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THE
CHURCHMAN

MARCH, 1890.

ART. I.—DR. DÖLLINGER ON MEDÆVAL SECTS.

Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters von IGN. v. DÖLLINGER. Erster Theil; *Geschichte der gnostisch-manichäischen Sekten*. Zweiter Theil; *Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der Valdesier und Katharer*. München, 1890. C. H. Beck. Pp. 259, 736.

THIS work, quite independently of its contents, has an intense and pathetic interest. It is the very last which was published by the venerable theologian who has just been taken away from us to the rest which he had so richly earned; it is the last labour which he was allowed to complete at the end of a life of over ninety years, of which more than man's allotted three score and ten were devoted to learning and literature. He died in harness. The last illness, ending in a stroke of paralysis, which in a few hours proved fatal, overtook him as he was striving to finish a work which for more than twenty years had been one of his favourite studies—a vindication of the Knights Templars from the charges brought against them when the Order was suppressed by Pope Clement and Philip the Fair. The present writer found him at work on this generous task last July. "I am glad that I never published this treatise earlier," he said, "for now I believe that I can *demonstrate* the innocence of the Templars. The Pope comes out of the inquiry even worse than I had expected. I confess that even I was not prepared to find that his conduct was as bad as it is proved to be." But before the last touches could be put to the work, the most learned and most capable of modern theologians and historians passed quietly away on the evening of Friday, January 10th. The writings which he has left behind him give a most impressive, but quite inadequate, idea of the knowledge which he possessed. Only those who have had the privilege of being constantly in his society know how enormous this was, and how completely

he was master of it. It was not merely that he knew exactly where to find the required information on his own well-filled bookshelves, or in his own note-books. In an immense number of cases he had it all stored up in his gigantic memory, not in bare outline or as regards general results, but in detail. He knew universal history, especially since the Christian era, better than most men know their own period, and he knew immense tracts of ecclesiastical history better than they have ever been known before.

He was very fond of "by-works." Side by side with the main subject to which he was devoting himself, he loved to have two or three minor themes, round which to group portions of the knowledge which he was continually storing up. Such were the subject of the Suppression of the Templars, just mentioned, Mediæval Fables respecting the Popes, the position of the Jews in Europe, Dante, Bellarmine, Madame de Maintenon, Mediæval Prophecies, and the like. The treatise before us is one of these "by-works," and one of the most considerable of them. It is the result of many years of study and research; research often undertaken for other purposes, but happening to prove very fruitful as regards this subject, which quite early in his life became a favourite one with him. Eighteen years ago, during one of many walks with the present writer, Dr. Döllinger poured forth a mass of information respecting the tenets and history of mediæval sects which was simply amazing. Sect after sect was taken up and compared with others as regards its creed, and its fortunes, and its treatment by Church and State; and all this in the wettest of weather, streaming rain by no means putting a stop either to his marvellous powers of conversation, or to his habit of standing still to talk when he became specially interested in a question that was being put to him or in his own discussion of it. But who cared for being wet through when one had such an instructor to share the discomfort, or, indeed, to make one almost forget all about it? Years afterwards his servant would laugh at the figures which instructor and pupil presented when they returned home at the end of the walk; and the drenched pupil little thought under what sad circumstances he would one day be endeavouring to make known to others the volumes which are to preserve for posterity the knowledge of which so abundant an amount was produced upon that occasion.

The two volumes, as the paging quoted at the head of this article shows, are of very unequal size, the second being nearly three times as long as the first. The first is the more interesting to the general reader; the second the more valuable to the historical student. The second volume consists entirely of documents illustrating the history of mediæval sects, especially the Cathari and Waldenses. Many of these documents have never

been published before ; and of the remainder a good many were very little known when Dr. Döllinger first began to make use of them. But this work has been for so many years in preparation, that in the interval some of the material, which he would otherwise have been the first to make known to the world, has been published by other scholars. He was not one to be jealous of those who thus forestalled him, or to hurry before the world with imperfect work in order to have the credit of bringing into notice a hitherto neglected or unknown source of information.

During the half century (1823-1872) that he was lecturing at Aschaffenburg and Munich, he used to devote much of his autumn vacations to the ransacking of public libraries at Munich, Paris, Vienna, Florence, Rome and elsewhere. The MSS. which are stored in such places were the objects of his search, especially those which throw light upon the subject which perhaps, more than any other, has occupied him during his long life, and in knowledge of which he stood absolutely and utterly alone—viz., the history of the development of the papacy. But, as has just been indicated, while pursuing this main object, he kept his eye upon many side topics, and cherished a hope that he would be able to collect materials which would serve to clear up some of the obscure spots, and fill some of the gaps in the by-paths of ecclesiastical history. This hope has been abundantly fulfilled. Readers of the CHURCHMAN¹ already know something of the light which Dr. Döllinger has recently thrown upon the internal history of the company of the Jesuits in his *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche* ; and before the world of scholars has had time to digest that great work, the significance of which has been by no means adequately grasped, we are presented with another from the same master hand, which, if not equal to the other in general interest, exhibits the same thoroughness of research, and the same acute use of original and unknown, or little-used materials.

The contents of the first volume are as follows : Chap. I. The External History of the Sect of the Paulicians ; II. The Doctrine of the Paulicians ; III. The Armenian Paulicians—The Thondracians—The Melchisedekians ; IV. The Bogomiles ; V. The Spread of Oriental Sects in the West until near the Close of the Eleventh Century ; VI. Peter of Bruys and Henry of Toulouse ; VII. The Apostolics—Eon de l'Etoile ; VIII. Tanchelm ; IX. The Cathari ; X. The Doctrine of the Cathari : the Dualists ; XI. The Doctrine of the Cathari : the Monarchians ; XII. The Doctrine of the Cathari : their General Doctrine ; XIII. The Organization and Religious Ordinances of the Cathari ; XIV. The Cathari in Slavonic Countries.

¹ (The CHURCHMAN, April, 1889.)

Probably the very names of some of these sects and promoters of sects are unknown to not a few of our readers. Their activity for the most part lies out of the main stream of ecclesiastical history; and it is quite possible to have a fair knowledge of the general outlines of the history of the Church without knowing anything of these strange and perplexing phenomena. The marvellous thing is that such fantastic ideas should ever have occurred to any human mind. That persons should have been found who not only believed them, but endeavoured to induce others to believe them also, is still more marvellous. And yet those who are acquainted with the tenets of the wild Gnostic and Manichæan sects, which were the plague of the Church during the second and third centuries, will not be greatly surprised at the monstrous speculations of these mediæval sects. Indeed, not a few of them, and especially the earlier among them, are the direct offspring of Gnosticism and Manichæism. These modes of thought, although they abated considerably during the fourth century, yet never entirely perished. They still lingered on in various centres, and were constantly bursting out into fresh activity in frequently changing forms. What kept them alive was not the extraordinary character of these external forms, which, however, may have been attractive to many, in spite of the grotesqueness and repulsiveness which they have for ourselves, but the fact that, in however crude a way, they afforded some kind of a solution to problems which will never cease to vex the human mind, and some kind of a gratification to that love of the marvellous which is inherent in most of us. Moreover, some of them directly pandered to the lowest elements in man's nature, by teaching that indulgence in the basest forms of sensuality is innocent, or even meritorious. Several of the sects of the Middle Ages remind us in these respects of the monstrous features which disgraced the teaching of the Cainites and the Carpocratians. Besides all these points, which contributed to the vitality and development of these tenets, must be mentioned the fact that the holders of them were frequently persecuted, sometimes with great cruelty; and persecution, unless it goes the full length of absolutely destroying all who profess the condemned opinions, almost invariably promotes rather than checks the cause of the persecuted.

Several of these points are illustrated in the history of the Paulicians, who form one of the chief connecting links between the Gnosticism and Manichæism of the second and third centuries, and the kindred forms of error in the Middle Ages. The origin of their name was unknown to themselves. Outsiders said that it was a corruption of "Paulojohannians," this name being derived from Paul and John, sons of Callinice, who were supposed to have preached Manichæan doctrine near Samosata

in the fifth century. But the Paulicians would not allow this origin, and when called upon in later times to repudiate the teaching of the sons of Callinice, they did so without hesitation. They themselves derived their name either from a later Armenian teacher of the name of Paul, or from the Apostle of the Gentiles. The actual founder or refounder of the sect, as we find it in history, must be looked for in the seventh century, where in the neighbourhood of Samosata we find a certain Constantine putting forward a system, which in some respects reminds us of the teaching of Marcion. He rejected all the heretical writings of Gnostic and Manichæan origin on which his predecessors had relied, and professed to base the teaching of the new or reformed Paulician community upon a purely Scriptural foundation, selecting for this purpose the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. As an intimation of the Pauline character of his doctrine he changed his name to Silvanus; not meaning thereby that a transmigration of the soul of Silvanus into the body of Constantine had taken place, but simply that he professed to be as loyal a disciple of St. Paul as one who had actually heard the words and shared the labours of the Apostle. Other Paulician leaders adopted the names of St. Paul's disciples.

The success of Constantine after some twenty-seven years of teaching (A.D. 653-684) was such as to attract the attention of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, who sent a commissioner named Symeon to investigate the matter. Symeon collected the Paulicians together and commanded them to stone "Silvanus." Justus, the adopted son of the leader, was the only one to obey, and his stone proved fatal. The Paulicians were then distributed among various Churches, in the hope that, when dispersed, they would abandon their errors. So far from this being the case, they made converts of others, and among them of their persecutor Symeon, who, after making his report to the Emperor, secretly left Constantinople and set himself at the head of the Paulicians under the name of Titus. A dispute between him and Justus as to the interpretation of Col. i. 16, made Justus appeal to the Bishop of Colonia; and this appeal had the effect, and perhaps was intended to have the effect, of once more attracting the attention of the Emperor to the revival and spread of the sect. Justinian II. ordered that all Paulicians should be arrested, and that those who refused to abjure their opinions should be put to death. A scaffold was erected on the spot where Constantine had been stoned, and there Symeon and many of his followers were executed A.D. 690.

There was, perhaps, more excuse for the persecution of the sect by the emissaries of Michael I. (A.D. 811-813) and Leo the Armenian (813-820). About that time a creature of the name of Baanes, to whom was given the appropriate designation of

"the Filthy" (ὁ βυπαρός), was head of the Paulicians. Like Carpocrates, he was a man of abominable private life, and advocated sensuality of the most shameless kind upon principle. No doubt there were plenty of people ready to adopt such teaching, and the hideous immorality which was the result excused, if it did not justify, the violent measures which were taken to stamp out the mischief.

Baanes the Filthy was followed by a man of a very different stamp. In the double-edged sarcasm of Gibbon¹: "The virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians." By carefully keeping in the background those Paulician tenets which plainly contradicted Scripture, and by clothing the rest in Scriptural language, he won many adherents; but his attempts to counteract the grossly immoral teaching of Baanes caused a schism among the Paulicians. Swords were drawn, and many Baanites were slain. To the outside world Sergius called himself Tychicus, the disciple of the Apostle; to the initiated he professed to be the Paraclete. Many clergy, monks, and nuns joined him, and women and children left their homes to follow him. Not a few of these were taken as slaves by the Saracens, or in other ways perished miserably. In A.D. 835 Sergius himself was slain.

The fact that the Paulicians were iconoclasts made some of the iconoclast Emperors inclined to favour them; but when the Empress Theodora threw her influence on the other side, and restored images in the churches, the worst times of the Paulicians began. To those of them who had not taken refuge among the Saracens, and externally conformed to Mahometanism, she offered the alternative of a profession of orthodoxy or death; and the Greek historians, probably with some exaggeration, estimate the numbers of those whom her commissioners put to death at 100,000. First Carbeas, and then Chrysocheres, his son-in-law, headed the Paulicians who were under Saracen protection, and inflicted very heavy losses upon the Greeks. But in A.D. 872 their army was overtaken as it was returning laden with Greek spoil, and utterly routed. Chrysocheres was slain,

¹ It is of interest to remember that Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" was one of the first English works which the young Von Döllinger read at the time when he was learning the language. The study of it no doubt did something, and perhaps a good deal, towards strengthening the passion for historical study which has been one of his chief characteristics. Dr. Döllinger admired Gibbon, but thought him greatly wanting in the power of throwing himself back in thought to the times which he described. Everything was judged from the point of view of himself and his own surroundings. (See two very interesting papers on "Dr. Döllinger" by "H. P. L." and "R. B." in the *Guardian* of January 22, 1890.)

and the Paulician stronghold Tephrika was destroyed. The sect still continued to exist, but it never recovered from this blow. In 1116 we find large numbers of them being converted, not by persecution, but by argument. After that the sect gradually sank into obscurity.

The doctrines of the Paulicians are not easily determined beyond a certain point. We are dependent upon orthodox historians, such as Petrus Siculus, Cedrenus, and Photius, and they give only meagre information, and that, perhaps, not very accurate. The Paulicians were reticent, and fond of ambiguous language, and their opponents were prejudiced. But there is no doubt that their main principle was Dualism of the grossest kind. They believed in two gods, of whom one was evil; and it was the latter who created the human body and the material universe, whence he is called "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4). Hence they denied or explained away the Incarnation and the Passion, decried Mary, and detested the Cross. They retained the formula of the Trinity, but in what sense it is not easy to ascertain. While honouring St. Paul, they abominated St. Peter, and rejected both the epistles which bear his name. Baptism and the Eucharist, as involving material elements, they repudiated; the true bread and wine were Christ's doctrines. They called themselves "Christians," and the Catholics "Romans."

As the Paulicians form the chief connecting-link between primitive and mediæval Gnosticism and Manichæism, so the obscure sect, which was founded towards the end of the eleventh century by the fanatic Tanchelm, serves to connect the early Donatists with the later Waldenses. No Gnostic elements appear in his teaching, any more than in the nearly contemporary Eon de l'Etoile. He combines the principles of the Donatists and the violence of the Circumcellions with the blasphemous licentiousness which disfigures not a few of these mediæval fanatics.

Tanchelm was an illiterate layman, gifted with great powers of popular oratory, who, for some purpose not recorded, went to Rome from the Lower Rhine, in company with a priest named Everwacher. On his return, he came forward in Flanders and the neighbouring countries as the preacher of a new religion. The main element in this was the old Donatist doctrine, that the efficacy of the Sacraments depends upon the spiritual character of the minister—a principle which, at whatever period it has appeared, has always proved a most powerful weapon in the hands of religious demagogues, and a mighty lever for detaching large bodies of men from the Church. No man can give what he does not possess; *therefore* an unholy cleric cannot administer holy Sacraments—a fallacy which assumes that

the minister is not a channel, but a source. Tanchelm maintained that in the general immorality of the clergy the Apostolic succession had been lost. Ordinations by unworthy Bishops were mere sacrilegious ceremonies: and the same might be said of the Sacraments administered by unworthy priests. Such things polluted rather than sanctified those who received them.

The condition of the Church in those districts was only too favourable to such principles. In the great city of Antwerp there was only one priest, and he was living in incestuous intercourse with his niece. The struggle against the concubinage and simony of the clergy had begun, and the Popes themselves had sometimes exhorted the people not to frequent services conducted by shameless priests. From these exhortations to the position that the ministrations of such priests were invalid was not a long journey; for if they were valid, why should the people shun them? And thus Tanchelm's doctrine seemed to be only the natural conclusion of what was openly preached in the Pope's name. When he went on to argue that clergy, whose ministrations were worthless, ought not to be paid, and that no tithe ought to be rendered to them, he found many ready disciples.

His success turned his head, or perhaps quickened germs of madness in him. He bedizened himself with gold and jewels, assumed a bodyguard of 3,000 armed men, terrorized the whole neighbourhood, and caused those who appeared before him without accepting his tenets to be hewn in pieces. With his fanatical followers, men and women, he could do what he pleased; and his conduct towards the latter, married and unmarried alike, was monstrous. He proclaimed himself the equal of Christ, and was believed. The ground on which he had trodden was accounted holy; the water in which he had washed was kept as a relic or drunk as a charm; and a church was erected in his honour. He entertained his followers royally; and as that involved a large outlay, he had himself publicly married to the Virgin Mary, for whom an image stood as proxy, and enriched himself with the wedding presents which were made to him. At last he was imprisoned by the Archbishop of Cologne, and when he escaped was put to death by a priest, A.D. 1115. "*Qui tandem post multos errores et multas cædes dum navigaret, a quodam Presbytero percussus in cerebro, occubuit,*" are the words of the old chronicler, as if he were relieved to have done with him. He adds, however: "*Sed nec post ejus mortem error ipsius tam facile extirpari potuit.*"¹ St. Norbert converted a great many of the Tanchelmians, but they did not for some time become extinct. The principle that Sacraments administered by unworthy clerics are null and void reappears again and again.

¹ "*Roberti Appendix ad Sigebertum, Recueil des Hist. des Gaules et de la France,*" xiii., p. 328; comp. pp. 108 266.

Eon or Eudo de l'Etoile, was another fanatic of a similar kind, who appeared about the same time in Brittany, and had considerable success. He was probably less of a rogue and more of a madman than Tanchelm. He claimed to be the Son of God, and the Judge of quick and dead. In the formula of exorcism occur the words: "Per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos"; and when these words were said in church, the "eum" sounded like "Eon," and Eon said that it was he who was thus mentioned. As a newly-incarnate Christ he appointed Apostles and ordained Bishops, but at last was taken prisoner in the diocese of Rheims, and in 1148 was condemned by a synod to be imprisoned: and in prison he died. There is much discussion as to whether a treatise by Hugo d'Amiens, who was Archbishop of Rouen 1130 to 1164, is directed against the Eonians or not. If it is, then we know a good deal about their doctrines: if it is not, then another wild sect, mentioned by no one else, has to be added to the list. No one who mentions the Eonians says that Hugo wrote against them; and Hugo does not mention that their leader claimed to be the Son of God, a point which no writer would be likely to omit.

These specimens will give some idea of the contents of the first volume. It would not be easy by means of quotations to convey any clear idea of the seventy-three documents contained in the second volume; and all of them are too long to be given entire. Most of them illustrate the history of the Albigenses and Waldenses. They are acts of the Inquisition, or accounts of other trials, or notes or treatises made by private individuals, or confessions by members of the sect, and so forth; forming a treasure-house of information for the student and the historian rather than material for an article or review. These documents prove conclusively that "the ages of faith" have a dark side in the very field of faith itself. Scarcely anything seems to be too monstrous to be believed. An avaricious and sensual clergy prepare the way for perpetual revolts against the religion which they are supposed to teach, and there is scarcely any limit to the wildness both in thought and in action which the revolts may exhibit. Nor are these phenomena peculiar to the Middle Ages. Anyone who has studied the history of Mormonism from its foundation by Joseph Smith, or the worship of Humanity from its foundation by Comte, will be ready to admit that the limits to delusion in matters of religion are very ample indeed.

It was his intimate knowledge of the history of sects and schisms, and of the obstacle which they are to the spread of Christian truth, which gave Dr. Döllinger such a horror of divisions, and such an ardent longing to help towards the reunion of Christendom. Hence his dread that the organization of the Old Catholics would add one more to the grievous rents

in Christ's robe, and his refusal to give it the sanction of his adherence.¹ Hence his noble efforts to bring about a better understanding between Eastern and Western Churches in the Reunion Conferences at Bonn. The fruits of his lifelong struggle for truth and unity are not lost by his death. The richest of them are still to come. And every Christian, by endeavouring to avoid all bitterness, and to acquire more perfect knowledge of the truth for himself and others, can do something to hasten and to increase the harvest.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

ART. II.—THE "TWO IMMUTABLE THINGS."

HEB. vi. 17, 18.

περισσότερον βουλόμενος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιδειῖται τοῖς κληρονόμοις τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐμεσίτησεν ἕρκω, ἵνα διὰ δύο πραγμάτων ἀμεταθέτων, ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεῦσασθαι τὸν Θεόν, ἰσχυρὰν παράκλησιν ἔχωμεν οἱ καταφυγόντες κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος.

"God, being minded to show more abundantly unto the heirs of the promise the immutability of His counsel, interposed with (or rather, *gave security by*) an oath, that by *two immutable things*, in which it is impossible for God to lie, we may have a strong encouragement, who have fled for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before us."

A GREAT deal of difficulty has been found or made in this passage, especially as regards the "*two immutable things*," through or by means of which it was intended that we, who have fled for refuge to take hold of the hope laid before us, should have a strong encouragement. It seems to me that commentators have steadily and resolutely closed their eyes to the real argument of the writer, and have sought, and sought in vain, for the "*two immutable things*" in the immediate context. The original promise to Abraham was made in Gen. xii. 3, containing the words, "In thee shall all the families of the earth be

¹ That this refusal had nothing to do with any doubts about the Vatican decrees is shown by the following extract from a letter to Dr. Nevin in 1879:—"I have only three weeks ago published a lecture (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 6, 7, 8), in which I state in so many words that nobody possessing a scientific culture of mind can ever accept the decrees of the Vatican Council. Having devoted during the last nine years my time principally to the renewed study of all the questions connected with the history of the Popes and the councils, and, I may say, gone again over the whole ground of ecclesiastical history, the result is that the proofs of the falsehood of the Vatican decrees amount to a demonstration. When I am told that I must swear to the truth of those doctrines, my feeling is just as if I were asked to swear that two and two make five, and not four."

blessed." This promise was repeated for the seventh and last time after Abraham had exhibited his faith by "not withholding his son, his only son," and was then solemnly confirmed by an oath: "By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord;" when almost the same words reappear which we read in the original promise: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xxii. 18). But between the beginning of the twelfth and the twenty-third chapters the promise was repeated no less than *five* times, Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 14-17; xv. 1-21; xvii. 1-19 (along with the institution of circumcision as a token of the covenant); and xxi. 10-14; though without the comprehensive words above quoted, which undoubtedly possess the highest interest for *us*, though probably such was not their position in the mind of Abraham. These occur only in the first and last definite promises on the part of God.

It is quite evident that the *oath* of God is one of the immutable things thus mentioned by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but how can the promise, seven times repeated and once confirmed by an oath, stand on a level with the one oath solemnly sworn in "confirmation of it," and be reasonably looked upon as the other immutable thing? Indeed, if the promise had in itself been an immutable thing, it could scarcely have needed the confirmation of an oath at all. Surely the promise cannot stand on the same level as the oath, and we must seek elsewhere for the *other*, I do not say the *second*, immutable thing. Nor do I think we shall have much trouble in seeking and finding it.

It is to my mind very strange that it has never occurred to anyone to inquire whether God gave Abraham any other security, "in which it was impossible that God should lie," besides that of the oath, distinctly mentioned by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But if we look carefully over the history of Abram, as related in the Book of Genesis, we cannot avoid observing that God *did* give such additional assurance to him, and that at his own request. In Gen. xv. 5, *sqq.*, we read:

And He brought him forth abroad, and said: Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and He said unto him, So shall thy seed be. And he believed in the Lord; and He counted it to him for righteousness. And He said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it. And he said: *Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?* And He said unto him: Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove, and a young pigeon. And he took him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each half over against the other: but the birds divided he not. . . . And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him. . . . And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a

smoking furnace, and a flaming torch that passed between these pieces. *In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram.*

It is plain, then, that God first gave Abram, at his own request, the assurance of a covenant made with sacrifice, and afterwards, when his name had been changed to Abraham, unasked, the further security of an oath, thus granting him the security of "two immutable things, wherein it was impossible that God should lie." We must remember, too, that God regularly acted as a man of the day in his dealings with men, and that a man's bare word or promise was not considered as of much value among the men of those early days, whose main dependence was either upon oaths or covenants ratified by sacrifice, or both.

For Scripture illustrations of this reliance on covenants made by sacrifice, we cannot find anything stronger than the covenant above cited, made by God with Abram (Gen. xv.), and the remarkable endeavour of the Jews to renew their covenant with God described in Jer. xxxiv. 18-20 :

And I will give the men that have transgressed My covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they made before Me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof, the princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and all the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf : I will even give them into the hands of their enemies, and into the hands of them that seek their life : and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth.

Add to these the expressions in Ps. l. 5 : "Gather My saints together unto Me, those that have made a covenant with Me by (*lit.* over) sacrifice ;" and I think the importance of covenants made or ratified by sacrifice will be fully established, even without relying on Heb. ix. 18 : "Wherefore even the first covenant is represented as not having been inaugurated without blood."

As regards heathen sacrifices for purposes of assurance in historical times, I may cite a passage from Livy (xxi. 45), in which, after relating the promises made by Hannibal to his auxiliaries, he goes on to say :

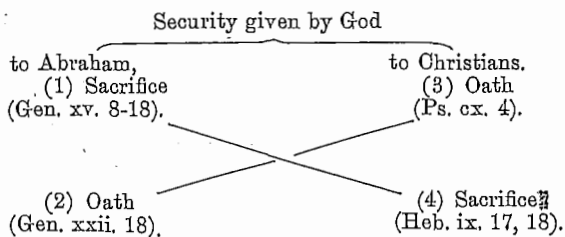
And that they might know those promises to be safe and certain, holding a lamb with his left hand, and a flint in his right, he prayed Jupiter, and all the other gods, that if he did not keep his promise, so might they slay him as he slew the lamb. After the prayer he cleft the head of the animal with the flint.

Covenants made by oaths are very numerous. It will be sufficient to mention those made by Abraham and Isaac respectively with Abimelech at Beersheba (the well of the oath) in Gen. xx. 22-32, and Gen. xxvi. 26-33.

Having thus seen that God gave to Abraham and his successors, and thus to ourselves, the descendants of the faith of

Abraham (Rom. iv. 16), the assurance of *two* immutable things, (1) a covenant made by sacrifice, and (2) an oath, I think we shall find that the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews will develop itself in this way, viz., that God has given Christians the similar security of an oath and a covenant made by sacrifice, but in the converse order to that in which he gave them to Abraham, the oath being that in Ps. cx. 4: "The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech," and the sacrifice being that of Christ Himself (Heb. ix. 16, 17). Thus the Christian covenant is also guaranteed by "two immutable things, in which it is impossible that God should lie."

The relation between the security given by God to Abraham and that given to Christians, may be represented in the form of an "inverse chiasm."¹



The question of the sacrifice indicated in Heb. ix. 17, 18 cannot be fully gone into here, but will be further investigated in an article, "Covenant *versus* Testament," already advertised to appear in the CHURCHMAN.

Let me now translate the whole passage (Heb. vi. 13-18), taking the Revised Version as my basis, but altering several expressions, both for the sake of terseness and also in order to bring out the argument, as I understand it, with greater force.

For God, on making the promise to Abraham, since He could swear by none greater, sware by Himself, saying: Surely blessing will I bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee. And thus, having patiently endured, he obtained the promise. For men swear by the greater; and an oath for assurance is to them the end of every dispute. Wherein God, wishing to exhibit more abundantly to the inheritors of the promise the immutability of His counsel, gave security by an oath; that by two immutable things [of which the oath was the second and the earlier sacrifice the first], in which it was impossible that God should lie, we might have a strong encouragement, who have fled for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before us.

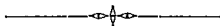
I have avoided the words "interposed" and "mediated," as they are not proper legal terms, but merely clumsy attempts to

¹ An inverse chiasm is when of four things related together the first corresponds to the fourth, and the second to the third.

render the original, in the first case by an ordinary term, and in the second by a servile literal translation. I have done this on the strength of two passages quoted in Thayer's "Grimm's Lexicon," one from Josephus, Ant. iv. 6, 7: "These things they said, swearing oaths, and making God guarantor (*μεσότην*) of what they were promising," and the other from Philo, de Spec. legg. II. 7: An unseen God undoubtedly acts as guarantor or surety (*μεσότης*) to an unseen matter."

But be that as it may, I hope I have demonstrated that God actually did give Abraham the security "of two immutable things, in which it was impossible that God should lie," first, that of a covenant made or ratified by sacrifice, and, second, that of an oath solemnly sworn by Himself, and that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews mentions expressly only the second of these two things, expecting his readers to be well versed in the history of Abraham, and to bear the first of them in mind, without needing to be specially reminded of it.

A. W. WRATISLAW.



ART. III.—FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

FINALITY in translation is not to be attained—at least, in this generation. Of the great European languages, not one has settled the form in which the inspired text of the Hebrew and Greek is to be placed before the unlearned. English is still on the anvil. I received lately a prospectus of a proposed translation in the vulgar tongue, such as people ordinarily speak, and newspapers write. In Germany Luther's translation is undergoing revision. In Holland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal new translations are in progress. Considering how much hidden meaning is extracted from the original, which is not patent on the surface, it may probably end in a plurality of translations obtaining a currency, which, from one point of view, though not every point of view, is to be regretted. Other causes are at work. An edition of the English New Testament is threatened with distinct utterance on the Baptist question, and the words "John the Dipper" and "total immersion" will take the place of "Baptist" and "Baptism." In the French versions we have the startling variation in the rendering of the word "priest" in the New Testament as applied to the officers of the Christian Church—"sacrificateur" in one case and "prêtre" in the other. This brings me back to the direct subject of my essay.

The French language is spoken in the greater part of France,

in Belgium, in Switzerland, in a certain portion of Italy; in the Channel Islands, the Island of Mauritius, and a portion of Canada in the British Empire; in Louisiana of the United States, and in the French colonies in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, as part of their colonial system is to introduce the French language into schools.

As early as the twelfth century A.D. attempts were made in France to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular, and publish books of Scripture History. About 1530 A.D. a version of the entire Scriptures was published at Antwerp by Jacobus Faber, Stapulensis; this went through editions and reprints, and held its own. Other independent translations were made in Switzerland and France; but two superseded all the rest, and are used to this day. De Sacy and other Port Royalists made a new version of the New Testament from the Vulgate, and it was printed by the Elzevirs at Amsterdam, 1667 A.D. Being thrown into prison by the Jesuits, he translated the Old Testament in prison, and finished his work on the eve of his liberation, 1668 A.D. This was considered the most perfect version in the French language. In 1724 Ostervald revised the translation made at Geneva in 1588; he was a Lutheran pastor. One or other, or both, of these last two, revised over and over again, are now circulated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. De Sacy's version is preferred by Roman Catholics, and, I regret to say, is still circulated with a recommendatory Imprimatur of a French Archbishop, which, considering that the feeling of the Romish Church has been greatly altered on the subject, and that the version has been somewhat modified, is to be regretted. The Word of God requires no recommendation from priest or king, Church or Parliament. They exist through it; it will continue to exist long after they have passed away.

Neither of the versions in use gave entire satisfaction; far from it. Some objected to the version of De Sacy because it was from the Vulgate, and inaccurately called a Roman Catholic translation; others objected to Ostervald because of the inferiority of its style. It is noteworthy that in the first verse of St. John's Gospel De Sacy uses the word "Verbe" for *Λογος*, and Ostervald "Parole." This may be deemed a fair indication of the spirit of the two translations.

In 1873 Dr. Louis Segond published his entirely new translation of the whole Bible from Hebrew and Greek at Lausanne, in Switzerland. In the preface he gives in detail his reasons and his principles. The chief reason was, that the Geneva translation, which was the household treasure of the Swiss Churches, was not from the original texts, but from the Vulgate; that it had been repeatedly revised, but was still far from per-

fect; in fact, the same reason led him to make an entirely new translation, which had led Jerome centuries earlier to make his celebrated translation, known as the Vulgate. His principles of translation were exactness, clearness, and accuracy, with a good literary style and religious turn of expression. If his translation upset any preconceived dogma, he could not help it; *so much the worse for the dogma*. A correct translation rests on a philological, not a theological, basis. The division into chapters and verses is dispensed with; the figures indicative of both appear in the margin to facilitate reference. The notes are philological; the poetic writings are printed in a manner totally distinct from the prose, upon a principle carefully explained by the translator. The result is a translation of a most fascinating character, and which has met with a most favourable reception. As long as Dr. Segond lived, he allowed no changes to be made, but since his death this has become possible. As it has never been authoritatively accepted by any Protestant Church, the British and Foreign Bible Society have been unable to place it on their lists; and another and more formidable reason for not adopting it is the startling novelty of some of its translations. Take, for instance, Isaiah vii. 14. "A virgin shall conceive," etc., is rendered, "*Voici la jeune femme deviendra enceinte*," etc. No doubt the word used in this passage in the Hebrew original is not the regular word for a "virgin" used elsewhere, and is susceptible of the translation made by Segond; but the Septuagint, written 150 years before Christ, has fixed for ever the interpretation adopted by the Jews: *ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται*. Such a translation cannot be accepted until it has been carefully revised, and purged of such novelties, shaking the very foundation of our faith, and running counter to long and deeply-cherished opinions.

Thus the translations available in French-speaking countries were three: De Sacy, Ostervald, and Segond. A version by Martin, a predecessor of Ostervald, is still on the list, but is of no practical value.

To the surprise of the religious world, a new translation appeared in 1877, and in July, 1884, in the issue of the *Missions Catholiques*, the Roman Catholic weekly published at Lyons, appeared the following, headed "La Sainte Bible":

Traduction nouvelle avec notes, approuvée par la commission d'examen nommée par le Souverain Pontife, par M. l'abbé Glaire, ancien Doyen de la Faculté de théologie.—4 volumes in-18 brochés: 10 fr.

Il manquait aux familles catholiques une Bible *sûre et autorisée*. M. l'abbé Glaire, en publiant cette traduction à laquelle il s'était préparé par plus de quarante années d'une étude continue des langues et de la science biblique, a largement comblé cette lacune.

Ajoutons qu'à la demande signée de cinquante-cinq évêques, le Souverain Pontife a daigné nommer une commission d'examen qui accordé à

cette nouvelle version sa haute approbation. D'un format *portatif* et élégant, ornée de jolies gravures sur acier, cette Bible sera un des cadeaux les mieux appropriés aux personnes chrétiennes.

I sent for a copy, and reviewed it as follows in the monthly periodical of the British and Foreign Bible Society :

In a late number of the *Missions Catholiques*, the weekly organ of French Roman Catholic Missions, appeared a notice strongly recommending the faithful to supply themselves with a copy of the French translation of the whole Bible, lately made by l'Abbé J. B. Glaire, and published under the special sanction of the French Episcopate, and the written authorization of Pope Pius IX.

On July 5th, 1870, the assembled Bishops of France addressed the Pope to this effect :

"Profoundly afflicted to see the Protestants supplying Catholic families with Bibles to an alarming extent, and exerting in this way a great influence by lowering in their eyes our holy dogmas, and attracting children to their schools, the assembled Bishops, desirous of arresting so great an evil, petition your Holiness to examine the French translation of the Old Testament, made by l'Abbé Glaire, and give it your imprimatur.

"One cannot doubt, that this will be a powerful means of arresting the progress of the evil, experience having already proved, that the publication of the New Testament by the same author, and previously authorized by your Holiness, has produced most salutary fruits.

"It is incontestable, that nothing in the present time can prevent the reading of the entire Bible in the world. Is it not, then, a great advantage to substitute a faithful and authorized version to translations which are incorrect, and which have no ecclesiastical approbation ?

"In short, a French Bible, authorized by the Pope, will deprive the Protestants of all pretext for accusing unjustly the Catholic Church of cutting off the faithful from the Word of God."

The Pope, on January 22nd, 1873, after an interval of two and a half years, authorized the proposal on these conditions :

- I. The version is to be an exact translation of the Latin Vulgate.
- II. Nothing in it is to be contrary to faith or morals.
- III. The notes are to be taken from the Fathers of the Church, or from learned Catholics, under the decree of the Congregation of the Index.
- IV. The license now given to the French Bishops is not to be deemed as a formal and solemn approbation of the French translation.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux declared, on March 4th, 1873 : "That the translation made by M. Glaire was a correct rendering of the Latin Vulgate, and that he and the Bishops were convinced, that it would be of great use to the faithful, and that it would with advantage replace all translations previously existing, for the correctness of which there was not the same guarantee." The Archbishop of Paris expressed similar opinions. The Archbishop of Bruges added the following remarks : "That the Latin text was interpreted when required by the original text (Hebrew), and accompanied by explicatory notes, as required by the Council of Trent. He considered this new version more faithful than most of the French versions, and satisfying the requirement, long felt in France, of a sure and authorized translation, which can be put without danger into the hands of the faithful."

The translator modestly tells us, that he had prepared himself for the duty by forty years' study, and that he approached the difficult task with great diffidence. He had wished to make use of the translation of Sacy,

but found that Sacy was a paraphraser rather than a translator. He could have nothing to say to the translation of Genoude, which did not adhere to the Latin Vulgate, but abandoned it *occasionally for the Hebrew and Greek.*

He had tried to make use of the translations of Bishop Bossuet, but found that, with all his prodigious erudition, Bossuet was ignorant of Hebrew, which he (the translator) *deemed indispensable for Scripture exegesis!*

He had rendered, where possible, word for word, with a view to preserve the admirable simplicity of the Bible, to imitate the example of St. Jerome, who made his version a literal one, and so evidence his respect for the Word of God. He wished his translation to preserve all the linguistic peculiarities of the Hebrew and Greek.

All the remarks of the translator indicate patient research and humility. He quotes, perhaps unnecessarily, a number of opinions of competent critics and Protestant divines, in favour of the excellence of the Latin Vulgate. There is no question of the extreme value of that venerable translation, which clearly points to the existence of Hebrew texts, which were available to St. Jerome, but have since perished.

It was the Latin Vulgate, that converted Luther and Melancthon; and if M. Glaire's is a faithful literal version of the Vulgate, the Holy Spirit will use it for new conquests. All that Protestants ask is, that the Bible should have free course in the language understood by the people; and the great charge against the Church of Rome is, that it would not allow this, and against the ignorant priesthood of countries in a lower state of civilization than France, that they destroyed the Bible when it came into their hands and called it "*a cursed book.*" It will be observed that the Romish Church do not permit a Bible to be published in any vernacular without notes, and these notes are to be quotations from the works of Church authorities. Thus the whole Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate, has become accessible to every Frenchman who can afford ten francs. It is the conscientious work of a learned ecclesiastic, who fortified himself in his translations by reference to the Hebrew and Greek.

But a greater surprise was in store. In 1886, at Paris, was published a book with the title: "*Les Saintes Évangiles, traduction nouvelle par Henri Lasserre, publiée avec l'Imprimatur de l'Archevêche de Paris.*"

In the "*Monthly Reporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society*" of April, 1887, appeared the following remark:

Its interest to the friends of the Bible Society lies in this, that it chronicles another effort on the part of members of the Roman Catholic body to supply themselves with the documents of the faith in the vernacular, with which efforts the Society has always sympathized; and, moreover, by the quotation of the exact words of the Paris correspondent, it gives to Protestants an interesting view of current French Roman Catholic opinion in the circles in which the mere *littérateur* moves. It is a strange thing to observe, that the Bible, and all that concerns the history of the Bible, though lying in the main road of human progress, is every now and then "*discovered*" by some Frenchman or Italian, as if it were a new thing, and announced to the world with much flourish, as if Diodati, and Martini, and Olivétan, and Ostervald, and Valera, and Scio had never lived at all.

The book had then passed through nine editions, but a strange romance was destined to surround this version.

It is dedicated to "Notre Dame de Lourdes," described as the "Reine du Ciel," and the healer of the translator's blindness. The same author, who undertook with success the translation of the Four Gospels, had already written the history of the Greatest Lie of the Century, the Imposture at Lourdes, which I have lately visited, and an account of the visions seen by the poor peasant girl Bernadette, to whom the Virgin is said to have appeared. It must be recollected that this new cultus is not of the Virgin Mother with her Holy Child in her arms, which originated as an assertion of the great truth of the congenital Divinity of our Lord, but it is the worship of a beautiful young woman, as she appeared before the Holy Ghost overshadowed her; in fact, the reappearance in Christian form of the old worship of Lucina, and other female divinities of the Latin races in pre-Christian times.

The translation is preceded by a long preface, with the dates 1872-1886 attached to it. On the title-page is the notice: "Publiée avec l'Imprimatur de l'Archevêché de Paris." The names of publishers at Paris, Brussels, and Geneva are attached to it, and the following notice of it appeared in a Roman Catholic journal under date December 4, 1886, explaining its objects, methods, and peculiar features:

This translation of the Gospels, which contains the germs of a religious revolution, has been made after a new method. All the French versions that we have are a copy (*décalque*) of the Latin, Latin Frenchified, Latin words translated into French words, but by no means participating in the genius of the French language. So that the translations make the Scriptures illegible and often incomprehensible.

The great mass of the faithful do not know Latin, and can only read the Gospels in the French translation. As M. Lasserre says in his preface, "Most of the faithful only know of the Divine Book fragments reproduced in the Parroissien (Prayer-book), without logical or chronological order, in the Mass for festivals and Sundays; we believe we do not exaggerate," he adds, "in stating that there are not perhaps on an average three Catholics (*fidèles*) in each parish, who have got beyond that vague notion, and who even once in their whole lives have endeavoured to follow and study in its harmonious whole, and in the quadruple form given it by the Evangelists, the complete history of the Man-God. What an astonishing and painful contrast! while continuing to be the most illustrious book in the whole world, the Gospel has become an ignored book."

One can indeed say that the French are not acquainted with the Gospel; it is for them a dead book, of which they have read a few fragments, which they did not understand or which they found wearisome. So that their religious instruction and their religious education are second-hand, and their religious feelings are not drawn from the fountain source. Hence that deformation of religion of which the bishops have often complained, without being able to remedy it, because the number of those who are not content with the coal-heaver's faith, and who like to discuss religious questions, is becoming greater and greater, and they are completely ignorant of the Gospel.

Now, without paraphrasing the text, but without translating it

servilely, by translating it so that the genius of the French language shall take the place of the genius of the Latin language, instead of being in that chopped, hopping, rebus-like style which characterizes all existing translations, M. Lasserre has made of the Gospel a book, which anyone can read readily, understand and admire.

The distribution of the Gospel into chapters dates from the thirteenth century, and was the work of Cardinal Hugues de St. Victor; and the division into verses was only introduced in the sixteenth century by the celebrated Parisian printer, R. Estienne (Robert Stephen).

"By transferring to the translations in the vulgar tongue," says M. Lasserre in his preface, "these divisions of the printer Estienne; by introducing into the discourses of the Saviour and into the narrative of the Evangelists these perpetual and brutal choppings (*hachures*), which disturb the mind as well as the eye, by imposing on the mind without necessity or benefit, this march constantly arrested and resumed, this abrupt and jerky gait;—the intrinsic charm, the profound and peaceful charm of the Book of Life has been more and more destroyed, in order to facilitate the labour of the learned, of exegetists and preachers, for whom these translations into the vulgar tongue were not made."

M. Lasserre has, therefore, returned to the old and primitive arrangement. His Gospels have the appearance of an ordinary book to be read in the same manner, save that the Gospels are the most beautiful book in the whole world, and can be read from one end to the other without fatigue or difficulty.

I have just made the trial, M. Lasserre having himself brought me his book, and I can certify that I experienced great literary pleasure, besides the religious pleasure I derived from it. I did not fancy that the Gospel, thus deprived of the savour Latin and Greek gave it, could be read with so much pleasure and so much ease, just as I could not have imagined M. Lasserre as a former artillery colonel, for it was the first time I saw him.

Now if the public take to reading this book—and I should be much astonished if it were not tempted to do so, it will see religion under quite a new light; it will be able to argue with some personal and direct knowledge of the subject, and a movement may arise which will end in a religious renovation.

This idea of making of the Gospel a book in the vulgar tongue, but readable and comprehensible, attractive and interesting, which a man of the world, or a beginner, a woman of fashion or a servant, may read, understand, enjoy and love without the help of anyone, merely through the clearness and charm of the translation, is really an original idea.

Such a book can certainly present disadvantages; among others, that of introducing free inquiry with the aid of authentic documents; but free inquiry with the aid of authentic documents is better than free inquiry at haphazard, like that of our days. But it will have the great advantage of teaching again religion to the French, of interesting them by giving them direct knowledge of it, and of bringing back the faithful to a participation in the things of the Church.

Such must have been Mgr. Richard's opinion, he who is prudence itself, when he gave his *imprimatur* to a book which, if only a faithful translation of the Gospel, is none the less a book of great boldness, seeing it is destined to charm, to instruct, to attach, to associate the people to religion and to the Church, and that though being the Gospel, the pure Gospel, it is nevertheless quite a new and unknown Gospel, a real revelation and revolution.—From the Paris Correspondent of the *Journal de Bruxelles*, December 4, 1886.

It is, indeed, a beautiful translation, and is so printed that it reads like a novel. The notes are reasonable in extent and expression. Of course the text is taken from the Vulgate; the Council of Trent has made that a necessity for the Church of Rome. The price was four francs, and the circulation remarkable. Moreover, the Pope Leo XIII., in an Italian letter, printed with a French translation in the volume through the Secretary of State, Cardinal Jacobini, on December 4th, 1886, acknowledged receipt of the copies of the translation sent by the authors from time to time, applauded the object which the translator had in view, sent his apostolic blessing and his hope that these objects, which he states in his preface, may be attained.

Had the translator invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit, or dedicated his work to the glory of the Holy Trinity, he might have attained a blessing; but none reached him, for it was dedicated, in a blind and servile manner, to the holy and humble-minded Mother of our Lord, the most blessed among women, concerning whom there is no mention in the Gospels that she was the Queen of Heaven, that she had power to work miracles, or extend grace and favour to those, who, forgetting the second commandment, worshipped her image. Thus being from its first page entangled in the maze of a falsehood, the book and the author have fallen into trouble, and the eyes of those, whose faith is based on the Bible alone, have been opened to certain peculiarities of the Romish Church.

And, as was to be expected in "a one-man" translation, there were manifest errors. I quote one (Matt. vi. 12):

Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation.

Under what possible view can the original Greek of these words be rendered?

Faites-nous remise de nos dettes, comme nous mêmes nous faisons remise à ceux qui doivent . . . *Toutefois ne nous mettez pas à l'épreuve.*

This means, without doubt: "I wish to be forgiven and be generous; all the same, do not put me to the test, for I know myself and my own frailty." This is a distortion of the Word of God, and justly condemned by Roman Catholics.

By a decree of the Sacred Congregation, dated December 19th, 1887, a little more than one year after the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Paris, dated November 11th, 1886, Lasserre's translation was placed on the Index of forbidden books, denounced as a book of degraded doctrine, the circulation of which is forbidden under spiritual penalties. And Lasserre, being in connection with the Romish Church, withdrew it from circula-

tion, after it had passed twenty-five editions, and been approved of by a large number of Bishops, and some of the most important members of the secular press.

But the withdrawal of the book did not leave matters in the same position as that which they occupied before its publication. This was forcibly put by a writer in the *Contemporary Review* of May, 1888 :

I. The Pope publicly approved of the book, and his letter is prefixed to all the copies. Can the Pope be placed on the Index ?

II. The Pope was declared by the General Council to be infallible in the discharge of his *teaching* office. Is not the approving of a vernacular translation of the Gospels part and parcel of his *teaching* ? What becomes of his infallibility ?

III. Under the decree of the Council of Trent it rests with the Bishop of each diocese to approve of translations of the Bible. The Archbishop has given his official approbation after a sufficient examination by the priests of St. Sulpice, and it may be a question whether he is not within his rights.

A side-light was let into the crooked councils of the Church of Rome, which is involved in a network of unholy intrigue. It has been proved beyond doubt, that the Scriptures are acceptable to the French nation, if the priests get over their fear of, and aversion to, the truth. The Bishops themselves have evidenced their appreciation of this work, which they must surely have read before they recorded their approbation.

The matter was not destined to rest there, for Richard Clarke, a Jesuit priest, of Farm Street, Berkeley Square, London, in 1889, published a sixpenny pamphlet at the Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, London, called "The Pope and the Bible, an Explanation of the Case of M. Lasserre, and of the Attitude of the Catholic Church to Popular Bible Reading." The book is interesting as written by an Englishman in the free atmosphere of English literature. Moreover, he had to take account of the presence of many Protestant converts, who are familiar with the Bible from their childhood, and men like Cardinals Manning and Newman, who are masters of the subject. An Italian or Spaniard in a country long cursed with an ignorant priesthood, and a laity totally uneducated in spiritual things, would have expressed himself differently. It is important to note the attitude asserted by a London Jesuit priest towards the Bible in the nineteenth century, and it must be recollected, that the practice in the different countries of the world, which practice is well known to those who are occupied in the work of Bible societies, differs very much from the academic utterances of a priest, who knows possibly nothing beyond London.

He lays down distinctly, that Papal infallibility extends

only to dogmatic decrees laid down for the whole Church in matters of faith and morals.

He remarks that in itself the spread of the Word of God is an unmixed good, but the perversity of men may turn to their own destruction this like every other good gift of God, and there may be times and places where it is necessary to place restriction on the distribution of the Scriptures.

He then proceeds to utter words which are inexact, and which he cannot prove, *that heretics have mistranslated the Bible for their own purposes*, or taken the open Bible as the watchword of heresy; in such and other cases prudence will put restriction on the use of the treasure so fatally employed by men to their own destruction. In Protestant translations there are indeed errors, inaccuracies, faults of scholarship, but I doubt whether any instance can be produced of an *intentional* rendering of a Hebrew or Greek word for *theological*, and not philological considerations. The rendering of "la jeune femme deviendra enceinte" shows how bold the translator is, reckless of the consequence, and deeming it cowardly to glide over a difficulty. Can we in good faith say the same of the Latin text which has come down to us, sadly corrupted by the copyists, under the name of the Vulgate of St. Jerome?

He lays down the principle that when once a book is placed on the Index, "the faithful" must not open the pages again without special permission, however much they may be attached to it, and although, as a matter of opinion, they do not agree in the condemnation, and do not think that the Congregation acted prudently or wisely in condemning it, and though they may in past years have derived solid good from the perusal of it. He must obey, and no doubt in the confessional he will have to state whether or no he has taken a peep at the contents of his old pocket companion. To such a miserable condition are even the educated and steady Catholics reduced in the nineteenth century!

Father Clarke tells us how the case stands betwixt his Church and the Bible. He maintains that his Church is not opposed to the study of the Bible, but has a right to control the use of it. Under the Council of Trent no Bible is to be read in the vernacular unless that translation receives ecclesiastical authorization, and have notes explanatory of difficult passages. As a fact, the Douay Bible is freely sold at a small price in Great Britain and Ireland. He admits that between the two extremes of exclusive and indiscriminate use, both of which are forbidden by his Church, there is a wide disputable ground on which the opinion of the faithful differ.

(1) Is it desirable to put the Bible in the hands of *all* the faithful?

- (2) Ought the young to be allowed to read it as they please?
- (3) Ought children to be encouraged to study the historical books of the Old Testament?
- (4) Should the prophetic books be generally used as books of devotion?
- (5) What portion should be withheld?
- (6) How far are priests to encourage the circulation of the Bible?
- (7) Are there some portions which it is their duty to place in the hands of the faithful?
- (8) Is there any obligation to see that the young are acquainted with the Bible?
- (9) Should abridged Bibles or extracts be prepared?
- (10) Are the laity bound to read the Bible, to teach their children, and distribute it among the poor at home and abroad, among Christians and non-Christians?

The pamphlet is not creditable to his honesty or his acumen. Casuistry—rightly called Jesuitical, unsupported assertions, unproved condemnations, unjustified abuse, dogmatism, an evident fear of inquiry, and the exposure which would accompany it, are the features of his production. It may convince uneducated laymen and women, but his clear object is to uphold sacerdotal power in the nineteenth century, to prevent people forming their own judgment on the most important subject, the way of salvation, to keep men and women in leading-strings, to prevent access to the Word of God in the original Greek and Latin, and by copious abuse of all religious men outside the Church of Rome, to drive men and women, who cannot swallow the mediæval unscriptural composite, called the "Christianity of Rome," into blank atheism or abandonment of all religion. Such is the condition of a majority of the educated classes in France, Italy and Spain. The whole design of his book is to prop up a class, who are to stand betwixt the people, and God, and be the only channels of divine truth.

If he indeed believes, and rightly believes, that the Bible contains the Word of God, and that the Holy Spirit can bring home to the heart of humble readers the blessed truths contained in the Bible, what need is there to restrict the reading to the Psalms in the Old Testament and the Gospels in the New Testament? He admits that, as a rule, Roman Catholics are strangely ignorant of the Bible, and averse to reading it, and that, on the other hand, Protestants have an enviable familiarity with the text. He chooses to assume, that this familiarity is only with the text and not with the spirit, that "all is surface and the heart not touched." Here the Jesuit is like the ostrich in the desert, which shuts its eyes that it may not see the adversary. Otherwise he could not be ignorant that the words

of the Bible are to thousands and tens of thousands in this island as their very life-blood, the main-spring of their actions, the leading note of their thoughts, the hope on the sick and dying bed, when all things are very real, the delight of youth, the stay of manhood, and the solace of old age. It is the one thing which the British people, to whatever phase of religious thought they belong, will surrender life rather than be deprived of, stinted in the supply of, or controlled in the use of.

ROBERT CUST.

Feb., 1890.



ART. IV.—THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

(Continued from page 265.)

IN the present paper we have to deal with our subject in relation to the teaching of the Ceremonial Law. And it may be best that we should state at the outset that we have chiefly in view here two forms of error demanding special attention at the present time, both tending, as we believe, in some measure and in some sense, to a depreciation, in faith's view, of the stupendous importance and the unspeakable benefits of the Death of Christ. The first of these errors is that which regards the great sacrifice of propitiation, the atonement-price for sin, as offered or paid, not on the Cross (or not only on the Cross), but afterwards in heaven. The second is that which, in view of the Old Testament Sacrifices, regards the shed blood which is said to make atonement as representing not the death, but the life after death, or liberated by death, of the sacrifice slain; or which attributes the sacrificial efficacy, not to the blood without the soul, but to the shed blood as animated by the soul.

The limitations of our space will make it impossible for us to follow these errors, as we might desire, into all the details of ceremonial interpretation in which they may be said to live. But we are disposed to think that they may be most effectually opposed by throwing upon them the light of other teachings. We desire, therefore, first of all, to call attention to certain truths leading to certain broad principles of interpretation which will be found to have a very important bearing upon the subject before us. It must not be said that thus we are touching only the fringe of the matter. Rather we are persuaded it is the fringe of the matter which we shall be obliged to leave comparatively untouched.

It must be remembered that we are still desiring to deal in a simple way with simple truths, for the benefit of minds of

ordinary intelligence seeking to be established in the faith and assurance of the Atonement of Christ's death—the Divine propitiation in His Blood.

In our last paper our aim was to show clearly that, according to the teaching of Holy Scripture, it is the death of Christ and that alone which (as a *pœna vicaria*) avails to take away the condemnation of the holy law of God (the moral law, holy and just and good), that so the sinner may be justified freely (*δωρεάν*, for nothing at all of his own) by the grace of God through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.

I. Starting, then, from the position to which we have thus attained, we must be allowed to set down as our first proposition in this present paper that—THE TEACHING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONCERNING THE RELATION OF CHRIST'S DEATH TO THE MORAL LAW HAS IN ITS NATURE A CLAIM TO GOVERN OUR INTERPRETATION OF ALL AMBIGUOUS TEACHINGS CONCERNING THE DEATH AND BLOOD-SHEDDING AND BLOOD-SPRINKLING DRAWN OUT FROM THE TYPICAL ANALOGIES OF THE CEREMONIAL LAW.

This is a statement which will hardly be disputed. It is little more than saying that what is obscurely seen in twilight may be more clearly seen in daylight. There is here no disparagement of the office and function of those ordinances connected with the Tabernacle which were made after the example and shadow of heavenly things, and all after a Divine pattern showed to Moses in the Mount. We are bound to recognise in the Jewish law of ceremonies an inspired school of preparation—the preparation of a chosen people for the good things to come in the revelation of the Gospel of Christ. In this training school of heavenly wisdom ideas were implanted, or developed, or established, which were to find their perfect accomplishment in the work of the Messiah. These ideas might be corrupted by human additions, or gross explanations, but the ideas themselves were of sacred origin, and were never to be dishonoured or cast aside. And so far the ceremonial law may be said, in some sense, to have a power to interpret the Gospel: so far, that is, as to bear witness against any vain attempts so to explain the work of Christ as to eliminate from it those very ideas which the preparatory ordinances had taught us to associate with it. But for anything like an explanation of the ideas there can be no doubt that they should be brought into the clearest light which we have to throw upon them. And beyond question the light of Christ, the light of His Gospel, the light of the Cross, seen in relation to the holy law of God, is clearer than the light which was shining before on the altar, and vessels, and the service of the sanctuary.¹

¹ "The doctrine of this Epistle (Heb.) plainly is, that the legal sacrifices were allusions to the great and final atonement to be made by the blood

Take for example the idea of *propitiation*. It is unquestionably an idea which was cultivated by the ceremonial law. It was an idea which, no doubt, Jewish minds were tempted to corrupt, even as the nations round about them had corrupted it. But the idea itself was no corruption, and its Divine sanction witnesses against all (alas! that there should be such) who would corrupt Christianity by attempting to exclude it, or evade it, or make void its meaning for us. Then where shall we seek such light upon the idea as shall save it from corruption? Doubtless there may have been light shining upon it through teachings from of old received by tradition from the Patriarchs—interpretations not unconnected with the ideas conveyed by the words *imputation*, *substitution*, and *pœna vicaria*. The probability that it was so will by many be regarded as amounting very nearly to a certainty. And if so, these explanations would certainly be confirmed and established by ordinances connected with the sacrifices of the Tabernacle.

But whatever flickering light may have been shining on the idea of propitiation in early ages pales before the teaching of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans.

We have seen already how, in St. Paul's teaching, the word "propitiation" stands as a connecting link, binding together the office and teaching of the moral and the ceremonial law. The idea of *propitiation*, taken from the shadows of the ceremonial law, is to find its truth, and true fulfilment, in the death of Christ; and in the death of Christ (and that alone) because it is *that* wherein God's righteousness is vindicated, and God's law established, while yet the sinner is justified in the sight of the righteous and holy God.

In the Epistle to the Romans the Apostle is dealing, not with the ceremonial, but with the moral law, and he shows that the death of Christ was in order to *this*: that God might be just, and yet the justifier of him, that is by the faith of Christ; in other words, that God might justly justify those whom His own holy law had justly condemned with a judgment according to truth, and, therefore, could not justify. And in view of this truth he calls the death of Christ a "propitiation." It is needless to repeat what has already been said in a previous paper concerning this noteworthy teaching. It suffices for our purpose to say that the light which thus shines on the idea of propitiation constrains us to connect it only and entirely with the death of Christ. It cannot be transferred from that to any past or present offering or presentation by the ascended Saviour in heaven of the Blood which had been shed on Calvary. It cannot be shifted to

of Christ, and not that this was an allusion to those" (Butler's "Analogy," Part II., ch. v., § 6, p. 208. Oxford: 1844). See Magee on "Atonement," Diss., No. lxi., p. 189 *sqq.*, edit. 1849.

any consecration to God of life raised from the dead. Viewed fairly in connection with the whole argument of the Apostle in the Epistle to the Romans, there ought to be no room for question that it is simply and only the death of Christ which, being accepted in heaven, causes that God can be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus. And therefore it is simply and only the death of Christ which is the propitiation—the atoning sacrifice for sin.

It was on the cross that the Incarnate Son of God was made a curse for us. It was by being made a curse for us that He redeemed us from the curse of the law.

II. Next let us direct attention to this proposition, that THE VIEW OF THE SACRIFICE ON THE CROSS AS THE ONLY PROPITIATION IS CONFIRMED BY A GREAT CONSENSUS OF TEACHING BOTH IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT, DIRECTING THE EYE OF FAITH TO THE DEATH OF CHRIST ALONE AS EFFECTING THE REDEMPTION, AND MAKING THE ATONEMENT REQUIRED BY THE SINS OF MEN.

It may very well be conceded that if certain parts of the ceremonial law, in their typical teaching, were our only informant concerning the propitiatory work of Christ, we might, not unnaturally, hesitate in assigning so prominent and exclusive a position to the Death, the blood-shedding of the one great Sacrifice for sin. We might question whether that position should not be shared with, or possibly given rather to, the offering or sprinkling, or to something corresponding in the antitype to the offering, or presenting, or sprinkling of the blood shed. Isolate one or two chapters of the Old Testament typical teaching concerning atonement, and let attention be directed to those alone, and we admit that a case may be made out and fairly maintained, for the contention that the ransom, or redemption-price, or the cost of atonement, was acquired on the cross, to be paid down by Christ in heaven, either (as some would say) once for all on His entering the true Holy of Holies, or (as others would teach) by a continual presentation, and sacrificial oblation.

It may be granted, also, that expressions are to be found which might seem to make admissible the view of the atoning blood presented on the altar, or in the most holy place, as typifying the Risen life, rather than the death of the Redeemer.¹

¹ Lev. xvii. 11 must, however, be interpreted in connection and in harmony with the declaration "without *shedding* of blood is no remission." If it is translated "I have given it (the blood) to you upon the altar to make atonement for your *nephesh*; for the blood makes atonement by the *nephesh*"—(ψυχή, not ζωή). See Moule's "Cleansing Blood," p. 23)—then the *nephesh* must be understood of the life laid down in the blood shed (See Dr. W. Saumarez Smith, "Blood of New Cov.," pp. 33, 35, 36, and Cremer's Lex. voc. *ψυχή*).

But the teaching of the ceremonial law is not our only informant concerning these matters. That teaching must be viewed in the light clearly shed upon it from other sources. And our contention is that, over and beyond the evidence from the connection between the cross of Christ and the moral law, there is abundant light from Divine revelation as a whole to make it quite clear that the teaching of the ceremonial law is to be so interpreted—and we maintain that it well admits such interpretation—that the atoning efficacy of the Great Sacrifice is to be seen as resulting only and altogether from the very death of Christ.

(1) We turn first to the Old Testament. (a.) It is not surely without its significance that the sacrifices of the Patriarchal age

In other words, it is the *death* which is to be offered and accepted for atonement. And seeing it is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sin, "the blood which God has promised as a *gift* for atonement must be some other blood than that of the Levitical sacrifices; and our Lord Himself has taught us *what* that blood is by saying, 'This is *My blood* which is *shed* for you and for many for the remission of sins' (Matt. xxvi. 28); and again, 'The Son of Man came . . . to give His life (*ψυχήν, nephesh, soul*) a ransom for many' (Matt. xx. 28) . . . Of which the Holy Spirit speaks by the prophet Isaiah (liii. 10), 'He made His soul (*nephesh*) an offering for sin.' And therefore St. Paul calls our Lord's sacrifice 'the testimony,' appointed for its proper season (*καιροῖς ἰδίαις*), as fulfilling all the ritual of the *testimony* in the Holy of Holies" (Bishop Wordsworth on Lev. xvii. 11).

The LXX. translate τὸ γὰρ αἷμα ἀντὶ ψυχῆς ἐξίλασται, which clearly points to substitutional death; atonement by life laid down for the life of the sinner (See Kurtz, pp. 71, 72).

Compare Clemens Rom. ad Cor., § 49. τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν . . . τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

The tendency of modern criticism has not been favourable to this interpretation (see Kurtz, Sac. W., pp. 71, 72). But though כָּפַר (= to cover) conveys the idea of *expiation*, and is not a verb "denoting purchase or barter," the LXX. version (though an error of translation) may be bearing witness to the truth (and to the Jewish apprehension of the truth) that *expiation* is by *substitution*. And this truth seems also to be conveyed or implied in the true interpretation of the Hebrews.

See Hengstenberg, "Christology of Old Test.," vol. ii., pp. 298, 299, 301. See also Keil and Delitzsch on Pent., vol. ii., p. 410.

The true view of the sacrificial blood appears to us to be well expressed by Dr. W. Saumarez Smith thus: "A prominent feature in connection with the Mosaic or Levitical institute of sacrifice was the value which was assigned to the symbolical nature, and to the Liturgical use of the blood of the sacrificial victims. The blood, as the vehicle of life, came to be recognised in sacrifices of animals as a sacred symbol of life that was offered up to God. It was, therefore, to be used with all reverence, and was to be regarded as efficacious (1) for purposes of expiation of sin, when the poured out blood (symbolizing the surrendered life) was presented to God in the appointed way, and (2) for purposes of cleansing and purification, when, having been presented, it was applied to persons, places, or things which needed consecration unto God" ("Blood of New Cov.," pp. 33, 34).

were altogether lacking (as far as we know) in those particulars which some would have us regard as the very central and essential constituents of propitiation. Our knowledge indeed of Patriarchal worship is limited; and too much has sometimes been added to our knowledge from conjecture. But for those who accept the records of the Old Testament as Divine, this much seems clear, that the Patriarchs were wont to offer lambs for burnt offerings¹ and burnt offerings with a view to propitiation.² They looked upon the *death* of the innocent victim, and we have good reason to believe they were not strangers to the notion of sacrificial substitution.³

¹ Isaac's question, Gen. xxii. 7, is sufficient evidence of this.

² Job i. 5, xlii. 8, are witness to this. It is not intended that this is *all* the significance of the burnt offering. At whatever date written, the book of Job must be regarded as giving faithful witness to pre-Mosaic conceptions of sacrifice. And it cannot be supposed that Job saw more in a burnt offering than the Patriarchs. Moreover, Job xlii. 8 is Divine attestation to the truth of expiation by burnt sacrifice and intercession accepted of God.

³ Attention may be given especially to the narrative of Gen. xv. 9 *sqq.*: "It has been said that the transaction was not a real sacrifice, as there was no sprinkling of blood, nor offering on an altar; but the essence of the true Hebrew sacrifice was in the slaying of the victim, for the very word זָבַח (Zebach, sacrifice) signifies *slaying*, and it was rather with the shedding of blood than with its sprinkling that atonement was made" (Bp. Harold Browne in "Speaker's Com.," on Gen. xv., p. 114).

Delitzsch, who considers the expression of Josephus (Ant. i. x. 3, *θυσίαν προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ*) as unsuitable, yet regards this as the narrative of "a sacrificial transaction" ("New Com.," on Gen., vol. ii., p. 13). He adds, "the animals slain and divided into pieces on the occasion of entering into covenants are also called in Latin and Greek *sepia* and *hostia*."

"The vicarious death of an animal for a man is most clearly expressed in Gen. xxii. 13 . . . in this case, at all events, the death of an animal did take place as a substitute for the death of a man, which was strictly required" (Kurtz, "Sac. Worship," p. 105).

The teaching of this sacrifice is all the more important because of its position in relation to the father of the faithful people and his promised seed. This offering of Isaac by Abraham was, in the Rabbinic view, the *substratum* of all sacrifices (See Edersheim, "Life of the Messiah," vol. i., p. 343).

This consideration should make us careful in what sense we understand such sayings as that the sprinkling of blood upon the altar is "the main point, the kernel and centre of the sacrifice" (Kurtz, "Sac. Worship," p. 127), and that not the death but "the blood which has passed through death" is the true medium of expiation. The sacred offering of the surrendered life to God should doubtless be regarded as, in some sense, the kernel of the sacrifice, and this, as represented in the Mosaic ritual, by the application of the blood to the altar (See Magee on "Atonement," pp. 80, 94). But in the original burnt offerings of patriarchal times, the victim appears to have been first placed whole and alive on the altar (Gen. viii. 20, xxii. 9), and the kernel of the sacrifice could hardly *then* have been in a ceremony which, as far as we know, had no place in pre-Mosaic offering.

Kurtz himself has very well said: "In opposition to the idea that the *shechitah* had no independent significance of its own, there rises, with

Now it is quite natural to suppose that the ordinances of a great national religious code of symbolical worship might make many and not unimportant additions to the simpler sacrificial

irresistible force, the *solemnity* of the act, its firm incorporation with the sacrificial ritual, and the necessity of its being performed on holy ground before Jehovah (Lev. i. 5, etc.), by the side of the altar, in the presence of the priest, and with his indispensable, and, therefore, certainly significant co-operation" (Kurtz, "Sac. Worship," p. 109). See also pp. 114, 115.

The view that the shechitah—the slaying—was nothing more than the means of acquiring that (the blood) which was to be afterwards used for propitiation, is inconsistent with the language of Lev. i. 5, etc. (see Kurtz, "Sac. Worship," p. 109), and can never stand before the prophetic explanation of sacrificial atonement in Isa. liii., and still less in the light of New Testament teachings. Against this view Kurtz has well insisted on the prominence and importance of the *shechitah*; but there is something of an inconsistency, as it seems to us, in his thus maintaining the high importance of the sacrificial slaying, and assigning to it the *pæna vicaria* of the offerer, and yet making it subservient to the sprinkling of the blood as the real expiation, if this offering of the blood be regarded as something altogether distinct from the offering of the sacrifice of death.

Let it be granted that in the ritual of the tabernacle the offering by the priest of the blood was regarded, and should be regarded, as the centre and kernel of the sacrifice.

But let it be submitted for consideration whether there are not various aspects of the death of Christ, which were shadowed forth by acts and circumstances, which in the Mosaic sacrifices were necessarily distinct and separate in time, though significant of that which, in its unity, knew no distinction or separation in the antitype.

Thus (1) we view the death of Christ as the endurance of that which evil men and evil spirits bring upon Him. In the shadow it is the slaughter—the shechitah by the side of the altar.

Again (2), we look on the death of Christ as the suffering of the out-casting and infiction laid upon Him by the Father for our sins. In the shadow it is the burning of the body without the camp (see Heb. xiii. 11).

Again (3), we are to regard the death of Christ as offered to the Father for acceptance on our behalf. It is, indeed, the essential kernel of His sacrifice. It is signified in the shadow by the priest applying the blood to the altar. It may also, possibly, be signified on the day of atonement by the high priests offering the blood in the Holy of Holies, though we think another view of this ceremony to be preferable.

If we rightly understand the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, all these—separated in the teaching of the shadows—are united in the true atoning sacrifice of Christ, and united in His death. They are separate aspects of His death, but not any of them separate from the time or the suffering of death itself.

Another aspect of Christ's death—its application to usward for the purging of our conscience—is separate, indeed, in time from Christ's death, but it is by faith's apprehension and appropriation of that death in the use of appointed means.

Delitzsch says: "These three successive actions, the slaying of the victim in the outer court, the oblation of the fat upon the altar, and the cremation of the body, *ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς* (Heb. xiii. 11), found their one and only antitype in the Lord's sacrificial death on Calvary" (On Ch. viii., 3-6, Heb., vol. ii., p. 28, Eng. trans. See also p. 459). But if this much is acknowledged, why should not the same be acknowledged of the present-

teachings of earlier times; but it is certainly not natural to suppose that those additions should add the very essential and fundamental idea, the great central truth to which faith was to be taught to look for sacrificial atonement.

Surely it could hardly have been, that the great foundation truth of sacrificial worship should have been left to be inserted with the detail carvings—the lily work—of its topstones.

If this argument is not altogether a mistake, it must, we think, clearly and evidently follow, that the central point of the typical sacrifices as well of post-Mosaic as of pre-Mosaic times is to be sought, not in anything done with the shed blood as distinct from the offering of the death, but in the very offering to God of the life surrendered, of the death endured: yes, in the very death itself as sacrificially presented to God.

And then for the one true Sacrifice of propitiation, we shall be constrained to see peace made by the blood of the Cross, atonement effected only by the death of the Cross, expiation made only by the shedding of the Life-blood of the Son of God, giving Himself for us, on the altar of the Cross.

(b.) But we are bound to give some special attention to the witness which we have in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. That great and glorious prophecy of the Man of Sorrows—the Servant of Jehovah—has a most important bearing on the

tation or sprinkling on the capporeth and before the capporeth of the blood in the Holy of Holies, which *preceded* the last two actions mentioned? Certainly we are not to suppose that the offering of the sacrifice to God, and the removal of the condemnation of the law, and the consequent establishment of the new and everlasting covenant, was not fully accomplished before the ascension, before Christ's entering in as our everlasting High Priest, in virtue of the blood of that sacrifice and that covenant.

If there appear to be difficulties in accepting this statement, they are difficulties, we believe, which, for the most part, arise from fixing the eye too intently on the earthly types and shadows, and not sufficiently regarding their necessary inadequacy to represent perfectly in one view the fulness and completeness of the one sacrifice and oblation of the cross, combining in its unity a variety of aspects. Whereas, on the other side, the difficulties, as it seems to us, are really insuperable in the way of reconciling—not only with the general teaching of Scripture, but with the definite teaching and the distinct assertions of this Epistle—the notion of the sacrifice of the cross waiting till the Ascension for its presentation to God, and for its acceptance in heaven, and for its availing for reconciliation, atonement, and peace.

We submit that the office of the high priest within the veil should be regarded rather as an application of the blood than a sacrificial offering. This view seems strongly confirmed by Heb. ix. 23. And there may have been a special significance in the application of the blood before the *λασπίδιον* as covering the holy law of God. It needed cleansing only in relation to man's approaches, which (in the iniquity even of His holy things) called for the law's condemnation, and therefore needed the application of the atoning blood.

subject before us. There are found united and commingling the two great streams of Jewish inspired expectation—the stream of Messianic Redemption (for the prophecy must now be acknowledged to be a prophecy of the Messiah that was to come) and the stream of sacrificial atonement, whose voice was doubtless still heard by faith in the words of the father of the faithful, “God will provide Himself a Lamb for a burnt offering.” And in the coming together of these two streams there may be said to be that which tends to interpret and illustrate both.

The prophecy is clothed in sacrificial language—the Messiah is to make His soul an offering for sin. And what is it which is prominent in this view of the Messiah’s sacrifice? It is certainly not anything to do with His ascension. It is undoubtedly not the sprinkling of His blood.¹ The allusion to that (if there is allusion) may be valuable indeed as suggesting its true subordinate place as a *mode of application*. But what is before us is undoubtedly the death of the Divine Sufferer²—the suffering unto death of the Man of our sorrows, the Bearer of our grief, and that (can we doubt it?) as a *pœna vicaria*—the Lord making to light on Him the iniquity of us all—the result of which is that “by His knowledge shall My righteous servant justify many.”

This is the great central picture of Old Testament prophecy. We see a human sufferer made a Divine Sacrifice—a sacrifice of propitiation—and all by His bearing the load of our sins, being wounded for our transgressions, and making satisfaction by His death.

Surely we have here that which directs the eye of faith to the death of Christ alone as making atonement for our sins.

(2) We pass on to the New Testament. We make a selection of a few sayings out of many in support of our contention that the soul seeking Peace by the salvation of Christ’s atoning

¹ Isaiah lii. 15: “So shall He *sprinkle* many nations.” The R.V. has in margin “or *startle*.” Professor Cheyne says: “It seems clear to me that we require a word expressing the shock of joyful surprise, with which the nations shall greet the turn in the servant’s fortunes, as an antithesis to the shock of horror in ver. 14” (“Pro. of Isaiah,” vol. ii., p. 41). But the received translation, which is that of the Syriac and Vulgate, followed by Christian interpreters generally, is defended by Hengstenberg. See “Christology of Old Test.,” vol. ii., pp. 265-272.

² “The undeniable fact, that the later Jewish theory of sacrifice regarded the slaying as a vicarious penal death, might be despised as a rabbinical error; but the exposition of a prophet, like the writer of Isa. liii., instead of being thus lightly set aside, must be regarded as authentic” (Kurtz, “Sac. Worship,” p. 107).

On the Jewish conceptions of sacrificial substitution, see Magee on “Atonement,” Diss. No. 33, especially pp. 70, 74, 93, 94. Edit. 1849. See also Kurtz, “Sac. Worship,” p. 123.

sacrifice, is taught to look to the death of Christ alone, as all-sufficient and all-availing for its great need.

(a.) Some sayings of our Blessed Lord Himself first demand our attention. Two of these are memorable sayings, which, duly weighed, would completely overturn the views of many who nowadays loudly profess their high admiration of the lofty teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, while they entirely repudiate the testimony to Him and His work of the Spirit of truth speaking by the mouth of His holy Apostles. But they would also, we are persuaded, suffice in themselves to correct the specious errors of those who would put something in front of faith's view of the uplifted cross on which the Saviour died.

These are the words of Christ Himself: "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (λυτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. Matt. xx. 28; see Mark x. 45).

But let these words also be marked well: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John iii. 14).

As regards the first of these sayings, it is not foreign to our present purpose to observe that our Lord is using, indeed, a sacrificial expression, but a word which is also much more than sacrificial—and a word which is echoed once and again in the teachings of the New Testament, and that in connection with language which can scarcely in fairness admit of any interpretation which does not involve (in some sense), the notion of real substitution.¹ But we are more particularly concerned now to

¹ The attempt is being made to revive the arguments of the Socinians against the force of the word *λύτρον*. For an answer to such pleadings the reader may be referred to Dr. W. Saumarez Smith's "Pœna Vicaria," pp. 43, 44, and "Blood of the N.C.," p. 38, 53-55; Smeaton's "Doctrine of Atonement," pp. 153 *sqq.*, 407 *sqq.* See also Westcott on "Heb.," pp. 295-297.

What has been stated by these writers is valuable and satisfactory. But the reader should also be referred to "Bp. Pearson on the Creed," Art. x., pp. 545-547. London, 1840.

In the word *λύτρον* are combined, in a remarkable manner, the expiatory and redemption ideas. See also Creuer's *Lex. in voc.* And so it may be said, like St. Paul's use of *ἱλαστήριον* in Rom. iii. 25, to point to Christ's atoning work in relation both to the moral and ceremonial law. But it certainly conveys commonly a notion of substitution. It is used "almost always for the price paid for the liberation of those in bondage" (Creuer) Cf. Isa. xliii. 3, *ἀλλάγμα*, with Matt. xvi. 26, Mark viii. 37, *ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς*. "The ransom price is an expiation or (Num. xxxv. 31) an equivalent for the punishment due, and therefore frees from the consequences of guilt" (*Ibid.* p. 408).

"Victima piacularis a Judæis, ἡρῶ hoc est, *λύτρον* seu *ἀντιλυτρον* dici solet, victimæque anima sive vita vice sontis ipsius animæ dari" (Outram quoted in "Pœna Vicaria," p. 43).

observe that the giving of the *λύτρον* is certainly here the laying down of life in death, not the offering, after death, of life in the blood.¹ It is not the presentation in heaven of blood shed on earth, nor the sprinkling in any sort of the Saviour's Blood on earth or in heaven; but it is the Blood-shedding, the dying, the death, which is here set before faith's view as the great work which the Son of man came into the world to do:

"The word is uniformly used in the Septuagint to denote a price, compensation, or payment, with a view to deliver a prisoner from captivity. . . It is an advance on the idea of a sacrifice, or more precisely, the one idea passes over into the other" (Smeaton, pp. 411, 412).

"It must be added that *λύτρον*, the translation of the Hebrew *copher*, is employed in the Septuagint to designate the price paid in the Mosaic law, to deliver anyone from threatened or merited punishment (Num. xvi. 46; xxxv. 31); and our Lord here expresses *the very price* which He was to give for man's salvation, viz., *His life*. He could mean nothing else by this saying, but that the giving of His life is the only price or ransom by which the redemption of His people was effected, just as the liberation of a prisoner of war was effected by the *λύτρον*" (*Ibid.*, p. 413).

"The *λύτρον ἀντι πολλῶν* of Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45, is here (in the 1 Tim. ii. 6) called *ἀντιλυτρον*, in order to lay stress upon the fact of Christ's coming and suffering *in the stead of all and for their advantage* (*ὑπέρ*). As in Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45, a reference at least to *expiation*, whereby the expression is there determined, is undeniable; so here also (cf. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19), because the *διδόναι ἑαυτόν* can denote nothing less than surrender to death. Cf. Tit. ii. 14, *ὃς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἵνα λυτρώσῃται ἡμᾶς*, Gal. i. 4" (Cremer's *Lex. in voc. Ἀντιλυτρον*, pp. 409, 410).

"As the *λύτρον* which the Redeemer offered was His own life and His own person, His death was unquestionably a vicarious action in the most precise and strict sense of the words" (Delitzsch, on "Heb." Diss. ii., vol. ii., p. 447. Engl. Trans.).

"The deliverance of man from the debt, the captivity, the bondage of sin—however we express the image—could only be through the satisfaction of the claims of a violated law. . . . The idea of 'redemption,' 'deliverance,' in the spiritual order, requires to be supplemented by the idea of 'purchase.' . . . The Christian, it appears, is bought at the price of Christ's blood for God" (Westcott on "Heb.," pp. 296, 297).

It has sometimes been contended, as against the substitutionary character of the Old Testament sacrifices, that they are never said to be *ransoms*, and that such an expression as *λύτρον*, *ἀντιλυτρον*, *ἀντιψυχον* is never applied to a legal offering. But this argument can only, in fairness, add force to the evidence which we have from the application of these very terms to the great antitypal sacrifice of the New Testament (see Magee on "Atonement," p. 94. Diss. No. 38).

¹ This is all the more to be observed, because we cannot doubt that we have here "the equivalent of the Apostolic teaching that we are redeemed by His blood" (Saumarez Smith, "Blood of New Cov.," p. 50). So that the redeeming blood must mean the life laid down for ours.

Compare also John x. 12, 15, 17, 18, and John xv. 13, in all of which *θεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν* may be said to be equivalent to *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν*. "The Hebraism 'to put' instead of 'to give' has been transferred into Greek." Hengstenberg ("Christology of Old Test.," vol. ii., p. 300) considers all these expressions as referring to Isa. liii. 10, and all used of Christ's sacrificial death.

and the doing of which is the paying of the Ransom price for man's redemption, for his spiritual liberty and restoration.

And as regards the second of these two sayings it suffices to say that it needs not the explanation of similar words, on another occasion—"This He said signifying what death He should die"—nor any reference to the typical history which illustrates it (though this will undoubtedly confirm our position), to make it speak clearly and distinctly to the point we have in view. It is the death of Christ on the uplifted tree, and nothing but His death, which is the grand object to which the eye of faith has to look, that the perishing may not perish, but have their death turned into eternal life. It ought, then, surely to be no strange language in our ears—the language in which the Fathers spoke of the altar of Christ's offering and sacrifice as the altar of the cross.

Looking at these two sayings we may certainly affirm that they make it very difficult indeed to believe that the essence of the sacrifice of the death of Christ is to be sought in any offering after His ascension of His Blood, either once for all or continually, either as a symbol of death or of life, or in anything else than in the very death of Christ upon the cross.

But yet there is another saying of our Blessed Lord which is too important to be omitted. It is found in the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper. They constitute that Sacrament the memorial of a Sacrifice. Of what sacrifice? Not of any sacrifice, as distinct from the offering on the cross, offered in heaven, but of the sacrifice of His Body given, and His Blood shed on Calvary. In other words, the Eucharist is made to be the Sacrament in which we show the Lord's *death* till He come—the Sacrament of the Blood (not in life, but in death) of the New Testament, shed (not sprinkled) for the remission of sins. Surely our Lord's own words have constituted it the Sacrament of the propitiation made by His Blood, of the benefits which we derive from nothing else than His sacrificial death for us.¹

And if this be so, then assuredly we have here evidence of inestimable force in support of the truth for which we are contending.

(b.) It is not easy to select from the many other testimonies which are to be found *passim* in the New Testament. There is one, however, which may not be omitted. It is the saying of Caiaphas, recorded because of its prophetic testimony to the Divine purpose in the Saviour's death. And it is specially valuable because of the evangelist's inspired interpretation of its prophetic import. "Ye know nothing at all," said the high

¹ See especially Schmid's "Biblical Theology of New Test.," pp. 213, 214. (Engl. Trans.)

priest to the council; "nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not" (John xi. 50). These are words which, from the mouth of a high priest, have a special significance. They surely suggest the idea of sacrificial propitiation. But we know that Caiaphas spake them also as a prophet in the spirit of prophecy. What was the high priest's meaning we may conjecture; what was the meaning of the Holy Ghost in the application of his words we know from the explanation of the evangelist, who adds¹: "This spake he not of himself, but, being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that also He should gather together into one the children of God that were scattered abroad" (John xi. 50-52). Beside this should be set the language of St. Peter: "Who His own self bare (*ανημερικεν*, a sacrificial term) our sins in His own body on the tree" (1 Pet. ii. 24); and especially these words: "Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God" (1 Pet. iii. 18). And with these passages should be compared the saying of St. Paul: "Scarcely for a righteous man will one die; yet peradventure for a good man some would even

¹ In this connection it is more than simply interesting to mark the Evangelist's emphasis on the thrice-repeated statement that Caiaphas was high priest *that year* (xi. 49, 51, xviii. 13). "The phrase," says Westcott, "is added, not as though the office was annual, but to bring out that, at this last crisis of the fate of the Jews, Caiaphas was the religious head of the nation" (on xi. 49).

Admirably it is said by the late Bishop Lightfoot: "The year of which the Evangelist speaks was *the year of all years*, the acceptable year of the Lord, as it is elsewhere called; the year in which the *great sacrifice*, the *one Atonement*, was made, the Atonement which annulled once and for ever the annual repetitions. It so happened that it was the duty of Caiaphas, as high priest, to enter the Holy of Holies, and offer the Atonement for *that year*. The Evangelist sees, if we may use the phrase without irreverence, a dramatic propriety in the fact that he of all men should make this declaration. By a Divine irony he is made unconsciously to declare the truth, proclaiming Jesus to be the great atoning sacrifice, and himself to be instrumental in offering the victim. This irony of circumstances is illustrated in the case of Pilate, as in the case of Caiaphas. The latter, the representative of the Jewish hierarchy, pronounces Jesus the great atoning sacrifice; the former the representative of the civil power, pronounces Him as the sovereign of the race, 'Behold your King!' The malignity of Caiaphas and the sneer of Pilate alike bear witness to a higher truth than they themselves consciously apprehend" ("Genuineness of St. John's Gospel," in *Expositor*, Feb., 1890, pp. 88, 89).

"The high priest," says Westcott (*in loc.*), "represented the Divine headship of the Jews, and it was through him that an inspired decision was given on questions of doubt (Num. xxvii. 21). The true priest is, as Philo says, a prophet. Here, in virtue of his office, Caiaphas so utters his own thoughts as to pronounce a sentence of God unconsciously."

dare to die. But God commendeth His love towards us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us" (Rom. v. 7-8).¹

In the case of these passages the preposition ὑπὲρ is used, and before it is argued that in such connection ὑπὲρ does not naturally suggest the idea of substitution, the reader should read "Magee on the Atonement," App. No. xxx., especially p. 68 (ed. 1849).² The teaching of 1 Tim. ii. 6, ὁ δὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων, ought to suffice to fix a substitutional sense on all these passages.³ But for our present purpose it suffices to mark how clearly we have set before us in all (Rom. v. 7-8, should be read with the context) not the incarnation, not the presentation of the blood, not any sacrificial work carried on in heaven, but the death of Christ, and that alone, as that which avails for the perishing—avails for sinners, and avails for their reconciliation, and their bringing home to God.

We must forbear making further quotations.⁴ The attentive

¹ It has been said, "We are repeatedly told that He died for us, for our sins, for the ungodly. And yet it is, as I have said, remarkable that when the price is mentioned, it is always declared to be the Blood or Life of the sacrificial victim, not His death" (Lias, "Atonement," p. 32). This alone would be a very strong argument in support of the truth, that by the blood must be meant "the blood shed," that is, "the death." But this argument is strongly confirmed by Rom. v. 9 and 10, where we can scarcely question that "reconciled by the death" in ver. 10, is the expression of the same truth as that in "justified by His blood" in ver. 9.

Let it be well observed that in Rom. v. 9, 10, the antithesis between ἐν τῇ αἵματι αὐτοῦ and δι' αὐτοῦ in ver. 9, is parallel with the antithesis between διὰ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ and ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ in ver. 10. This seems to make it clear that αἷμα is here spoken of with reference to the death of Christ, and not to His risen life. See Dr. W. Saumarez Smith's "Blood of the New Covenant," p. 16.

² See also the valuable note in Dale on the "Atonement," pp. 475-478, and Kay's additional note on Heb. ii. 9 in "Speaker's Com.," vol. iv., p. 40, and Crawford on "Atonement," pp. 25, 494-496, Note A and B, 5th edit.; and Smith's "Poena Vicaria," pp. 21, 48.

³ Bishop Ellicott's note on this passage is valuable and important: "The ἀντί is here by no means redundant, but serves to express the idea of exchange, 'permutationem quā velut capite caput et vitā vitam redemit' (Just); comp. ἀνάλλαγμα, Matt. xvi. 26; ἀντίψυχον, Ignat. Smyrn., 10 . . . In this important word the idea of a substitution of Christ in our stead cannot be ignored."

⁴ It is well said: "When, in so many texts of a strictly analogous kind, the statement that 'Christ died for us' has been found to convey the idea of substitution, we are warranted to conclude that in those less determinate passages, in which the like form of expression has been used, the sacred writers meant to teach us that *the particular way* in which the Lord Jesus suffered for our benefit, was by suffering in our room and stead. It is probable, moreover, that the reason why ὑπὲρ is so frequently employed in preference to ἀντί is that it serves to convey *both* of these meanings, expressing at once the general fact that Christ died 'for our benefit,' and the special mode in which He did so, by dying 'as our substitute'" (Crawford, "Sc. Doct. of Atonement," p. 25).

reader of Holy Scripture will hardly need to be reminded how many texts there are which may be said as a cloud of witnesses to surround the teaching of the Apostle. "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins (*ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*) according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. xv. 3). He "was delivered for our offences (*διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν*), and was raised again for our justification (*διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν*)" (Rom. iv. 25). Such witness as this—duly weighed—added to a vast amount of indirect evidence, must be allowed to carry an enormous cumulative force.¹

Let the reader be specially asked to observe how the ministry of reconciliation (the reconciliation of Him, and to Him, Who was in Christ, not imputing men's trespasses unto them) is by the Apostle made to rest *only* on this, that God "made Him to be sin for us Who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him" (2 Cor. v. 21).

But, above all, let the reader's thoughts dwell much on the relation of Christ's future glory, according to His own teaching, to those words which He spake: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit" (John xii. 24). Compare Isa. liii. 10.

And now, before we go further, we must be permitted to say that, after all, the strongest evidence is, perhaps, the evidence of omission, the witness of silence. Put aside the arguments built upon imperfect typical analogies, and where is any text in the Bible to be found which will support the doctrines of our new teachers?

Not only shall we look in vain for any statement in the New Testament which can fairly be regarded as setting the Incarnation before us as that which makes atonement, but also we shall fail to find any teaching which will lead our faith to look to any atonement made, or being made, or any sacrifice offered, or being offered, by our Great High Priest in heaven.

There is much said in Holy Scripture concerning the ascended Saviour, but not one word concerning His there offering His Blood, or making atonement, for sins.

¹ In Professor Crawford's "Doctrine of Holy Scripture respecting the Atonement" (Blackwood) will be found a careful analysis of all passages in the New Testament which speak of the death of Christ under various aspects in relation to the condition and the need of fallen man. It is to a view of these in their combination that we must look if we would desire to estimate aright the Scriptural testimony to the atonement of Christ. And Professor Crawford's work will be a great help to anyone anxious to be guided into the truth of this matter.

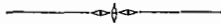
The same may be said of Professor Smeaton's work on the Atonement (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark), in which will be found a critical study of all the sayings of our Blessed Lord Himself concerning His atonement.

As the ancient creeds of the Church are silent upon a point which, if it were indeed an object of faith, would have a claim to a very prominent place in our belief, so also is Holy Scripture silent as to any atoning or sacrificial work of Christ, past or present, in the most holy place.¹

We have been too long in our approaches to the teaching of the ceremonial law in its bearing on the death of Christ.

What we have to say touching more directly on that which is the proper subject of this paper must now be reserved for the next number.

N. DIMOCK.



ART. V.—ST. PAUL'S ADDRESS TO THE ELDERS OF
EPHESUS, COMPARED WITH HIS PASTORAL
EPISTLES; UNDESIGNED COINCIDENCES.

THE address of St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus is full of earnestness, solemnity and affection. The Apostle, speaking thus to the ministers of the Churches of Proconsular Asia—whom he had appointed—stands naturally at the head of all chief pastors making such charges.

In the address have we the very words of St. Paul? Or have we a speech made for him by his companion and fellow-traveller, St. Luke? In common histories the authors usually made the speeches of their heroes. The historian Sallust makes the speech of Julius Cæsar on Catiline's conspiracy, and also the great speech of Cato. Fine, well-balanced periods, but

¹ The *ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας* of Heb. ii. 17 is an unusual expression. Compare Luke xviii. 13—*Ὁ Θεὸς ἰλάσθητί μοι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*. We have, however, *ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας* in Dan. ix. 24. Compare 1 Sam. iii. 14 and Ecclus. xxxi. 19. *Ἐξιλάσκομαι* is the usual word in LXX., and seems to be used not only of *making atonement*, but also of *application* of atonement. See, e.g., Levit. xvi. 16, 18, 19, 33; Exod. xxx. 10 (cf. xxix. 36, 37, and Isa. vi. 7). Compare Heb. ix. 23, 24, xiii. 12, and Ezek. xliii. 23, 25, 26.

ἰλάσκεσθαι must be understood in this applicatory sense in Heb. ii. 17, if it is to be there understood of any sacerdotal work in the true Holy of Holies.

In a corresponding sense Christ is said to be the *ἰλαστήριον* in 1 John ii. 2. See Edwards, "Doct. of Atonement," pp. 102-104 (where "atonement" is to be understood not of the *act*, but of the *efficacy* of atonement).

In this sense it implies sacrificial propitiation already made. So we have in Heb. i. 3, *ὃς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καθαρῶς ποιησάμενος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἡμῶν ἐκάθισεν κ. τ. λ.*

Professor Westcott says: "The one (eternal) act of Christ (c. x. 12-14) is here regarded as its continuous present application to men" (comp. c. v. 1, 2) (on Heb., p. 57)..

He quotes Chrysostom: *ἵνα προσενέγκῃ θυσίαν δυναμένην ἡμᾶς καθαρῶσαι, διὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἀνθρώπος.*

really the thoughts and the words of the historian, are put into the mouth of these great men. In the address to the elders of Ephesus, I believe we have the very words of the Apostle.

Unable to visit Ephesus, but availing himself of the opportunity of the ship putting in at Miletus, hardly thirty miles distant, he invites them to meet him. Their ready and affectionate compliance with St. Paul's request (say A.D. 58) reminds us of the brethren from Rome coming to meet him, a few years after, as far as Appii Forum and the three Taverns, a distance of thirty or forty miles.

I. He addresses them most solemnly as overseers or Bishops: "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." Seven years after (say A.D. 65) he says to Titus in his pastoral Epistle: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst ordain elders (presbyters) in every city . . . for a bishop (overseer) must be blameless." The words are convertible, as everyone allows, but it is quite wrong to reason from this that the two offices, presbyter and bishop, are the same. For we have as office-bearers in the Church: first, the Apostles; secondly, those whom St. Paul in his address and in his pastoral Epistles calls elders or overseers; and, thirdly, the deacons, about whom we have his directions to Timothy and Titus.

Approaching the dark period of Church history four years after the death of St. Paul (say A.D. 70), we enter a tunnel, as has been well said, from which we emerge into the daylight about, say, A.D. 120. Getting into the light, we find Bishops in Ephesus, in the surrounding province of Proconsular Asia, in the populous island of Crete, with its hundred cities, in every one of which Titus was to ordain elders, and in other places. Taking a view of the historical landscape, we see at once the correctness of the words in the preface to the Ordination Service with regard to the different orders of ministers in the Church of Christ from the earliest times.¹

II. The solemn words of St. Paul to the elders, "The Holy Ghost hath made you overseers," remind them that in their appointment they had got a gift from God, the very thing he teaches Timothy in his pastoral Epistle to him seven or eight years after, urging him to stir up the gift (*charisma*) that is in thee by the laying on of my hands and of the hands of the presbytery. The lesson is the same to both, that the gift at ordination is not physical, but ethical or spiritual, not operating like a cast of magic, but its edifying power depending on the

¹ "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests and Deacons."—The Preface to the Ordination Service.

use made of it. The elders of Ephesus are roused by the strong loving voice of their chief pastor—as is Timothy, by the written word—to stir up the gift that was in them. There is nothing in either place of a gift taking effect, *ex opere operato*; but still it leaves a disposition, a character, a nature, which is in every way to be turned to account. In the address called “watchmen,” “overseers,” in the pastoral Epistles named “athletes,” “soldiers,” “evangelists,” “preachers,” both were to labour in every way to make their gifts edifying and useful to their flocks.

III. Great was the need of the stirring up of the heavenly gift, for the Apostle, with sad foreboding, told the elders: “I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.” In the pastoral Epistles the warning is even more solemn, if such it can be: “Some shall depart from the faith . . . having their conscience seared with a hot iron.” Danger was in the near, as well as in the distant future. The seven years from the time he addressed them at Ephesus till he wrote his pastoral Epistles brought forth many ready to rend the Christian body, like fierce beasts of prey tearing a flock. The Sadducee and the atheist were at work, for there were such as Hymenæus and Philetus, saying that “the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some.”

The witty worldling says: “I cannot afford to keep a conscience!” In deep, sober sadness the Apostle stated in his address, that there would be in many places an utter want of conscience: “Also of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.” The experience of every observer of men and manners is, that if people put out “the spirit of man,” “the candle of the Lord,” there must be great moral and spiritual darkness around them. In the midst of this, the Apostle wrote, in his pastoral Epistle to Timothy, that he expected much of him, according to the prophecies which went before on him. He knew that his son in the faith would be holding faith and a good conscience, unlike those who had made shipwreck of that great guide, “Of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander, whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.” Such corrupters of the stream of spiritual life were to be met with among the rude mountaineers of Crete. Their old character, “The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies,” was reappearing. Therefore, in the pastoral Epistle addressed to him, Titus was exhorted to “rebuke them sharply,” putting forward the plain ethical truth, “Unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled.”¹ Here in the address, and in the pastoral Epistles;

¹ Tit. i. 15.

in what is said of the darkening of the conscience, we have the key to many dark acts blackening the page of the history of the Church and of the world.

“Put out the light, and then,—Put out the light.”

The dark-skinned Othello blows out the candle before he murders the fair Desdemona. The perverting of conscience led then, as it does now, to bad living, and to all wrongdoing.¹

IV. Who wonders at the extreme earnestness of the Apostle in the writings we are comparing? The Church they were to feed was “the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood.”² The earnest man, writing to Timothy, teaches him in every way that he may know “how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God.” In the long controversy of great scholars, whether in the address we are to read the Church of *God* or of the *Lord*, one may point to the same expression in the pastoral Epistle as of some weight in favour of the reading of the Authorised Version, adopted also by the Revised Version.

The like expression in both writings puts a thread into our hands, joining us to the Apostolic times; for we still look to our Church as the Church of God, in which He has made us unworthy ministers. When St. Paul spoke at Ephesus, and when he afterwards wrote the pastoral Epistles, the grain of mustard seed only appeared; now in all lands it is seen to be the work of God, we doing our best that God's marks may ever be seen upon it.

V. The Apostle tells the elders of Ephesus that his Apostleship is “the ministry received of the Lord Jesus.”³ In the opening of each of the three pastoral Epistles he speaks of himself as “an Apostle of Jesus Christ.” In the first pastoral Epistle to Timothy, the Apostle states this in the most solemn manner possible.⁴ In our Ordination Service, the first most solemn question addressed to the candidate for the office of deacon is entirely warranted by the Apostle's way of looking at the ministry.⁵ Finding the solemnities of such a view alike in the Apostle's address and in his pastoral Epistles, one cannot but very earnestly pray that such views of his office may influence every parish minister over our whole land, and that our country

¹ “It should be observed,” says Conybeare, “that these early heretics united moral depravity with erroneous teaching; their works bore witness against their doctrine.” Quoted by Alford on Tit. iii. 10.

² Acts xx. 28.

³ Acts xx. 24.

⁴ 1 Tim. i. 11 13.

⁵ “Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministrations, to serve God for the promotion of His glory, and the edifying of His people?”

may be led more and more towards the blessed result, "righteousness exalteth a nation."

VI. In carrying out his ministry, the Apostle looked forward very earnestly, amidst many discouragements, to finishing his course—as he says, "so that I might finish my course with joy." Generally he had before his mind the thought of coming earthly sorrows and dangers. After a very solemn Divine Service on the Lord's Day at Troas, the Apostle did not at once embark on the ship that was waiting for them, as did his fellow-travellers. He wished to be alone, and so he travelled on foot the twenty miles or so from Troas to Assos, where it was arranged "to take in Paul." In that land journey, with his face towards the south, the slopes of Mount Ida on his left and the Hellespont on his right, Paris and Helen had often gone before, as had Hector and Achilles, Agamemnon and Ulysses. The Apostle had time for thought, and doubtless many gloomy pictures rose to his mind. This may have given a deep colouring to his address, spoken a day or two after at Miletus. Any ordinary man would have been greatly moved by what took place at Cæsarea, in the house of Philip the evangelist, when the prophet took Paul's girdle and bound his own hands and feet, showing by sign, according to Eastern fashion, what was to be done to the Apostle.¹ Yet, however dark his earthly prospects, he looked on to, and laboured for, the glorious end.

Eight years after, when in sight of the martyr's grave, he writes in his last pastoral Epistle to his son in the faith: "I have finished my course." The words in the address must have found a stirring echo in the heart of the elders of Ephesus and its neighbourhood, and the same words in the Epistle, stating an accomplished fact, have given fresh courage to many a weary minister of the Gospel to labour on to the end, in the strength of Christ, for the immortal crown, and to be able to say, as was the Apostle, "I have finished my course." Placing the words side by side, we catch the ring of the great Apostle in each, and we say of both, "These are the very words of St. Paul."

VII. The Apostle had ever been world-wide in his teaching. As a missionary, his steps were first turned in every city to the synagogue, and so had it been in Ephesus. From the synagogue he drew his first converts, and then his usage was to turn to the Gentiles. In the address he says: "I have taught you publicly and from house to house, testifying both to the Jews and also to the Greeks repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ."² In the pastoral Epistles I find him warning as steadily against Jewish errors as against heathen sins.

¹ Acts xxi. 11-13.

² Acts xx. 21.

Does he not caution Timothy not to give heed to fables and endless genealogies,¹ and to refuse profane and old wives' fables"?² Is not Titus put on his guard against the same errors, and almost in the same words?

The Jews abounded in Crete, and the chief pastor would constantly meet with their wrong teaching. As Paul had been to Jew and Greek no mere speculative teacher, but one ever carrying the Gospel into holiness of life, so to Titus the exhortation is: "For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world."³ The word of warning to his own son in the faith was: "Flee also youthful lusts: but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace."⁴ Timothy, surrounded by the culture of Ephesus, and Titus, among the wild people of Crete, were to be, as Paul had been, to Jew and Greek, and as every faithful minister of the Gospel ought to be, "testifying repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ."

Thus the thoughts and words in the address, and in the pastoral Epistles, are alike in many ways. We feel that Paul speaks himself to the elders at Ephesus, and that we are not reading a speech put into his mouth, as the writers of common histories often do with their heroes. Luke was present at the address. He had joined the Apostle at Troas, being present at the Divine Services there on the Lord's Day previous. As we have seen, Paul was not on board while the ship made its tedious journey round the promontory of Lectum from Troas to Assos. Here the Apostle joined the voyagers and, after touching at several places, "we came to Miletus." The writer of the Acts of the Apostles was, therefore, in the company. The elders of Ephesus, invited to meet the Apostle at Miletus, willingly made the journey of thirty miles.

The elders of the Churches at Ephesus were quite overcome by their feelings of respect and regard for the Apostle.⁵ Our esteem is not the less for the historian of the Acts of the Apostles when we find him present with the Apostle at the time of danger, when he was writing the second pastoral Epistle to Timothy. Speaking of several having forsaken him, the Apostle adds: "Only Luke is with me." His faithful fellow-traveller knew the heart and mind of the Apostle as no other man did. Therefore we wonder not, for God works by means, at the many coincidences, plainly undesigned, to be met with in St. Luke's record of the Apostle's address at Miletus, and St. Paul's pastoral Epistles. Faithful to the Apostle in life and

¹ 1 Tim. i. 4.

² Tit. ii. 11, 12.

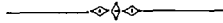
³ 1 Tim. iv. 7.

⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 22.

⁵ Acts xx. 36-38.

in death, faithful to the Church, whose historian he was, Luke has given us the very words of St. Paul for the guidance of all ages and of all people.

THOMAS JORDAN.



ART. VI.—THE TITHE QUESTION IN ENGLAND AND IN WALES.

THE Tithe Question is always with us; and it is scarcely to be wondered at if the mere triflers in politics have come to execrate the very phrase. To them it represents a troublesome and obscure business, which they don't understand, but of whose existence they have too many proofs. As a matter of fact there are two Tithe Questions, and they have practically only the remotest connection. The Tithe Question in England is one thing, the Tithe Question in Wales is another and very different thing.

The existence of a Tithe Question in England, or rather in certain districts of England, is the outcome of severe agricultural depression. No one who knows anything of the facts will be disposed to minimize the losses of landowners and tenants in the eastern, southern, and midland counties during the past few years. It is hardly possible, if it be possible at all, to grow grain to a profit in England under present conditions; and certain lands are, unfortunately, able to raise nothing but grain. In these parts the farmer has been growing poorer and poorer, and the landlord has been compelled to accept less and less rent; but while the law of averages has at the same time been reducing the parson's tithe, so that it stands to-day at 20 per cent. below what it did only six years ago, it is contended that the parson is proportionately the best off of the three, and it is even asserted that in many cases the rent-charge is the only rent the land pays at all.

It cannot be surprising, therefore, that agriculturists in their extremity cry out and ask for revaluation. They may be told, and told truly, that the Church as a whole has lost £2,000,000 per annum since the Commutation Act. They will reply that the gain has not been theirs, but that of the owners of urban and suburban property. They may be told again, and equally truly, that the Church suffered a permanent loss owing to the temporary conditions which obtained at the passing of the Act being made the basis for fixing the average value; they may argue that it is little comfort to them to be reminded in their difficulty of the sharp practice of their grandfathers, the fruits of which have long since been dissipated.

The English farmer in his difficulty is a man to be pitied, sympathized with, and listened to with all consideration. He has a claim to be heard, and, if possible, to be met, for he has suffered sorely, and, for the most part, silently and patiently. There are exceptional cases, of course, as there are in every class, that of the clergy amongst the rest, but the exceptions may be dismissed, if they themselves will allow it, and not intrude their presence and fallacious arguments on the public through the columns of the press.

On the whole no one can complain of the presentation of the case for the English tithe-paying farmer during the past few weeks. The correspondence in the *Times* and *Standard* has done not a little to clear the air. It has shown both parties that there are two sides to the question, and that legislation is not a perfectly simple matter if justice is to be done all round, so diverse are the conditions in different parts of England. It has also shown very distinctly that there is no general hostility to the Church on the part of the tithe-payers; that objection is not taken to the purpose to which the rent-charge is devoted, but to the amount which is being paid. This is a fact of no slight importance when it is remembered that the three eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex pay £735,000 per annum in tithe rent-charge, against £274,000, which is the whole contribution of Wales.

The attitude and spirit of the English tenant-farmers have, in fact, done much to clear Lord Salisbury's path in regard to legislation during the present Session. He can at least have no hesitation in fixing the charge upon the landlord. The Farmers' Club, at its meeting on February 3rd, was unanimous on this point, and the Farmers' Club, it may be agreed, represents those who have most felt the recent pressure. The reader of the paper on Tithes at the Club, on the occasion referred to, seems to have expressed the feeling of all present in the line he adopted, and he stated most distinctly that, in his judgment, "if the landowners would only take upon themselves the payment of the rent-charge, there would be very little complaint;" that, at any rate, while the landed interest would have very little to complain of, "the tenants would have nothing whatever."

In England, then, but very slight opposition, if any, need be anticipated to the proposal to carry out the intentions of the framers of the Commutation Act, and place the payment of the rent-charge on the landlord. There should, we imagine, be equally little opposition to the redemption of sums under forty shillings, as recommended by Mr. Stracey and others. This small tithe is an annoyance and trouble both to payer and owner, and its redemption would be at once a boon, and the removal of a cause of friction.

In Wales the position is wholly different. Originally it was pleaded that the Welsh tithe-payer was hard pressed, and could not pay the charge in full, but must be met by some remission. Remissions were in some cases conceded, in others refused. It mattered not. Earl Grey, in his account of the Commutation Act, and of the events which led up to it, has told us that "the amount of deductions (prior to 1836) varied much in different counties, and that the counties in which they were habitually the largest, were those in which the outcry against tithes had been the loudest." History has repeated itself. The good-natured, or timid, or well-to-do parson, who offered remissions, has fared no better than his less pliable brother. His weakness only made him the victim of further and more imperious demands.

The plea of poverty has long since been abandoned. It is now openly asserted by those who represent the Welsh tithe-payers, that the objection is not to the payment, but to the object to which the tithe is devoted, that conscientious scruples bid them retain in their pockets the money which is due to the parson. Conscientious scruples and self-interest are not allied in this case for the first time. The wonder of it all is that respectable politicians have not only not disavowed, but have affected to sympathize with, such hypocritical prettexts. It is urged, indeed, that a refusal to pay tithe was the only form of protest which would secure a hearing for the alleged grievances of the Welsh Nonconformist. If it be so, he can no longer say with truth that he has protested in vain. A political party has now taken up his grievance, and given it a place in its official programme, pronouncing it a grievance to be redressed at the earliest possible moment. What more does the Welsh Dissenter wait for? He has made his protest, his cause has been taken up, let him cease to retain money to which he has no shadow of claim; let him reimburse what he has so long kept back; let him pay his dues like an honest man in the future. To whomsoever the money belongs it does not belong to him.

It is an ominous sign of the decay in political morality that a great party, with a man of deep personal religion like Mr. Gladstone at its head, should have had anything but reprobation for the gross dishonesty of the Welsh tithe-payer. Mr. Gladstone himself is, I believe, the only exception to the general rule. He has declared that "he fails to justify" the withholding of the tithe on religious grounds. But the rest of the party, from Sir William Harcourt downwards, has now accepted the whole plan of campaign. Any weapon will serve apparently to harass and cripple the Church. When the unmerited sufferings of the Welsh clergy are mentioned in the House of Commons, they

evoke no sympathy from a hungry Opposition. "It is the fault and disgrace of a wealthy Church if they suffer." So might the conscience of any common thief be quieted by the reflection that the man he has robbed is reputed to have a rich relation. The Welsh Liberal members are not a particularly distinguished body, but there are men of high character and honourable life among them. Why are they silent? If Mr. Bowen Rowlands, Mr. Samuel Smith, or Mr. Rathbone had to deal with such dishonesty in private life, they would denounce it indignantly. Cannot they show themselves indifferent to possible political consequences, and, like Mr. Gladstone, repudiate all sympathy with dishonest tithe-payers? Let them depend upon it, they would not long stand alone.

What might have been looked for in politicians was to have been expected yet more from ministers of the Gospel. After all, it can only be the few who edit or write for the abominable vernacular press. Why do the rest hold their peace? They cannot suppose that a victory will be blessed, which it is sought to secure by such shameful expedients.

What is mildly called by Mr. Prothero in his pamphlet "The Anti-Tithe Agitation in Wales," republished from the *Guardian*, "a peaceful distraint," is thus referred to: "The attendant circumstances necessarily vary. Sometimes well-known Welsh hymns, like 'Caer Salem,' are sung to give the proceedings a religious character. Sometimes the clergyman or the Bishop of the diocese is burned or drowned, or both burned and drowned, in effigy. Sometimes scandalous acts of blasphemy or indecency are perpetrated." Mr. Prothero gives one instance of a travesty of the Sacraments of the Church which, out of consideration for my readers, I forbear to reproduce. A distraint to which the epithet "peaceful" is not applicable, is thus described. It is a case in South Wales:

A strong body of police accompanied the distraining agent to assist in the recovery of tithe rent-charges. At the first farm they disarmed seventeen men of pitchforks, and subsequent events proved the wisdom of the action. In each case the pitchforks could only be captured by knocking down the bearer. In one instance, a man, when disarmed of his pitchfork, drew his knife. As the agent was making his way to the next farm through a narrow lane, with a high fence on either side, he and the police were attacked by showers of stones. Their position became so serious that the police were compelled to charge the hedges, which were lined on either side by men armed with sticks. Fortunately for the distraining party, the sticks were too long, and the police were able to get under them. A short but desperate struggle followed. One policeman was felled, and while he lay upon the ground, four men beat him about the head as though he were a rattlesnake. It is doubtful whether he will ever entirely recover. Finally the rioters were routed, but they fought, as an inspector who was present told me, like savages, and did not give way till fifty had had their heads cracked.

What are Dissenting ministers thinking of to countenance, or at least not to denounce, this savagery and indecency? How can they stand up in their chapels and preach charity or the obligation of the Ten Commandments? Are they not making themselves partakers of other men's sins? The deterioration of Welsh Nonconformity is a matter of common complaint, and subject of general regret in the Principality. There could scarcely be a more startling proof of it than in the acquiescence of its leaders in the methods and morals of the tithe agitators.

Two honourable exceptions to this conspiracy of silence should in fairness be noticed, but in only one case can we give the name: the Rev. J. Hughes Parry, a Calvinistic Methodist minister at Aberdare, did, in a letter to the *Western Mail*, unburden his soul. Having waited in vain "to see whether any leading Nonconformist ministers or laymen would have the courage and honesty to enter their protest" on behalf of the Welsh clergy, he could no longer restrain himself. He conceives that nothing so unjust or illogical as the present persecution of the clergy was ever projected, and he acknowledges with shame that "it has been reserved for the Nonconformist promoters and supporters of the anti-tithe campaign in Wales . . . in defiance of the claims of morality, justice and fair play, to trample ruthlessly on the rights of men who, through no fault of their own, depend for the necessaries of life for themselves and their families on the ancient ecclesiastical system of the country."

What has been the result of this indignant and eloquent protest of Mr. Hughes Parry? Have he and his anonymous fellow-minister drawn forth a word of sympathy from their brethren among the preachers? Not one. They continue to stand alone, though their words have been read from one end of Wales to the other. The rest prefer to remain under the stigma of countenancing lawlessness, violence, and outrage, because, they would doubtless say, the cause is righteous. And so, I suppose, the end justifies the means. For the moment they have succeeded. They have made the position of the Welsh clergyman well-nigh intolerable; they have broken the spirit of many an one in his spiritual work; but "in fostering a spirit of contempt for the law, and a readiness to repudiate obligations which cannot but blunt the moral sense of the nation," they have paved the way for a bitter heritage of evil, and far-reaching results which they did not, it may be, contemplate, but which they will be utterly powerless to stave off.

Whatever else the Government does this Session, it must establish order in Wales, and secure their rights to the holders of property, even though they be clergymen. The half-heartedness and vacillation of the Government are responsible for much

in the present state of things. Consistency and moral support, to begin with, would have been invaluable. But moral support only will not avail now. Dishonesty must be punished in Welsh farmers, as in other classes of the community; and incitement to dishonesty must not pass unnoticed. The progress of the Church is undeniable. It is for the moral welfare of the Principality that the Church should not now be crippled and harassed. The contest against evil is as fierce there as elsewhere, and there are certain forms of sin which have obtained special hold in Wales. It is not for the sake of the Church which exists for the people that Disestablishment, and everything that tends to it, should be resisted, but it is for the sake of the people themselves, and the country they live in.

Let the Government take pains to understand the question, and then be bold and resolute. Then will future generations of Welshmen assuredly bless them for saving their land from the hot-headed, misguided agitators of 1890.

H. GRANVILLE DICKSON.

February 8.

Correspondence.



PROSECUTIONS FOR RITUAL OBSERVANCES.

To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN.

SIR,—No true Christian can help sympathizing with the Dean of Canterbury's paper in your February number. But his argument omits three important considerations, to which I respectfully invite his attention.

I. No one is now attempting to interfere with private members of the Church. Liberty of opinion cannot be trammelled. But the clergy are *trustees*. And a man who accepts that office is bound to conform to the trust deed, not according to his own notion, but the intention of its author. Otherwise the *cestui que trusts* might be robbed.

II. It is a legal maxim that there is no wrong without a remedy. There are courts of law to which all who think themselves wronged can appeal, with the assurance that unless their cause is frivolous or vexatious it will be heard and redressed. The one and only exception, as far as I know, is that caused by the Bishop's veto. On this I would only say that (whether its exercise of late has been caused by a dread of litigation or a sympathy with the accused clergy) it has had the effect of encouraging on one side that lawlessness which is one great sign of the times, and on the other a feeling of bitterness from the sense of unredressed wrong. The issue is, as I venture to think, far worse than any that would be caused by litigation. Anger is in this respect like love :

The more thou damm'st it up, the more it burns.

III. The Dean objects to these prosecutions being carried on by a central society, rather than by the aggrieved parishioners themselves. It might be answered, that when there is a widespread tendency among a

large party to effect a general change of the centre of gravity of the Church in a certain direction, every member of the Church is an interested party. But besides this, I would say that the English law recognises the propriety of suits, on behalf of infants and others who cannot protect themselves, being undertaken by any other persons who may be willing to act as their "next friends." And it is clear that in the present case, if the Protestant cause were not taken up by a society, it could not be taken up at all.—Yours faithfully,

ROBERT W. KENNION.

ACLE RECTORV, *February, 8th, 1890.*

Short Notices.

Studies on the Epistles. By F. GODET, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 359.

IT goes without saying that this book will be enthusiastically welcomed by Bible lovers. All the author's well-known penetration of thought and clear judgment are markedly conspicuous. Not less is his style interesting and his matter useful, so that, while the series could be used with advantage by the theological student as "introductions" to the Epistles, it will be quite as acceptable in another light to the general reader. Naturally there is a little loss through translation—indeed, while the book is capitally translated verbally, the syntactical rendering is still very French, and we do not think the translator has always "got inside" Dr. Godet's arguments. For instance, in the essay on 1 Cor. we read, "the Apostle had to treat in this Epistle *nine* topics altogether heterogeneous"; but the chapter afterwards deals separately with the *ten* topics demanded by Dr. Godet's treatment. Such a mistake, we may feel sure, is due to translation. One or two misprints there are, and unfortunately in that quarter where they are most annoying—references to chapter and verse. But these slight blemishes will be readily detected by the careful scholar, and will, perhaps, not do the general reader much harm. In any case, they do not detract from the great value of the whole production.

Meditations. By ADOLPHE GRATRY. London: Griffith and Farran. 1889. Pp. 238.

Père Gratry is well known as a former professor in the Sorbonne; but this work may be read with advantage by all shades of Christians. Even if all its phrases are not endorsed, the fertility of idea and spirituality of thought must prove attractive. These expositions, which are exceedingly well translated, show an originality and a real depth and force which are very seldom met with, even in these days of "Expositors' Bibles" and "Preachers' Aids," multiplied to infinity. A powerful imagination has co-operated with a manifest love of truth to produce them, and the best of the thought is its condensation. No verbiage, no padding, but vivid illustrations wrapped in felicitous language. There are two series of "Meditations" in the present volume: the first upon general subjects, *e.g.*, "man upon the earth," "the union of men," "the presence of God," etc., while the second series deals with the early chapters of St. John's Gospel. Each is marked by the same characteristics, and worthy of an equal recommendation.

The Language of the New Testament. By the late Rev. W. H. SIMCOX, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 226.

This is the latest addition to the "Theological Educator" series. Its chief characteristics are thoroughness and fairness. Two introductory chapters discuss the Greek nation and language after Alexander, and the language of the Jewish Hellenists; the latter is especially interesting. The rest is devoted to grammar pure and simple; and a very useful feature is a complete index of all texts which are referred to. The Hebraised Greek of the New Testament is neither very elegant nor very expressive, says the author, but it is many-sided and eminently translatable. "That is a little strong" will be the comment of many readers upon the first remark; but all will agree with him in thinking that its Semitic base made it Oriental, and its superficial Greek structure made it Western. No opinion is expressed as to the language habitually spoken by our Lord; but, of course, this is hardly within the range of the book, which simply deals with the language of the New Testament as we find it. At the same time, the marked linguistic features of each writer are pointed out, as well as those which they have in common. To the theological student the book will be a great help.

The Biblical Illustrator. St. Luke. Vols. II. and III. Edited by Rev. J. S. EXELL, M.A. London: James Nisbet and Co.

These bulky volumes complete "The Biblical Illustrator of St. Luke." A considerable inequality is manifest in the contents, for while there is a great deal that is profitable, there is, alas! a large amount of mere verbiage. What are we to make of some such sentence as this: "The reckless rapture of self-forgetfulness, that which dominates and inspires persons and nations—that which is sovereign over obstacle and difficulty, and peril and resistance, it has belonged to woman's heart from the beginning."

Biblical Commentary on the Psalms. By F. DELITZSCH, D.D.; translated by Rev. D. EATON, M.A. Vol. III. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 475.

This volume, the concluding portion of the noble edition issued in the "Foreign Biblical Library," deals with Books IV. and V. of the Psalms. It is superfluous to speak of the author's comprehensive learning and lucidity of style. It cannot but be felt how his solidity and soberness contrast with the fantastic theorizing of some other critics. Learning does not always lead to looseness. It is refreshing to note that psalm cx. is unhesitatingly pronounced as Davidic and Messianic.

Iris. By F. DELITZSCH, D.D.; translated by the Rev. A. CUSIN, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Pp. 227.

A series of papers, alluded to as "old pet children," on colours and flowers. This subject is not what we usually associate with the great Professor; but he treats it with all his learning, and yet in a confidential, interesting manner.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew. The Greek text as revised by Drs. Westcott and Hort. With Introductions and Notes by Rev. ARTHUR SLOMAN, M.A., Head-master of Birkenhead School. Macmillan and Co.

A carefully executed little book.

Blackwood is, as usual, full of good things.

We are glad to see in the *Newbery House Magazine* (Griffith, Farran and Co.) a learned article on the Court at Lambeth, by the Rev. Morris Fuller. Mr. Fuller, in concluding, refers to the *Reformatio Legum*, and

says: "Such was evidently the matured mind of the Reformed Anglican Church on this moot point. Both from local precedents and the practice and discipline of the Ancient Church his Grace had no option in the matter, but to proceed as he was in point of fact told to do by the highest Civil Court of the realm. The Archbishop made no *claim* of exercising his judicial functions as Metropolitan; it was simply forced upon him, and he has called to his assistance Episcopal assessors—his *officers*, leading Comprovincials of the province, who are what the *Reformatio Legum* says they should be, '*moribus et doctrinâ præstantes viros,*' and who may be credited with acting '*prudentiâ et pietate.*' ('De Depriv.,' 2). Surely, then, instead of 'protesting' against this time-honoured and constitutional jurisdiction, we should do what we can to strengthen the Primate's hands by respecting it, and offering our sympathy and prayers, that in this acute crisis in our Church's history, he may 'have a right judgment in all things.' Thus the chair of Canterbury may be the blessed instrument, under God, of composing our own internal discussions, of becoming a 'centre of unity' for the whole Anglican Church throughout the world, and promoting the reunion of a divided Christendom."

How many years is it—more than twenty—since we began to use *Sutton's Amateur Guide*? This year the *Guide* is as usual a delight to amateurs; as regards vegetables and flowers; it is beautifully printed. (Sutton and Sons, Reading.)

The Dean of Chichester has, at the request of those ordained, published his sermon at the ordination on December 22nd—*The Call to the Ministry: its Nature and Effects* (Nisbet and Co. Chichester: Wilmshurst). Dean Pigou is known as one of the strongest, most suggestive and spiritual preachers of our day. We had marked several passages in this sermon for quotation. We take one:

Honour the Holy Ghost in the study and preaching of the Word. Seek His inspiration as you think over texts for sermons, and texts will stand out from the rest and become luminous. Look confidently for that which makes pulpit ministration so blessed. What is that? The *power* of the Holy Ghost to accompany and apply the Word spoken.

The "Finger Prayer-Book," received from the Oxford University Press Warehouse, should have been noticed in these pages before. A dainty, tiny book, of the prettiest, it is a wonder even in these days. Many no doubt will find it useful.

Of the "Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools" series (Cambridge University Press Warehouse) we have received *The First Book of Samuel* by Professor Kirkpatrick, and *St. Matthew's Gospel* by Rev. A. Carr. Each of these, so far as we see, is very good.

The *Art Journal* for February is a good average number.

In the *Theological Monthly* (Nisbet and Co.) appears a thoughtful paper by the Rev. J. J. Lias on the Ministry: "What is of Faith in regard to the Apostolical Succession?" Mr. Lias writes:

"It was a rule, attested by at least as strong testimony as the consecration of bishops by Episcopal hands, and possibly more ancient, though we regard it as no longer binding, that the bishop should be elected from among the clergy of the vacant see.¹

¹ See Bingham, "Antiquities," Book II., chap. x., sec. 2, who quotes Cyprian, Julius of Rome, Celestine, Pope Hilary, and Leo the Great in support of this having been the "common rule and canon of the Church."

“The question, then, stands thus: Of the fact of the universal existence of the Episcopate in the second century there can be little doubt. But of what was supposed to constitute a valid appointment to the office during that century we have no information whatever. We know, of course, that the Apostles appointed Timothy and Titus to preside over the Churches in Ephesus and Crete. Irenæus tells us in the passage cited above that they also appointed Linus to Rome and Polycarp to Smyrna.¹ But how their successors were appointed we are not told. No details on this important point are to be found till the time of Cyprian, about the middle of the third century.² But even then the information given us is very scanty. We know that by this time the neighbouring bishops came in to take part in the appointment.³ We know that laying on of hands formed part of the ceremony,⁴ as indeed would be almost certain from the Apostolic practice. But whether the laying on of Episcopal hands was necessary, or only extremely desirable, we are not told. When Cyprian, in his letter to Antonianus, so full of information on matters relating to the ecclesiastical discipline of that day, mentions the things necessary to a valid election, he confines himself to the ‘*Dei et Christi iudicium*,’ the ‘*clericorum testimonium*,’ the ‘*plebis suffragium*,’ and the ‘*collegium sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum*.’ This last phrase is probably explained in another passage in the same letter to be the ‘*co-episcoporum testimonium*.’ He also mentions the vacancy of the see, and its filling up by the election of Cornelius. But we do not read of the formal imposition of Episcopal hands as necessary to the validity of the consecration,⁵ although from the letter of Cornelius himself we know that in his case it formed part of the rite. Cyprian, it is true, in his sixty-seventh Epistle, mentions the custom, as ‘handed down from Divine tradition and Apostolic observance,’ that all the bishops of a province should assemble in order to a due celebration of the rite of consecration. Yet he only states that this took place ‘in almost all the provinces’ (‘*fere per provincias universas*’). What course was adopted in the provinces which did not follow this rule, whether any bishops or none at all were present, he does not say. And it may be questioned whether such an ecclesiastical organization as the province was in existence in Apostolic times. It therefore appears at least probable that, however desirable it may have been for the prevention of misunderstandings that the neighbouring bishops should take part in the consecration, the doctrine of the absolute necessity for their presence in order to a valid conveyance of ‘mission’ had not yet been formulated. Other considerations combine to make it doubtful whether this doctrine of the imparting of the Episcopal character solely through the imposition of Episcopal hands was as yet universally recognised. Thus Cyprian tells Cornelius that in his case it would have been quite sufficient for him to have communicated by letter the fact that he had been ‘made bishop,’⁶ such having been the ancient custom, but that the existence of dissensions about the election made it desirable that such notification should be accompanied by the testimony of the bishops who were present at the ordination.”

¹ Clement of Alexandria, in his *Quis Dives Salvetur*, also tells us that the Apostles appointed bishops in various places. So Tertullian, *De Praesc. Haer.*, cited above.

² Cypr. Ep. xl. (Oxf. xliv.), xli. (Oxf. xlv.), li. (Oxf. lv.), liv. (Oxf. lix.).

³ It seems strange, if the presence of neighbouring bishops was so necessary, that neither Ignatius, nor Polycarp, writing about the martyrdom of Ignatius, should say anything about it.

⁴ Epistle of Cornelius to Cyprian. No. xlv. (Oxf. xlix.) of Epistles of Cyprian. See also Ep. lxvii., *episcoporum iudici episcopatus ei deferretur et manus ei in locum Basilidis imponerentur.* ⁵ See Hatch, “Bampton Lectures.”

⁶ *Episcopum factum.* Ep. xli. ad Cornelium (Oxf. xlv.).

THE MONTH.

IN the Queen's Speech reference was made to a Tithe Bill, dealing with the procedure by which tithe is levied, and also facilitating its redemption.

In the House of Laymen a Motion of urgency on the Tithe Question, by Mr. P. V. Smith, was carried.

The Bishop of Lincoln's trial has been resumed at Lambeth.

A meeting of Churchmen in Council was held on the 6th, in Westminster Town Hall, Mr. G. A. Spottiswoode in the chair. Among the speakers were Canon Jacob, Chancellor Espin, Lord Nelson, the Rev. J. F. Kitto, the Deans of Lichfield, Salisbury and Peterborough, and the Rev. T. Teignmouth Shore. The following resolution was moved by Sir. G. G. Stokes, M.P., P.R.S., seconded by Dean Perowne :

That, with a view to the satisfactory carrying into effect of the prayer of the petition, this meeting approve the determination of Churchmen in Council to promote the passing into an Act of the Bill already drafted by the Convocation of Canterbury (which was also submitted to and approved by the House of Laymen), which provides that when the Houses of Convocation have passed any measure affecting any rubrics or directions in the Book of Common Prayer, such measure shall have legal force if, after having been approved by her Majesty in Council and laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament for a definite time, no address shall have been presented to the Crown by Parliament on the subject.

Many are looking with hope, we believe, to the action of "Churchmen in Council," because they do not see any other way in which pacification can be reached. The Dean of Peterborough's scheme, a Declaration annexed to the Ornaments Rubric, covers only a portion of the ground, and could not have answered the purpose. It would have had no legal force; and what respect would it receive from those who value a period of anarchy? But would it have got through the Northern Convocation at all? The "Bishop of London's Bill" may possibly, argue those to whom we refer, prove the key to unlock our difficulties. Anyhow, if the Convocations propose some terms of pacification, let them be considered by the Lay Houses and Diocesan Conferences. The reference to the *Laity*, in Mr. Spottiswoode's speech, seems to ourselves most worthy of note. There must be "due consultation with the laity."

The C.M.S. anniversary in Oxford seems to have been very successful. At Canon Christopher's customary breakfast, largely attended, the Archbishop of York was the chief speaker.

Archdeacon Straton has made some admirable speeches, in the north, in connection with the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance.

The Report of the Special Commission on the connection between Parnellism and crime has been presented to the House of Commons. Careful readers of the Report, says the *Spectator*, "will not attach the highest order of value to Mr. Parnell's disavowal of sympathy with the violent party."

No physician now doubts that we have been visited by a genuine epidemic of Influenza of a decidedly severe character.