm should pass over. Submission was not thought of for a moment.

The Company of the Jesuits, like the See of Rome itself, understands well the policy of patience. All things come in time to those who wait. After partial steps in that direction in 1801 and 1804, Pius VII. in 1814, by the brief *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, cancelled the brief of Clement XIV., and restored to the Society the legal right to exist, but without declaring that the evils which Clement had condemned were imaginary then or had since been reformed. And it was a significant comment on their policy during the interval that Russia, which had been their headquarters since their suppression, expelled them from Moscow and Petersburg in 1813, and from the whole empire in 1820. In Rome their recovery went on steadily until the crisis in 1849, after which they acquired full control over the policy of Pius IX. down to the day of his death; and the decrees of the Vatican Council are the expression of their will.

But, as regards their moral teaching, the triumph which has surpassed all their previous victories has been their success with regard to the treatment of Alfonso Maria de' Liguori and his writings. It is the rule of the Roman Church that no one can be canonized until fifty years after his death; but the Jesuits succeeded in getting this rule set aside, and, with a view to having his teaching made authoritative, began at once to work for his canonization. Liguori died in 1787. In 1803 it was officially declared that his works contained nothing worthy of censure; in 1816 he was beatified by Pius VII.; and in 1839 he was canonized by Gregory XVI. All this implied a great deal;—that his writings had been most carefully examined again and again by the Sacred Congregation; that nothing "savouring of heresy or error, suspected of error, rash, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, misleading to the simple, schismatical, injurious, impious or blasphemous," had been found in them; and that his life and conduct also had been rigidly scrutinized, and pronounced worthy of a saint. In short, it implied, as the Fathers of the Oratory, with the approbation of Cardinal Wiseman, declared in their "Life of Liguori," that "the morals of this saintly Bishop cannot be censured without setting up as a censor of authority itself; without, in fine, censuring the decision of the Holy See."<sup>1</sup> Still more definitely the Jesuit De Montézon points out that "in the examination of doctrine which precedes beatification it was proved respecting Liguori that he has based his 'Moral

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Remembrancer*, October, 1854, pp. 403, 404.

*Theology' upon Probabilism.* . . Moreover, he had taken Jesuits, especially Busenbaum, as his guides, and in most cases had made the decisions of these theologians his own, even those on which Pascal and his followers had placed the blackest stigma. . . *Nihil censuræ dignum* are the words of the decree; and later on another Roman tribunal declared that every confessor may, without further examination, act in accordance with all decisions of Liguori."<sup>1</sup>

But all this did not satisfy the Jesuits. That Liguori's teaching, and therefore their own, was blameless, and might safely be followed, was not enough; it must be pronounced to be authoritative as a formal standard of orthodoxy. Accordingly, they did not rest until they induced Pius IX. to bestow upon him the highest ecclesiastical honour of all, and to place him among the Doctors of the Church, equal in rank with St. Athanasius, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bernard, and St. Hilary. In the text of the decree, which is dated July 7, 1871, is the following passage: "Moreover, we will and decree that the books, commentaries, pamphlets—in a word, all the works of this Doctor, like those of other Doctors of the Church—be cited, quoted, and, when necessary, employed not only in private, but in public—in seminaries, universities, schools, lectures, controversies, interpretations, discussions, sermons, and in all other ecclesiastical studies and Christian exercises."<sup>2</sup>

This amazing decree is the most signal victory which the Society of the Jesuits has ever achieved, and they are quite right in saying that in the enjoyment of it they can afford to forget all the toils and sacrifices which it has cost them. That Jesuits who had heard their Society suppressed, extinguished, and abrogated *for ever*, in 1773, should have lived to see it fully re-established by the same authority in 1814 was a considerable triumph. But, with regard to that, the question of De Maistre is quite in point: "*Has it been re-established? In order to answer this question, it would be an indispensable preliminary to know whether it has been destroyed.*" In any case, the Society merely recovered what it had previously possessed. But by the promotion of Liguori to be a *Doctor ecclesiæ* they acquired what they had never possessed before. Hitherto their favourite doctrine of Probabilism had never been more than tolerated, and sometimes with manifest disapproval, by the Roman See. But now it is not only tolerated and approved, but recommended as *the* orthodox doctrine;

<sup>1</sup> Sainte-Beuve, "Port-Royal," i. 526, quoted by Döllinger and Reusch, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich, *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils*, i., p. 568; Bonn, 1877. Herzog, Plitt, und Hauck, *Real-Encyclopædie*, viii., p. 678.

while the opposite doctrine, hitherto permitted and sometimes encouraged and commended, is implicitly condemned. As Dr. Döllinger remarks, "For a parallel to an event such as this, one would search ecclesiastical history in vain."

Even before the decree was passed, it was being acted upon wherever the Jesuits had sufficient influence. Other textbooks were banished from seminaries and schools, in order to make room for Liguori. Bailly's works were not only expelled from Maynooth, but placed on the Index, and Liguori, with his adapter Scavini, was recommended in his place.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Beauvais, in preaching the funeral sermon of Cardinal Gousset, spoke of it as one of his greatest services that he had laboured to modify the too strict moral teaching which had prevailed in certain seminaries. "*To make smooth the way of salvation without burdening it beyond bounds, to make easy the reception of the Sacraments so necessary to the life of the soul, and to attract the faithful to them, was one of the tasks which he imposed on himself. His end was gained; and to-day, thanks to his efforts, the 'Moral Theology' of St. Alfonso de' Liguori, favoured and approved at Rome, prevails in the instruction given in our seminaries in France.*" In Germany the Redemptorists, an Order founded by Liguori, flooded the book-market with copies of his works in Latin and German. These German editions were adapted to the German taste. False quotations in favour of Roman doctrine were allowed to remain to take their chance of discovery; but some of the most outrageous passages and silliest narratives, which were likely to shock German taste, were quietly left out.<sup>2</sup> It was thought that not even the solemn assurance *nihil censuræ dignum* would save such things from the condemnation and the ridicule of German Romanists. The same discretion has been exercised in editing the translations for English readers. But in one way or another, both before and since the promotion of Liguori to be a Doctor of the Church, untold pains have been taken to make not only his writings accessible to everyone, but also his teaching part of the ordinary instruction of priests, penitents, and people in general. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the remark of a French theologian exactly hits the mark when he says that in the canonization of Liguori it was the writings rather than the man that were canonized. It was not his life, but his books, that were specially considered. The Jesuits desired to have their moral theology made ecclesiastically unassailable, and therefore they laboured to get the highest official sanction for moral teaching which

<sup>1</sup> Scavini, "Theologia moralis universalis ad mentem S. Alfonsi."

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich, p. 540; Döllinger and Reusch, p. 475.

was identical with theirs; and they led the Pope on to give this sanction by pointing out how full Liguori's works are of doctrines which the Pope had specially at heart—viz., those of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary and the personal Infallibility of the Pope. Thus, in conferring on Liguori the authority of an Augustine, both parties to the transaction obtained for their own favourite doctrines the ecclesiastical sanction which they required. If Augustine had unfortunately omitted to teach Probabilism and the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope, then one who had taught all these things must be made equal to Augustine.

But *was* Liguori a Probabilist? That question cannot be answered with either a simple affirmative or a simple negative. His views on the subject were not always the same, and he seems to have wavered almost to the end of his life. And, as we might expect in so extraordinarily voluminous a writer, whose works are to a very large extent compilations, there are plenty of inconsistencies on this as on other points. His later writings are more lax than his earlier ones; and it was the ninth and last edition—which is almost a reprint of the eighth—which was examined and approved at his canonization. He himself used to say that his view was, that only when two opposite opinions are almost equally probable, is it lawful to adopt the less safe course; *i.e.*, that he was an *Æquiprobabilist*. But his *Æquiprobabilism* was so easy and elastic as to be indistinguishable from ordinary Probabilism. His favourite authors are Probabilists, and many of the decisions which he gives are avowedly based on principles which lead directly to Probabilism, or else cannot be defended without resort to Probabilism. This is the view of leading Redemptorists, such as Haringer and Scavini, respecting their founder; and his enthusiastic admirer and apostle, the Cardinal Archbishop Gousset, says of him that he condemns neither Alphonsus de Sarasa nor the 159 theologians whom Sarasa quotes in support of his opinions; and how could he condemn them, when he himself maintains absolutely the same system? <sup>1</sup> How easy his principles allowed him to be as a confessor is shown by the fact that towards the end of his life he stated that he did not remember ever having refused absolution to anyone who confessed to him. In short, as Dilkskron, the author of the best biography of Liguori, says of him, he stood about half-way between the Probabiliorists and Probabilists, and might fairly assume either name.

<sup>1</sup> Sarasa was a Flemish theologian of Spanish extraction, and author of the frequently reprinted and translated *Ars semper gaudendi* (1741), which contains a defence in detail of the principles of Probabilism.

That Liguori is no rigorist needs no proof for those who are at all acquainted with his teaching; and that there are theologians whose moral principles are still more lax than Liguori's is not likely to be denied by anyone. But the mischief done by setting up such a teacher as an authoritative Doctor of the Church is not in any way compensated by the fact that among lax moralists he is not extreme, but moderate. Every lax opinion which he *adopts* is now not only free from condemnation, but sanctioned and commended. But every lax opinion which he does *not* adopt is *not* thereby condemned, unless he has in express terms condemned it; it remains as an open question, until a formal decision has been given. In short, by promoting Liguori to be the standard in morals—as Aquinas is in dogmatics—the Roman Church has brought down the standard of its moral teaching to the level of Liguori's laxity, without thereby gaining any security that this low level will be accepted as a *minimum* below which no one may sink. All experience tends to show that the result of fixing an authoritative *minimum* is that a large number of persons forthwith come to regard it as their *maximum*. Is it altogether fanciful to believe that much of England's present trouble in the government of Ireland is the natural consequence of the introduction of Liguori's teaching into Maynooth? Priests and congregations who have been brought up under Liguorian principles of truthfulness are not likely to find much difficulty in denying facts which they have witnessed, or in acquitting prisoners whom they know to have been proved guilty; and persons who have accepted Liguorian principles of justice are not likely to see much harm in boycotting or the Plan of Campaign.

It remains to be seen whether this last great victory of the Jesuits will prove to the Society—what so many of its triumphs have proved to be—a success which brings far more loss than gain to the victors.

This article has already exceeded its limits, and yet the casuistical controversies respecting Attrition and the love of God have not been touched, nor have any specimens of the moral teaching of Liguori been given. It may be possible on some future occasion to remedy these deficiencies. Meanwhile, those who can read German will do well to consult the work whose title stands at the head of this article, and from which so much of the material for it has been derived. From documents hitherto unpublished, (many of them letters from the principal actors in these struggles), Dr. Döllinger and Dr. Reusch have given the history of the controversies with an accuracy and a completeness which were neither attained nor attainable before.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

ART. IV.—THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

*Address given on Saturday, February 16, 1889, in the School Library of Eton College to Eton boys, by an old Etonian.*

I HAVE been invited by the headmaster to speak upon a most interesting subject in my old school, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to do so. I left Eton at Election, 1840, nearly half a century ago, but it is still with gratitude that I look back to the sound education which I received under the headmasters Dr. Keate and Dr. Hawtrey (*non sine virgá*), and my tutors, Bishop Chapman and dear Harry Dupuis. There remain at Eton of that period only Archdeacon Balston and Mr. Carter, my schoolfellows, and Mr. John Wilder, of whom I shall ever think gratefully for having "sent me up for good" at Christmas, 1834, my first out of twenty-one times.

The Old Testament, as you all know, was mainly written in the Hebrew, a Semitic language; but after the return from the captivity at Babylon, in B.C. 536, that language ceased to be the vernacular of the people, and gave way to a sister-language, the Aramaic or Chaldee, in which parts of the Books of Ezra and Daniel are written. Before the time of our Lord, Hebrew had become a dead language, and the Jews, as well as the Samaritans, when they read the Old Testament in their synagogues, made use of Targums, or translations. When our Lord read from the Book of Isaiah in the synagogue at Nazareth, we may presume that, if He read the actual Hebrew text, He explained it by a Targum. Some of the very words which fell from our Lord's lips are quoted: "Amen," "Ephphatha," "Talitha kumi," and "Eloi, Eloi, lama Sabacthani," the latter being a quotation from the Targum of Psalm xxii.: the hypothesis that our Lord and His disciples, mostly residents of Galilee and uneducated persons in a humble position of life, used the Greek language cannot be maintained. When St. Paul is described in the Acts as addressing the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, it means that he used the vernacular understood by the Hebrews, *i.e.*, Aramaic. No doubt St. Paul, a highly-educated man, spoke both Greek and Aramaic.

The Hebrew Scriptures had been translated into Alexandrine Greek about 150 B.C. by the order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt. This translation differs materially from the Hebrew texts which have come down to our time, and is known as the Septuagint, from the legendary number of translators employed. The New Testament has come down to us entirely in Greek, though it is asserted, upon reasonable grounds, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written in Aramaic. Greek became the Church-language of the early Christians, as the Gospel spread westward into a region where Greek was the



vernacular. A value was then placed upon the Septuagint, as if it were inspired, and this error still clings to the Greek Church. In those days no Christian ever cared to refer to the original Hebrew text, but the Jews preserved it faithfully, and took many precautions for that purpose. About one hundred years before the Christian era, the old Phœnician Hebrew character, which still survives in Samaritan texts, gave way before the square-written characters so well known as the Hebrew. When Moses is exhibited in statues or pictures holding the tables of stone with the Decalogue written in the square Hebrew character, an anachronism is committed. On the other hand, that the square-written character had been adopted in our Lord's time is proved by His remark "that one jot or tittle would not pass away" (*ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μίαν κεραίαν*), which would not have applied to the old written characters.

It cannot be impressed upon our convictions too strongly, that from the earliest days of the Christian Church there was a strong desire and universal practice to convey the truths of the Bible to the people in the vulgar tongue. In a letter to Paulinus A.D. 395, Jerome remarks with a kind of prophetic spirit: "Et de Jerusalem, et de Britannîâ æqualiter patet aula cœli." In every false religion, such as the Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Mahometan, and every corrupted form of the true religion, such as the Roman, Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Koptic, and Ethiopic, the tendency has been to keep the sacred books in an unknown and obsolete language, and restrict the laity and the female sex to oral instruction, or reading of selections, or metrical versions, constructed by the priests. Such instruction may possibly be good and faithful, but it varies from generation to generation, and is imperfect. For instance, sixty years ago Dr. Keate used every Sunday to read one of Blair's Sermons in the upper school, and called it "prose." Dr. Hawtrey used other books of the period, but they would not go down now. Moreover, the revelation which has been made to man is a message in its entirety to each human conscience, and as the vehicle of words and sentences becomes gradually antiquated and unintelligible, it must be translated. We are not at liberty to place any limitation on the great plan of salvation, and must consider the Bible as a precious legacy to be handed down from one generation to another, from one country to another, from one language to another. Wickcliffe put the matter clearly when he wrote: "Since secular men should assuredly understand the Faith, it should be taught them in whatever language is best known to them." Some of you recollect that fine passage in the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, l. 304:

τοιοῖδ' ἔγοιμοι λαμπροτέρων νόμοι,  
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον διαδοχαῖς πληροῦμενοι.

It is the link that connects us with the Church in the Catacombs, the golden cord that unites the humble translator, now at work in Central Africa or the New Hebrides, with Luther, and Erasmus, and Wickcliffe, and Ulfilas, and Jerome, and Origen, and the seventy scholars of Alexandria, who set the great example of rendering the sacred books of one race into the language of another, and established the great principle of doctrinal continuity, based upon the oracles of God, ever re-appearing in a new combination of sounds, syllables and sentences. The light shining through a crystal appears in different colours, but it is the same light.

The Church of the Catacombs, recruited from the lower classes of Rome, was not long content with the Greek version, and several translations were made into Latin, the earliest being a gift of the Church in North Africa to its Mother Church in Italy. Many saints suffered martyrdom for the sake of the old Latin versions. A dangerous divergence of texts soon troubled the Church, and Jerome was commissioned by Damasus, Bishop (so-called Pope) of Rome, in the year 385, to revise the whole, and put forth an approved version. He was a most capable man, and used the Septuagint as the basis for the Old Testament. Accompanied by two holy Roman ladies, he settled at Bethlehem, and after he had completed his first revision, the conviction was forced upon him, that the suggestion of Origen in his "Hexapla" was the right one, and that he ought to make a fresh and distinct translation from the Hebrew text: this venerable work was known as the Vulgate. He was not a profound Hebrew scholar, and he had no critical appliances, and he lived one thousand years before the invention of printing. His work was committed to the precarious charge of manuscripts prepared from century to century by ignorant, careless, audacious, and, in some cases, fraudulent copyists. It is astonishing to read of the liberties taken by copyists. Such a thing as a critical conscience did not exist. Glosses, written in the margin by one generation, crept into the text in the next generation; passages were altered to render the supposed meaning intelligible; there was no public or learned criticism to control the copyist working in the cloisters of a convent under particular theological influences. It is not a matter of surprise that the text of the Vulgate, which was the very first out-turn of the new power of the printing-press, cannot be accepted as if fresh from the hand of Jerome, yet it is most valuable. A study of the Vulgate converted Luther and the Reformers.

After a struggle of five hundred years for supremacy over the other Latin versions, it was declared by the Council of Trent, in 1542 A.D., to be the only authorized medium in

which the Gospel would be conveyed to the laity. The Church of Rome had come to the parting of the ways, and had left the highroad of Bible-truth for the tortuous path of mediæval error. At a later period translations of the Vulgate were made, under Episcopal sanction, into Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and German, and published in avowed antagonism to Protestant versions.

The main-stream of Christianity flowed westward to Europe; still there remained Churches in the west of Asia and north-east corner of Africa, and the early Church cared for them also. The Syriac translation was the gift of the Church of Antioch, a Greek-speaking Church, in 200 A.D., to the natives of the country, who knew not Greek. This language was akin to Aramaic, but had a peculiar written character of its own. It is a cogent reply to those who fondly urge that our Lord and His Apostles used the Greek language, that two hundred years later the Church of Syria required a translation in the vernacular, notwithstanding the great increase of Greek and Roman influences, and the entire destruction of all indigenous culture. The Old Testament was a direct translation from the Hebrew; and the Syriac manuscripts, which have survived to our time, have been valuable as checks on the Greek and Roman copyists. This version is still used for liturgical purposes by the Syriac Churches in Mesopotamia and South India, though Arabic is the vernacular of the one and Malayalam of the other.

In Egypt there was a population which did not speak Greek, but made use of the latest, and now extinct, corrupted form of the great Egyptian language, which through the vehicles of demotic, hieratic, hieroglyphic papyri and lapidary inscriptions can be traced back for a period exceeding four thousand years. The Church of Alexandria, itself Greek-speaking, recognised the right of its members, who did not know Greek, to have personal access to the story of their risen Saviour, and translations were made in three dialects, the Memphitic, Sahidic, and Bashmúric, showing their anxiety that the millions of Upper as well as Lower Egypt, in the second and beginning of the third centuries, should, as the best antidote to heresies, not be deprived of their inheritance. Copies of that translation—found like waste-paper in boxes in the convents of the Nitron Lake, and forgotten by a race which have changed their language to Arabic—have brought home certain precious contributions to our Scriptural knowledge. It has its own peculiar written character.

To the south of Egypt is the great country of Abyssinia, which is indebted to Alexandria for its being nominally—only nominally—in the category of Christian nations. Before the

close of the fourth century after Christ a translation was made of the Bible into Ethiopic or Giz—now a dead language, but then the language of the natives—in a peculiar written character. Among the MSS. which have come down to us are the unique copies of the Book of Enoch, the Book of Adam, and some books found in no other Church.

From the north about that period a pressure of the Goths was taking place on the Roman Empire: they were heathens, the advance-guard of the great Teutonic branch of the Aryan family, to which we ourselves belong. The Church at Constantinople thought it their duty to give the Gospel to these heathen in the same spirit that Britons now act to the people of India, of China, of Japan, of Africa, of the Islands of the South Seas, and North and South America. A great man named Ulfilas, Bishop of the Mæso-Goths, who dwelt in Bulgaria (as now called), born a heathen in A.D. 318, and baptized at Constantinople, undertook the translation from the Greek in an alphabet formed by himself for the purpose. A celebrated fragmentary copy of this translation, dating back to the fifth century, is shown at Upsala, in Sweden.

In that same century was held the Council of Ephesus, and some young Armenians came to it, their object being to buy correct manuscripts of the Gospels in Greek. Young Armenians had been sent to Alexandria to study Greek, and, on their return—under the guidance of Miesrob, who had already translated the Bible from Syriac into Armenian—they set about a translation of the Greek into the same language, and accomplished it. The debt which they owed to Europe has in these last days been repaid, for in the Armenian convent at Venice has been found an old Armenian Harmony of the early Gospels of the second century, showing clearly, that the four Gospels must have existed at an anterior date, whatever critics may argue to the contrary.

In the valleys of the southern slopes of the Caucasus is a country called Georgia, now part of the Russian Empire. This is the region known in ancient times as Colchis, whence Jason stole the golden fleece, and to these mountains Prometheus was chained as a punishment for the benefits conferred by him on mankind. The inhabitants had accepted Christianity, and in the sixth century, to supply a want felt, young men were sent to Alexandria to study the Greek language, and this enabled them, on their return, to translate the Bible into the Georgian language, the first language, belonging neither to the Aryan or Semitic family, which had been so honoured, and in a written character peculiar to itself.

The Teutonic races, which had been the terror of Rome up to a certain time, had been pushed forward to the West by

hordes of a different though kindred origin, the Slavs, and the vast plains of Russia had been occupied, and the settlers had accepted Christianity from Constantinople. As if in the fulfilment of a law which could not be broken, two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, sons of a Greek noble at Thessalonica, both learned men, and occupying high social positions, which had enabled them to acquire the language of the Slavonic barbarians, retired into a convent for the purpose of translating the Bible, before the close of the ninth century, in a form of written character invented by themselves, which still bears the name of Cyril.

The same fatality overtook all these translations: the spirituality of the Church which used them was dried up, and the language had become unintelligible to the vulgar, though still clung to by an ignorant and unworthy priesthood. The Gothic language perished entirely off the face of the earth; the others survive, and are used rather to obscure than to teach truth. And part of the duty of Bible societies is to supply the Bible in the modern vernaculars to Churches starving under the shadow of old and venerable, yet dead trees, which no longer bear leaves and fruit for the healing and feeding of the nations.

In the peninsula of Arabia the Gospel never obtained a foothold. The Arabic language was, however, destined to play a mighty part in the history of mankind, as the vehicle of a false religion, and as the invigorator by its contact, and linguistic amalgamation, of some of the greatest languages in Asia and Africa. Translations of the Bible were made into Arabic as early as the lifetime of Mahomet, who died A.D. 632; from which, as he knew no other language, he must have gleaned his imperfect and distorted knowledge of its contents. Had such a translation of the Bible as now exists in Arabic been at the disposal of that great high-souled and earnest man, how different would probably have been his utterances!—how different the creed of his followers!

Still further to the east is the kingdom of Persia. The inhabitants of the southern provinces speak a language called Persian. A translation of the Pentateuch was made by a Jew from the Syriac. The date is uncertain, but it cannot be earlier than the ninth century A.D., as the Tower of Babel is called the Tower of Baghdad, a city of which the foundation date is known—A.D. 827.

Let me cast one glance at the extreme west of Europe. By the singular good fortune of the inhabitants of the British Islands, in all the early efforts of Christians they had a conspicuous part. They received the Gospel early; one of the early Christian martyrs, St. Alban, died at Verulam in Hert-

fordshire; and their missionaries to the heathen were early in the field—Columba, Columbanus, Aidan, and Boniface. They were foremost in the Crusades, foremost in Bible-translation, and in the Reformation. Cædmon, who lived in the seventh century A.D., wrote a metrical version, but Anglo-Saxon inter-linear versions of the Latin Bible are found. The Venerable Bede, on the very day of his death (A.D. 735), gave a finishing touch to the translation of St. John's Gospel. King Alfred the Great took part in the translation of the Bible, and prefixed some chapters of Exodus to his Code of Laws in A.D. 890. An Anglo-Saxon Glossary of the four Gospels, dated A.D. 900, is in the British Museum. In the tenth century another Anglo-Saxon version was made from the Vulgate, and the MS. is in the Bodleian.

This completes the story of the different languages to which the Bible was committed at a period antecedent to the Norman Conquest of England: 1. Hebrew; 2. Aramaic; 3. Samaritan; 4. Greek; 5. Syriac; 6. Latin; 7. Koptic; 8. Ethiopic; 9. Gothic; 10. Armenian; 11. Georgian; 12. Slavonic; 13. Arabic; 14. Persian; 15. Anglo-Saxon. There was a dense silence for three centuries, and a dark period preceded the dawn of the Reformation. Oriental travellers know well the darkness that precedes the coming of the morning. It was a darkness of ignorance, superstition, priestcraft, and bigotry. Latin had died out of the mouths of the people; a new birth of vernacular forms of speech had taken place; but the Romish Church was blind in spite of warnings. The first effort of Protestants was to get at the inspired records of their faith, and give them to the people. The Anglo-Saxon versions above alluded to were justly appealed to by the Reformers in England as a proof of the continuity of vernacular versions, and the right of Christian Churches to have the Bible in the language understood by men, women, and children. To Wickcliffe—the morning-star of the Reformation in A.D. 1380, *temp.* Richard II.—belongs the high honour of completing the translation of the entire Scripture in English. At nearly the same time, and before the appearance of Jerome of Prague and Huss, in Bohemia, a translation had come into existence. A German version was made at the expense of the Emperor of Germany in A.D. 1405, and exists in the Vienna Library. A translation into Provençal dates back to A.D. 1179, and one into Flemish to A.D. 1300. These existed before the dawn of the Reformation. Subsequent to that mighty unbarring of the doors of the closed temples of religion and knowledge the following versions sprang into existence: Welsh, Gaelic, Erse, Manx, French, Dutch, Norwego-Danish, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Rouman, Russ, Osmanli Turki, Old Norse, Lapp, Finn,

Lithu, Pole, Wend, Magyar, Romanch, Lett, Karniola, Ehst, Nogai Turki (twenty-five languages). The invention of printing, the revival of learning, the reintroduction of Greek and Hebrew into the curriculum of Western scholars, made a mighty change. The Latin Vulgate was the first book actually printed and published, in A.D. 1462. Erasmus put forth his Greek version at Basle in A.D. 1516, followed by Cardinal Ximenes in A.D. 1520. Texts were compared, translations revised, and copies multiplied. Bohemian was the first living language printed. In the meantime the world was being explored or discovered, a clearer knowledge of the multiplicity of languages was being obtained; yet, strange to say, it never entered into the conception of the good and holy men of that period that it was a duty to supply the heathen and Mahometan world with copies of the Word of God, and in a systematic way to reintroduce it to the knowledge of the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, and the fallen Churches of Western Asia and North-East Africa. They were content to feed themselves with the bread of life; but it was not revealed to them, nor was it brought home to their consciences from the pulpit, that Jesus died for all, that Christ from the Cross looked down upon the poor heathen also, and that the so-called dogs had a congenital right to the crumbs from the Christian's table.

Now and then there was a bright exception. John Eliot was born in A.D. 1604, and went to New England in A.D. 1631. He learnt the language of the Algonquin tribes, who then dwelt in the States of Massachusetts and Virginia, and translated the Bible, which has outlived the race, religion, and language; for all have passed away. The Bible lives as the language of a dead nation. He had no helps in his work such as men have now; his method was, "Prayers and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything." At the other end of the world some laymen of the Dutch East India Company translated the Bible into Malay. In A.D. 1668 the New Testament was printed in Holland, and large portions of the Old Testament, in A.D. 1723, both in the Roman and Arabic written characters, at the expense of the Government, who also prepared a translation of the New Testament and part of the Old Testament in Portuguese for the use of the settlers in the Dutch colonies, who spoke that language; and this was the first vernacular translation that reached that priest-ridden land (Portugal), and the one which, in a revised form, is still in use. In South India Ziegenbalg, the Danish missionary, printed, in A.D. 1714, his translation of the New Testament in Tamil, and had done part of the Old Testament, when he died; but his great work was completed in A.D. 1727. In A.D. 1661 Gravius, a Dutch pastor in Batavia, printed a translation of

the Gospels of Matthew and John in one of the languages of the aboriginal tribes of the Island of Formosa, within the empire of China. The language is still scarcely known, for before the edition was circulated the mission was uprooted. In Ceylon, before A.D. 1783, the Dutch Government had promoted a translation of the New Testament and portions of the Old into Sinháli, and they were printed at Colombo.

Two reflections arise from these facts. The Dutch supplied translations in Malay, Formosa, and Sinháli, and the Danish in Tamil, while the British had done nothing in Asia. In the following century they made up for their slackness. The famous Roman Catholic priest Beschi was one of the best Tamil scholars of his age, and was alive during the time of Ziegenbalg's labours, but it never occurred to him to translate any book of the Holy Scriptures, for his method of converting the heathen, and his method of guiding a Christian Church, did not require it—in fact, would not have survived the contact with a knowledge of Scripture; and the same may be said of the Jesuits in Paraguay, the founders of the Papist establishments in China, the missionaries of the Romish Church at the present moment, belonging to any one of the great Congregations, labouring in any part of the world, among tribes and nations of any stage of intellectual culture. Not one of them (except the Jesuits at Beirút, who, under the pressure of the Protestant competition, have put forth an excellent, though costly, Arabic Bible) has ever taken their converts to the pure fountain of Christian truth, but substituted cunningly-devised fables of legends of the Virgin Mary and so-called saints. More than that, they are the avowed enemies of Bible-circulation.

In all, at the close of the second period, there were about fifty-four versions in existence, many of them dead, and used only for liturgical purposes, most of them incorrect, and requiring careful comparison with the Hebrew and Greek texts, and all very insufficiently distributed. Many nominal Christians, and some real ones, passed through life without ever seeing a Bible. In England a large Bible was fastened by a chain to a lectern in some churches. Bible-possession was rare; Bible-study, in the proper sense of that word, rarer. A deadness had fallen over the Protestant Churches. There may have been some who desired, but few had the opportunity. At length, at the close of the eighteenth century, the missionary spirit burst into existence, reacting upon the home Churches; and a missionary spirit is based on the Bible—a Bible understood by the people; to be read; to be prayed over; to be thumbed by old folks; to be lisped by little children; to be spelt out by imperfectly-educated men and



women; to be read and explained in churches, chapels, and Sunday-schools; to be whispered into dying ears; to be handed down with pencil-marks and annotations from parents to children.

The want was felt: nobody knew exactly how to supply it. Some effort must be made to accomplish a great work which had been the desire of so many generations. Who would apply the spark to the train? It came about in an unexpected way. Great rivers spring from tiny fountains. The story reads like a myth of the Middle Ages; like the lying legend of Lourdes in South France, it centres round a peasant girl, who had been in the habit of walking two miles every Saturday to prepare her Sunday-school lesson from the only Bible in the neighbourhood. With the savings of six years, in A.D. 1800 she walked twenty-five miles to purchase a Bible of Mr. Charles, of Bala, who received an annual small consignment from a local Bible association. She burst into tears and buried her face in her hands when she heard that every copy was already appropriated. The minister was greatly moved at the sight, and gave her a copy, which copy is now in the Bible House in London, and respected as its very foundation-stone. In 1802 Mr. Charles went to London to try and found a Welsh Bible Society, but the matter had got beyond his power, and in 1804 was founded in London a Bible Society to supply the world, and the example was followed in New York, Edinburgh, and Holland, and their branches and depôts have spread over the world.

Since that date a great crop of new versions in the different languages of the world has sprung up. Mission-stations were planted by the different Churches, and translations sent home to be printed. Copies were sent back in thousands to be sold below cost-price, to be used in the school, the family, and the humble home, and to be the rule of the new life.

I now ask each boy present to accept from me a present of a specimen book, or sheet of one single verse of the Gospel of St. John, in a great many, though not the whole, of these versions. I place on the shelves of the school-library a selection of versions taken at random from the store of every portion of the world. Some few can tell you off-hand where each language is spoken, and to what family of languages it belongs; what is the state of culture of the people who read it, what written character is used for the printing, and the name of the missionary or scholar who made the translation, or can make use of it; perhaps I can; but no living man can pretend to say that he himself knows more than twenty out of the three hundred varieties, and perhaps not that number; yet the knowledge of each language is by certain specific

persons as certain and accurate as the knowledge of Latin and Greek possessed by the Newcastle Scholar of the year. The versions, when printed, are brought into the immediate use of native pastors, native schoolmasters, and the women and children, for whose use they are prepared; they are not composed to be put away as a *tour de force* on the shelf of a library. Revision goes on with every new edition, and the scholarship of the greatest scholars of Europe and America is challenged to point out defects. Now, if any Eton boy present can point out any error of the rendering of the Greek in the specimens which he holds in his hands, of the Fiji, or Tahiti, or Swahili, or Zulu, or Mohawk, or Telugu, or Mandarin, or Japan, I shall feel much obliged if he will stand up and point it out, and I will get it corrected in the next edition. This is the challenge which we give to the critic, or the doubter, or the unbeliever.

No one part of the world is more attended to than the rest. The sun never sets on the work of the Bible societies; their publications are being read in different quarters at every hour of the day. Many of the translators were simple, unscientific men, but they did their work well. Very often they had no help from dictionary or grammar, for nothing of the kind existed. Eton boys can realize what it is to write an exercise without such assistance. Some required one kind of written character, some another; some were rendered in two or more to suit the requirements of the people. Art and Science have been the handmaids of the inspired Revelation.

A word about the languages of the world. There are more than two thousand mutually unintelligible spoken at this moment; but the great languages, like the English, tread down the small ones, and languages die like the people who spoke them. King Xerxes, who was defeated at Salamis, as you all know, and who was the husband of Queen Esther, issued orders to the 127 provinces of his kingdom, according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language. All have perished except two, Greek and Hebrew, for they both had become the receptacle of God's Word. Versions are made in dialects where it is necessary, and in some cases in mere jargons, when the people understand nothing else.

Europe is pretty well supplied, and the wants of the tribes who speak the smaller and less well-known languages have been attended to. In Asia great progress has been made, especially in British India; translations have been made in scores of languages, and are diligently distributed. A great work has been done in China: people used to think that there was only one language for all the inhabitants, but the mistake has been found out. The Book-language is intelligible to *the*

eyes of all the educated, but each reader has to express himself in his own vernacular, as the translation is expressed in ideographs, which speak to the eye only, and so far resemble the figures in arithmetic, which each nation calls by a different name. Many other translations have been made in the different provincial colloquials, some in ideographs, and some in the Roman alphabet.

In Africa and Oceania a great work has been done, and much more is being done; the whole Bible is now to be purchased for a small sum in scores of languages, the very names of which were unknown at the beginning of this century; and they are valued above all things by the people, who gladly pay all the cost. Most of these languages are melodious, and capable of expressing every idea: all the stories of savage languages have been disproved. Every language of the world can be tuned to sing the same great Psalm of Salvation.

Passing into America, we find the same necessity for, and the same power of giving, the Bible, but strangely different is the vehicle of speech: while in China every word is a monosyllable, in America the word seems to disappear, and the unit of speech is a sentence, a compact expression in many syllables. It is asserted that the word "kneel" can only be expressed in eleven syllables. To record such intolerably long sentence-words a syllabary, consisting of a united consonant and vowel, has been composed, so as to shorten the inordinate length in printing; and I leave in your library specimens of this remarkable and ingenious device to bring a knowledge of the Gospel home to the Red Indians.

I recall to your recollection the lines of dear old Horatius Flaccus, who was fond of airing his geographical knowledge, which was not more accurate than that of the authors of the Acts of the Apostles, who tells us that there were devout men at Jerusalem from *every nation under heaven* (*ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*), but his enumeration of them reveals a very limited area. So Horatius Flaccus tells us in his own pretty way of the unlimited diffusion which he anticipates for his charming odes:

Jam Daedaleo ocyor Icaro  
 Visam gementis littora Bospori  
 Syrtisque Gaetulas canoros  
 Ales Hyperboreosque campos.  
 Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum  
 Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi  
 Noscent Geloni, me peritus  
 Discet Hiber Rhodanique poter.

And again:

Visam Britannos hospitibus feros  
 Et laetum equino sanguine Concanum,  
 Visam pharetratos Gelonos  
 Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.

How true is this, though magnified a hundred-fold, of the books, or rather the one Book, issued by the Bible Society! It finds its way to "Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox," well called "ferox," for no such antagonist to the Bible has been found, both in deed and spirit, as the Latin Church.

I have told you of the past; let us look forward to the future of the Bible societies. Dear boys, you are the heirs of all the ages, the "enfants terribles" of the next half-century, the juvenum "recens examen Eois timendum partibus, Oceanoque rubro." To your generation will be committed the duty to carry out to completion the work left undone by the men of the time of Victoria, who came to the throne while I was an Eton boy. Let me appeal to you, in the names of old Etonians, whose glory you have to emulate. You recollect that grand passage of Demosthenes "De Corona"? We had it, if I recollect right, when Mr. W. E. Gladstone and his brother-in-law, Lord Lyttelton, came down in 1840 to be the examiners for the Newcastle Scholarship, and I and Bishop Mackarness were in the Select; and a few years back I reminded Mr. Gladstone of the honour conferred upon us by his hands, doubly an honour when conferred by him, much as I differ from him in politics:

*Μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσαντας.*

I will tell you how this applies. Fifty years ago, moving about in our midst, were two figures, one that of a young man who was a private tutor, and one a boy, just such a boy as each of you are—perhaps I may have fagged him to fetch a book or carry a letter—but the names of those two are now mentioned with love and honour and fond regret wherever the English language is spoken:—George Augustus Selwyn and Coleridge Patteson.

Selwyn preached in the Maori language within a few weeks after his arrival in New Zealand. Some Bishops occupy their dioceses for decades, and are dumb dogs to the end of their days. The Bible in Maori was revised, and Bishop Selwyn the second and his widowed mother aided in the revision. Coleridge Patteson exhausted linguistic worlds, and then invented (in the proper sense of "invenio") new. From island to island in the New Hebrides he took the Gospel of Salvation as a new idea, and he left it embedded in the language, habits, and hearts of the wild tribes for whom he gave up his life. Had he lived longer, he would have left more ample memorials of his genius and his devotion, but his mode of life and death has left you all a great example. You remember, boys, the Greek monumental inscription on those who fell at Plataea, which is now in the Museum at Athens. Let me apply it to you: "Go, boys, do as these

did, and fall as this one fell." England and Eton must be foremost in arts and arms, in the battlefield and the playing-ground, on the river and on the sea, in the lecture-room of the scholar and the mission-chapel of the missionary, in the speeches of the orator and the printed books of the author :

*Αὐτὸν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.*

The office of a translator is a noble one. Over the grave of one it is recorded that he translated the whole Bible into a language the existence of which was unknown before his arrival on the spot. When the Lord cometh, and maketh a reckoning with His servants, such as he will have a good account to render of the talents committed to their charge.

And, finally, a good knowledge of Latin and Greek—as taught at Eton in my day, and in my case flogged into me, and still taught under Dr. Warre—is a *κτῆγμα ἐς αἰετὶ*, the best mental gymnastics in the world. It is taught scientifically now, but in my days the science of comparative grammar had not become known. I remember Henry Hallam, the author of "The Middle Ages," asking me in 1842, at Cambridge, whether it were true that the Sanskrit language, which I had acquired, resembled the Greek and Latin in its structure and word-store. My reply was that in Sanskrit alone was found the secret of the inflections of the verbs and nouns of her younger sister-languages. All this is in the public school primer now, and every schoolboy knows what a stem, and a root, and a suffix is. But Dr. Keate cared for none of such things, and probably would have flogged any boy, who suggested such nonsense. I repeat that a scientific grounding in an Indo-European language forms a sound platform for further study. If Hebrew could be added, as a representative of Semitic languages, so much the better ; but every language evoked by the genius of man, in spite of all its multiform varieties, must have a method of expressing the object, the predicate, and the subject—must have elementary roots and some method of modifying them so as to express the meaning of the speaker—it must have a sound-lore, word-lore, and sentence-lore.

The Bible is meant to be the faithful witness of past times, the solemn teacher of the Church in all times, the fountain of inexhaustible truth, the awakener of souls from a fatal slumber, the still small warning voice to the sinner to repent from his ways ; it is not meant to be the subject of a merely mechanical, musical, system of chants and anthems and antiphons, sung or muttered or intoned by non-spiritual hirelings ; it is not meant to be the school-book of non-Christian children, the mere shibboleth of the conventional worshipper, the *corpus*

*vile* of the ingenious philologist, ethnologist, geologist, or historiologist. No Christian Church has ever existed without some rudimentary translation. The eunuch of Kandacé, as he sat in his chariot reading his chapter of Isaiah, understood the literal meaning of the words, as he had probably an Aramaic Targum in his hands, but understood not the application and the hidden meaning until Philip, taught by the Spirit, explained it.

Many non-Christians have been converted by Bible-reading, unaided by oral instruction. In all ages and countries there has been a desire, a desire not always realized, to communicate the Bible to others. It is mere folly to urge at this period of our knowledge of the languages of the world, and the intellectual aptitude of barbarous races, that the contents of the Bible cannot with care and precision be conveyed to every nation or tribe or language under the sun, so as to be understood by men, women, and children. For two thousand years since the Septuagint was taken in hand, one stream of solemn music has been sung in the multiform voice of the human race to the honour of the Great Redeemer,

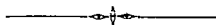
Πόλλαι μὲν Θυήτοις γλῶσσαι, μία δ' ἀθάνατοις,

telling the same story in fresh combinations of syllables, fresh blending of sounds, fresh scratchings of the pen, fresh impressions upon the human soul.

ROBERT CUST.

February 16, 1889.

P.S.—I must record my obligation to the Rev. Prebendary Edmonds, of High Bray, Devon, for the advantage gained by the perusal of his published addresses on this subject in Exeter Hall, and his sermon in Exeter Cathedral, in 1888, and his kind letter of suggestions. He was with great propriety selected to give the address at Eton. At the last moment the date was altered, and his services were required elsewhere. I was called upon unworthily to fill his place, for which I have only one special qualification (so far, superior to his), that I am an Etonian, sprung of a race which for seven generations have known, and desire to know, no other public school but Eton.



## Short Notices.

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*The Official Year-Book of the Church of England.* 1889. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

THE present volume of this most useful register has some new features of interest; it shows the same editorial ability and judgment, the same research and hearty co-operation. An article based upon its statistics and suggestions will appear, probably, in the next CHURCHMAN.

*The Epistle to the Philippians, with Introduction and Notes*, by the Rev. H. C. G. MOULE, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

This is a volume of the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" series, edited by the Dean of Peterborough, and among the ablest and most suggestive of that excellent series it will take high rank. We have long admired Mr. Moule's precise and delicate scholarship, but more and more we value the sound judgment and spirituality of his expositions. Not a word in this Commentary is needless or out of place; and Bible students who are in no sense "specialists" will find it readable throughout.

*Easter Bells* is a very pretty little volume (Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh), with selected verses and tasteful illustrations.

Professor Sayce's interesting little volume, *The Hittites, or, The Story of a Forgotten Empire* (R.T.S.), will prove of great service. Many of our readers will remember the admirable article on the Hittites, in a recent CHURCHMAN, by Canon Tristram. This is a well-told "Story."

In a sermon entitled *The Trial of the Bishop of Lincoln*, by the Rev. J. W. Marshall, appears this paragraph: "I, and the large majority of "Evangelical Churchmen, do not approve of religious prosecutions. We "have done nothing to bring them about, and would do nothing to support "them. We think that such things are carnal weapons; and we feel that "the prosecutions that have already been concluded, and made to issue in "the imprisonment of clergymen, have done more to promote the cause "of error than the cause of truth. But because we feel this, and have "taken, and will take, no part in the prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln, "it by no means follows that we do not think that either he, or any other "Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, should be made to answer for acts and "teaching that are contrary to the articles and formularies of our Church. "On the contrary, we are of decided opinion that lawlessness in a Bishop "is a most grievous scandal, from which, in some way or other, our "Church ought to be delivered."

*Atalanta* (Hatchards) is—as always—bright and interesting.—The *Child's Pictorial* (S.P.C.K.) has its usual attractions.

In *Blackwood*, a very good number, appears a review of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's *In Vinculis*. "Even such impassioned prose as that in which Mr. "O'Brien and his friends bewail the rape of his small-clothes (says *Black-* "wood) is insufficient to relieve the feelings of Mr. Wilfrid Scawen "Blunt, who sees in himself at once a Bayard and a Wallace. Poetry at "its highest strain is needed to do justice to the martyr, the heroic "defender of honour and freedom, who, out of the depths of his dungeon, "where all the images of the great are within him, lifts up his plaintive "yet exalted song. It is unfortunate for us that we are not in a state of "happy ignorance as to the antecedents of the sufferer."

In the *Homiletic Magazine* (Nisbet and Co.) appears an interesting paper on the Prophets, by Archdeacon Farrar.

In *Murray's Magazine* appears a timely paper on the Work of County Councils, by Viscount Lymington, M.P. "A Blind Deaf-Mute" has a special interest; the lady who proved so interesting a study to Dr. Whewell, it appears, still resides at Cambridge. The first article in *Murray's Magazine* is "What is the Salvation Army?" written by General Booth. Here is an extract. The "General" says: "Quite recently men of the highest intelligence have been exhibiting in the London Press their idea that those who attend no place of worship and the lowest and most degraded classes were convertible terms, apparently in utter unconsciousness of the fact that out of our metropolitan population of five millions, only two millions are to be seen in all the churches, chapels, and meeting-rooms on any given Sunday, there being no less than three millions who take no more notice of the national religion than do Chinese or Mahomedan visitors to this city. How many village squires, I wonder, are still unconscious of the absolute irreligion prevailing around them? A dreamy half-realization that the Church is not exactly in touch with the crowd has been produced by the unwonted activity of many of the clergy during the last decade or two; but who really distresses himself because the village tap-rooms are full and the village church almost empty from Sunday to Sunday?"

"*Compel them to come in*" (S. W. Partridge and Co.) is a little tract which ought to be well made known. The profits are to be given, it appears, to the Scripture Readers' Society for Ireland. We may take this opportunity of quoting from another tract before us, as follows: "The Scripture Readers' Society for Ireland was established in 1822, chiefly through the instrumentality of the late Lord Chief Justice Lefroy, the late Earl of Roden, the late Lord Powerscourt, the late Master Brooke and others, for the purpose of employing humble Christian men, well versed in the Scriptures, to visit and read the Bible from house to house throughout the country. The Scripture Readers are invariably placed under carefully selected Christian Superintendents, and are also employed by the Society in the large towns and cities, such as Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, etc., as *City Missionaries*, and visit all classes and denominations, where permitted so to do. Irish-speaking Readers are sent to Irish-speaking districts when required, but are now seldom or ever asked for. The Scripture Readers also visit amongst the sailors in seaports, and hold Bethel meetings on board ships, at hours not to interfere with the usual Public Services. The Society is supported by voluntary contributions."

*Nothing New* is a little pamphlet, published by Messrs. Nisbet, by Canon Bell, the Rector of Cheltenham, which we heartily recommend. Lately, says Canon Bell, the *novel* has been employed to undermine the old creed of Christendom, and to build up in its stead a Christianity without Christ. "Robert Elsmere," he proceeds, "a book written with a purpose, in which a new Christianity has been presented to us by a gifted lady, has been received with eager interest, and has attained a phenomenal success. It has been so much read, partly, no doubt, through its own literary merits, which are great, and partly because, I venture to think, of its sceptical character, many being curious to know the fresh arguments that may be brought forward to undermine the Christian faith. Not that here we have anything new, and indeed argument there is none."



## THE MONTH.

THE Court at Lambeth ("Read *v.* the Bishop of Lincoln") re-assembled on the 12th. After prayer and the formal opening of the Court, his Grace said :

. . . After due consideration of the various circumstances of the case as presented to me, I issued to my Lord and Right Rev. Brother the Bishop of Lincoln a formal citation, drawn according to precedent. And I summoned to my assistance, in the manner which historians have described as the custom of the Church of England, and of which examples, both ancient and since our Reformation, are recorded, certain of my episcopal brethren as assessors, to give me the great advantage of their counsel and advice when we come to hear the case upon its merits. I understand from the extended protest which you have put in on the part of the Bishop it is desired to show me that this course which I have taken in preparing to hear this very unusual case is, in some way of which I am at present unaware, irregular. I am ready, then, before we enter into the merits of the case, to hear the grounds on which this allegation is made. This, I think, is a plain statement of the case so far, and of the position in which it now stands. I am prepared to hear two counsel on each side.

The proceedings in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury and the House of Laymen were of peculiar interest.

In the Northern Convocation, goodwill between the two Houses prevailed throughout. Chancellor Espin, as was expected, proves a most successful Prolocutor. A very important speech was made by the Archbishop on the Clergy Discipline Bill; and the *Guardian* confesses that "his Grace's criticisms have very greatly modified the partial approval" which it gave the Bill of last Session. The Bishop of Carlisle called attention to a mischievous book.<sup>1</sup>

The Right Rev. F. J. Jayne, Bishop of Chester, has been enthroned in Chester Cathedral. The Rev. A. G. Edwards, Vicar of Carmarthen, has been appointed to the Bishopric of St. Asaph.

In the London Diocesan Conference, a resolution was moved by Lord Halifax in favour of "early Communion in every church of the diocese, on every Lord's Day at the very least." The "previous question" was carried by a large majority. In his speech, Arch-deacon Farrar said :

If they adopted the resolution they would practically add a new Rubric to the Prayer-book. Lord Halifax put forward the early Communion on the ground of a fasting Communion, but it was well to remind the Conference that a fasting Communion was not the original institution. There was nothing in the Scriptures to justify a fasting Communion; it was not Apostolic; and it was not a primitive custom of the Church. It was also no part of any rule ever laid down by the Church of England, and he hoped the day would never come when any body of Churchmen would attempt to dictate to their fellows. His sole object in supporting the previous question was that this solemn question should not be discussed, or the work of the clergy interfered with, or that they should introduce a question, which tended, unhappily, not to unite them, but rather to divide and separate them.

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Carlisle (says the *Record* of the 8th) protested against the publication of a book entitled *A Kalendar of the English Church, and Ecclesiastical Almanack for the Year of Grace 1889*. . . . It seemed to him to be mischievous to a very great extent. There was in it a quantity of very misleading information, and there were directions given which appeared to him to have a strongly superstitious and also anti-Anglican character. . . . He knew that in bringing this matter forward he was treading upon hot ground. But he was deeply pained that such instructions should be put forward as directions for use in the English Church, directions which hardly professed to have any authority in that Church, and he thought it his duty as a Bishop of the Northern Convocation to take that opportunity of raising his voice against it.