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THE
CHURCHMAN

SEPTEMBER, 1893.

ART. I.—RABSHAKEH.

“Is not that He whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away?”—2 Kings xviii. 22.

EVERY now and then we come upon passages in ancient records which show us quaintly how like men were to what they are. The bargaining of the patriarchal times, for example, as recorded so graphically in the early Scriptures, is almost literally reproduced in the East every day. The description of it is so transparently natural, according to our ideas of Oriental bargaining, as almost to provoke a smile.

The very striking scene enacted before the walls of Jerusalem about 2,600 years ago, when the words of my text were spoken, is an unusually good instance of this element in the Old Testament records. It shows you your enemy, advising you for your good, pointing out with engaging frankness in what direction your best interests lie. You find, curiously enough, that what is to be best for you happens also to be best for him. But that is an incident. His purpose is to counsel you for your good, to show the advantage to yourself and to your cause of taking the steps he suggests for putting yourself into his hands. Many of the fables called of Æsop go far back into antiquity. There probably always has been one from very early times that has set forth this persuasive friendliness of the devourer, and its consequences to those who are persuaded.

Again, you see your enemy armed, but in peaceful guise. He has his forces with him, but not for use at present. He is not going to fight now; that will come later, if you really will have it.

And he knows so much about your affairs, and what you have done, and what you have meant by what you have done.

And in setting this before you in a candid spirit he blunders with such easy confidence.

He has his own statistics, too, and he tells you how weak you are, and how strong he; and he promises to help you in this respect, when you have come to terms. The terms shall be generous.

He shows you, further, that you are mistaken in your central hope and assurance; that the right is with him, not with you; that the force on which you rely is on his side, not on yours—has gone over to him, though once no doubt it was with you. The mandate has gone forth, in modern phrase, and it is against you. He is going to execute it considerably, if you will give him no trouble.

You find him making use of you as a passive medium. He does not quite expect to take you in; but he speaks past you, and the audience he really addresses are folk of a commoner sort. When it is merely a question of counting heads, a weak head counts as well as a strong one.

These and other rather pointed lessons, on the method of conquest by confident talk, we find strewn thick on these pages—the pages which tell of the discourse held by the wily Rabshakeh in the ears of the men that sat upon the wall. Let us see how the lessons come in.

Hezekiah had been moved to imperative action by the abuses which he had found in religious observance and religious belief. He had risen up in wrath against these abuses, and had put them down with a high hand. The whole area of the kingdom had bristled with abuses and the means for abuses. There were high places all over to be pulled down, images to be broken, groves to be felled: the objects, the incentives, the shelters, of horrible wickedness called worship. Even that venerable relic of the past, the brazen serpent—now, if the original, between seven and eight hundred years old—even that had been corrupted into an object of idolatrous worship, and the stern iconoclast brake it in pieces.

And this was no mere local cleansing of one portion of the land. Up into the northern kingdom, just left desolate by the final captivity of Israel, and across into the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh, the king's arm reached, and everywhere the altars were destroyed.

All this the Assyrians knew, for they were watching; but they did not understand. Each country, as they believed, had a tutelary god, who helped the country in its wars, and whose power had to be taken into account by an enemy, perhaps as much as the visible forces of the country, perhaps more. The God of the country of the sons of Israel, as the Assyrians believed, was the God whose high places and whose altars

Hezekiah had destroyed. Hezekiah had thus alienated his invisible ally. The soldiers alone of Hezekiah, not the soldiers and the God of Hezekiah, were now arrayed against the Assyrians. This was probably their honest belief.

Armed with this telling argument, telling to those who did not know, and ready with other arguments of a practical character, and with one clenching argument claiming the God of Hezekiah as on their side, as having given a positive mandate to Sennacherib, they came up to Jerusalem. The king would not come himself as yet. He sent three principal officers to negotiate, and an army to give moral force to their negotiations.

The spokesman of the Assyrians was skilfully chosen. Named last of the three, and thus, we may presume, not the chief military man, he had evident fitnesses for this special task of persuasive talk. He could marshal his facts and arguments well; he could speak to the Jews in their own tongue; and he could make himself heard in the open air. This lies on the surface. If we look a little deeper we shall see that his probable knowledge of the internal affairs of the government, of the divisions between the religious and the secular rulers, of the prophecies of evil to come, of the mistakes made in the past, and the present dissensions arising out of them, we shall see that the convergence of several indications suggests that he was not improbably a renegade Jew, who knew Jerusalem well, and therefore was entrusted with the conduct of this business. In any case he was probably in communication with a more or less powerful party of Assyrianisers within the walls.

This one, then, of the principal officers of Sennacherib, chief cup-bearer, or whatever else the title Rabshakeh may have meant, presented himself at the gates of the city; and three of Hezekiah's chief men were sent to hear his message.

He began by assuming, as a self-evident fact, that they were of themselves helplessly weak, and of themselves could not attempt to resist his will. He took it for granted that only a political alliance could have given them confidence. And what that alliance was he felt no doubt. They looked to Egypt. That policy was in the ascendant, he had reason to believe. Perhaps it was. It was the policy of Shebna, one of the three who listened, himself probably not a Jew. It was not the policy of Isaiah. Any confidence in Egypt was misplaced, the speaker assured them. Egypt would prove a broken reed; in its breaking, dangerous. And they had no other ally. Thus, help of man they had none; or, if they counted Egypt, worse than none. He knew much better than they did about such high matters of alliance and policy.

And as for that invisible help in which all nations then believed, a help which the history of the past showed to have been mighty indeed with the nation against whom Sennacherib had sent an army, that help, the help of the God of the nation, depended of course upon the favour of the God. That favour they had forfeited, the speaker told them. Hezekiah had torn down the high places, cut down the groves, of the national God. He had forbidden them to offer the accustomed sacrifice to their God in any part of the land, except in Jerusalem alone. What help could they expect from a God whom they had thus outraged? Here, again, he knew better than they. He took a larger survey. He saw how the king's action had offended the God of Israel. He saw it because he took an impartial view, looking at it all from the outside. They, probably, misled by Hezekiah, did not know the effect of what had been done. He did.

Weak in themselves, cut off from visible sources of help, cut off from spiritual help, they were indeed isolated, they were indeed alone. They had better make terms, while yet the great king was willing to treat with them. They should in their own interests abandon their attitude of defence, yield up their untenable position. He would at once supply them with a large number of horses, if Hezekiah could find men enough to mount them. He openly doubted whether Hezekiah could find so many. But, any way, that would be better than trusting for such things to that broken reed away to the south-west.

But he had yet a final argument, a powerful argument, the most dangerous he had to use; so dangerous that they at once endeavoured to hush the matter up, to prevent this fatal argument reaching the ears of the people. "Am I come up without the Lord against this place? The Lord said unto me, Go up against this land, and destroy it."

Was it true? Had God really said to the Assyrians, "Go up and destroy"? In what way, by what means, could any such communication have been made?

The ordinary belief is that the Rabshakeh was playing the part of a braggart, a romancer. But, curiously enough, it was substantially true. And the representatives of Hezekiah probably knew that it was substantially true, though it may well be that the people did not know. The denunciations of Isaiah, in the time of Hezekiah's father, had in fact declared that God would send the Assyrian to destroy the land. "Behold the Lord bringeth up upon them the king of Assyria and all his glory; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel."—"O Assyrian, the rod of Mine anger, and the staff in their hand is Mine indignation;

I will send him against the people of My wrath, to tread them down like the mire of the streets." It was at most five-and-twenty years since these threats were uttered, this commission to the Assyrian to come and punish was announced. Isaiah was still prophesying. A large part of his prophecy was written in this very year and the next year. His earlier prophecies were not forgotten. The Rabshakeh may have been a Jew when they were spoken, a Jew of the high-place-and-altar type, who left the country thus threatened, and cast in his fortunes with the other country, whose dominance was declared. Or at least the opposition party in Jerusalem had kept him informed. And so he used this statement to clench the considerations he had urged.

The king's commissioners were moved to request that the communications might proceed in the Syrian language, which they understood—especially, we may suppose, Shebna. They wished the proceedings to be private, not public, to the people who watched and listened from the wall.

That was exactly what the enemy did not wish. He specially desired that the people should hear him, and he turned to them and addressed them. If they did what Hezekiah bade them do they would certainly be ruined. If they followed the advice which he, the speaker, gave them for their good, they should have immediate peace, comfort, and plenty; and before long he would come back to them, and would take them to a delightful land, where they should live in abundance to the end of their days. Such were the liberal, the generous terms, which the great king offered.

What the people thought, we do not know; for Hezekiah's commandment to them was, "answer him not a word." But the three commissioners came to the king in great distress, with their clothes ceremonially rent, and reported the words to which they had been compelled to listen.

We know what the end was. The vast forces of the Assyrian enemy melted away. Sennacherib returned with the small remnant to his own land. In the temple of the god in whom he trusted, in whose name he had defied the power of the Lord God of Israel, his own sons slew him. Hezekiah had stood firm at the critical moment, strengthened by prayer to God, strengthened by God's message through Isaiah. The arrogance and insolence of the forces arrayed against him had come to a head, just when those forces were about to fall in pieces. If he had given way, he would have saved his enemy from total discomfiture. The ruin would have fallen upon him that was ready to fall upon them. How many a pathetic lesson there is in history, how many a pointed warning, material and moral, of fatal surrender, just when one more

effort would have seen the threatening storm dissipated and gone!

Firmness, then, is the lesson which lies on the surface of this graphic story. Firmness founded in knowledge and conscience; firmness due to your convictions, not to your circumstances. The firmness which comes of favourable circumstances is valuable, but it is apt to degenerate. The firmness that is really strong, that wears well, is the firmness that is founded in knowledge and conscience.

But when you say "founded in knowledge and conscience," you evidently mean to assume a very grave responsibility. You mean that whatever the subject of strife may be, you have really endeavoured to get at the rights of the case. You have examined for yourself. You have made up your mind; not drifted into a mental attitude, not merely followed someone. And when you speak of examining for yourself, you mean—or ought to mean—that you have enquired into facts, with the clearly-defined intention of being guided by them to a conclusion, even though the conclusion to which they point be different from that to which you had initially expected to be brought. Nothing short of that is worthy of the name of enquiry. To find in facts arguments in favour of your position, when your position has been carefully taken, that is not unworthy. But to prejudge a question, and then to look to facts for arguments to support your prejudgment, that is not a free enquiry; it is not the enquiry of a free mind, it is not the enquiry of a free man.

In these days of controversy, acute in manner and grave in matter, with very far-reaching issues at stake, and with great heat in the course of the controversies, it is more than ever necessary that we should take all pains to inform ourselves, and that our conscience should thoroughly support us in our attitude. Otherwise there cannot be real firmness, such firmness as is worthy of beings with intellectual and moral powers; certainly not firmness which is likely to prevail, which deserves to prevail. More and more, it seems to me, the world is finding that a principle, well thought out, firmly grasped, is the one true, the one successful foundation of policy, of controversy, of action. Mere cleverness, mere skill in fence, mere hardihood of assertion, mere electioneering—these, no doubt, often succeed, and have even great success. But no one really thinks that on such foundations the saving of social order can be built up, the remedying of wretchedness achieved.

And the careful—nay, anxious—endeavour to found yourself upon knowledge and conscience in your attitude towards controversy, will certainly bring home some useful lessons. In the first place, you will learn that those from whom you

differ are many of them as seriously in earnest, as well founded—in their own belief—as you are. It is a highly educational and educating process, to talk quite freely and frankly to someone—not of the baser sort—who holds strongly views opposed to your own, on some point which you regard as vital,—say in politics, say in religion, say in some more abstract sphere of thought. The result is sometimes so unexpected, that it is difficult to avoid a suspicion that your opponent is concealing the worst part of his motives, and is dealing rather persuasively than fully with you. But if you can rid yourself of that suspicion, which you may fairly understand is not confined to your side of the discussion, the result is decidedly to reduce the bitterness of your difference. *Not the least to reduce your difference in principle, often quite the reverse of that; but, if you are both fair, to assuage bitterness. For, when you come to look into the matter, much of the bitterness in controversy is due to a belief that your opponent is actuated by a desire to do harm. And that portion of the bitterness tends to disappear, nay, is sometimes replaced by a feeling of personal regard and respect, when you realise that great as may be the harm which you believe your opponent will do, if his view prevails, he honestly and conscientiously believes that his aim is to do good. You and he can respect each other—will respect each other, when each has learned the difficult lesson that the difference is to both of you one of principle; not one of principle on one side and want of principle on the other.

And, of course, another useful lesson is that the difference of principle covers a smaller area than the controversy covers. It is now the settled aim of many men to narrow controversies by recognising large areas of the field as neutral territory, common ground, zones of agreement,—call it what you will. It is a very happy thing when you find that there is much—very much—in common between yourself and someone from whom you have supposed that you differed by the whole sky. Those who make it their aim to discover these patches of common ground, even of agreement, are doing their own heart and mind a great deal of good, and are doing what they can for the good of others. They take the moral mischief out of controversy. In such attempts lies one of the hopes of the future. The more general such attempts become, the more will the mere leveller, the mere agitator, the mere professional controversialist, be discredited. And in such discrediting lies another of the hopes of the future.

But, of course, the more you neutralise by care parts of the area over which controversy has raged careless, the more you isolate those parts in which there is a real and clear difference

of principle; the more you make that real difference of principle stand prominently out, the more you dissipate Utopian dreams of agreement—a dangerous kind of dream. From a general state of blurred vagueness, you bring the vital points into focus, and cut off the hazy fringe. And in that there is a real, a great gain. The more clear the difference of principle is, the less the chance of the two sides misunderstanding one another; and it is in such misunderstandings, far more than in the fact of real differences, that the evils of controversy lie. When the difference in principle has been clearly set out, the benefits of controversy begin; and the benefits of a worthy controversy—a controversy on a great question—are important. We owe, to controversy, and that sometimes of an internecine character, such clearness as we have on the fundamental facts of religion, the fundamental principles of good government. Impatience with questioning—even questioning of all that we hold most vital in the state, most holy in religion—impatience with questioning is not the attitude of one who reads, or reads aright, the pages of history, sacred or secular.

There is, or some of us try to believe that there is, a rightness of feeling growing up with regard to methods of controversy. There are, no doubt, and there always will be, the Rabshakehs, who bluster and bully and shout; and when feelings run very high they are a terrible power—a power which less violent men are not unwilling, are not ashamed, to profit by, even to employ. But no one looks to them as the saviours of society. Society will be saved by gentler means. They intensify, it may be, the impulse, which men of other—higher—soul use for good. The efforts of all thoughtful men should be addressed to a mitigation of the evils of this coarse, distasteful method of progress by brutality. When once a question is fairly raised, a principle clearly at issue, more can be obtained by good temper than by violence. It is one of the most interesting and hopeful lessons of the great controversy which is now occupying the Commons House of Parliament, to read how a brief appeal, made in a courteous manner, in a reasonable and not unkindly spirit, is of more avail than an hour of destructive criticism; nay, succeeds where the other fails. And no one who, in a more private manner, is accustomed to handle important affairs, where the decision turns upon the vote of those with whom he acts, can have failed to notice time after time the curiously effective power which good temper has.

When we cast an anxious eye to the future—a very anxious eye—as even the most hopeful, the most confident, the best satisfied, cannot fail to do, we are met by a threatening state-

ment. An actual majority can in the end do what it likes; that is to say, a real, clearly ascertained, undoubted majority. We shall never get over that fact, however much we may try to safeguard the future. It is of no use to repine; it is of less than no use. The true wisdom is to address ourselves, not to the first part of the statement, "a majority can do," but to the second half, "what it likes." There is much that a majority can do, which yet it does not like to do; and in the expansion of that "much" lies the real work, the real hope, of moderate men. So to conduct controversy, that neither side looks upon success when it comes as an opportunity for punishment, for revenge; that either side shall not like to do one unnecessary thing which the other side keenly dislikes; that is not only a worthy aim, but a very hopeful one—perhaps the most hopeful of all. A majority which founds itself upon knowledge and conscience, when controversy is narrowed to principles, and no leaders of men are so blind as not to see the principle which underlies the opposition to them, what such a majority likes to do will not be very tyrannical, not very bad.

But, after all that is moderate is said and done to mitigate the natural tyrannies of controversy, of men, there remains the great invisible force which is stronger than all—the force in which Hezekiah trusted, the force which the Rabshakeh claimed as on his side—the mighty hand of God. That God will decide the issue, or will allow the issue to be decided, as He pleases, we believe; and in that belief is our surest hope. But that is a very different thing from saying that God is on our side and is against our enemies. It jars terribly on the feelings of sensitive men to hear the confident tones of a controversialist, claiming that God is with him and that he has the monopoly of that Almighty presence. He always reminds us of the Rabshakeh—never of Hezekiah, whose cause, after all, did prevail. To have in your heart the blessed sense that in your inmost belief you are walking in the way God would have you in, that is sufficient, that is all. Without that sense you have no business to be where you are. With it, you are in the highest sense independent of the result. This same Isaiah, whose advice led Hezekiah right, has this message for us: "Thus saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, in quietness and confidence shall be your strength." Follow that advice; seek, feel, be sure of that strength. Leave it to others to earn, if they will, the rebuke of the words: "Talk no more so exceeding proudly; let not arrogancy come out of your mouth."

G. F. BROWNE.

ART. II.—A MEDITATION ON THE SO-CALLED
DERELICTION OF CHRIST.

(Matt. xxvii. 46.)

IN approaching the deepest of the mysteries of the Passion, the sense of dereliction and desolation which fell upon the Redeemer of mankind in His last agony, we dare not extend or to reduce the limits of those prophetic words in which it found so awful an expression. "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" is an utterance of inmost bereavement which only the Spirit which first inspired it can explain in its full significance. From the sublime hymn of the prophet which it opens we can alone give it such an interpretation and application as may present to our minds its true meaning, and save us from those repulsive and partial views of it which were introduced by Calvin and his followers, and which have their extreme illustration in the remarkable work of an anonymous writer, who attempted to demonstrate that our Lord was punished for our sins according to the "lex talionis," a law which He Himself had so authoritatively abrogated;¹ even alleging that He suffered at this awful moment "that degree of anguish which the lost suffer as the punishment of their sins—nay, even a far greater degree of anguish than that which the condemned feel, if we regard its intensity" (p. 439). This would involve despair of God's mercy, which Calvin actually includes in it, for which he is justly rebuked by Pope Benedict XIV. in these words: "This horrible blasphemy destroys itself. For if Christ had despaired He would have sinned grievously, and so have rather inflamed than appeased the wrath of God. Besides this, His last words, 'Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit,' are not words of despair."²

The psalm whose opening words our Lord adopted as the closing words of His life as the "Man of Sorrows" is reasonably believed to be one of those which relate to the revolt of Absalom, and celebrated the return of David to Jerusalem after that unnatural rebellion.³ It is memorable that a greater number of the prophetic passages of the Psalms are grouped round this eventful passage in the life of David than any other. And in this psalm the events of the Passion of Christ rise before us one after the other in such impressive succession that every feature of the earlier history is lost and absorbed in the latter, until the scene of the Crucifixion stands out before

¹ "Anonymi cujusdam Doctissimi Exegesis Passionum Jesu Christi" ("Sylvæ Ducis," 1752).

² "De Festis," p. i., c. 293.

³ Rosenmüller, "Scholia in Ps. xxii."

us clearly and alone. The inward anguish of the soul of David which is opened to us in the words, "They pierced My hands and My feet, I may tell all My bones," fades away before the living truth of Christ. We "see in His hands the print of the nails." The complaint, "They parted My garments among them," which marks the spoliation of the dethroned king, became true in the letter also when "these things the soldiers did." The laughing to scorn, the words of mockery and defiance, "He trusted in God that He would deliver him," partially true in the case of David, have here their real fulfilment. It remained only for Christ Himself to add the last line to the almost completed picture, to "seal up the vision and the prophecy," to say from the very cross, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears." And this He did in that touching and suggestive form in which His earlier teachings appealed to the heart and disarmed the prejudices of His hearers, taking the first words of this psalm as among His last words, and drawing on to Himself the application of all the rest. "For why" (asks St. Augustine) "does He say this unless it be in a manner to fix our attention, as though He said, 'This psalm was written of Me'?"¹ It is clear, then, that we must look back upon the words of the psalm itself for the right interpretation of their meaning as uttered by our Lord at this supreme moment.

Now, we observe, first, that this supplication, as it was uttered by David, was rather a prayer that God would not leave him or forsake him in the hour of his extreme necessity than a complaint that He had already forsaken him. Hence in the Septuagint and Vulgate translations words are interposed which give the passage the character of a prayer: "My God, My God, *look upon me*: why hast Thou forsaken me?" And this enlargement of them we have adopted in our Prayer-Book version. In this sense it is rather a lamentation that God had so long delayed an answer to his prayers than a complaint that he was neglected or deserted in his affliction. It was but a varied form of the entreaty made on another occasion, "Haste Thee to help me," "Make no tarrying, O my God." And if we look at the words which follow, "and art so far from the words of my complaint," we see in another form the prayer, "Be not far from me, for trouble is near," in the eleventh verse of the same psalm, and the supplication, "Hide not Thy face when I am in trouble" of the 102nd Psalm. The Psalms are full of similar appeals, and we cannot reasonably doubt that the opening words of the 22nd Psalm are only another instance of them. Hence Cajetan, on this

¹ Aug. on Ps. xxii.

psalm, observes: "The forsaking extends only to the non-preservation from suffering and death. And therefore, for the explanation thereof, he adds, 'And art so far off'—that is, not from me, but from my salvation, from my present deliverance. Where we may observe that he describes the dereliction, not in terms of desertion, but of distance, saying, 'Afar off,' that God may be recognised as standing at a distance, not interposing to save him from suffering and death."

He who said in the hour of His desertion, even by His disciples, "And yet I am not alone, because the Father is with Me;" who addressed His Father at Bethany in the words, "I know that Thou hearest Me always," could never have been deserted in His last agony by the Divine Presence, though a dark cloud of suffering obscured the sense of it for a brief season.

The death of Christ cannot be separated from the life of Christ in its origin, its motive, or its end. The same moral features are conspicuous in the one as in the other, and the same sentence of Divine love is read in both: "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." He declared that He had entered into the world to bear witness unto the truth, and He died in the world as a martyr to that truth—"a martyrdom" (as St. Methodius, himself a martyr, writes) "crowning every other with its own glory."¹ God, who "rejoiceth not in the death of a sinner," could have no pleasure in the death of the sinless, but rather in the result and the fruits of the willing sacrifice of the Redeemer of mankind. The king in the parable did not send forth his son to the guilty husbandmen in order that he might be slain by them, but that they might repent of their cruelty and return to their allegiance. "What reason can there be," exclaims St. Gregory Nazianzen, "for the belief that the blood of the only-begotten One should be pleasing to the Father, who did not accept the offering up of Isaac by his father, but substituted a ram instead of the human sacrifice? It is evident," he concludes, "that the Father accepted the sacrifice, not because He asked for or needed it, but through the dispensation and in order that, through the assumption of our nature by God, it might become sanctified; that, overcoming the tyrant, He might free us from sin, and bring us to Himself through the mediation of the Son."² Such is the ancient and orthodox doctrine of the Atonement, which stands in strong contrast with that which represents the Father as requiring the death of the Son as a sacrifice to the Divine justice, and an equivalent

¹ Ap. Theodorit., Dial. i.

² Orat. xlii.

for the penalty due to it from a sinful world. This doctrine is more fully laid down by St. Athanasius in the following propositions derived from the most important and authentic of his works:

I. The first cause and motive of the redemption of man was the unchangeable goodness of God, who made provision for the restoration of His work even in the day of its creation.

II. The primary law of the creation had made death the necessary result of the transgression of the commandment and life of its obedience, and not a mere arbitrary decree.

III. The gift of free will rendered death possible, and made moral corruption a necessary result of the breach of the commandment, for the will became corrupt through its choice of evil.

IV. Death was therefore permitted to reign for a season, lest the reign of evil should be eternal; and thus the law of punishment became in effect a law of mercy.¹

V. But the reign of moral corruption required the work of restoration to be twofold—a work of redemption from without and a work of restoration from within.

VI. For the highest acts of repentance were insufficient to remove the guilt or the power of sin, however the mercy of God might remit its penalty.

VII. Man's redemption was effected accordingly by a work of redemption from without (the incarnation of Christ) and a work of restoration from within (the gift of the Holy Ghost as the sanctifier).

VIII. God, if He had so willed, could have forgiven sin without an atonement; but the incarnation was necessary because the flesh of man needed to be renewed by a real contact of the flesh of Christ which the Divine Word and Spirit had sanctified.

IX. By the life and death and resurrection of Christ—

1. Man has been redeemed to God.
2. Sin and corruption have been overcome.
3. God's image in man has been restored.
4. Man's ignorance of God has been removed.²

It will be clearly seen from this summary of the doctrine of Athanasius that that great Father could not have regarded the words of the psalm, as uttered on the cross, in the light of an actual dereliction, or the extreme agony it depicted as a manifestation of the wrath of God. The office of the Father in this

¹ Cf. Naz., Orat. xlii.

² This summary is derived from the "Orat. con. Gentes, de Incarn.," "Verbi Dei. Contra. Arian," "De Passione et Cruce Domini," etc. It was approved by Cardinal Newman, the greatest authority on the subject, who specially added the eighth proposition.

wonderful dispensation of mercy has been well expressed by St. Bernard in the words, "God the Father did not demand the blood of His Son, but accepted it when offered, not thirsting for blood, but for salvation, for there was salvation in the blood." "Nor was it" (as the same writer observes) "the death, but the willingness to die, by death destroying death, working salvation, restoring innocence, triumphing over the principalities and powers of darkness, enriching heaven, gathering together in one all things which are in heaven and which are on earth—it was this which pleased the Father."¹

But while the honour and glory which is due to the eternal Father precludes us from taking a view of the Passion which would render it rather a mystery of material terror than of moral beauty, of inexorable justice than of pardoning mercy, the honour and glory of the Son compel us to acknowledge His death and Passion as in the highest sense an atoning sacrifice, a sin-offering and a peace-offering for the reconciliation of the world to God. The declaration, "God so loved the world as to give His only begotten Son," is completed and perfected in the correlative one, "Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God." In this voluntary obedience of Christ lies all the moral glory of His submission to death. In His "coming to do the will of His Father" the prophet foreshowed the perfection of His work. In this work, and above all in its final triumphs, the presence of the Father could never forsake Him. Clouded it indeed was by the intensity of His sufferings, both mental and bodily, overwhelmed by the sense of an outward loneliness, which was deepened by the consciousness that the travail of His soul had been for a season at least without fruit, made yet more acute by the cruel persecutions which even grew bitterer as the bitterness of His sorrows increased, and with the sense of the nearness of His Father failing Him, He might well, therefore, utter the entreaty, "My God, My God, look upon Me." The lamentation of the prophet over the ruined city of God might well describe the state of the Redeemer at this moment of unspeakable anguish, "For these things I weep; mine eye runneth down with water; because the Comforter which should relieve my soul is far from me; my children are desolate because the enemy prevailed." Sin had indeed prevailed, and had left his children desolate. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound, and the night of the greatest desolation dawned in the glorious victory of the finished sacrifice. And this thought leads us on to another and a more practical view of the awful and awakening words we are con-

¹ "Tract. de Error," Abailardi, c. viii. c—g.

sidering. Many of their earliest and best interpreters regarded them not only as bearing upon the personal sufferings of the Redeemer, but also, and even more directly, on the misery and destitution of mankind as yet unredeemed to God.

"Many of Christ's words and works," observes Nicetas in his commentary on Nazianzene, "are applicable not to Himself, but to us; His acts, as, for instance, His baptism itself; His words, as those 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?'" "Our Lord Jesus Christ," wrote St. Leo the Great, "transforming Himself into the members of His body, sends forth that word which He had before uttered in the psalm, in the sufferings of the cross, in the name of His redeemed people, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' This voice is a doctrine and not a complaint. For since Christ could never be forsaken in that nature from which He could never be separated, He asks this in behalf of us, who are liable to fear and infirmity."¹ A later commentator writes in a like sense, "The Head is pleading the cause of the body, and the anxious Physician so sympathizes with His sick ones that He disdains not to be in part infirm as they are."²

St. Jerome exclaims, "Here nature speaks, as deserted in Adam when he transgressed the commandments."³

But the clearest and fullest view of our Lord's words in this extended sense is to be found in the statement of St. Cyril of Alexandria in the acts of the Council of Ephesus: "What does our Lord mean in that He saith, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' We affirm Him to mean this. When our first parent, Adam, had violated the commandment he had received, and neglected the divine law, man's nature became, in a certain sense forsaken and subject to death. And when the only-begotten One came to restore to incorruption that which had fallen, and having taken the seed of Abraham, became like unto His brethren—then together with that ancient curse and the death it brought with it, it behoved Him to submit to that desertion which human nature had experienced from that day. Having been placed till now in the number of the forsaken, inasmuch as, like ourselves, He partook of flesh and blood, He exclaimed, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' a voice which put an end to that dereliction which had befallen us, and rendered the Father through Himself propitious to us."⁴

We are carried back in this suggestive passage to the desertion of our Lord's earlier life when He cast in His lot with the

¹ Serm. xvi., "De Passione Domini."

² "Arnold. "Carnot. de vii., verbis Domini."

³ In Ps. xxi.

⁴ "De Rectâ in Deo fide, ad Reginas, Acta Concil. Ephes. ed. Peltani, Ingolst.," 1576, p. 168.

forsaken, to the day when "His own received Him not," and "neither did His brethren believe on Him," when He stood alone in the temple, alone in the wilderness, alone on the Mount; when the faithless multitude dropped off from Him in bitter foretaste of that day of final desertion, when even His disciples forsook Him and fled; when He was making the life-long preparation for that hour of final dereliction when the comforts of the Divine Presence were clouded; when there was the hiding of the power of God and a darkening of the light of life; when the night of His affliction was breaking into the day of the resurrection from the darkness of the three hours of agony, and the prophecy was approaching its fulfilment, "Arise, shine, for Thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." In the revelation of that exceeding glory the desertion of man's nature passed away for ever. The Scripture was fulfilled which said "Thou shalt no more be called Forsaken, neither shall thy land any more be termed desolate." For from the hour of this utterance from the Cross the loneliest and lowliest sorrower who lifts his prayer to Christ, has never been constrained to exclaim "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Truly then might our Lord have said of this word as of the voice from heaven which confirmed His mission and proclaimed its glory—"This voice came not for My sake, but for yours." All His sufferings were for our sake. "The pains of the wounds were His, but ours the benefit. The sufferings of His death were His, but ours the mercy. The stripes on His back were His, but the balm that issued from them ours. The thorns on His head were His, but the crown is ours. The corn is not grinded, nor baked nor broken for itself; the grape is not bruised nor pressed for itself. All is ours, all is for our sake. In the Cross of Christ we have the supply of every need. If we want power we have the power of His Cross; if victory, the victory of the Cross; if peace, the peace of the Cross; if wisdom, the wisdom of the Cross. Thus is Christ crucified a treasure to His Church, full of all-sufficient provision both for its necessity and delight."¹ But while thus we vindicate the love of God, the Father in Christ, His "unspeakable gift," we must be scrupulously careful on the other side not to detract from the priceless value of the death of Christ as the one sacrifice for the propitiation of our sins. In these days of doubt and coldness, when the death of Christ is rather regarded as an instance of patient suffering than as an offering for the expiation of sin, rather as a sacrifice of alliance than of atonement, we cannot be too anxious to

¹ Bishop Reynold's "Meditations on the Sacrament," pp. 25, 33, ed. Lond., 1639.

keep in view the teaching of the Last Supper, which the deniers of a propitiatory sacrifice have been unable to explain away or even to qualify. Strauss himself has been forced to confess that in the institution of the Last Supper, "the idea of a sacrifice of alliance becomes that of an expiatory sacrifice; that the words 'for the remission of sins' and 'for you and for all mankind' pass beyond the simple sacrifice of alliance, and make it to become a sacrifice of expiation."¹ Christ came not only to teach, but to restore; not only to live as an example, but to die as a sacrifice. "Far better were it to deny the death of Christ than to deny the power of that death; better to say that He never perished than that He perished in vain. For if His blood be shed in vain, vain also are our tears and vain our hopes; in vain we drink that fruitless blood which we fondly once believed to be the ransom of the sins of the world."²

Surely they who exclaimed "This man calleth for Elias" knew as much of the hidden meaning of this exceeding bitter cry as those do who would reduce it to a value so little worthy of the great end for which Christ came into the world. These men, in their ignorance of Hebrew (for they were probably Roman soldiers or Greeks who were watching at the foot of the Cross), might well be excused an ignorance which in their case was natural and almost inevitable. But we may well ask of those who claim the Christian name, Can it be possible that all that the great Head of our profession has done for us is but to add another instance to the many examples of patient suffering, of persecuted innocence, of a testimony to the truth carried on even to a cruel martyrdom? Can it be that He lived and died only "to point a moral and adorn a tale"? Is there nothing deep enough in our own nature and our own necessities to teach us the shallowness of such a thought? Surely there is not a single yearning of our hearts, not a single need of our nature, not a single sympathy of our race, that can find satisfaction in a doctrine which leaves our unredeemed and ruined nature merely in the prospect of an inimitable example, and deprives us of the presence of an almighty Redeemer—a Saviour "speaking in righteousness, mighty to save." Precious to us in the hour of life and in the day of labour will be the inspiring thought of Christ, as "loving us and giving Himself for us," as "bowing down His kingly thorn-crowned head on the Cross in bitter expiation of our sins."³ And even more precious will it be to us in that day when every earthly treasure shall become as dross, and every

¹ "Leben Jesu," tom. ii., c. i., sect. cix.

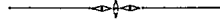
² Vossii, "Respon. Ravensperger, de Libro Grotii, de Satisf. Christi."

³ Hofacker, Serm.

earthly hope shall fail; when the memories of the past shall fade before the fainting and clouded spirit; when the enfeebled mind shall lose its grasp of the things of sight and sense; when our days shall seem, as we look back upon them, "rather to be a confusion than a life,"¹ while the future is opening upon us like the morning spread upon the mountains in coldness and gloom. In that hour (and it is an hour which must come to all) the great truth of the atoning sacrifice and its deep reality will rise before us in all its intensity of comfort, in all its unspeakable grandeur. It will be to us "as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," as the "light shining on unto the perfect day." Then will the loneliness of Christ be the breaking up of our solitude; His mourning will be our comfort, His thirst our supply, His weakness our strength; and that simple and sufficient prayer which thousands of devoted Christians have in every age put forth as their last entreaty, will find utterance in our hearts even if it dies voiceless on our lips:

"Lord Jesus Christ, put Thou Thy Passion and Cross and death between Thy judgment and my soul."

R. C. JENKINS.



ART. III.—NOTES ON EARLY CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS.

PART II.

IN the valuable tractate lately discovered, called the "Teaching of the Apostles," and dating about 120 A.D., are preserved some of the early sacramental prayers of the Christians.² The work probably represents the custom of the Ebionites, or "poor" Christians of Pella and Kaukaba, in Bashan,³ who claimed to a late date that descendants of the brothers of Christ lived among them. They were a very Judaizing sect, who received only the Gospel of Matthew, and who continued to circumcise down to the fourth century, and turned to Jerusalem in prayer as the Holy City. The prayer of the Cup was

¹ S. Laur, Justiniani, Opp.

² See Professor Harnack's paper, *Contemporary Review*, August, 1886, as to date.

³ The site of Kaukabah, near Ashteroth Karnaim, has only recently been found. See Eusebius, H.E., I., vii. 15. Some of the inscriptions found on osteophagi of the second, third, and fourth centuries on Mount Olivet seem to have been those of native Christians—probably Ebionites. See "Syrian Stone-Lore," pp. 259, 260. The cross occurs in some instances, but they are undated.

as follows among those who accepted the supposed "Teaching of the Apostles":

"We thank Thee, O Father, for the holy vine of David, Thy servant, which thou madest known to us by Jesus, Thy servant. We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou madest known to us by Jesus, Thy servant; to Thee be glory for ever and ever. As this broken bread was scattered on the mountains, and being brought together was made one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom.¹ For Thine is the glory and power, by Jesus Christ for ever."

"But," continues this tractate, "let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist except those baptized into the name of the Lord, for respecting this the Lord hath said: 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.'

"After being satisfied give thanks thus: 'We thank Thee, O Holy Father, for the holy name which Thou hast enshrined in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus, Thy servant. To Thee be glory forever. . . . Hosanna to the Son of David!'"

Justin Martyr was a native of Shechem, in Palestine, and wrote about 160 A.D. It is thus that he describes the Christian rites of his own time:²

¹ Compare 1 Cor. x. 17: "So we, being many, are one bread" (or "loaf").

² *Liturgies*.—Justin Martyr in the passage quoted says that the president (*Proestōs*) prayed "according to his ability." If it is understood that the "Teaching of the Apostles" represents a regular liturgy, it does not recall those of later times. There are references to the forms used in Rome and Carthage in the works of Tertullian and Cyprian (200 A.D.), but the liturgy ascribed to St. James is found only in a work—"The Apostolic Constitutions"—which critics believe to have taken its present form not earlier than the fifth century, though perhaps based on the customs of the third century. Ambrose and Augustin refer to ancient liturgies. The *Gloria Patri* was appointed by the Council of Nice, and ordered to be sung after the Psalms by Pope Damasus (366-384 A.D.). St. Basil composed a liturgy, and Chrysostom says, "Omnes eandem precem concipiebant" (see Dean Hook's "Church Dictionary"). These various facts point to the slow growth of the liturgies after the establishment of the faith. A very ancient Jerusalem liturgy, used in 350 A.D., is described in Cyril's "Lectures" (xxiii. 1). The order for the Eucharistic rite began by the priest washing his hands; the deacon then gave the signal for the holy kiss, and *Sursum Corda* was sung, followed by *Omnia Opera*, after the words "Let us give thanks," by the priest. Prayers for the State followed the "perfecting of the sacrifice," then followed prayers in memory of the pious dead and the *Pater Noster*, after which the bread and the cup were offered to the baptized.

The rites of the East were not, however, at that time, the same as in the West. The "Pilgrimage of St. Silvia" (Palestine Pilgrims' Text

"On the day called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country gather together in one place, and the memoirs of the apostles are read or the writings of the prophets, as long as time permits; and then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all together rise and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayers are ended bread and wine and water¹ are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people assent, saying 'Amen,' and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons" (1 Apol., ch. lxvi.).

Tertullian was converted about 185 A.D., and wrote at

Society, 1891) gives the earliest known account of some of the differences which she noticed in visiting Jerusalem about 385 A.D. The *Kyrie Eleison* was unknown to her (p. 46), and was not introduced into the Roman service till later. Incense, which, according to Dean Hook, is unnoticed before the time of Gregory the Great, late in the sixth century, was used in Jerusalem in the fourth (p. 48). Christmas Day appears to have been celebrated at Epiphany in Egypt and in Palestine (pp. 25, 50). All the congregation communicated (p. 61) on Maundy Thursday in the evening. Lent lasted eight weeks (p. 52), a custom otherwise unknown, though a fast of forty days is said to be traceable to very early times. This curious tract contains also the oldest known notices of the festivals of the Purification and of Palm Sunday (pp. 51, 58). Special psalms for certain seasons were still unknown in the Church of Gaul (p. 76). So imperfect is our acquaintance with the liturgies, even of the fourth century, that this new tractate, discovered in 1883, has been regarded as very important by students of liturgy.

¹ *Water and Wine*.—According to Professor Harnack ("Alt Christlichen Literatur," vii. Band, Heft, 2, *Brot und Wasser*, 1891), the word "wine" has been introduced into the text of the passage quoted from Justin Martyr by a later copyist. However this may be, it is well known that certain Christian sects used water only, and not wine, in the second century. Irenæus (V., i. 3) says this of the Ebionites, and Jerome of Tatian ("Comm. on Amos," ii. 12), and Clement of Alexandria ("Pædag.," II., ii. 23) of the Encratites, or "abstainers," who were the followers of Tatian. Tatian was of Mesopotamian birth, and died about 166 A.D. All these sects were severely ascetic in other matters, as well as in discarding wine at the Eucharist. Tertullian ascribes the same teaching to Marcion ("Against Marcion," l. 14), but the custom continued to the third century, as is clear from Cyprian's denunciations. Cyprian (quoted by Harnack, pp. 121-124) regarded it as equally objectionable to use wine alone. The mixture of wine and water represented, according to him, Christ and the congregation. The custom of using water only was certainly not original. (Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, etc.), and Papias (in Irenæus, V., xxxiii. 3) speaks of "wine" no less than the "Teaching of the Apostles." But the mixture with water was a very ancient custom (Irenæus, V., xxxvi. 2, *mixtio calicis*), and in the account of the Passover supper, given in the Mishnah and written in the second century A.D., we also find that a cup was "mixed" for the "cup of blessing" (Pesakhim, x. 2).

Carthage. He also describes similar Christian ceremonies—prayer before meals, the washing of hands, singing of hymns, and final prayer (Apol. 39). In none of these passages is there any vestige of mysticism in the celebration of the Memorial Supper.

The feasts called Agapæ, or Love-feasts, which became distinct from the Eucharist, were celebrated in the evening, as pagan writers state equally with Christian Fathers.¹ The Last Supper itself was an evening celebration of the Passover, though, as we have seen above, it was early celebrated in Pontus, before sunrise. In the fourth century it was still the custom throughout the Christian world to celebrate the Communion at night on Maundy Thursday, and the evening Communion continued in the fifth century in Egypt on that day.

It was a usual custom of the more temperate among the ancients to mingle water with the *merum*, or strong wine, which they drank. This custom was also early observed by the Christian Church in connection with the Eucharist. Irenæus, writing in Gaul about 185 A.D., speaks of the "mingled cup and made bread" and of "water and wine mixed in the Eucharist" (Book v., i. 3, ii. 3), and Justin Martyr, as above quoted, appears to say the same; but no mystic reason is given by either.

As regards the rite of baptism,² Tertullian, seeking to persuade the heathen, uses a somewhat curious argument:

"For washing is the means of initiation into some of the

¹ Tertullian, Apol. 728, "To the Gentiles," ii. and viii.; Minucius Felix, ix., x., xxx., xxxi.

² *The baptismal rites* of the early centuries included several peculiarities. Unction after baptism is mentioned by Tertullian ("On Baptism," ch. vii.), and the Marcionites gave honey and milk to the newly baptized ("Adv. Marcion," l. 14). Cyril describes the Easter rites fully. The candidates were separated, and the women placed in charge of the deaconesses. That they were stripped for total immersion is clear ("Epistle to Innocent, Bishop of Rome," 2, written by Chrysostom in 404 A.D.). The ceremony described by Cyril (Lect. xix. 1) took place in the evening. The baptisteries attached to the churches were large tanks, some of which still remain in Palestine. The candidates assembled in the hall and faced to the west; and they repeated a renunciation of "things done in honour of lifeless idols, the lighting of lamps, and burning incense by fountains or rivers; the watching of birds, divination, omens, amulets, charms on leaves, and sorceries." These were the common pagan customs of the fourth century. Being stripped (xx. 2), they were anointed with exorcised oil from the hair of the head to the feet; they were then led to the pool, and after confessing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they descended into the water, and came out again—apparently thrice (Tertullian, "In Prax," 26; "De Corona," 3), after which the *Chrism* consisted in touching with oil the forehead, ears, nostrils, and breast.

sacred rites of the notorious Isis or Mithra. They honour the gods themselves with washings; moreover, carrying water round and sprinkling it, they everywhere expiate country places, houses, temples, and cities" ("On Baptism," v.).

Thus the sprinkling of holy water was a pagan rite, which is independently known in connection with the Isis cultus.

It is evident that in the early ages of the Church infant baptism could not be the invariable rule, since many were converted after they had grown old. In the fourth century it was often delayed till towards the close of life,¹ though participation in the Eucharist was denied to the unbaptized. The rite was accompanied by unction in the second century, and was usually one of total immersion. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his "Sermons to Catechumens" (about 347-348 A.D.), fully describes the rites, which took place only once a year at Easter time. In the "Teaching of the Apostles," at a very early period, the rules as to baptism are laid down:

"Baptize ye . . . in running water; but if thou hast no living water, baptize in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. And if thou have neither, pour out water thrice upon the head."

Justin Martyr (1 Apol., lxvi.) says of the Eucharist: "Only the baptized take the bread and drink, which are the flesh and blood of Christ."

As regards the sign of the cross,² we have no indications of its general use before the establishment of Christianity. The Christians seem to have been afraid to use the symbol, at all events publicly, and it does not occur on Christian texts or monuments of the East before Constantine.³ The cross was a very ancient symbol, unconnected with the Christian religion. It may be seen in the British Museum, hung to the neck of

¹ The *Cathari* still deferred baptism till old age in Chrysostom's time, holding that it remitted all previous sins (Hom. xx. 1; Euseb., H.E., vi. 43; Cyprian, Epistle lxix.).

² Tertullian ("De Corona," 3; "Ad Uxor," ii. 5) speaks of making the sign of the cross; but Rénan supposes, that the custom may have been peculiar to the gnostic heretics ("Église Chrétienne," p. 525; Marc Aurèle, p. 529).

³ *The Cross*.—Crosses occur on early texts in Syria in 350 A.D., 359 A.D., and 397 A.D. (Waddington, Nos. 2,037, 1,912, 2,197), but not on texts older than the Council of Nicæa, with one exception (No. 2,565), when, if the era is that of the Seleucidæ, the date is as early as 197 A.D. The name Soaimos in this text is found, as early as the first century, as that of Princes of Emesa and Ituræa. The text, if the date is correct, is of special interest as the oldest known that gives a representation of the cross in Syria. It occurs at the old Christian village of M'alûla, near Damascus, and runs as follows:

✠ Έτους θρ. Σόαιμος Διοδώρου Φιλίππιωνος ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ το σπήλειον συνετέλεσεν.

the Assyrian king, Assur-nizir-pal, who lived in 885 B.C. Tertullian ("To the Gentiles," xii.) speaks of the crosses, which were emblems of Pallas of Athens and the Pharian Ceres. Yet, according to the same passage, the Christians of his time were accused of worshipping the cross, which, indeed, they did after its reputed discovery at Jerusalem about 380 A.D.

In the Roman catacombs¹ there are some 10,000 inscriptions, of which, perhaps, 4,000 are older than the establishment of Christianity. Yet the cross never appears in connection with these, or on the frescoes. There are, it is true, representations, probably at a later date, of the *labarum*, or mystic sign of Constantine, which is flanked by the letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, and which may be Christian; but it is remarkable that the *labarum* is also a sign older than Christian times. It occurs on a coin of Herod the Great, as a symbol of unknown significance, beside the Greek inscription giving his name.² When Christianity was established it became customary even for kings to mark themselves on the forehead with the cross,³ but the Latin form (the long cross) always differed from that of the Greek Church (the square cross). Inscriptions, after this time, were divided into clauses by crosses instead of stops. The sudden change in this respect is attested by the dates of the various texts.

When Clement of Alexandria suggests suitable designs for the signet rings of Christians he recommends (*Pædagogus*, iii. 11) the dove, the fish, the ship, the lyre, and the anchor, but does not mention the cross. In the Catacombs the fish and anchor, or the fish and wreath, appear to be early Christian emblems in 234 A.D., and the word *ichthus*, "fish," occurs on the early Christian texts of Syria,⁴ while Tertullian says, "We

¹ As regards the emblems in the Roman catacombs, where the first distinct Christian text is said to date about 204 A.D. (see Marc Aurèle, p. 536). The *fylfot*, which is called the "Croix Cramponée," occurs on the tomb of Diogenes Fossor in the second century (Lundy, "Monumental Christianity," p. 15), in connection with the figure of Diogenes bearing his lamp; but this emblem is not of necessity Christian. It is the Buddhist *swastika*, and an ancient sign so widely spread that it is found on the dolmens of Cornwall as well as in India. The Christian signs of the catacombs are the dove, the fish, the olive-branch, etc. The Christian cemeteries are mingled with those of Jews and worshippers of Mithra, and many subjects of the frescoes are pagan. The crucifixion and resurrection are not represented, though other New Testament and Old Testament subjects are treated. The date of the representations of the *labarum* in the catacombs is uncertain.

² Madden's "Coins of the Jews," p. 107.

³ Chrysostom, "Quod Christus sit Deus."

⁴ *Secret Christian Symbols*.—The emblem *Ichthus* is found in Syria even as late as the fifth century, and occurs with the cross. At *Suwbret*

little fishes, like our *Ichthus* Jesus Christ, are born of water" ("On Baptism," chap. i.). None of the Fathers mention making the sign of the cross in baptism, but in a Christian poem carved on a stone found at Gerasa, which dates from a later time than that of the establishment of Christianity, there is a distinct notice of signing the cross on the forehead.¹

There were also great differences of custom among early Christians as regarded the observation of Sunday and of Christmas Day. Sunday is mentioned in the "Teaching of the Apostles," and by Justin Martyr. In the Epistle of Barnabas, which is one of the earliest Christian books outside the Bible, the "eighth day"—as the day of resurrection—is apparently Sunday (chap. xv.); but some of the Judaizing sects of Palestine continued to observe the Jewish Sabbath till the end of the second century or later.² As regards Christmas Day, we learn from Chrysostom that it had not been celebrated in Antioch on December 25 until the year 386 A.D.³ There was nothing in the gospels to fix the day, but it is very remarkable that December 25, or 8th of the Calends of January, was observed by the Romans as the "Birthday of the Unconquered Sun."⁴ We can hardly avoid the suspicion

el Kebîreh, in Trachonitis, a fish is represented with the words, "Jesus Christ, help" (No. 2,537c, Waddington). At *Hâs*, in North Syria, is the curious inscription, "Ichthus alleluia" (No. 2,659, Waddington). The letters occur in 439 A.D. at Refadi, in the same region (No. 2,695, Waddington). At Canatha, in Bashan, they accompany a cross (No. 2,363, Waddington). Another Christian monogram of unknown meaning found in these texts consists of the letters XMF. It possibly stands for *Χριστός ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθείς*: "Christ, born of Mary." This expression occurs yet more fully in a text from Refadi, which speaks of "Jesus of Nazareth, born of Mary, the Son of God," dating from 516 A.D. (Waddington, No. 2,697). The monogram is found at *Shakka*, in Batanea, accompanying a curious Greek poem of uncertain date (No. 2,145, Waddington). There are eighteen lines, and though seemingly pagan, M. Waddington believes that there are secret allusions to Christianity in the words used. At *Dana*, in Syria, the three letters of this monogram are carved above (No. 2,674). At *Deir Sambil*, in the same region (No. 2,663) they occur as late as 399 A.D. on a tomb belonging to Heliadēs, and accompany a cross.

¹ I have given the full translation in "Palestine," p. 181.

² St. Silvia, in her "Pilgrimage" about 385 A.D., curiously speaks of the "seventh, that is the Lord's, day," but in other passages reckons it as the first day (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's Translation, p. 47).

³ According to St. Silvia (p. 50), it was celebrated at Epiphany in Egypt and Syria alike.

⁴ Chrysostom, Homil. 31, quotes (according to King's "Gnostics," p. 49) an ancient calendar in which the 8th of the Calends of January is the date for Christmas fixed at Rome: "That while the heathen were busied with their profane ceremonies the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed." The coins of Constantine bear the inscription, *Soli Invicto Comitati*, with the sun on the reverse. The *dies natalis Invicti* thus coincided with a festival of the *Sol Invictus*.

that a popular festival (like our Yuletide) was consecrated in the fourth century, by being set apart for the celebration of Christmas. Such was the policy of the Roman Church in dealing with the heathen, as is very clearly shown by the letter of Gregory the Great to his missionaries.¹

It was in Rome especially that this adaptation of paganism to the rising organization of the Church was most fully carried out. The Pope assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, which was that of the official who, in pagan times, took charge of all sacrifice, and who lived in the college north-east of the Palatine.² The term Vicar of Christ was only known to Tertullian as signifying the Holy Spirit ("On the Veiling of Virgins," chap. i.), and it would no doubt then have been regarded as impious to apply it to any bishop of the Church.

The clerical dress of the Roman priesthood was in like manner borrowed from the customs of pre-Christian Rome.³ The cardinals still wear the flame-coloured robes of Flamines. The alb was an ancient sacred dress. The dalmatic, or sleeveless shirt, was first worn in Rome by Commodus and the Syrian Emperor Elagabalus. The stole and chasuble were not adopted till the ninth century. The custom of kissing an emperor's foot, which was later applied to the Pope, was introduced by Caligula. The "Mass" may possibly take its name from the unleavened cake of the Passover⁴ (Hebrew מצותה); but in the early ages of the Church Hebrew was very little known, Origen being one of the few Christian scholars before Jerome who knew that language, and the same word was used in Egypt of the unleavened cakes offered to Osiris on the New Year's Day. This rite was brought to Rome with the Isis worship, and the term might thus possibly have become known in Italy. Tertullian says distinctly (Præscript xl.): "Mithra sets his mark on the soldiers' foreheads, and celebrates also the oblation of bread, and introduces an image of a resurrection." It was from the priests of Mithra that the Persian head-dress

¹ Greg. Papæ "Epist.," xi. 71.

² Stanley, "Christian Institutions," p. 207.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴ *Mass.*—There is no very well recognised derivation of the word *missa*, or *Mass*. The usual derivation (see Skeat's "Etymological Dictionary") is from the words *Ite missa est* at the end of the service (Piers Plowman, B. v., 419), or from the dismissal of the unbaptized before the ceremony; but it is difficult to understand how this could be converted into such terms as the "sacrifice of the Mass" or the "saying of a Mass." It is certain that the Passover loaves were called *Mazoth*, and also certain that *mes* in Egyptian meant "bread" or "a loaf" (Pierret, Dict., p. 233); but the question is one on which further light is needed. The *mes* cakes offered to Osiris are represented on Egyptian pictures.

called the mitre¹ was copied by the Western Church—for bishops in the East wear crowns, and not mitres. The word occurs in both Latin and Greek as meaning a head-dress, but the mitre is found as the peculiar head-dress of Persian and Parthian priests on monuments older than the Christian era.

Finally, it is almost needless to say that the institution of celibacy for vestals and monks is not of Christian origin.² It is common to many nations from the earliest times, and the Essenes and Therapeuta were celibates in the centuries before Christ, living in monasteries or in solitary caves, like the Buddhist celibates,³ who were well-known to Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, and other Fathers. In the centuries preceding Constantine the clergy were married men, in East and West alike, but Rome had its vestal virgins and its celibate pagan priests. In the first Christian age there was no distinct clerical order regarded as a sacred caste. A respectable layman might be made a bishop or "overseer,"⁴ and the word presbyter (whence priest is derived) meant nothing more than an "elder" member of the congregation, who conducted the prayers of the younger.⁵ Justin Martyr speaks of the "president" of a congregation—resembling the Imam, or leader of a Moslem congregation, who may be any respectable elderly member known for piety and good living. The bread and wine were given to all, so long as they were baptized, and not reserved for priests. The "Teaching of the Apostles" speaks of "bishops and deacons," not mentioning presbyters, and probably there was no distinction in the mind

¹ Clement of Alexandria (Cohort. xii.) speaks of the mitre in connection with the fawn skin, and other emblems of the Eleusinian mysteries into which he had been initiated (ch. ii.).

² See Dean Hook ("Ch. Dict."), who, after quoting 1 Tim. iii. 2 and 1 Cor. ix. 5, remarks that Polycarp mentions Volens, the married presbyter of Philippi. Tertullian also wrote to his own wife. Cyprian speaks of the married presbyters of Carthage, who were still so living after ordination. The Council of Nicæa left the clergy at liberty. Hilary of Poitiers wrote to a daughter, apparently born when he was a bishop. Siricius was the first pope, in 397-399 A.D., to forbid the marriage of the clergy, but celibacy was not completely established even in the time of Gregory VII., in the eleventh century. The "Epistle of Barnabas"—a very early Christian book—says (ch. iv.): "Do not, by retiring apart, lead a solitary life."

³ Clement of Alexandria, "Stromata," iii. 7; Clementine, "Recognitions," i. 33.

⁴ By the "laying on of hands," without having been a deacon, and having, of course, been baptized.

⁵ There is nothing to show that the synagogue ministers after the destruction of Jerusalem were specially consecrated. The Christian organization naturally grew out of that of the synagogue.

of the writer between the "overseer" of a Christian community and the "elder."

These observations are not founded on the customs and institutions of any of the numerous heretical sects of the early Christian age. They are based on well-known authentic and dated inscriptions of Syria and of Italy and on the words of the Fathers of the Church, or those which are found in works like the "Epistle of Barnabas" and the "Teaching of the Apostles," which those Fathers quote with approbation as received by the Church. After reading through the works of the principal Patristic writers down to Origen, one finds that there is nothing therein described, as a Christian institution, which in any way countenances the peculiar dogmas and rites of later times adopted by the Church of Rome. Justin's account of a Sunday service in Palestine in the second century reminds us rather of the religious gatherings of the Huguenots or of the Scottish Presbyterians, who stood to pray. Where, then, in the Fathers is found any authority for transubstantiation, for the adoration of the host, for the Mass, for the denial of the cup or the bread to any baptized Christian,¹ for the claim of the Bishop of Rome to be the head of all churches, or for the celibacy of the clergy? The Fathers were married men, like the Apostles,² and for the most part Syrians or Greeks, who wrote and taught in the East, and who say nothing of any Roman bishop as head of the Christian churches.

If we laymen are referred to "ancient authors," it is surely to the Christian Fathers of the second and third centuries of our era that we must look for information as to the earliest Christian institutions, and to the little-studied Christian monuments of Syria and of Palestine—the very home of the faith. But so studying, we do not find that institutions existed which were not sanctioned by the teaching of the Gospels or of the Epistles, except, indeed, among gnostics and other heretical and semi-pagan sects. We find nothing, indeed, that is not generally practised by the Protestant sects of our own country and allowed by the Church of England Articles.

¹ St. Chrysostom ("In Matt.," Homil. 1. 2) urges the laity to read the Scriptures at home. They were written in Greek, which his congregation could read. There was no pretension of shutting up the Scriptures in a dead language. The rustic clergy knew only Syriac ("To the People of Antioch," Homil. xix. 1); but there were Syriac versions of the Bible.

² Hence the words *episcopa* and *presbytera*, for the wives of bishops and presbyters, and even *draconessa*, for a deacon's wife, as Dean Hook points out ("Ch. Dict.," s.v., Deaconesses).

Christianity, after a struggle of four centuries, prevailed over all the various religious systems of the ancient world of Europe and Western Asia; but paganism revenged itself by the corruption of Christian teaching and of Christian institutions. In the words of the Emperor Hadrian, when he witnessed the corruption of Christianity in Egypt, "Even those who styled themselves bishops of Christ are devoted to Serapis. The very Patriarch himself when he comes to Egypt is forced by some to adore Serapis, and by others to adore Christ" (Hadrian to Servianus, "Vopiscus Vita Saturnini").¹

HEBREW AND GREEK EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

¹ ΧΑΡΙΤΑΣ ΠΑΙ
 ΣΤΑΣΩΜΟΛΟΓ
 ΩΤΩΘΕΩΚΑΙΤ
 ΩΧΡΗΣΤΩΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΕΓΩΚΑΒΒΕΘΟΔΙΑΚΟ
 ΝΟΣΤΩΒΟΗΘΗCΑΝΤΙ
 ΕΙΜΕΤΕΛΙΩCΕΤΗΝΠΙ
 ΡΟCΦΟΡΑΤΗCΟΙΚΟΔΟ
 ΜΗCΤΟΥΟΙΚΟΥΤΟΥΤΟ

No. 2,466, Waddington, from Harrân, in Bashan.

✠ ΕΤΟΥCΘ̄ΦCΟ
 ΑΙΜΟCΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
 ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΩΝΟCΕΠ
 ΑΓΑΘΩΤΟCΠΗΛΕ
 ΟΝCΥΝΕΤΕΑΒCΕΝ

No. 2,565, Waddington, from M'alula, 197 A.D. (?)

CΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΜΑΡΚΙΩΝΙCΤΩΝΚΩΝ
 ΑΕΒΑΒΩΝΤΟΥΚΥ. ΚΑΙCΡΗΧΡ̄CΤΟΥ
 ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΠΑΥΑΟΥΠΡΕCΒCΤΟΥΑΧΕΤΟΥC

No. 2,558, Waddington, from Deir 'Aby, dating 318 A.D.

ΕΚΠΟΝΟΙΑCΚΕCΠΟΥΔΗCΒΟΗΘΟΥΠΡΟΚΑΟΥ
 ΚΕΝΕCΤΟΡΟCΑΔΔΑΘΟΥΚΕ ΑΖΙΖΟΥ
 ΟΥΛΙΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΕΘΙΕΜΟΥΑCΜΑΘΟΥΠΡΟ
 ΝΟΗΤΩΝΑΦΙΕΡΩΗΗ ΒΑCΙΑΙΚΗΚΗΘΥΡΑ
 CΤΟΥC CΚΕ

No. 2,044, Waddington, from Amwas, dating 330 A.D.

. . . ΧΡΗΣΤΕΒΟΗΘ . . .
 ΕΙC ΘΕΟC ΜΟΝΟC
 ΕΚΤΙCΕΝΘΑΛΑCΙC
 ΟCΑΛΕΥΓΦΙΑΕΚΕCΟΙΤΑΔΙΠΛΑΕΤΟΥCΠΤΩΙCΕΛΘΕΞΕ

No. 2,704, Waddington, from Khatura, dating 331 A.D.

ΘΑΡCΙΑΟ
 ΜΕΤΙΛΑ
 ΟΥΔΙCΑΘΑΝ
 ΑΤΟC

Tablet of Dometilla, 95 A.D. (?)

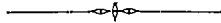
†
Hebrew, "Judah," with cross.

Hebrew, "Kuriakos."

HECOVC
Greek, "Jesus," with cross.

NATANIAOY
Greek, "of Nathaniel."

CHARLES R. CONDER, Major R.E.



ART. IV.—THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST IN CONFLICT
WITH THE LAW OF NATURAL SELECTION.

IT is remarkable that the law of Nature, which is discernible as working towards the development of animal life on earth, is directly disturbed in its operations—at least, as far as human life is concerned—by the kind of miracles which Christ performed, together with the practical teaching suggested by them.

In the several grades and species of lower life on earth the survival of the fittest is the rule; the individuals best adapted to their surroundings, and capable of further adaptation, live their time and thrive, and fresh types may be evolved on occasions, while the weaker and worse adapted perish.

The same law, with like results, would work in the human race if it were not interfered with; but Christ, in the character of His miracles, directly opposed its operation, and conformity with the teaching of Christianity continues the disturbance and keeps an antagonism at work for the purpose of another kind of development belonging to a higher life in a different sphere of being. Man left to himself, as an animal, without such influence from Christianity, or a like influence, however derived, is subject to that law of Nature which regulates animal life in this world, which is the sphere of animal life. Where no interference has been introduced, the race, like a piece of mechanism, is conformed to such rule; the fittest survive and the best adapted develop in connection with the circumstance of existence and progress in this present sphere of being, while the feeblest and least ready for adaptation fail and die, and their unfitness and fall seem not to be noted or cared for by those that live and remain. In barbarous, unchristianized communities, infancy and old age, infirmity and disease, do not command the special care required by such conditions; there is a callous indifference to the weakness and need of any who are subject to them; they fail on the highway of human life, while those who have not fallen among such thieves of strength and fitness pass by on the other side. Nature seems the sole governess there. She nurtures some

and leaves others to die out, as she finds ability for adaptation or otherwise, in accordance with the law of natural selection.

But it is remarkable that Christ, in His miracles, introduced a direct interference with that law; He met with His mercy the commonest needs of man, and His works, for the most part, consisted in the healing of the sick and the restoration of the infirm. Those that were most unfit, as Nature would pronounce, who would not survive under her law of natural selection, appeared to be the fittest for consideration and care and benefit from Him, and not only many who were themselves unfitted for the circumstance of life in this world were the subjects of His pitying power, but some besides whose infirmities were congenital, and who by heredity might transmit the misery to their posterity. The blind, though born so, received their sight, and the deaf their hearing, the lame walked, the lepers were cleansed, the demoniac and the lunatic were restored to their right mind. The like kind of effort which obstructs and thwarts the operation of the law of natural selection is still being made by Christianized man. Not only are organizations formed through which the most unfit may be furnished with strength and opportunity, but there are also hospitals for incurables and asylums wherein lunatics and idiots find kindly care. All provision of this kind is a direct opposition to the working of Nature's law, and is similar in character to the miracles for the most part which Christ performed. Thus man strives to free himself from that rule of Nature in accordance with which conditions and developments of earthly life in lower grades and species are regulated, and he does so in conformity with Christ's teaching. God is the author of the natural laws and processes which work in connection with the progress of animal life on earth in its lower grades in this present environment, but He gives teaching, by obedience to which their operation is disturbed and impeded in relation to man; and so it would appear that this present is not the final sphere of man's being, that he must be dealt with not merely in view of the development of his animal life on earth and in the earthly house of this tabernacle, but in the prospect of a further environment and a higher life in a future sphere of being. The physical, the material part of man, his animal life here, has no future—it belongs to the world in which he lives now; but his spirit may be immortal, he may be born again "to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for those who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time;" and the methods and exercises to which he is led by Divine teaching for the obstruction of natural law in relation to his

material being in this world are just such as tend to the development of his spiritual life into a fitness for the future state which awaits him. Thus it would appear that there is a twofold life in man—the animal life in the flesh, which has its provisions in this world, which is the present sphere of his being, and wherein there are fitting supplies for the needs and appetites of such life, and also the spiritual life which has not its proper environment in the circumstance of this world, but may nevertheless be developed through present conditions into a fitness for the sphere of future being beyond this world in which an enduring existence may be hoped for. There does not seem to be any ground on which might be built an expectation of a place outside this world which would furnish supplies immediately suitable to man as he is conditioned in the earthly house of this tabernacle. His immediate requirements here are of the earth earthy; he seeks instinctively, and finds, “the things of the flesh”; but when this tabernacle is dissolved, when the body dies and the world, for him, perishes and passes away, the wants of his lower nature are extinguished and their storehouse is demolished as far as supply to him is concerned. There is no discernible indication of a reproduction in him of a like life in similar environment with requirements of the same kind; but there are indications of another kind of life in him, for which fitness of circumstance is prepared when he has survived and developed through the process of spiritual evolution of which this world is the scene. The conditions and surroundings and opportunities and exercises of that future life cannot accurately or fully be known now—“It doth not yet appear what we shall be”—but the feeling and action to which Christ leads His disciples, which He exemplified by the nature of the miracles which He performed, that appear like a building up of barriers against the operation of the law of nature which would secure the survival of the fittest in this sphere of life, the partaking of such feeling and the exercise of such action, by which Nature’s method in evolution is obstructed as to the present environment, place man on a higher plane of evolution for the development of his spiritual life into a fitness for its nobler circumstance in the future state beyond this world. Of the requirements there, nothing in detail can as yet be perceived, but the pity, the compassion, the charity, the self-sacrifice evoked and exercised in obedience to Christ’s example and His call to take part with Him in antagonism to the law which would govern otherwise the present stage of human life, constitute an adaptation for man’s further state of being. It may not be imagined now that there will be definite occasions or objects for the outgoings of these virtues then; but the cultivation of the spirit to which they

belong tends to form in man a fitness for his conditions in the future, whatever the actual opportunities of that future may be. Conformity with the example and teaching of Christ, according to opportunities which are now presented, supplies a process through which we may be "changed into the same image," in being thereby fitted to receive the permanent impress which will characterize our life in the future state. Such method of adaptation for the life beyond, through opportunities of the present life, seems to be intimated by Christ: "I was an hungered and ye gave Me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave Me drink; I was a stranger and ye took Me in; naked and ye clothed Me; I was sick and ye visited Me; I was in prison and ye came unto Me. Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you."

But not only does the continuous effort, in opposition to the law of natural selection, to make the burden of life lighter for the unfit and to secure their survival, enter as an element of preparation into the evolutionary process through which a fitness of the spiritual life is formed for the future state, but the actual conditions of unfitness according to the law of Nature now in animal life can contribute to the spiritual development. Bodily infirmity, sickness and suffering, adverse circumstances which would shunt victims aside from the path of progress in the way of this world, which would obstruct and at length destroy them, may become occasions and means for the greater growth of spiritual life. Thus, not only the exercise of antagonism to that law of Nature which works towards the survival of the fittest, but the fact of a fall under the stern tread of its cruel march can furnish the discipline by which the spiritual man is fitted for his higher life in the better sphere that is the goal of the evolution of which he is now the subject. Does it not seem as if the Apostle Paul had some discernment of this truth when he wrote: "Most gladly, therefore, will I glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me"; and again: "Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day; for our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory"? Thus it appears that spiritual development makes better progress by reason of circumstances which would hinder the evolution of the animal type in and through one's self; and also that one of the conditions of spiritual evolution is the conscious resistance of that law of Nature which regulates animal evolution. Nature smites the weaker and stamps out the feeblest types; the disciples of Christ would raise the fallen, heal the sick, and strengthen the infirm for the battle of life. God has designed the evolutionary methods in both cases in regard to the char-

acters of the two kinds of life and the times appointed for them. The animal life belongs to this world; there is no further sphere for its existence; it has its fitting supplies in this environment, and no fitness arranged for it beyond; so the law which regulates its conditions has relation to this, the sole sphere of its existence and the limited time of its duration; but the spiritual life belongs to the eternal sphere of being in the future, where fitting supplies for its completed receptivity are provided; it does not find fitness in the present surroundings, but it can grow more and more into fitness for the future supplies through occasions furnished now in the operation of the law that governs life on earth—through the being crushed beneath the progress of that law or through conflict with it in the effort to rescue others who had fallen under its chariot wheels.

There is apparently a strange clashing of laws in relation to the aspect of the whole complex human life in the appointed spheres for its being. St. Paul seems to have perceived this when he proclaimed the paradox, though with a special application, "As dying, and; behold, we live; as chastened and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things."

Truly, from this point of view, "there are diversities of operations; but it is the same God which worketh all in all."

In the Romanes Lecture delivered by Professor Huxley in Oxford last May, it is stated that "the practice of what is ethically best—what we call goodness or virtue—involves a course of conduct which in all respects is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence; that such influence is directed not so much to the survival of the fittest as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive; that the ethical progress of society depends not on imitating the cosmic process, but in combating it; and that ethical nature may count on having to reckon with a tenacious and powerful enemy as long as the world lasts."

There, the fact of a conflict with the law of natural selection, begun and carried on by the higher life in man, by that which is defined in the lecture as his "ethical nature," is admitted; the battle is pointed to, but the cause of it is not traced, nor is the object of it explained.

In reference to that strife, agnosticism can only adapt the puzzled utterance of old Kaspar in Southey's familiar lines in "The Battle of Blenheim":

What they fight each other for, I cannot well make out.

There can be no question as to the fact that war is being

waged between what is called "the ethical nature" in man on the one side, and the cosmic process on the other; but how the champions came to be equipped for the combat, and how they were brought into conflict with each other, and what may be the meaning and object of their strife, form a complete enigma to agnosticism. No ultimate permanent result is acknowledged as likely to be consequent on the conflict, and it would seem to be simply accepted as an incomprehensible condition occurring through the clashing of parts of the whole imperfectly arranged mechanism of nature. Whereas the complex life in man, the spiritual and the animal, the prospect of a future environment which waits for him, and for which he is now passing through a state of probation and discipline, would suggest an explanation of this conflict between his "ethical nature"—or, rather, his spiritual life—and the cosmic process working by laws which distinctly belong to the present sphere of his being. If he do not suppress an instinct within him, man must feel that this world is not the sole sphere appointed for his existence, that there is a further and higher life in a future state where a place is prepared for him. The supplies from the world do not meet the aspirations and capabilities of his spiritual being, for which—as an instinct must be met by its object—there are fitting supplies in a further sphere of life, into conformity with which he may develop through the subjugation of his lower nature, which has its suitabilities in this present environment. Thus is he led into "the good fight" of faith in Him who points to a differently conditioned life beyond this: "Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as He is pure." Such provision and prospect give some account of this conflict; a meaning is attached to it, and the destiny of man may be discerned.

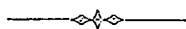
This condition of the present and this hope for the future enter into the Divine revelation which has been given to us. But even if we put aside revelation and regard its statement as a theory, such a theory, so to call it, would let some light in upon the mystery of human life and would furnish a sustaining power in the conflict which it involves.

The mass of men would not be constrained into such conflict, and scarcely any would be sustained for the continuance of it, if the ultimate result of it might only be the slowly attained improvement in the conditions of the human race, to be experienced by a far-off posterity in this environment. But if this life could be looked on as a stage for development into fitness for a higher life beyond where an individual immortality may be secured, an incentive would be supplied which would account for the entrance on the struggle with unfriendly conditions and the perseverance in the effort to

overcome them. Even as a mere theory the Christian faith and hope would seem a plausible explanation of the whole perplexity of human life; a design, a meaning and an object are so communicated to that which appears otherwise inexplicable.

The Founder of the Christian ethics puts the truth before us as a reality. He signifies a fellowship with Him in the strife: "Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with." He asserts an estrangement of His disciples from the present incongruous surroundings: "They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." He proclaims their adoption to a higher life after the life here: "I go to prepare a place for you." And He, in a sense, secures them as to the prospect when he prays for them to God, "Father, I will that they whom Thou hast given Me be with Me where I am."

A. D. MACNAMARA,
Canon of Cork.



ART. V.—A PLEA FOR FORBEARANCE IN DISAGREEMENT.

SPEAKING in Convocation in 1864 on the difficult question of the discipline in the colonial churches, and of the determined line taken by Bishop Gray, the Metropolitan of South Africa, Dr. Tait, who was then Bishop of London, said: "I consider him to hold very strong opinions on one side, differing from myself and much more than half of the Bishops of the Church of England. He is fully entitled to hold these opinions; but I think there is this fault in his character, that he is not content with merely holding these opinions, but that he wishes to make every other person hold them too." It is an inseparable characteristic of any earnest and conscientious theological movement that its adherents should desire to influence by every means in their power the opinions of others in their own direction; and there is also the tendency, as time goes on, and new circumstances develop, or new suggestions are made, to adopt rules of conduct and thought, increasing in strictness and in their claim to obedience. The leaders of such movements have always been in the habit of telling us that a certain new restriction is part of their system, a certain new action a necessary corollary of their principles. And if in any such theological movement there are ideas which are of the same arbitrary character, it may be very necessary for those who are jealous for religious truth to scan such ideas very closely.

Without going back to the tyrannical absurdities of the Puritan days, which led to a licentious reaction at the Restoration, something of this sort might have been observable in parts of the older Evangelical movement. No sermon was complete if it did not contain the doctrine of justification by faith, or if it did not repeat certain favourite theological phrases; it was wrong to dance, wrong to go to a concert. Cards, novels, and many other debatable forms of amusement were forbidden. Life became too much restricted, and the result was that from some of the purest and holiest homes of the evangelicals came, by a violent reaction, the most reckless and abandoned of profligates. Now, this is only the old contrast reappearing between the spirit of the law and the spirit of the Gospel. It was not so much the different items of the law to which St. Paul objected, as the ideal of fulfilling a set of commands as a religious ideal of righteousness. "Where the spirit of the Lord is," he says, "there is liberty." "The glorious liberty of the children of God" is the aim at which all creation is striving. "Stand fast," he says to another Church, "in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." "If ye be dead," he writes to another Church, "with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (touch not; taste not; handle not; which all are to perish with the using;) after the commandments and doctrines of men?" "Who art thou," he says to the Romans, "that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up, for God shall keep him." "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, to the Lord he regardeth it; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. Why dost thou judge thy brother? why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for it is before the judgment seat of Christ that we shall all stand." St. James also speaks of "the perfect law of liberty," and urges his friends: "So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty." This, in short, is one of the most characteristic features of the Gospel of Christ.

Our religion is a matter primarily between our own conscience and God. Whatever ordinances are introduced in order to enable men to live in a Christian society, they must always be subject to this ideal, and infringe it as little as may be possible. It is curious that Calvin, who himself was the author of the most complete system of imprisonment to which human intellect and conduct have ever been subjected, saw the force of this teaching of the Apostles. "Certainly," he says,

speaking of spiritual liberty, "it is an invaluable blessing, in defence of which it is our duty to fight, even to death. If men lay upon our shoulders an unjust burden, it may be borne, but if they endeavour to bring our conscience into bondage, we must resist valiantly, even to death; if men be permitted to bind our consciences we shall be deprived of an invaluable blessing, and an insult will be at the same time offered to Christ, the Author of our freedom."

This is a liberty unsung
By poets and by senators unpraised,
Which monarchs cannot grant nor all the powers
Of earth and hell confederate take away ;
A liberty, which persecution, fraud,
Oppression, prisons have no power to bind,
Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more.
'Tis liberty of heart, derived from Heaven,
Bought with His blood, who gave it to mankind.

* * * * *

The oppressor holds
His body bound ; he knows not what a range
His spirit takes unconscious of the chain ;
And that to bind him, is a vain attempt,
Whom God delights in, and in whom He dwells !

The contrast between the absolutely free ideal of the Christian Church and the simple regulations which enable its members to carry out its objects on the earth is admirably drawn out by Bishop Lightfoot. "The kingdom of Christ," he says, "not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious. It is in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. It displays this character, not only in the acceptance of all comers who seek admission irrespective of race, or caste, or sex, but also in the instruction and treatment of those who are already its members. It has no sacred days or seasons, and no special sanctuaries, because every time and every place alike are holy. Above all, it has no sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven. Each individual, therefore, holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength. It is most important that we should keep this ideal definitely in view, and I have therefore stated it as broadly as possible. Yet the broad statement, if allowed to stand alone, would suggest a false impression, or at least would convey only a half truth. It must be evident that no society of men could hold together without officers, without rules, without institutions of any kind; and the Church of Christ is not exempt from this universal letter. The conception, in short, is strictly

an ideal which we must ever hold before our eyes, which should inspire and interpret ecclesiastical polity, but which nevertheless cannot supersede the necessary wants of human society, and, if crudely and hastily applied, will only lead to signal failure. . . . In this respect the ethics of Christianity present an analogy to the politics. Here, also, the ideal conception and the actual realization are incommensurate, and in a manner contradictory. The Gospel first contrasted with the law is as the spirit with the letter. Its ethical principle is not a code of positive ordinances, but conformity to a perfect exemplar, incorporation into a divine life. The distinction is most important, and eminently fertile in practical results. Yet no man would dare to live without laying down more or less definite rules for his own guidance, without yielding obedience to law in some sense; and those who discard or attempt to discard all such aids are often farthest from the attainment of Christian perfection." "This qualification," continues Bishop Lightfoot, "is introduced here to deprecate any misunderstanding to which the opening statement, if left without compensation, would fairly be exposed. . . . In attempting to investigate the historical development of the Divine institution no better starting-point suggested itself than the characteristic distinction of Christianity, as declared occasionally by the direct language, but more frequently by the eloquent silence of the Apostolic writings."

This position of Bishop Lightfoot's is in absolute harmony with the teaching of Scripture, and its lesson is obvious. Whatever arrangements may be necessary for human co-operation in the kingdom of God, they must be of the very simplest and most elementary character, jealously guarded against any infringement of the ideal of Christian liberty. Now we are in the presence of an ecclesiastical phenomenon of the very highest interest. The last half-century of the life of the National Church of England has been characterized by a religious movement of the most zealous and successful description. The late Dean of St. Paul's, in his last and posthumous work, ends it by speaking of the days after the sad secessions of 1845. "Those times," he says, "were the link between what we are now, so changed in many ways, and the original impulse given at Oxford; but to those times I am as much an outsider as most of the foremost in them are outsiders to Oxford in the earlier days. Those times are almost more important than the history of the movement, for besides vindicating it, they carried on its work to achievements and successes which even in the most sanguine days of 'Tractarianism' had not presented themselves to men's minds, much less to their hopes."

These words of Dean Church are nothing less than the fact.

The spread of the movement of which he is the historian is one of the most marked features of contemporary life. We read, for instance, that at the thirty-fourth anniversary of the English Church Union, besides some twenty-nine bishops, the Union has 34,761 names on the books, of whom 4,200 are in holy orders. We read the other day of the thirty-first anniversary of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. The report shows a steady increase of members, lay and clerical, at home and abroad. There are now more than 15,000 members, of whom more than 1,600 are priests; there are 300 wards in England and Wales, and twenty-two abroad. Among the objects for which this society prays are the restoration of the primitive custom of reserving the Blessed Sacrament, the cessation of evening Communion, the spread of auricular confession, and prayer for the repose of the souls of those who are dead. Another characteristic society is that of the Holy Cross, and, again, a fifth is the well-known Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom. The spread of these vast societies is an indication of that wonderful growth and development of the original movement of which Dean Church speaks. It is not my purpose on the present occasion to inquire into the teaching connected with this movement, or to suggest whether or not it has contravened those simple principles and rules by which Bishop Lightfoot says bodies of Christians may properly be united. My wish is to point out, in the first place, that the movement has taken a very large measure of liberty to itself. Secondly, that to all new movements application may be made of the remark of Bishop Tait on Bishop Gray, that "he was not content with holding his own opinions, but was anxious to make everybody else hold them too." Thirdly, that many opinions associated with the later developments of the movement are in some degree inconsistent with the Christian liberty of those who neither belong to it nor agree with it; and that, fourthly, there is for such persons ample security for such Christian liberty in the authoritative and integral formularies of the English Church, if they are only suitably used and maintained.

First, I shall enumerate very briefly the points where the movement in question appears itself to depend on a considerable use of the principle of liberty. And, indeed, I do not think that there is any great desire on the part of the great body of the National Church to curtail such freedom. Archbishop Tait long ago pointed out that the Church of Andrewes, Cosin, Bull and Bramhall would naturally contain a section which would hold high views of the meaning of the Sacraments and of ministerial succession and authority. In another place

he says, "The Church of England from the Reformation has allowed great liberty as to the doctrine of the Sacraments; and though I fear it cannot be denied that a few men are engaged in a conspiracy to bring back our Church to the state in which it was before the Reformation, I fully believe that most of those who advocate what we deem an excessive ritual would indignantly deny any such purpose." And again, "The Church of England is very wide, embracing persons of very various opinions within the limits of our common faith; and the Episcopal bench would not be a true representative of the Church, if within our own body there was not that variance of sentiment in minor matters which exists in the Church itself." And again, in 1866, "The Church of England," he says, "does allow amongst its people great diversity of opinion in non-essentials. This is a necessary characteristic of a Protestant branch of the Church Catholic. Sects of all kinds, whether Protestant or so-called Catholic, are narrow and unwarrantably dogmatic, defining where God's Word has not defined, eager to exclude from their pale all who will not allow their minds to be forced into one groove. Such the Church of England has never been, through any continuous period of its history, though at certain epochs many efforts have been made, and for a time succeeded in endeavouring to narrow it to the dimensions of a sect."

This view, I believe, is generally prevalent in the great body of the National Church, and in enumerating the points in which it appears that the mediæval movement has depended upon a wide application of the principle of liberty, I repeat that I am not here questioning how far that liberty ought to extend. And I do not mean that all those who are affected by the movement agree in all such points. There is a great variety of opinion within the movement, and some would repudiate one point, some another. But, at any rate, among such points are those of the sacrifice of the altar, the sacrificial priesthood, the exclusion of Presbyterian Churches from the Church of Christ, instead of treating them as defective branches; the principle that any Church which has Apostolical succession may borrow the practices of other Churches, whether they have been adopted or not, or forbidden or not, by their own National Church; the distinction between low celebrations, when persons are supposed to communicate, and high celebrations, when they are not; the provision of prayers suitable to these two distinctions; the setting up of tradition as of equal authority with Scripture, or of even greater importance; the assumption that during the forty days between our Lord's resurrection and ascension He handed over a number of doctrines to His Apostles of which there is no subsequent trace in the Epistles, and

which only reappear in the development of the Church subsequent to the death of the Apostles; the adoration of the Eucharist, the elevation of the cup and of the paten, prayers for the dead, and especially celebrations for the dead on All Souls' Day; the invocation of saints, and in many cases a direct worship of the Virgin Mary. It would be possible to enumerate other points, but these are enough to prove my assertion that the later developments of the movement do depend very largely on the principle of liberty; these opinions and practices are now very general, and receive no check of any kind.

I now proceed with the second point, that the movement, like other new and earnest developments, is not conspicuous for toleration of divergent opinions. The universal practice of its adherents is to speak of themselves and their friends as *good Churchmen*, or still more exclusively as *Churchmen*, while to others they deny this description. The catechism largely used by the Church Extension Society treats dissent as a mortal sin, and implies that Nonconformists are outside the pale of salvation. The organs of the movement, which are very powerful, ignore to a large extent the influence and work of the older sections of the Church, and confine themselves mainly to the propagation of the opinions of the movement. One of the organs of the movement declares unreservedly that its object is to unprotestantize, if possible, the Church of England, and to bring back and enthrone in her high places the doctrines which she so distinctly repudiated and cast out at the time of the Reformation. A prominent and favourite teacher in the movement earnestly desires that the Bible may once more be confined to the hands of an authorized priesthood. "There are a great many persons," says another, "who are under the impression that the Bible is intended to teach us our religion; let me say most distinctly that this is a great mistake." "Scripture," said one of the "Tracts for the Times," "does not interpret itself, therefore tradition is practically infallible, and has revealed truth not contained in the Bible." In their great zeal for uniformity of practice they strongly condemn the Scriptural habit of evening Communion. The cessation of this habit is, as I before mentioned, one of the objects of intercession of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. "There is no foundation," writes an excellent friend of mine, "in Holy Scripture for the innovation of evening Communion." Any person who maintains that fasting Communion is unnecessary incurs their severest reprobation. The doctrine of justification by faith itself, which may be considered the leading characteristic of Pauline and English Christianity, appears to excite their opposition. "The doctrine

of justification by faith," wrote one of their most popular preachers, "is a delusive figment." It can, indeed, hardly be denied that the aim of the movement is in a very large degree the extinction of those principles which differentiate the Reformed Church of England from the un-reformed Church of the Middle Ages. "What, we should like to know," wrote one of the organs of the movement, "is the Church of England to do with those members who are guided by the spirit of the reformers, but to get rid of them as soon as possible? We will have nothing to do with such a set." "We have never seen the use," writes another of their organs, "of retaining the Thirty-nine Articles." The movement is, in short, very candid, frank, and open, as well as ceaselessly earnest and energetic; it has a very definite polemical object in view, and it makes no secrets of its aims.

Now, while we hold and are able to hold our own faith in simplicity and loyalty and perfect independence, we are bound, I think, to protect the liberty of those whose principles it appears it is desired to extinguish. The "Oxford Movement," as it is called by Dean Church, is decidedly not stationary. It is on the increase; it is largely recruited every Ember week from many of those who leave the theological colleges. The leaders of the movement would not like disestablishment at the present moment, because the old adherents of the National Church in England would probably be strong enough to retain our existing formularies, being as they are a protest against those mediæval doctrines, which at the time of the Reformation were summed up in the one word—Rome. But if they had another quarter or half century, they would look forward in that case to being strong enough to reorganize the Church of England on their own principles, and to sweep away those traces of the Reformation which they so greatly dislike. It is our duty, then, I say, in every way to protect and strengthen those who hold by the old Scriptural standard of the reformed Church of England. It is useless to pretend that our Church does not deserve the name of Protestant. It is a name of which we ought all to be proud; and there is no need to shrink from using it, when occasion arises, in our sermons, teachings and conversation. The whole position of the Church of England, as apart from its Catholic setting forth of the old Scriptural verities, is a protest against mediæval error; and we must not allow any fallacy to creep in as to the use of the word Rome, as distinct from mediæval. The reformers used the word Rome as a summary of all error, because Rome embraced the whole Western Church. It is common now amongst the adherents of the mediæval movement to profess that they have nothing to do with Rome, but that they only follow Sarum. This is a mere fallacy, for Sarum was in

truth more Roman than Rome itself. The truly wise position for English Christians was laid down by Archbishop Tait, when he wrote, "Since the Church of England is not only Catholic, as holding the old faith, but also Protestant, there are essentials not of the Christian faith, but of our charter, as reformed from Roman error, which it is equally vain for any man to hope that he can with a safe conscience ignore."

By the Coronation Oath the Sovereign, as temporal ruler of the Church, is sworn to maintain the Protestant reformed religion, established by law; and, according to the Act of Settlement of 1688, the occupant of the throne of Great Britain must not only be a Protestant, but can only marry a Protestant. Instead of allowing any other authority parallel to Scripture, we must point out the 6th Article, as, in these days, the very palladium of Christian liberty in England: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, and which may be proved thereby, is not to be required of men, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." Protestantism, in fact, far from being a bare negation, is the assertion of a living principle, the absolute supremacy of the Word of God, and the inalienable right of all men to search that Word.

Again, when it is desired strictly to exclude orthodox Presbyterian Churches from the Church of Christ, instead of treating them as defective branches, while we fully maintain the historical importance of historical succession, we must point to the notes of the Church in the 19th Article: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in the which the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments be duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things which of necessity are requisite to the same." And we shall quote such a passage as the following from Hooker: "Now, whereas some do infer that no ordination can stand, but only such as is made by Bishops, which have had their ordination likewise from other Bishops from them, till we come to the very Apostles themselves. . . . To this we answer that there may be sometimes a very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a Bishop. The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed in others than Bishops alone to ordain, howbeit as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from those ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, in two ways admitted into spiritual functions in the Church. One is when God Himself doth of Himself raise up any whose labour He useth,

without requiring that men should authorize them. . . . Another extraordinary kind of invocation is when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep, where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a Bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give place. And, therefore, we are not simply without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles, by continued succession of Bishops in every effective ordination."

I cite another very important passage from "Field on the Church" in his controversy with Bellarmine: "There is no reason to be given but that in case of necessity, whereas all Bishops were extinguished by death, or from being fallen into heresy, should refuse to ordain any to serve God in His true worship, Presbyterians, as they may do all other acts whatsoever . . . may (through necessity) do this also; *i.e.*, may ordain. Who, then, dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were ordained by Presbyterians, in sundry Churches in the world, at such times as Bishops in those parts, where they lived, opposed themselves against the truth of God, and prevented such as professed it?" Two more witnesses to Christian liberty I will cite—Archbishop Laud and Bishop Cosin. Archbishop Laud in his conference with Fisher, the Jesuit, denounces the necessity of continued visible succession or the existence of any promise that it should be uninterruptedly continued in any Church. He proceeds to say: "That for succession in the general I shall say this—it is a great happiness where it may be had, visible and continued, and a great conquest over the mutability of this present world. But I do not find any one of the ancient Fathers that makes local, personal, visible, and continued succession a necessary mark, or sign, of the true Church in any one place." Then for Bishop Cosin. He severely censures, indeed, the Protestant Churches of France and Geneva for their defect of episcopacy, but he says: "I dare not take upon me to condemn or declare nullity of their own ordinations against them." He further acknowledges that in the face of certain passages in St. Jerome, some schoolmen, Jewell, Field, Hooker, and others, he cannot say that the ministers of the Reformed French Churches, for want of episcopal ordination, have no order at all, but recommends his correspondent to communicate with the French Protestants rather than with the Roman Church.

Once more as to the authority of General Councils. In Tract No. 90 Newman tries to persuade himself that some of the General Councils were not an assembly of earthly men,

but were truly of heavenly inspiration, and therefore do not come under the teaching of our 21st Article; and it is a favourite practice of the adherents of the mediæval movement to select some canon from any ancient Council which happens to suit their purpose, and to quote it as the authorized legislature of Christendom, which, if treated with indifference by any member of the National English Church, will stamp him at once as unorthodox. Those who know the history of General Councils are aware that not one of them was representative of the whole of Christendom, that many of their decrees are mistaken, that their results were not at once accepted, while the most important of them only gradually gained acceptance by their evident agreement with the Bible. And again, therefore, we cling with the utmost gratitude to the 21st Article, which says of General Councils: "That when they be gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God; wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture."

Lastly, we must defend the freedom of English Christianity to maintain the doctrine of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross, and never to be repeated. The teaching which is very generally given by adherents of the mediæval movement is contained in the second chapter of the twenty-second Session of the Council of Trent. It is in the following words: "Since the same Christ who once offered Himself by His blood on the cross is contained in this Divine sacrifice, which is celebrated in the mass and offered without blood, the Holy Scripture teaches that this sacrifice is really propitiatory, and made by Christ. . . . For assuredly God is appeased by this oblation; bestows grace and the gift of repentance, and forgives all crimes and sins how great soever; for a sacrifice which is now offered by the ministry of the priests is one and the same as that which Christ then offered on the cross, only the mode of offering is different. And the fruits of that bloody oblation are plentifully enjoyed by means of this unbloody one."

The language in the canon of the Council of Trent in no wise differs from the language of the adherents of the Oxford movement, when in their eight or nine hundred churches they return thanks to Almighty God for being permitted to offer unto Him Christ's perpetually-pleaded sacrifice. The fact is, that as praise, almsgiving, and self-devotion are called sacrifices in the New Testament, the word "sacrifice" and the word "altar" became used in very early times in connection

with the Lord's Supper. And these words having been once introduced, and having come into ordinary usage, suffer the usual fate of ambiguities. With the progress of doctrinal corruption the idea of expiatory sacrifice offered by the priest on the altar came in; and as with the doctrine of Transubstantiation; so with this. After centuries of oscillating and contradictory language, the doctrine of the propitiatory sacrifice of the Eucharist became generally established. Waterland, in a very important chapter (the twelfth) enumerates eight true and evangelical sacrifices:

- (1) The sacrifice of alms to the poor.
- (2) The sacrifice of prayer.
- (3) The sacrifice of praise.
- (4) The sacrifice of a true heart.
- (5) The sacrifice of ourselves.
- (6) The sacrifice by the Church of itself to Christ.
- (7) The offering up of true converts by their minister.
- (8) The sacrifice of faith, life, and self-humiliation in commemorating the death of Christ.

It is very difficult to see how anything could be more explicit than our 31st Article: "The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is no other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

As long as our clergy are bound by this Article, the great body of the National Church who adhere to the Reformation are beyond all question protected in their Christian liberty of taking the sacrifice in the Lord's Supper according to the teaching of Holy Scripture. It would be easy to point out other grounds for liberty; but it only remains that we should properly maintain and use these safeguards. It is very unpleasant, no doubt, to be mixed up in controversy, and to be combating error; but we can, at any rate, urge the friends of the Reformation to understand their own position and its unassailable strength. And by the firmness of our attitude, the gentleness of our charity, and the width of our toleration, we can persuade our friends—who, in all their earnestness and zeal and self-devotion, are proceeding so far in restoring the mediæval and traditional standards to which the Scriptural standards of the Reformation are opposed—that the other side of the question has more right to the claim of orthodox English churchmanship than themselves; and we can satisfy them that whatever they do in their own Churches, and with

their own flocks, they have no reason to be surprised if the rest of English Christians are firm in their resolve to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free. I will conclude with the words used by Archbishop Tait, when preaching at the consecration of All Saints', Margaret Street: "I truly believe," he said, "that in these days, both amongst High Church and Low Church, there are persons who are tired of the miserable controversies which have long divided Christendom, and who simply desire, while using the liberty allowed them, to follow their own tastes in things indifferent, to worship the Lord Jesus Christ faithfully, and to follow Him in their lives. Beware, lest in your zeal for antiquity, you would be not ancient enough, going back to the wavering followers of the Apostles and not to the Apostles themselves."

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Short Notices.

The Siege of Derry. Edited by the Rev. PHILIP DWYER. Pp. 255. Elliot Stock.

THIS is a very admirable and interesting reprint of the celebrated George Walker's account of the siege, his vindication of the account, and other original documents about that momentous epoch. Mr. Dwyer has worked hard at his subject, and got together 133 pages of notes and additional information. There are also some excellent portraits. The whole forms a capital collection for the student of original historical sources, and a complete memento of one of the most notable events of British history.

Our Bible—how it has come to us. By Canon R. T. TALBOT. Pp. 128. Price 1s. Isbister and Co.

A clear and scholarly account, in simple language and for popular readers, of MSS., texts, versions, translations, and the canon. There is not a schoolroom, private or public, in these days where some knowledge of this kind ought not to be available for the senior scholars; and these five papers present it in a very handy and intelligible form. The papers were originally contributed to that very ably edited monthly the *Sunday Magazine*.

The Decalogue. By ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH. Pp. 240. Price 4s. 6d. Longmans.

The principal of Lady Margaret Hall, who is favourably known by her "Illustrations of the Creed," "St. Christopher, and other Poems," "The Life of Bishop Christopher Woods," "Thoughts for the Chimney Corner," "Short Words for Long Evenings," and "This Work-a-Day World," has put together some useful papers on the ten great foundations of Hebrew and Christian morality and religion, delivered originally as addresses to some of the students of her college. Her applications are practical. Under the eighth commandment, for instance, she warns against wasting other people's time, unpunctuality, writing a bad hand,

want of method, meanness about money matters, literary dishonesty, breaking social engagements, enticing servants away from neighbours, disfiguring beautiful landscapes by hideous advertisements, taking advantage of legal blunders in wills, rash investment of money at high interest, wasting public property by carelessness, reaping the harvest of other people's work by greater quickness and stronger personality, sacrilege, and defrauding God by not devoting a portion of income to His service.

Judges. By JOHN SUTHERLAND BLACK. Pp. 116. University Press, Cambridge.

This is a volume in "The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools." It brings a commentary probably down to its narrowest limits, but contains a very considerable amount of concise information. As it is founded on the larger work of the Rev. J. J. Lias, it may be safely trusted. With regard to composition, the writer says: "The Book of Judges contains elements of very various dates. The Song of Deborah is contemporary with the events to which it refers; and the prose narratives contain many lively traits, which must have been derived from eye-witnesses; while, on the other hand, the double account of such matters as the war with Midian are most naturally explained as due to fluctuations of oral tradition in the course of generations." But, at any rate, the contributions of the compiler form a very small part of the book.

Our Country's Flowers. By W. J. GORDON. Pp. 154. Day and Son.

Mr. Gordon follows the natural system of classification, and his method is exceedingly clear. By studying the principles of the book carefully, and following his schemes and plans, the student cannot fail to identify the flowers which he finds. It is wonderful how much information is conveyed in such small space. Beside the accurate scientific scheme, there are thirty-three very comprehensive plates, which will be of great help; and as these beautiful coloured pictures for the most part combine different leading specimens of a genus, each picture becomes itself an instructive lesson. The writer begins with a list of local names, and then explains his principles of classification. This is followed by a tabular scheme, giving the characteristics of species. The next chapter is devoted to the natural orders; and he goes on with some useful examples of identification, in order to show the student how to proceed. The work ends with indexes, genera, and species.

Our Country's Birds. By W. J. GORDON. Pp. 152. Day and Son.

This is a companion to Mr. Gordon's other work, and is a truly delightful volume. It may be safely said that no such complete and comprehensive guide to British birds exists in so small a space. There are thirty-two coloured illustrations which are exceedingly accurate and beautiful. The plan followed is much the same as that in the work on "Flowers." An interesting feature is the Table of Dimensions. The tabular description of eggs is also very clear and useful.

MAGAZINES.

Amongst the Magazines for August we have received the following: *The Cornhill, The Thinker, Sunday at Home, Quiver, Leisure Hour, Cassell's Family Magazine, Church Missionary Intelligencer, Newbery House Magazine, The Boy's Own Paper, The Girl's Own Paper, The Church Sunday School Magazine, New and Old, Little Folks, Awake, Church Missionary Gleaner, Cottager and Artizan, Friendly Greetings, The Children's World, India's Women, The Evangelical Churchman (Toronto), Church Monthly, Church Worker, Light in the Home, Our Little Dots, Child's Companion, Boys' and Girls' Companion.*

THE MONTH.

THE REV. W. R. MOWLL, the late Canon Hussey's successor at North Brixton, reports that the attendances at Holy Communion during 1892, the first year of his ministry there, were 5,405, viz.: Early morning, 437; mid-day, 1,339; and evening, 3,629.

We learn from the *London Diocesan Magazine* that to the present date the amount received this year by the E.L.C.F. is £11,000. This is an increase of £4,200 on the amount received during the same months of 1892, and exceeds the income for the corresponding period of any previous year in the history of the fund. "Such a report is very satisfactory. It is possible to make it because of the generous answer that has been given to the special appeal which the Bishop of Bedford and his council have been compelled to issue; and we hope that, encouraged by such success, the friends of the Church in East London will maintain their efforts, and make this year memorable as the first in which the fund will have attained the income of £20,000 that is necessary to its work."

From the report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, it appears that the aggregate of institutions of this kind in England and Wales amounts to 33,094, with 9,911,781 members, and funds to the extent of £94,321,269. There is thus an average of nearly £10 for each member. In Scotland the societies number 1,816, with 1,091,042 members, and funds amounting to £4,687,998, or a little over £4 for each member. In Ireland the societies number 640, with 86,494 members, and funds amounting to £1,017,639, or nearly £12 for each member. The aggregate of the funds for the United Kingdom thus exceeds £100,000,000. In the Chief Registrar's summary building societies represent more than £51,000,000, while friendly societies—not of the collecting class—have funds exceeding £22,000,000, industrial and provident societies being credited with about £19,000,000. Miscellaneous societies complete the list.

The minutes of the Primitive Methodist Conference have just been published, giving the statistics of that body. It appears that the connexion has 5,850 chapels and rooms in trust, the value of which is returned as being £3,496,910, but upon which mortgage and other debts rest to the extent of £1,068,912. There are 1,112 "travelling" preachers, and the membership of the churches is reported to be 195,027, an increase for the year of 1,559. There are 4,322 Sunday-schools belonging to the connexion, with 450,233 scholars (an increase of 7,338) and 61,488 teachers (an increase of 462). The number of adherents, in addition to members, is said to be 598,364.

A meeting of the council of the Metropolitan Hospital Sunday Fund was held at the Mansion House under the presidency of Sir S. Waterlow. It was stated that the sum available for distribution this year had been £35,400, against £40,228 last year. The report of the committee appointed to distribute the fund was submitted and approved.

The results of the week of self-denial held by the Salvation Army last October have now been completed, and the accounts show that the amount actually received is £50,002 5s. 5d., or £2 5s. 5d. over the amount asked for. The amount collected the previous year by the same method was £30,000. The largest sum is credited to the British Isles with £22,727; then come the United States with £7,291; Australia, £7,106; Sweden, £3,041; Canada, £2,893; New Zealand, £1,931; South Africa, £1,600; France and Switzerland, £1,124; Holland, £875; Norway, £484; Denmark, £437; Finland, £175; India, £163; Germany, £115; Belgium, £26; and Italy, £8. It is stated that in Finland the Government have expelled all but native officers. The cost of the appeal was £3,229.

The Duke of Westminster has sent a donation of £500 towards the funds of the Metropolitan Hospital, Kingsland Road.

The Mercers' Company have contributed 500 guineas towards the fourth quinquennial fund of the London Hospital.

The Corbett Hospital, Stourbridge, presented to his native town by Mr. John Corbett, formerly M.P. for Mid-Worcestershire, has been opened. The gift consists of a mansion, now to be used as a hospital, an estate of thirty acres, and a sum of £5,000 for endowment and outlay on the building.

Mr. George Scott, managing director of Messrs. C. Kinloch, wine-merchants, who died last April, leaving personalty exceeding £115,000 in value, bequeathed £500 to the London Hospital, £250 to the Aberfeldy Home and Hospital, and £1,000 each to the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh for scholarships.

Bequests of £2,000 each have been made by the late Mr. Richard Vaughan, of Elms Lea, Bath, to the following societies: S.P.G., C.M.S., S.P.C.K., Colonial and Continental Church, and Bristol Church Extension. Mr. Vaughan has also bequeathed £1,000 to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and £1,000 to the incumbent of Holy Cross, or Temple Church, Bristol.

The *Bath and Wells Diocesan Magazine* contains the following with regard to Mr. James Broadmead's legacy of £10,000 for the distressed clergy of the Diocese: "A correspondent writes to point out that while Mr. J. Broadmead was anxious to secure this money

to the Church, and to arrange for its safety in case of disestablishment, and was still corresponding about poor benefices in Somerset, and discussing matters with his nephew, Mr. T. E. P. Broadmead, he was called away before anything had been actually done in the matter to make it any legal obligation for Mr. T. P. Broadmead to hand over the £10,000. He was, in fact, carrying out his uncle's wishes, and not merely administering a legacy, and though those who know Mr. Broadmead and his family know they could not have acted otherwise, it is, perhaps, only right that the general public should be aware of the facts of the case."

Mr. Lavie, of Worcester, has placed in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the sum of £700 towards the augmentation of the endowment of St. Anne's Vicarage, Fence-in-Pendle, Burnley.



Obituary.



THE death of Mr. J. D. Allcroft removes one of the best known and most munificent of Evangelical laymen. He was a great church builder, and administered his patronage with the utmost care. For seven years he was President of the C.P.A.S., and only resigned a month or two ago when his last illness had supervened. His sympathies went out to Evangelical work of all kinds. In conjunction with the late Mr. Samuel Morley and with Mr. George Williams he secured Exeter Hall for the Y.M.C.A., and his anonymous gifts were distributed with equal kindness and discretion. He was an ardent Protestant, of late a warm supporter of the Church Association, and one of the promoters of the St. Paul's reredos suit, in which he was not well advised. Mr. Allcroft died after three months of more or less acute suffering, and his body was laid to rest at Stokesay.

At the Rectory of Whippingham, near Osborne, on Saturday, July 29th, an inquest was held respecting the death of Mrs. Prothero, the wife of Canon Prothero, the rector. It appeared from the evidence that the deceased lady had for a long time suffered from sleeplessness, and had taken drugs to produce sleep. This had affected her brain. On Friday afternoon she left her bedroom, and was found lying in the garden under an open window, from which she had evidently jumped. She died soon afterwards. Every care had been taken for her safety. A verdict was returned to the effect that the deceased lady committed suicide while insane. The news of her sad end created a profound impression at Osborne. The funeral took place on Tuesday. Several ladies and gentlemen from Osborne attended. They included Miss Manns, representing the Queen; Sir Henry Ponsonby, Sir John

Cowell, and Dr. Reid. A large number of floral tributes were sent; one was from her Majesty, with a card bearing the inscription, written with her own hand, "A mark of friendship and regard.—VICTORIA." Another was from the Marchioness of Lorne, marked, "From Louise, August 1st." A third was from Princess Christian, bearing the words, "In remembrance of loving years of friendship and love.—HELENA." Princess Henry of Battenberg sent a wreath with the words, "A mark of sincere friendship and regard.—BEATRICE;" and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught sent one with the words, "A token of regard from the Duke and Duchess of Connaught." Whippingham Church was filled with mourners and residents of the locality.

The Rev. Nugent Wade, M.A., Canon of Bristol Cathedral, died lately in Wales in his eighty-sixth year. He was a Scholar (1827) of Trinity College, Dublin, and Classical Gold Medallist in 1828, graduating in the following year. He was ordained in 1832, and from 1833 till 1839 was consular chaplain at Elsinore. He came to London in 1839 as incumbent of St. Paul's, Finsbury, and in 1846 Bishop Blomfield presented him to the rectory of St. Anne's, Soho, which he resigned in 1890. Few clergymen have laboured continuously in London for so long a period. In 1872, on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, a frequent worshipper in the church, the Lord Chancellor presented Mr. Wade to a residentiary stall in Bristol Cathedral, which now falls to the gift of Lord Herschell. At Bristol the Canon took great interest in Mr. Street's new nave and in the proposal for reviving the see. He was, says the *Standard*, an old-fashioned High Churchman, who did a great work among the poor of Soho. He was, however, best known to the general public by the musical services which he established in Lent—viz., the rendering of the Passion music, which has since become so common a practice.

Miss Mary Augusta Gordon, sister of the late General Gordon (and daughter of the late Lieut.-General H. W. Gordon, R.A.), has died at Southampton. She was well-known throughout Hampshire for her benevolent work, especially in connection with the establishment of Gordon Boys' brigades. The news of Miss Gordon's death having been sent to Osborne, the Queen at once despatched a telegram expressive of her deep sympathy with the bereaved family. The Queen was also represented at Miss Gordon's funeral.

Mr. John Horniman, a member of the Society of Friends, widely known for his munificent support of religious and philanthropic institutions, has died, aged ninety. He retired from the famous City firm, of which he was formerly the head, in 1869. Mr. Horniman leaves a widow in her ninety-third year.

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