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THE
CHURCHMAN

NOVEMBER, 1894.

ART. I.—THE PRESENT POSITION OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM IN ENGLAND.

FROM the point of view of one who looks upon the questions connected with the authority of the books of the Old Testament with no pretensions to be a "Biblical critic," but who desires to be *au courant* with the general drift of critical opinion in England on these subjects, it cannot be fairly said that the last year or two has shown any marked advance in strengthening the position of the destructive or "analytical" school of critics; nor that, on the other hand, they have received anything like a final or decisive defeat. The contest seems still to partake of the character of a drawn battle: each party must keep within its own lines, must rest content with the arguments which its ablest champions have already advanced, and which seem to them to have sufficient weight to turn the balance in one direction or the other.

Many religious persons, it is to be feared, are somewhat disturbed in their minds by the thought that the Bible should be the subject of "criticism" at all. It is to them, in all its parts, the "Word of God," given to mankind by Divine inspiration, and containing a progressive and continuous revelation of the mind and will of God; they cannot bear that it should be analyzed and discussed like any ordinary human composition. But such persons are asked to remember, first, that this criticism is no new thing; it has existed in some form or other from the first; and many of the difficulties and objections by which "advanced" critics now seek to overthrow the authority of Scripture are, in their germ, almost as old as Christianity itself. Secondly, they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that, however Divine the *origin* of these sacred writings, the *authors* of them, in the usual sense of that term, are human, and must, like all other authors, have their works tested by the judgment and experience of those accustomed to deal critically

with other literature. The contention of the conservative school is not that critics have employed the usual methods in treating the books of the Bible, but that they have employed those methods wrongly and unfairly; that their conclusions are not warranted by the data which they themselves furnish. It, would, however, in the view of the present writer, be better for the lovers of the Bible frankly to acknowledge with what a large margin of imperfection and error, due to whatever cause, the books of the Old Testament have, in fact, come down to us; how much exaggeration, ambiguity, and contradiction is to be found in the details of some of those books; how impossible it is, on either side, to establish with regard to the authorship of some of them, or of parts of some of them, any theory which shall not have, somewhere or other, its weak point, its defective side. A familiar instance of the kind of error referred to is the extraordinary exaggeration with regard to *numbers* which is frequently to be found in some, if not all, of the historical books of the Old Testament. One example will be sufficient:

In 1 Kings xx. 30 we read that, after the Syrians had been defeated by Ahab, "the rest fled to Aphek, into the city; and there a wall fell upon *twenty and seven thousand* of the men that were left." It is surely impossible to suppose that anyone will maintain the destruction of 27,000 men by the fall of a wall to be an actual historical fact. The explanation given by Canon Rawlinson in the orthodox "Speaker's Commentary" is in the highest degree artificial and unsatisfactory; and even the ordinary device of dividing the number given by ten will hardly bring the record within the limits of probability. But it is not because the analytical critics have dwelt on blemishes such as this, or innumerable others in the books of the Old Testament, that we find fault with them; it is because, on grounds which we hold to be insufficient, they have brought down the actual existence of the books, as written documents, to so late a date as to impair their credibility and authenticity.

Among the more prominent contributions to the subject before us which have recently appeared must be reckoned the work of Professor Sayce, bearing the curious and misleading title "The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments." Those who turn to this volume expecting to find any strong confirmation of the conservative or "traditional" view of the Old Testament Scriptures will find themselves woefully disappointed. So far is this from being the case, that the committee of the S.P.C.K., the publishers of the book, evidently mistrusting the offspring which they are introducing to the world, not only prefix to it an apologetic or self-defensive preface of their own, besides that of the author, but guard themselves by a special note against the imputation of being

supposed to accept the author's conclusions with regard to the age and canonical authority of the Book of Daniel. Why, under the circumstances, the Committee did not leave the book to be issued by some other publishing firm in the ordinary way, and to stand on its own merits, is a mystery which perhaps will never be explained.

It is true, Professor Sayce has abundantly shown, by the "verdict of the monuments," that former rationalistic theories about the non-existence of written documents among the Hebrews, and their total lack of education and civilization until many centuries after the age of Moses, must now be finally abandoned. It is now conclusively proved that such documents, of brick or clay, existed not only in the time of Moses, but even in all probability in the time of Abraham; and this has given the final *quietus* to many a self-confident assumption, rather than proof, that the older history in Genesis could not have existed in a written form till several thousands of years after the events it professes to relate.¹ "So far from its being improbable that the Israelites of the age of the Exodus were acquainted with writing, it is extremely improbable that they were not. . . . Schools and libraries must, in fact, have existed everywhere, and the art of writing and reading must have been as widely spread as it was in Europe before the days of the penny post." "The subject-matter" of part of the tenth chapter of Genesis "is in full accordance with the discoveries of archæological research, and may easily have been derived from documents older than the age of Moses" (pp. 45, 51, 152).

But in all this is not Professor Sayce only slaying the slain, as regards, at least, the position of the higher criticism in this country? The best representatives of that criticism amongst ourselves are much too sagacious to commit themselves to such assertions as that writing was unknown in the days of Moses; and its most popular champion, Dr. Driver, has shown clearly that the corrections or alterations which he would have to make if all Professor Sayce's conclusions were established would be extremely few and unimportant.²

So far, then, Professor Sayce has given us very little which we did not possess already; but, on the other hand, he has endeavoured to take away much which some of us supposed we *did* possess. He uncompromisingly deposes the Books of Esther and Daniel from the rank of canonical to that of apocryphal books. "Only one conclusion seems to be possible:

¹ As assumed, *e.g.*, by Mr. W. E. Addis, "Documents of the Hexateuch": "If we put aside a few fragments of ancient song, the earliest document cannot be much earlier than the ninth century before Christ, and is, therefore, posterior by many centuries to the time of Moses."

² See *Contemporary Review*, March, 1894.

the story of Esther is an example of Jewish Haggadah which has been founded upon one of those semi-historical tales of which the Persian chronicles seem to have been full" (p. 475). "It is with good reason that the Book of Daniel has been excluded from the historical books of the Old Testament in the Jewish Canon, and classed along with the Hagiographa" (p. 532).

Although, in the view of the present writer, such treatment of these books is by no means so damaging to our reverence for Holy Scripture as many of the conclusions of analytical critics with regard to the earlier books of the Old Testament, yet it will undoubtedly be a shock to many who may have turned to this volume, attracted by its title, and hoping to find in its pages some confirmation of what they had been taught in childhood of the unity and solidarity of the many books which we include under the comprehensive name of Bible.

Professor Sayce's book is disappointing, too, in other respects. The writer's well-known rashness of conjecture as to the origin of the names of places, persons, deities, etc., reappears with unpleasant frequency, and culminates in a bold attempt to assign an entirely new site for Mount Sinai (p. 263, *seqq.*). The book is, moreover, coloured throughout by the intense "Babylonianism" of the author. To Babylon is to be referred the origin of all ancient Oriental religion; by the test of Babylonian inscriptions the statements of Biblical writers must stand or fall; although it does not seem more difficult to suppose that a Babylonian monarch may have lied on a monument, than that a Biblical writer may have been mistaken in a date or a fact. Monumental fiction has died hard, if, indeed, it be dead at all. It has only been within quite recent times that the reproach has been removed from among ourselves that,

London's column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies.

Another not unimportant contribution to these discussions has been made by an article on "Old Testament Criticism" in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1894. The writer is evidently a man of ability and knowledge, and writes with the confidence which such knowledge and such ability supply. But his "verdict" (to borrow Professor Sayce's expression) is satisfactory to neither party in the controversy. A considerable part of the article is taken up with an elaborate attempt to explode altogether the "Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch." "The result" (says the reviewer) "of our inquiry for a definite and authoritative tradition asserting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is, that we do not find such a tradition either in the pre-Christian period, or in the teaching of our Lord. What

we do find is, that, side by side with other traditions asserting different origins, there sprang up in the course of the three centuries preceding the Christian era a habit of speaking first of one part and gradually of the whole of the five books of the Law as the work of the great law-giver, Moses; but there is no evidence that it was intended by this to assert that the books were, in our modern sense, written by Moses." Is not the writer here "beating the air," as Professor Driver says of those whose arguments he considers beside the point? Who has maintained that the books of the Pentateuch were written by Moses "in our modern sense"—*i.e.*, as Milton wrote "Paradise Lost," or Macaulay the "History of England"? Genesis certainly cannot have been so written; and with regard to the remaining four books, all that is meant by "Mosaic authorship" is that these books contain in the main, and with no large subsequent alterations or additions, the substance of what was written either in the life-time of Moses, and with his knowledge and sanction, or so soon after as to have the weight and authority of contemporaneous record, as the history and laws of the Israelites up to their entrance into Canaan.

The writer concludes the passage from which we are quoting with the following words: "A churchman of the second or third century would have been little troubled if he had been told that what Tatian, one of his own bishops, had done in producing a harmony, a diatessaron, of the four Gospels, this an Ezra or other scribe had done in producing the 'Law of Moses' by harmonizing four or more records which had been received in his time." The comparison suggested seems a singularly infelicitous one, for the stubborn fact remains that the scribe did not produce a harmony or diatessaron; on the contrary, he left a large number of discrepancies or contradictions which it would have been the first object of a harmonist to remove. One of the strongest arguments against the theory of very late redactors, having plenary power to make the Old Testament Scriptures what they pleased, is that no attempt has been made either to soften down the dark stories of cruelty and lust which disfigure the lives of some biblical patriarchs or heroes, or to present in a collected and consistent form the "Mosaic" legislation; the "codifier," if such there was, having done his work in a singularly imperfect manner. But that "Ezra or another scribe" (not harmonized, but) collected and arranged the sacred writings of the Jews in their present form, is a tradition which possesses every feature of probability.

One question, however, remains: if the tradition of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (whether in the sense above explained, or in the sense in which a Rabbi of our Lord's time would have taken it), existed in the third century B.C.,

how did it arise? Traditions do not grow up, like mushrooms, in a single night. Ezra himself may possibly have been living at the beginning of the fourth century; how was it that in the third century the tradition had already assumed the form that Ezra was the collector or editor only, not the harmonist or codifier—still less, as the extreme critics of the analytical school would have us believe, that writers later than Ezra were the authors and inventors—of the “Books of Moses”? We seem, after all, to be shut up between two conclusions: either an acceptance of the early date and Mosaic authority, if not authorship, of the Pentateuch; or the theory of an elaborate system of fraud and falsification (the writer we are quoting imperiously warns us off the term “forgery”), by which unknown writers or redactors in the latest ages of Israel’s history palmed off inventions of their own as having the stamp of the great legislator’s approval.

But if the Quarterly Reviewer thus wages war against belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and so far joins hands with the analytical critics, in the latter part of his article he reverses the part of Balaam, and, having been called upon to bless these confederated forces, he altogether curses them. The essence of the critical system referred to is the analysis of the historical books of the Old Testament into a number of documents or sources—what number has never yet been, and is never likely to be, settled—which the critic, by certain criteria of his own, accurately distinguishes from each other, even to the bisection of a single sentence; just as the chemist, by similar analysis, distinguishes gases or other substances from each other. But the Reviewer will have none of this analyzing process. His arguments need not be summarized; the most obvious of them is the fact that neither as to the number, order or character of the documents or sources is there any pretence of agreement among the critics themselves. Accordingly, he concludes as follows: “If we ask how far the ‘analytical’ theory is consistent with the facts, it seems clear that only one answer can be given. We may admit that there is much to be said for it, that this has been said with conspicuous ability, and, except in rare instances, with conspicuous fairness; that this ability and fairness have won the admiration of many who have competent knowledge of one side of the question, and of some who have competent knowledge of both; but we must add that there is much, very much, to be said *per contra*, and that in its main contention the case is NOT PROVEN, is not, indeed, in the present state of our knowledge provable.”

The readers of the CHURCHMAN will probably be glad to know that such an opinion has been pronounced by a judge who seems competent to his task. There lurks, however, in

the last sentence a suspicious element. The analytical theory, says the writer, is not provable *in the present state of our knowledge*. But why should it be provable in any future state of our knowledge? Writers on this subject sometimes speak as if the Old Testament Scriptures were some newly-discovered Egyptian or Babylonian inscription, respecting which its discoverers may say, "Parts are wanting—some are defaced or broken off—there are *lacunæ* which we can only conjecturally fill up—words occur which puzzle us, but on which other inscriptions hereafter to be unearthed may be expected to throw light—give us time, and we shall be able to tell you more." But this cannot be said of the Old Testament Scriptures. They have been before the world unchanged for many centuries; their language is as well understood by at least some hundreds of competent scholars in Europe and America as Greek or Latin by some thousands; their contents have been read, commented on, criticised, by some of the acutest minds of this and former centuries. Archæology or philology may here and there elucidate an obscure expression, may confirm or invalidate a fragment of history. But it seems unreasonable to expect that any large addition to our knowledge can be looked for from any source. We may safely assume that, if the Reviewer is right in his contention that the analytical theory is not proven or provable in the present, it will never be proved in the future.

Another indication of the disturbance of men's minds within the Church of England by the demands of the new criticism is to be found in the attitude of the body which represents the extreme or advanced High Church party—the English Church Union. That attitude, indeed, so far as any collective decision of the whole body is concerned, is one of inaction. A majority of the members supported the view of the Council, that this was not a matter in which it was wise for the E.C.U. to meddle. The "Catholic" doctrines or practices, which it is the special object of that society to support or encourage, are only very remotely connected with such questions as the authorship of Deuteronomy, or the historical existence of Abraham. But anyone who glances at the correspondence columns of the *Church Times* will be aware how persistently the Rev. Hugh Ryves Baker, of Woolwich, and others, have expressed their conviction that this silence on the part of the E.C.U. is a betrayal of the principles on which it was founded, and inimical to the objects for which it exists. It is clear, therefore, that at least a minority of this powerful High Church organization believe that the party which it represents is bound to speak out, and to speak strongly, on the new criticism. Nor is this view altogether unreasonable. A High Churchman in close

accord and sympathy with analytical criticism is as much out of his element as an Evangelical in a similar position; those who inherit the traditions of Pusey and Keble, as much as those who look to Venn or Simeon as their spiritual ancestors. The premature capitulation made by Mr. Gore in "Lux Mundi," which has placed those who look to him for guidance in so singularly awkward a position, was evidently made with considerable reluctance. He more than once speaks of the "concessions" which have to be made to the modern critical school, when, *e.g.*, we are asked to regard the whole biblical history before Abraham as belonging to the same class as the early Greek myths, or to doubt the historical character of events which our Lord Himself apparently believed to have actually happened. Now, this is the language of one who thinks himself compelled by the clearness of the evidence to admit conclusions which he would otherwise have been glad to avoid. The High Churchman does not *welcome* the results of analytical criticism, he could not do so with any pretence of adhering to his own principles; but some representatives of his party have felt themselves forced to come to terms with those of a very different school, and to throw overboard a large and important part of what were once considered their distinctive principles in order to save the rest; a process which is called "attempting to put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems" ("Lux Mundi," Preface).

The fact is that the party which welcomes the results of destructive criticism is not any section of the "Anglo-Catholic" element in our Church; it is a very different "school of thought"—that which eliminates from its so-called Christianity every distinctive element of the Catholic Faith, and of which the *coryphæus* is the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Fremantle, Canon of Canterbury. It is well to recall that nearly eight years ago this writer in the *Fortnightly Review* expounded what he proposed to call the "New Reformation," and in doing so made a clean sweep of historical Christianity. The Divinity and Incarnation of Christ, Creation, except as "a negative rather than a positive idea," miracles, and even the personality of God, are all treated as little better than obsolete and untenable beliefs. On the last-named point Canon Fremantle tells us that "the theologians of the future will carefully draw from the processes of human life, as that which is highest in the moral scale, their inferences as to the nature of the Supreme Power," and "will feel able to speak of God as just and loving, since the Supreme Power *ex hypothesi* includes mankind, the leading portion of the world, with all its noblest ideals." Whether this last sentence involves Pantheism or Positivism we feel unable to say. At all events, it is a singular gloss on

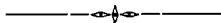
words with which Canon Fremantle must be familiar: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible."

Now, that *this* is the party which will welcome all the conclusions of the most destructive School of Biblical Critics is clear from the fact that Canon Fremantle not only regards all those conclusions as established beyond question with regard to the Old Testament, but carries his besom of destruction uncompromisingly into the New Testament also. Thus he speaks of "the diminished historical value which it is found necessary to ascribe to the Acts of the Apostles," and "the dubious character of the later epistles ascribed to St. Paul." Leaving a few fragments of the Gospels as genuine, he adds that "the main lines of this criticism acquire a greater certainty and acceptance every year" (an assertion which the few years that have intervened have already done much to refute), and that, with regard to our Lord, we have "to gain from books subject to the same incidents as other forms of literature, and written by men who imperfectly understood Him, our consciousness of the value of His life, His character, His teaching, and of His relation to mankind and to God." Should Canon Fremantle be reminded of the recorded promise of Christ to His apostles—"The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you" (John xiv. 26)—he has his answer ready: the Gospel ascribed to St. John was probably "wholly composed in the second century by some disciple or successor of St. John."

This pronouncement of Canon Fremantle called forth from the late Dean Burgon, in the following month (April, 1887), a vehement protest, characterized by that writer's well-known grotesque violence, and winding up his charges with these words: "Shocking to relate, therefore, *you deny every article in the Creed!*" When a Canon of Canterbury, and one who takes a somewhat prominent part in Church matters, can sit complacently for seven years under the imputation of "denying every article in the Creed," we feel that we are on the "downward grade" with a vengeance. And *this*, be it remembered, is the only party in our Church which can accept heartily and *ex animo* the criticism which leaves both the Testaments largely made up of legendary and unhistorical matter.

A. COLCHESTER.

(To be concluded.)



ART. II.—THE NEW EDUCATIONAL TEST.

THOSE among us who are old enough to remember the Gorham controversy, as it originated and was gradually developed to the great peril of our Church, will recall, as its most conspicuous and most menacing incident, the so-called Synod of Exeter, and the new test it proposed—viz., the rigid definition of the article of the Creed of Constantinople, in which we confess our belief in the “one baptism for the remission of sins,” on the interpretation of which the mind of the Church had been long divided. While giving clear expression to her doctrines in her public formularies, our Church has ever been cautious to avoid any definition of the terms in which they are conceived which might limit the just rights of her separate members, and to preserve such a latitude to their meaning as to give scope to the exercise of a wise and enlightened discrimination. In this she follows the example of spiritual wisdom set by the sacred writers, who do not unnecessarily define the meanings of the terms which they employ in expressing or illustrating the doctrines of Christianity. They rather teach the meaning of them by describing their results upon the life of the disciple than by defining their critical interpretation; for their object, and the very “object of our religion” (as Leibnitz justly affirms) “is rather to inspire holiness into the will than to pour into the understanding draughts of hidden truth.” No reasonable man can doubt that this should be also our object, not only in our pastoral work, but also, and specially, in the education of the young.

The Bishop of Exeter in his controversy with Mr. Gorham lost sight of this great aim. Both held with equal firmness of conviction and confession the articles of the Creed; but the Bishop was not satisfied with this unity of belief, but required Mr. Gorham to accept his definition of the terms in which it was conceived, imposing by this means a new test. In exact imitation of this fatal precedent, the advocates of the new educational test, unsatisfied with their acceptance of the Scriptures would force upon the teachers a commentary of their own upon the sacred text, breaking up the compact whose establishment had been so beneficial as fully and effectually as the Bishop broke up the pact which the Church had formed with the individual disciple, on the faith of which he entered the sacred society. The Synod of Exeter proclaimed the necessity of “declaring its firm adherence to the Nicene Creed,” meaning hereby its own definition of the terms used in the Creed. In the same manner the movement party in the religious educa-

tion question deem it necessary that the teachers should declare their belief in the Scriptures, meaning thereby their own deductions from the Scriptures; for they had already accepted the Scriptures as fully, and we may trust as honestly, as Mr. Gorham had accepted the Creed.

In an unpublished letter I addressed to the late venerable Dr. Lushington, of which he expressed his entire approval, I asked, Whence can arise the necessity which the Bishop and his Synod plead? Against those who receive not the Creed there might arise such a necessity, but as against those who receive it, their meaning can only be this: "We deem it necessary to declare our adherence to the Creed in some sense which the Creed does not sufficiently or naturally express." In the same manner the agitators on the present occasion declare it necessary to explain the Scriptures in a certain sense and in certain terms which they would impose upon the teachers, although they have accepted the Scriptures as unreservedly as Mr. Gorham accepted the Creed. The Synod proceeded to explain their sense of the Creed by an elaborate definition, which, as I observed further, "was as virtual an addition to the Creed as an explanatory schedule would be to an Act of Parliament." This equivalence of a definition to a creed was pointed out with great pertinence by the Bishop of Forli in the Council of Florence, "for," as he urged, "it touches the subject-matter of the Creed." From this conviction the Council of Chalcedon declared, when urged to add to the Creed a word then deemed actually necessary to the orthodox explanation of it, "We will make no exposition in writing. There is a canon (*i.e.*, of Ephesus) which declares that which is already set forth to be sufficient." A canon of a far higher authority has fixed the limits of our belief—the canon of Scripture itself.

But another very important question here arises, to which we may briefly allude. The Apostles' Creed constitutes the foundation of the great compact made between the Church and her individual members, the breach of which on either side would dissolve it altogether. The baptized person, whether infant or adult, is received into the Church on the profession of the grand and simple truths and facts on which his salvation depends. The same compact is entered into between the Church and the individual even in the Roman Church, and the great Western Creed comprises all its conditions. It cannot but appear that the attempt to force upon the young who have been thus freely admitted into the Catholic Church any articles of faith or points of religious instruction beyond these, is disturbing the most sacred bond which can exist between the Church and her children. In my work on Romanism (p. 47), referring to the baptismal formula of the Roman Church, I

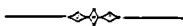
observe: "We recognise here a mutual compact on the part of the child received into the Church and the Church herself, which is incapable of alteration or addition without a breach of the covenant by either of the contracting parties. Such a violation of the compact, by a new condition or a new test, would be held by every legal tribunal in the world to release the party against whom it was enforced from every obligation imposed upon him by the original agreement. The compact between the parties clearly marks out the limits of necessary faith on the one side and of stipulated obedience on the other."

The creed has the unique and inimitable merit that it presents every necessary truth of Christianity in the simplest and most persuasive form to the least instructed and the narrowest intellects, and that it preserves the order and course of the Divine revelation, and of the great events of the life of Christ. To the minds of the young the Divinity of our Lord is better proved by the works of His power than by the most elaborate of the definitions of orthodoxy, while the Personality of the Holy Ghost is best taught in the language in which the first promise of His advent was given, and in the narrative of the manner in which that promise was first fulfilled.

But if the compact should be broken and the confidence of the Nonconformists in our Church seriously shaken, more fatal consequences than those which more immediately present themselves would very soon appear. The child who is prematurely taught the deepest mysteries of our faith will be prematurely led to the knowledge of the painful and humiliating controversies which arose out of them. We shall but stir up the ashes of these fires, which we believe too rashly to be entirely spent, by substituting an artificial and technical dogmatism for a natural and practical demonstration. It would seem that the necessity for this reticence led the Western Church in her baptismal office to make the simpler creed the foundation of it, and not to invite the young and unprepared mind to enter into the deeper mysteries of the union of the two natures in Christ, or of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. These they left to grow up out of the simpler teachings of the Evangelists, as they grew up from the first. It was an evil day which rendered philosophical definitions and Aristotelic distinctions a necessity. It will be a more fatal day for the Church when human definitions are substituted for Divine teachings, and religion begins to be taught *aristotelicé non piscatorie*. The sufficiency of the Scriptures is not only the doctrine of the Scriptures themselves, but also of our own Article. We shall not easily err if we "give ourselves up to be taught by the pure and living precept of God's Word, which, without more additions, nay, with a

forbidding of them, hath within itself the promise of eternal life, the end of all our wearisome labours and all our sustaining hopes."¹

ROBERT C. JENKINS.



ART. III.—THE VALIDITY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SUCCESSION.

THERE are two separate and distinct questions connected with the problem of the Reunion of the Churches which are capable of being discussed quite independently of one another. The one is that of the Reunion of the members of the several Churches—the Reunion of the *laity*; the other is that of the recognition of the *officers* of those Churches by the separate organizations, in the matter of the interchange of pulpits, the administration of Sacraments, and the official status that is conveyed by the fact of such ministers being qualified and regularly constituted officers of any particular Church. It would be quite possible for either of these two separate aspects of the question to be brought within the sphere of practical politics without the other being considered at all. There might be a real Reunion of the laity of the churches without any discussion of the question of Orders, and there might be a recognition (or otherwise) of the Orders of the various classes of ministers without furthering the Reunion of the laity of the Churches in any way whatever. So since most people, when they speak or write of the problem of Reunion, confine their purview to the latter question, and think that, when it is settled, the whole matter has come to a definite and satisfactory conclusion, it is, perhaps, worth while to point out that the two sides of the question are separable. Tempting as this phase of the problem is, I only mention it to pass it by and to proceed to the more immediate special topic of my paper, namely, the Validity of the Presbyterian Succession.

And let me say very clearly at the outset that the task that I have set before myself is a limited one. I am only going to state what the lawyers call an A B C case. I am not going to advocate a cause. My own view of the question is rather different from the view that I shall now present; but since my own view does not matter, and the view that I shall state is that held by a large body of men within the limits of the Church of England, in essence by the Church of Rome, and in principle by many of the prominent ministers of the Church of Scotland, it is one that is worth while considering, because it

¹ Milton: Prose Works.

will have to be reckoned with, and reckoned with very seriously, when any proposals are made for Reunion between any of those bodies. I am therefore simply the exponent of other people's views, and I shall try and state them as fairly and dispassionately as I can, and to make no quotations that have not been carefully verified and compared diligently with the contexts in which they appear.

The position, then, is this: That a ministry is not possible, as an ordinary thing, which is not based upon the principle of Apostolical Succession. I say advisedly *ordinary*, because all theories of the Apostolic Succession recognise that in extraordinary circumstances, where the succession should fail or not be available, then the ministry falls once more into the province of the priesthood of the laity, and men are at liberty, as on a desert island, to take upon themselves all those functions which ordinarily are performed by the recognised ministry of the Church. What, then, is the doctrine of Apostolical Succession? The answer to this question depends upon the period of Church history of which we ask it, and on the branch of the Church to which the inquiry is addressed. The succession of St. Ignatius is not quite the same thing as that of modern Rome, nor either of these quite the same as that of the modern High Church party. The succession of St. Ignatius is that of the Apostles as representing God, the Presbyters as representing the Apostles, and the deacons. He says (Epis. xx.) "Be ye zealous to do all things in godly concord, the Bishop presiding after the likeness of God, and the Presbyters after the likeness of the council of the Apostles, with the deacons also, who are most dear to me, having been entrusted with the diaconate of Jesus Christ." The theory of the Roman Church recognises no orders as valid except those that have been conferred by a Bishop in communion with the See of St. Peter, and having a commission from the Pope to confer the same. The theory of the Anglican party in the Church of England may perhaps be best stated in the language of Mr. Gore, its ablest and most moderate advocate. He says ("Church and Ministry," p. 71), "It was thus intended that there should be in every Church in each generation an authoritative stewardship of the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, and a recognised power to transmit it, derived from above by Apostolic descent. The men, who from time to time were to hold the various offices involved in the ministry and the transmitting power necessary for its continuance, might, indeed, fitly be elected by those to whom they were to minister. In this way the ministry would express the representative principle. But their authority to minister in whatever capacity, their qualifying consecration, was to come from above, in such sense that no

ministerial act would be regarded as *VALID*—that is, as having the security of the Divine covenant about it—unless it was performed under the shelter of a commission, received by the transmission of the original pastoral authority which had been delegated by Christ Himself to His Apostles. This is what is understood by the Apostolic Succession in the ministry.”

It involves, you will see, two great principles: the principle that no man can take the ministry to himself, as a regular ordinary mode of procedure, and that the authority which gives a man the right to exercise his ministry is one that is given by those who have already themselves received power to give it, by the fact that they stand in the line of direct succession from the Lord and His Apostles. Now, in truth, as a matter of fact, this has been the case in the history of the Church from the earliest times onwards. In some way or another those who have exercised the office of the ministry have received authority to do so from others who were already in the ministry, though the form of such recognition may be very varied. There is no gap in the long line of Apostolic succession regarded as a *fact*, though there may be gaps discoverable when we come to apply any particular theory of Apostolical Succession to special cases. But it is important in this controversy to distinguish between the fact and our ideas as to what the meaning of that fact is. We are all agreed as to the fact. There has been no break in the history of the Church, or in the succession of the ministries of that Church. We are not agreed as to what constitutes a valid succession, and it is this point that is the central one of my paper. I am obliged to omit the discussion of ministries other than those of the Presbyterian Churches. But the loss thus involved is not so great as might at first be imagined, since the Presbyterian case is a typical one, only rather more simple than some of the others. Would it be, then, possible to conclude from a High Church point of view that the Presbyterian orders were valid? And here let me remind you that I am stating a case, and not advocating a cause. What are the facts to begin with? I dare not attempt even a summary of the early history of the Church of Scotland. As an Englishman, I move amid its tangled mazes with hesitating feet, and do not always quite know the path that should lead me to the spot I want to reach. I have never yet met an Englishman who did confess to knowing very much about the subject, and, if I slip, my Scotch brethren will have ample opportunity to pull me up again, and I shall be most grateful.

But it appears to be fairly certain that the first ministers of the Church of Scotland were men who were already in Priests' Orders, and who had received those Orders from Bishops who at

the time that they were conferred were in communion with the See of Rome. I do not lay much stress on this last point, but it is worth while bearing it in mind in view of possibilities which lie within the problem of Reunion. But the main point is that the Orders of the first ministers were in their origin Episcopal, and were thus already in the direct line of succession from the Christ and His Apostles. The second point is that all the ministers of the Church of Scotland, from that time to the present moment, have been ordained by those who had thus in the first instance the Episcopal ordination, or by their successors. The succession in the Presbyterian Church is thus distinctly, historically, and without possibility of refutation, a succession of Presbyters, as regular, as unbroken, as the succession of the Bishops in the Church of England or in the Church of Rome—perhaps more unbroken, indeed, than some of the successions in the latter Church. Let me quote a passage from the most recent authority on the subject to prove that I am not overstating the case. The Rev. Dr. Sprott, in an extremely interesting paper—in a volume full of the most fascinating discussions of the present state of the Church of Scotland, and especially of the new movement that has sprung up in her, and of which such great things are expected, I mean the Scottish Church Society Movement—is discussing the question of the Historical Continuity of the Church of Scotland, and says (p. 164, “Scottish Church Society Conferences, 1894”), “From 1560 till 1571 the Church was governed by Assemblies, Synods and Kirk Sessions. The Synods were presided over by superintendents, who formed the executive of the Church, and who did very much the work of Bishops. The appointment of clergymen during this period consisted chiefly in the admission of old priests to be ministers or readers. Any new ordinations that took place were conducted by the superintendents, some of whom were Bishops, assisted by other Presbyters.” So that in the initial stages, which are the all-important ones for this purpose, the ministry was ordained either by Bishops unconverted from the old system, or by those who had changed some of their theological opinions and beliefs, for that is really all that the Reformation came to in relation to this question.

Here, however, comes in a minor issue which must detain us for a few moments. Dr. Sprott continues, “We are told by some that the chain was broken at this point, because, in the case of a few laymen then admitted to the ministry, the laying on of hands by ordination was omitted.” And the point has been raised elsewhere. Its history is curious and intricate. In the “First Book of Discipline,” which, though it *may* have been the law of the Church, was never the law of the land, there was a passage which spoke lightly of the laying on of

hands. It ran as follows: "In a Church reformed, or tending to reformation, none ought to presume either to preach or yet to minister the Sacraments till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinarie vocation consisteth in election, examination and admission. And because that election of ministers in this cursed Papistrie hath altogether been abused, we thinke it expedient to intreat it more largely. It appertaineth to the people, and to every severall congregation to elect their minister.

"Other ceremonie than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chiefe minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve the (that) church, we cannot approve: for albeit the Apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessarie.

"In their admission, the office and dewtie of ministeris and peopili sould be declarit, be sum godlie and learnt minister. And sua publickly befor the people sould they be placit in their kirk, and joint to their flock at the desire of the samin: other ceremonies except fasting and prayer, sic as laying on of hands, we judge not necessarie in the institution of ministerie." —("First Book of Discipline.")

Was, then, the ceremony of the laying on of hands discontinued? The "First Book of Discipline" was approved by the General Assembly in 1560, and, though not formally ratified by the Council, was subscribed by a great portion of the members. Many of them, however, were opposed to it, and by some it was stigmatized as "a devout imagination." It was therefore never formally and fully approved by the civil authorities. It remained the law of the Church till 1578, when the Second Book was agreed on in the General Assembly, inserted in the register of the Assembly, 1581, sworn to in the National Covenant, revived and ratified by Assembly in 1638, and by many other acts of Assembly, and according to which the Church Government is established by Law, A.D. 1592 and 1690. Now, the "Second Book of Discipline" is perfectly clear upon the point of laying on of hands. It says, "Ordinatione is the separation and sanctifying of the person appointed to God and his kirk, efter he be well tryit and fund qualifet. The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer and imposition of hands of the eldership. The minister is to come from the pulpit to the foresaid place, where the intrant kneeling (for the more decent and convenient laying on of hands) and the brethren standing, he, as their mouth, in their Master's name and authority doth in, and by, prayer set the candidate apart (not only the minister who prays, but all the brethren who conveniently can, laying their hands upon his head) to the

office of the ministry, invoking God for His blessing to this effect." (From "Collections and Observations concerning the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland," in four books, by Walter Steuart, of Pardovan, Edinburgh, 1837.)

What, then, happened in the interval during which the First Book was, perhaps, the law of the Church? The book simply states that the laying on of hands was not necessary. It was never law, civil or ecclesiastical, and there is no act of the General Assembly authorizing such an omission. There is not, so far as I can gather, any case in which it was omitted. After a search through such of the contemporary diaries and journals as I have been able to see, I can find no single instance of an ordination at which there was such an omission. The only passage that bears upon it is from a work called "The Babe of Glory," by W. Erkery (p. 55), in which he says, "Yet some Bishops blowed on the Minister to be made, as Christ breathed the Holy Spirit. Indeed, that of the Prelates was but a form and a foolery too; yet it was wiser than this Ordination of our English Presbytery, where no gift of the Spirit is pretended or expected; far foolisher than the Scots Presbytery, who lay no hands at all because no gift followed. These make Ministers and ordained Elders without the laying on of hands." This is only a general statement and cites no definite cases, and receives, so far as I can judge, no contemporary corroboration. We may therefore, I take it, assume that the short interval between the First and the Second Books of Discipline, seventeen years, did not witness at least a universal discontinuance of the laying on of hands, and the interval was not long enough, even supposing that the custom had become general, for all the original ministers to have died out, so that when the practice was again ordained as of obligation, there would be men who had the succession and able to ordain validly according to the law of the Church of Scotland. And from 1578 there has never been any change and no question as to the universality of the practice.

The question remains as to the relation of this mode of ordination to the custom of the Primitive Church. And here we tread on much more uncertain ground—ground over which I do not propose even cursorily to travel. All I can do is to indicate the fairly well-established results of modern scholarship—results of which it can be said that the more we know, the more we feel the impossibility of *finally* settling the question with our *present* knowledge of early Church documents and practices. But it seems to be established, whether Episcopacy and Presbytery in the very early days were synonymous terms or no, that in the Churches of Asia Minor,

under the supervision and in the lifetime of St. John, the Episcopal system, substantially as we have it, was in full operation, and that from thence it gradually spread over the whole of Christendom, justifying itself by its results and the splendid way in which it adapted itself to the varying needs of the communities in which it had to work. There are some who think that survivals of the earlier system lasted on till later times in scattered portions of the Christian world. The salient passage usually quoted is that of St. Jerome in his letter to Evangelus concerning the ministry, but an independent examination of the passage has made me very doubtful whether any definite conclusion can be drawn from it. The passage runs thus: "Nam et Alexandria a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus Imperatorem faciant: aut Diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, at Archidiaconum vocent." It is thus translated by Canon Fremantle in his recent editions of the principal writings of St. Jerome: "For even at Alexandria from the time of Mark the Evangelist until the episcopates of Heraclas and Dionysius, the Presbyters always named as bishop one of their own number, chosen by themselves, and set him in a more exalted position, just as an army elects a general, or as deacons appoint one of themselves whom they know to be diligent and call him archdeacon." Now, this may mean that the Presbyters of Alexandria down to the middle of the third century elected and consecrated their own Bishop; but it may also mean that they only elected and installed him, leaving the question of consecration open; or it may be that some of the Presbyters were in Bishops' Orders themselves, and that therefore there was no need to call in outside aid for purposes of consecration. The most we can say is that the point is very doubtful, and cannot therefore be used as decisive on one side or the other in the issue before us. And beyond this passage there is nothing in early Church history that bears on the matter. But it prevents Episcopacy from being insisted upon as of the *esse*.

The real and final issue therefore is this: Would it be possible in the interests of Reunion for those who have the Episcopal succession to recognise, either as a permanent institution or *pro hac vice*, those who have the succession of the Presbyters only? There have been those in the English Church who have recognised the Presbyterian succession as valid equally with the Episcopal. I need only cite the great name of Bishop Andrewes, who does not, however, stand alone, in bygone times, and there are many now living, the Archdeacon of London and others, who take the same position to-day.

It seems, in conclusion, by no means improbable that a solution of this kind will be reached far more speedily in the United States than in England. Let me quote a very remarkable proposal on the lines of this paper, made in a recently-published paper called "The Historic Episcopate," by the Rev. Dr. Shields. He says, "Already they" (*i.e.*, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians) "have points of contact and agreement in three of the Lambeth Articles: in the Scriptures, the Creeds and the Sacraments. It only remains to attach them in the Episcopate. And that attachment might be begun by concurrent ordinations on the principle advocated by a learned and accomplished Bishop of St. Andrews (the late Dr. Charles Wordsworth) for the reconciliation of Presbyterians and Episcopalians in the Church of Scotland. In such ordinations candidates would be presented to the Bishop, with the concurrence of the Presbytery, by priests who have had formerly Presbyterian ordination, or perhaps by Presbyterian ministers who have had formerly Episcopal ordination. The transaction might be kept within the rubric as well as the book, or at least within the Lambeth proposals, and would involve a practical sanction of all conceivable interests and claims, with no possibility of doubt or controversy. Both parties would have acted upon their respective theories of the Christian ministry, without conceding anything to each other and without reflecting upon one another. The most extreme Episcopalian, from his point of view, would have fully legitimated a ministry which on other grounds he was prepared to appreciate and welcome; and the most extreme Presbyterian, from his point of view, would only have gained enlarged authority for a ministry which he believed to be already valid and regular."

FREDERIC RELTON.



ART. IV.—NOTES ON THE ASPECTS OF RELIGION AND OF EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

OF all foreign nations France is the one in which we are naturally most interested. The French people have been for ages, and are still, our competitors and rivals in Europe and the world. Their history has been throughout its long course closely interwoven with our own, and we have mutually influenced one another in more ways than can be counted. With the exception of the United States, no country carries on a larger trade with us; and it is estimated that one-fifth of its entire foreign commerce is transacted with the United King-

dom. Add to this the unceasing intercourse that takes place across the Channel ; the vast numbers of British residing on French soil, and the perhaps equally numerous colonies of French domiciled in London and other large cities ; the interchange of all sorts of publications, from the historical and the scientific treatise down to the light novel or theatrical play ; the mutual alterations in fashions and dress, English women borrowing their finery from Paris, and French dandies the cut of their clothes from London—consider, I say, all these points, and you will recognise how closely we are knitted to what I may call our Gallic kinsmen across the Straits. And yet we differ from one another in a hundred ways—so much so, indeed, that we rarely, or with difficulty, understand one another, our manners, customs, ideas, modes of expression, and views—or rather the points of view from which we regard things—being frequently irreconcilable. We live as strangers in each other's countries, and, although inter-marriages are not rare, retain our distinctive characteristics without alloy. The French express this by the phrase "*différence de mœurs*," but perhaps "*difference of racial instincts*" would be more accurate. In one respect we are quite alike : in the love of, and pride in, each our own nationality ; but this only, of course, widens the natural and historical breach which separates us.

It will be my endeavour in this paper to draw a comparison or contrast between the French and ourselves in respect of two important matters, religion and education ; for it is deep down in the foundations of these that we can trace some of the causes of the difference already alluded to, others being assignable perhaps to climate and historical associations.

The sources of my information are threefold : first, personal observation over a great part of the North of France ; second, knowledge gathered from a variety of trustworthy persons ; and, third, reliable statistics gathered from documents published by the Government.

The history of primary education in France is soon told. Down to the time of the Revolution there can hardly be said to have been any schools for the common people at all—in the villages, at least. Some of the clergy held classes in their houses, or in the aisles of their churches, and occasionally a teacher would set up a school in a cottage or barn, in dependence upon what the parents of his scholars might choose to supply him with in food and lodging. The stock of books consisted, says Mr. Franque, who edited the Government Report of 1842, of a Psalter in Latin ; a "*Croix de Dieu*," or "*Abécédaire*" ; a "*Civilité pure et honnête*" ; and a multiplication table. "*Some old parchment, hereditary in the family, perhaps a contract drawn up by a notary public, served,*" he

adds, "to finish the scholar's course; for when he had got this length, 'il savait lire dans les contrats,' and was accounted a 'savant.'"

In those days instruction of the common people was not only little thought of in any country, except Scotland, it was by most persons considered unsuitable for the class whom Providence had destined to be, and to remain, labourers. Voltaire wrote: "It seems necessary that there should be ignorant ragamuffins (*gueux*). If you possessed land like me, you would be of my opinion. It is not the country labourer you ought to teach, but the burgher (*le bourgeois*), the dweller in the towns."

It was the clergy who first gave an impulse to primary schools in France, as was the case also in Great Britain, the Scotch having the start, however, of the English by two centuries at least. The Bull of Pope Benedict XIII., who founded the Société de frères des écoles Chrétiennes, in 1724, contains these remarkable words: "The object of this society is to prevent the innumerable disorders and inconveniences produced by ignorance, the source of all evils, among those especially who, overwhelmed with poverty, and obliged to earn their livelihood by the labour of their hands, are debarred by want of means from the possibility of acquiring knowledge."

Letters patent granted to the "virtuous" De la Salle in 1725 enabled, in the face of much opposition, the first school for the poor to be started at Rheims, whence the movement spread far and wide in the North of France. It was not, however, till the Revolution that laws began to be passed for the establishment of a State system of instruction, which, however, as will be seen later on, remained, if not a dead letter for two generations, at least very inadequately observed.

The Government statistics of education for 1829, the first year of their issue, show that, out of 38,149 parishes (*communes*), 23,919 only possessed schools, with an attendance of 969,340 pupils, the salaries of the teachers ranging from three-pence to one penny per month per scholar, payable by such parents as could afford the fee, otherwise by the parish council. Notice is taken in these statistics of the inadequacy of the school premises in numerous instances, even the buildings provided by the parish authorities being unsuitable. We shall see later on the progress that has been since made.

In comparing or contrasting education in France and at home, let us observe, first, that the population of the two countries may be taken to be nearly the same, the census of 1891 giving a total for the United Kingdom of nearly 38,000,000, and the French census of 1886, 38,250,000. As the returns of the latter, however, show a diminution of over

500,000 within the previous ten years, our population probably already exceeds that of France.

It will be convenient for my purpose to dispose of a few more statistics before proceeding further. Observe, then, that the State Budget in France for primary education amounted in 1891 to a little under £7,000,000, which went to the maintenance of 60,120 schools, with a staff of 97,000 teachers, instructing 4,000,000 pupils. The figures for the United Kingdom in 1888 were:

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{State subsidy, } £5,070,000 \\ \text{Rates, } £4,620,000 \end{array} \} = £9,690,000$$

for the support of 30,500 schools, attended by 4,605,000 pupils. Here comparison by means of statistics ends. For while in England the Government makes grants to all primary public schools alike, in France it leaves to the free (*libres*) or denominational schools the duty of supporting themselves, requiring only that the teachers in them should have earned a regular "Brevet," or diploma granted by the University of France. Of these free public elementary schools there are nearly 9,000 with a staff of 10,600 teachers, and an attendance of 850,000 pupils. By far the greater number of them are under the direction of Roman Catholic committees, as may be deduced from the circumstance that the Protestant population of the country is under 750,000, or under 2 per cent. of the whole, who are ministered to by 700 pastors (Lutheran and Reformed), or, as compared with the 50,000 priests, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In what follows, therefore, account will not be taken of the Protestant schools or churches, which flourish, moreover, in but few districts, although it is not to be inferred from this that either Christian or Jewish dissentients from the Church of the majority are without considerable influence in the State.

I am aware that statistics are apt to be fallacious, and may be made available for often opposite purposes; but, assuming the figures just stated to be accurate, it would seem that France is twice as well supplied with schools as we are, and that their attendance exceeds ours by some hundreds of thousands. It is to be noted, however, that we have a great number of private or adventure schools, which cannot well be enumerated, and are not taken account of in Government or other official returns and statistics. It is probable, therefore, that the two countries are equally well equipped in the machinery for primary public instruction.

Now a word or two regarding the buildings, the government of the schools, and the instruction imparted.

A great many, perhaps most, of the elementary schools are new, or of recent construction—say ten or twelve years old. They are exceedingly well planned and arranged, with, as is

natural to the French, a considerable attention paid to architectural display. The rooms are large and lofty, with partitions, having windows in the centre, so that the headmaster or mistress may command a view of every class. In front is a sufficient playground, supplied with gymnastic apparatus, and on either side sheds for exercise in wet weather, one for the boys and the other for the girls, with the offices behind. The country schools are generally in the same block as the *mairie*, or town-hall, where the parish business is transacted, and the teacher's house is either over the school or at one side of it. The old schools have been mostly enlarged or made higher, and all are equally well supplied with maps, object pictures, and blackboards. The instruction is in all cases free, and in the Government schools books and stationery are supplied. The education is also compulsory. So far as I was able to ascertain, the teachers are paid on an average £40 to £80, whereas in England the average is about double. They all have, as already stated, a diploma, and have received their training at special seminaries or colleges, of which each department has one. The governing body of every school consists of a committee, of which the mayor is chairman, and the others elected. The curé, or parson, is now by law excluded from the State schools; but in the *écoles libres*, or "free" or "congregational" schools he is generally the most influential of the governors. Christian religion has been banished from the State schools, and to supply its place various manuals have been compiled describing the duties of citizens, the most approved, perhaps, being entitled, "*Éducation morale et instruction civique*," by M. Mezières, a deputy and member of the French Academy, and "*Cours d'instruction civique*," by Professor Mabileau. They are useful books, very simply written, and as regards religion, neutral. Other books published by the Society "*Anti-cléricale*," such as "*Le Catéchisme républicain du Libre penseur*," and the "*Exposé sommaire de la religion Chrétienne à l'usage des Écoles laïques*," published by the *Société de l'enseignement National*, are distinctly anti-Christian and Voltairian in their tone. They are recommended by their compilers to be used in the last year of the school course, so that the pupils may finish their "education" well primed with arguments against Christianity, and stored with the teaching of the advanced freethinkers.

In regard to the secular instruction imparted, it may be pronounced excellent. The French are very skilful in the compiling of simple and well-graduated school-books, of which the educational shops are full almost to overflowing. A number of these books are admirably illustrated, and are often more than a match for our own on the same subjects. There are also in circulation many valuable treatises on the theory

and method of instruction. From what has been already said, it need not be pointed out that under the present system Christianity is excluded from the course. The various ministers of religion are at liberty to impart their own tenets in the church, or "temple," or at home, as the parents may elect, but they are forbidden to open their mouths in the national schools. A generation is in this way growing up to which Christianity may in many cases be unknown, and where known presented in colours which class it with the mythologies and make it ridiculous—with what result is not doubtful, as the statistics of crime have been adduced to show.

The State schools, of course, cover the country, being established in nearly every parish, or, at least, in every school district; whereas the "Congregational" schools are only to be found in the larger towns, where sufficient means may be available for the maintenance, out of private effort and benevolence, of second, or more supplementary, or religious schools, managed, as already said, by the clergy and their friends, and under teachers from the society of the "Frères Chrétiens" or other ecclesiastical source; or, in the case of girls' and infant schools, of a sister of one or other of the religious orders. These religious schools are often preferred by the parents, and as often, perhaps, not—for the State schools enjoy certain advantages connected, for example, with prizes, treats, and the like, organized by the mayor or the Town Council, upon which both parents and children set a certain value. There is, indeed, a sharp rivalry between the two, and in many places the Church attracts more pupils to its schools than the State does to its. As regards the ordinary routine of school learning, there is little to choose between them. The Government inspector does not visit the "free" schools, except to report upon their sanitary condition.

The course of study in the State schools is regulated by a code similar to the one we are familiar with at home, and the Minister of Public Instruction issues circulars from time to time directing attention to matters he may deem important. To every separate subject of instruction a certain number of hours per week is assigned, while the holidays and vacations are directed by the same authority. The masters and mistresses seem thus to be left very little discretion. In practice, however, those sometimes long-winded circulars are said to meet with scant attention, for they are as often as not regarded as academic and impracticable. And here I may observe that the rulers in all departments of the Government inherit from their predecessors a strong disposition to issue ordinances and enact regulations with little or no reference to the possibility of their being observed. When, for example, in

the first outburst of Revolutionary zeal the Constituent Assembly decreed that all children should receive suitable instruction free, and that schools should be everywhere built, it does not seem to have occurred to anyone that no funds were available, and therefore were not assigned for this purpose. This, however, is only one out of many instances that might be adduced to show what the French confess they are often unmindful of—looking before they leap. Some years later Napoleon issued similar orders, which, like the first, remained a dead letter for want of money.

The ministries of to-day, in like manner, it may be added, expend much paper and ink on matters that might be left alone, or to the discretion of the subordinate staffs; but then they would not be in evidence. Much entertainment might be derived from reading a recent long circular upon the desirableness of encouraging out-of-door games in the school playgrounds, in which the English are often referred to as examples. A single page might have sufficed for all the minister had to urge; but in this case he composed a very elaborate academical essay upon the value of physical exercises for the development of the muscles and the promotion of health of body.

And this leads me to observe that in the French schools and colleges generally, for both sexes, such continual watchfulness is exercised over the pupils that they have little opportunity of developing either a muscular physique or an independent character, and consequently they carry with them into life a certain flabbiness of body and a mistrust of themselves, and aversion to act on their own responsibility which distinguishes them remarkably in both respects from the British race. When the scholars go forth into the town or village they are required to march in military fashion, two by two, under the eye of a teacher, and even in the playground a master or mistress is told off to look after them. In this way the sense of being superintended, cared for and observed becomes habitual to them, and when they become men and women they lean upon others, and chiefly upon the Government, to support them in undertakings which Englishmen would start for themselves, or for direction in moral or spiritual affairs upon the priests or anti-clerical leaders, as the case may be. One result of this deeply-rooted system of tutelage, in which espionage plays so great a part, may be seen, among many other instances that might be adduced, in the recent Panama scandals, which exhibited the exceeding credulity of the people and the facility with which they allowed themselves to be fleeced by scheming speculators, who themselves probably were as much misled by others as they misled those who were reposing confidence in

them. It might be alleged, however, that these scandals were the natural outcome of the spirit of gambling, which infects all classes, apparently, of French society.

Another result upon the national character of what may be called their nursery training is not so observable to the French themselves as it is to strangers like ourselves. There are few who hold, or at least confess to, any fixed political creed or opinions, deriving these temporarily from the Government that may happen to be in power. This accounts for the light-heartedness with which they change their rulers and their political systems. Having tried a variety of Governments, they are attached to none in particular, if they have not, indeed, ceased to believe in the efficacy of any or of all. And they are quite ready to make new and perilous experiments, finality being a term as unknown to them as settlement is an unwelcome one. The more instructed among them, indeed, confess that they still retain the character Cæsar gave them—of Gauls with the fickleness and passion of the Celtic race. I seem to be wandering from my subject, so will add no more at present than to observe that this character has been maintained in the course of their history—the suppression of the Parliaments and the absorption of their powers, such as they were, into the sole authority of the Monarchy from the time of Philip Augustus to Louis XIV., and from the “Grand Monarque,” through the Revolution to Napoleon, having suffocated the spirit of independence.

I have, as will have been seen, reversed the order of my subjects. This was unintentional, but what has been already said will form a ground-work for observations upon the aspects of religion in France. These at times and places appear dark, at others bright. So far as external circumstances are concerned, the prospects of the Church are not encouraging. Where a generation is in the process of formation, the majority of whom have not been nurtured in religion, the presumption is that they will lose hold or connection with it for life, and will bring up their own children in the neglect of what they themselves have never given attention to. There is a continual friction between the Church and the present State in France. Each desires to be master, and where there is not open war, there is suppressed hostility. In some places the Church appears able to hold its own, and to carry the population with it, in others to be little more than a name and a tradition.

(To be continued.)

W. H. LANGHORNE.

ART. V.—APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

PART II.

IF it be alleged that a transmission of Apostolic succession can only be effected through a duly consecrated Bishop, then every minister of the Gospel of the several classes of Nonconformists is cut off from the advantages supposed to be derived from the acquisition of "Apostolic succession." And here I would remind such claimants that the Church of Rome, at the Trent Council, after angry discussions, the sittings in consequence being suspended ten times, ultimately declared, by a majority of twenty-seven votes out of a hundred and eighty-one Bishops present, that there was no *divine right* in Bishops, but that they derived their authority solely from the Pope, and therefore a human institution. Dr. Littledale, in the same tract before referred to on this subject, observes that dissenting ministers "do not undertake to offer *the sacrifice* of the Lord's Body and Blood, nor to bind and loose sins of men;" and that those ministers are "virtually trespassers;" that a sacerdotal character is wholly wanting in them, and that, therefore, the administration of the sacraments by them is wholly void. If, then, an uninterrupted pedigree from the Apostles, in addition to the precise *form* or ceremony, be essential, the chances are fearfully against those who assert the claim of Apostolic succession in their own persons; and, in fact, we assert that no Apostolic succession can be proved to exist. Those who make the claim as applied to themselves, based on *personal* succession and *forms*, in addition to *doctrinal* requirements, should be prepared to produce their credentials. And here it may be also observed that priests of the Roman Church declare that the ministers of religion of any other communion than their own, are not "priests" at all, but simply laymen, having no authority to administer Sacraments.¹

Our first objection is that "Apostolic succession" on any other basis than the acceptance of Apostolic doctrine, as derived from the teaching of the Apostles, cannot be sustained by the authority of Scripture, the written teaching of the Apostles; and no one ought to be required to accept any doctrine or theory which has not the clear warranty of the sacred Scriptures to support it. If this view of the question be correct, then the entire priesthood of the Roman Church is hopelessly excluded, since they are required, under oath by

¹ See tracts issued by the Catholic Truth Society, "Are the Anglican Clergy Massing Priests?" No. 51; and "Are they Priests?" by Father Breen, O.S.B.

their creed, passing by the title of "the creed of Pope Pius IV.," first published in 1564, to admit that there is no salvation unless all the articles of that creed are unreservedly accepted; added to which we have the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, first imposed by the Roman Church as an article of faith in the year 1854, and the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope in faith and morals, as defined by the Vactican Council of 1870, both of which now form part of Rome's amended creed. Neither of these articles are Apostolic doctrines; they have no authority either from Scripture or Tradition.

If the creed of Pope Pius IV. (to say nothing of the additions) be the Catholic faith, out of which there is no salvation, there was no visible Church professing it for fifteen hundred years. There was no authorized priesthood to teach such a faith.

As to the proposition of an uninterrupted and unbroken succession in the priesthood, sealed by certain formularies and ceremonies, it would be an impossible task for those who rely on such a prescriptive right, to produce their proofs. No single person can vouch for such an uninterrupted continuity. The claim can go no further than bare assertion. If such an important element is necessary in the claim to Apostolic succession (and be it remembered that they assert that all graces are conferred alone through the Sacraments, and that duly ordained priests can alone dispense the same), surely salvation ought not to be made dependent on such an uncertain hypothesis unless made clear by proofs.

But the difficulties of our "Apostolical successionist" by no means end here. Taking for example the ancient British Church, of which the Church of England is a "continuity," it is an admitted fact that Christianity was planted in this country, if not by one of the Apostles, by Apostolic missionaries (and not by the Church of Rome), and our Church was independent of Rome as well in her devotions as in the appointment of her Bishops, or ordination of the clergy. Bede tells us, on his arrival here, in the close of the sixth century, he met in conference seven British Bishops and many learned men, and we have no information as to the particular *forms* adopted on the consecration of these Bishops or ordination of "priests." I am not aware that Apostolic succession, in the view now taken of that theory, was in any way recognised amongst us. From the seventh century, by degrees, and by encroachments of the Roman appointed bishops and priests, our Church system became absorbed to a great extent in the Papacy. The majority of our bishops subsequently held their office and obtained their consecration from the Pope of Rome,

and our priests, in their ordination, from these bishops, until the reign of Edward VI. Apostolic succession, therefore, must have come through that corrupt line. All the bishops during the reign of Henry VIII., except Fisher of Rochester, nevertheless abjured the authority and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and took the oath of allegiance to the King in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil. They did the same in Ireland without an exception, retaining, however, the Roman system of religion as then professed, but rejecting the one great essential, as now claimed by the Roman creed, viz., supremacy of the Pope and his right to appoint and consecrate bishops; and they were not charged with being schismatics.

Mary deposed all the reforming bishops appointed by Edward. Under Elizabeth, the then Marian - appointed bishops refused to consecrate Parker; but he was validly consecrated by Barlow, one of Mary's deposed bishops, by Bishops Hodgkins and Storey. But this consecration, to this day, is maintained by Romanists to be invalid, and in consequence the "continuity" forfeited. Now this must be a sore point with those amongst us who still claim Apostolic succession, for they can only do so, in their view of the theory, through the Church of Rome. This link, they state, was broken. But the Church of England as reformed still continued, though, according to Roman theories, the so-called Apostolic succession was wholly lost.

It was six years after the Reformation under Elizabeth, viz., 1564, that Rome published her new creed, and thereby established a new community of Christians; since, that creed declares that out of this new formula of faith there is no salvation; whereas up to that date all that was required of a convert was the acceptance of the ancient Nicene Creed.

But our ritualistic "priests" deny this theory of succession of Apostolic doctrine, though many of them, as we have seen, declare that "they are really one with the Church of Rome, in faith, orders, and sacraments," and sigh for a reunion with Rome, when they know full well that this can only be effected by a complete acceptance of Rome's novel creed of 1564, as amended in 1870. Still, they declare that the order of personal succession was not broken. If so, they are dependent on the regularity of the consecration of Roman bishops, and the validity of the orders of Roman priests. If the title through which they claim is invalid, or even doubtful, then must also the claim of Apostolic succession follow suit.

I must repeat here the rule laid down by the Trent Catechism: "In the Sacraments of the new law the *form* is so *definite* that *any*, even a casual, deviation from it renders the

Sacrament null."¹ "Orders" were first declared by the Church of Rome to be a Sacrament in the year 1439 by the Council of Florence. The same council decreed that in order to constitute a valid Sacrament there must be the *intention* of the officiating bishop or priest to do what the Church intends by the administration of a Sacrament. Wanting such *intention* an ordination would be invalid, and *that* priest could never be consecrated as a valid bishop. This fatal requisition was confirmed by the Council of Trent, after violent opposition. Caterino, Bishop of Minori, pointed out the extreme danger of such a theory. He suggested the case of a priest being "an unbeliever, a hypocrite, who in baptism, absolution, and consecration of the elements, had no intention of doing what the Church does; "we must say," he adds, "all the children were damned, the penitents not absolved." He then asserted: "If any said these cases were rare, would to God that in this corrupt age there were no cause to think that they are very frequent."²

Cardinal Bellarmine, the prince of Roman controversial writers, seems to have appreciated the difficulty when he recorded the objection:—

No one can be certain, by the certainty of faith, that he receives a true sacrament, since a sacrament cannot be celebrated without the minister's intention, and no one can see the intention of another.³

Andreas Viga, another illustrious divine of the Roman Church, lays down the following:—

It cannot be through faith assured to anyone that he has received the least sacrament, and this is as certain from faith as it is manifest that we are living. For except through the medium of direct revelation, there is no way by which either evidently or through certain faith we can know the intention of him who ministers.⁴

Many other Roman authorities to a like effect might be quoted. The priest who officiates depends on the validity of the consecration by the bishop at whose hands he receives his "orders." The same Cardinal Bellarmine does not hesitate to record the further objection:—

If we consider in bishops their power of ordination and jurisdiction we have no more than a moral certainty that they are true bishops.⁵

On their own showing, then, orders and succession are, to say the least of it, very doubtful; and as Anglican orders for a series of years were derived through the Roman Church, our

¹ Donovan's "Translation," p. 259; Dublin, 1829.

² "Hist. de Concil de Trent, écrite en Italien par Paul Surpi, traduit par Courayer," tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 432, 433; Amst., 1751.

³ Bellar., "De Justificatione," lib. iii., cap. viii., col. 846, tom. iv.; Paris, 1608.

⁴ Opuscula., "De Justificatione," lib. ix., c. 17; Compl., 1564.

⁵ "De Eccl. Milit.," lib. iii., c. x., tom. ii., col. 139; Paris, 1608.

Apostolic successionists cannot claim for their succession more than can the Roman priesthood.

"Orders" in the Roman Church, as we have seen, were first declared to be a Sacrament by the Council of Florence, 1439; but Dominic Soto, a very learned Romanist, asserted, according to the testimony of Bellarmine, that "Episcopal ordination is not truly and properly a Sacrament."¹ If that be so, our ritualists have a door to effect an escape. But what of the other Sacraments? The repugnant feature of Rome's sacramental and sacerdotal system we find clearly laid down.

In the sixth chapter of the 14th Session of the Trent Council we read:—

The synod also teaches that even priests, who are *bound in mortal sin*, exercise, as the members of Christ, the power of remitting sins by the power of the Holy Ghost conveyed to them in ordination; and that those err in their opinion who contend that *wicked priests* have not this power.

The twelfth canon passed at the 7th Session on transubstantiation declares:—

If any shall say that a minister *in mortal sin* cannot perform or confer a sacrament, provided he observe all the essentials which appertain to the performing or conferring a sacrament, let him be accursed.

Thus placing forms and ceremonies of greater moment than the *faith* and *moral character* of the officiating priest! This theory was endorsed by Peter Dens. He said:—

Every priest can validly consecrate, should he even be wicked, degraded, or excommunicated.²

Again, in "The Handbook of the Christian Religion for the Use of the Advanced and the Educated Laity," by the Rev. W. Wilmers, S.J., edited by the Rev. I. Conway, S.J., 2nd edit., p. 311, we read:—

For the valid administration of a sacrament neither sanctity, nor virtue, nor even faith, is necessary on the part of the minister. The Donatists in the fourth century required positive worthiness; and certain Asiatic and African bishops in the third century required at least *faith*; but both these opinions were condemned by the Church as heretical, and justly, for man does not administer the sacraments of his own power, but by the power of Christ, whose instrument he is; but he becomes the instrument of Christ by the sole *intention* to do what the Church does.

If *faith* is not necessary, how can the priest have a right and pure intention?³

¹ Bellar., "Disput.," tom. iii., p. 718; Paris, 1721.

² "Theolog.," tom. v., No. 28; "De Ministro," p. 293; Dublin, 1832.

³ Here we may be reminded of our twenty-sixth article. But there are many marked differences between the two systems. We acknowledge but two sacraments instituted by our Lord, Baptism and the Lord's supper. The former is administered to infants, and in an emergency administered by a lay member, and the recipient incapable of any outward sensibility;

It must be remembered that these laws were devised and enacted exclusively by priests. There must have existed good grounds for devising such a scheme, and they were thoroughly persuaded of the urgent necessity of giving validity to their sacerdotal acts, knowing full well the corruption and vile character of some, at least, of their priests. In what other way can we account for the necessity of such exceptional enactments?

Cardinal Bellarmine thus describes Roman priests, whose vices led to the Reformation:—

For my part, I am of opinion that the sophisms, heresies, defections of so many people and kingdoms from the true faith—in a word, all the calamities, wars, tumults, seditions of these most unhappy times, have had their rise from no other causes than these: that the pastors and the other priests of the Lord sought Christ, not for Christ's sake, but that they might eat of the loaves. For some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy arose, there was hardly any—as those who lived then bear witness—there was, I say, almost no severity in the ecclesiastical courts, no discipline in morals, no instruction in sacred literature, nor reverence in Divine things; there was almost, in fine, no religion. That highly honourable condition of the clergy and the sacred order had come to nought; the priests were a laughing-stock to every worthless knave; they were despised by the people, and laboured under deep and lasting infamy.¹

God forbid that we should claim succession through such a priesthood!

There is yet another vital flaw in the claim to "succession." To repeat the rule laid down in the Trent Catechism: "In every Sacrament of the new law the *form* is so definite that even a casual deviation from it renders the Sacrament null." It is said the same of the *matter* of the Sacrament: "These are the parts which belong to the nature and substance of the Sacrament, and of which every sacrament is necessarily composed."²

and at mature age, after due examination, takes upon himself the vows made for him in his baptism. In the second case the recipient has been urgently exhorted not to approach the table unless fit to receive the sacred ceremony, "and by faith *rightly receive*." The grace, therefore, is solely dependent on the recipient. Whereas the Church of Rome has instituted seven sacraments as absolutely necessary to salvation, particularly *absolution* for all those who have sinned after baptism, which they call a "second justification." And in all these the priest professes to act in a *judicial* character and not as *minister*, but gives his decision as a judge, and can have no inward knowledge of the sincerity of the recipient; and though he professes to act as a judge, the effect is made to depend on the due performance of *forms* and *ceremonies*, and the *intention* of the priest, over which the recipient has no control; and grace is made dependent on these.

¹ Concio, 28; "De Evang. quomque panam," Opp., tom. v., col. 296; Colon., 1617.

² Donovan's "Translation," pp. 145, 146; Dublin, 1829.

Now both the *form* and *matter* in the Roman Church have been altered.

Morinus, the learned Roman ritualist, tells us that the ancient form of consecrating bishops was by laying-on of hands, and the gift of the Holy Ghost—"Receive ye the Holy Ghost," etc.; but it was some time after that this form was used in the Ordination of Priests. In the year 1438, by a decree of the Council of Florence, both *form* and *matter* were altered, and therefore a new order of priesthood was created. They declared that the *matter* of this Sacrament should be the delivery of the cup with wine and water in it, and a paten with a host lying on it; and that the *form*, or ordination act, should in future be: "Receive thou the power to offer sacrifices to God and to celebrate masses, both for the living and the dead, in the name of the Lord;"¹ but there is not a word as to laying-on of hands. This was probably from the fact that Romanists now assert that the twelve were ordained priests when Christ said, "Do this," having given them the bread and wine, and there was no laying-on of hands. And as to the *form* and *matter* established by the Council of Florence and now rendered absolutely essential, Peter Dens tells us, in his text-book, as to this *form* and *matter* :—

Neither Scripture nor tradition make any mention of these ceremonies (*i.e.*, the delivery of the cup and paten and form of words), nor is the use of them found at this day among the Greeks, nor was it even among the Latins for the first ten ages of the Church.²

And Morinus said he could find no manuscript more than 400 years (he entered the Oratory A.D. 1618; died 1659) which mentioned the imposition of hands with the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," etc., in the Ordination of Priests; and with reference to the present form and matter, the delivery of the vessels, and the words "Receive ye the power to offer," etc., he adduces unanswerable arguments to prove that these are non-essential in "orders," since neither the primitive Church, nor the Eastern Churches, nor the Roman rituals, nor the writers on the Roman offices, ever mention them till within (then) 700 years, there being no decree of councils or popes found to support them until the Council of Florence, 1438.³

It is plain, therefore, that "orders" having no such recognised *form* or *matter* for so many centuries could not have been recognised as a Sacrament.

¹ Decret Unimis Concil. Florent, "Labb. et Coss.," tom. xviii., col. 550; Venet., 1728.

² "Theolog.," tom. iv., *de Ordine*, see pp. 46, 57; Dublin, 1832.

³ "Comment. de Sacrament. Eccles. Secundum Antiquos et Recentione," fol.; Antwerp, 1695, pp. 102, 106.

From 1439 to 1552 this Roman form was adopted in England. In 1552, under Edward VI., the form of ordination was altered. In Pickering's edition of the "Black-letter Book" the *form* is thus given: "Receive the Holy Ghost, whose synnes thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose synnes thou dost retain they are retained, and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God. In the name," etc. But there is no mention of laying-on of hands. This form was again altered in 1662 to: "Receive thou the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee *by the imposition of our hands.* Whose sins," etc., as before.

If, then, "Apostolic succession" is made to *depend* on *forms* and *ceremonies*, which it evidently is, the whole fabric of a regular succession of a priesthood crumbles to pieces with its Sacramental sacerdotal system.

But here we must not overlook an episode in our Church connected with this claim of Apostolic succession. We know that during the reign of Mary such of our reforming bishops who had not been deposed, or otherwise secured their safety by flight, were ruthlessly burnt at the stake as heretics. The result was, that when Elizabeth came to the throne the Church was in an anomalous position. Those of the Roman appointed bishops who refused to take the oath of allegiance were deposed; others were to be consecrated in the orthodox form in their stead. The deposed Marian bishops refused to officiate. Here arose a serious difficulty, and Romanists even at the present day assert that the succession was broken, and that therefore the Anglicanists claiming such succession, as they must do, through the Church of Rome, ceased to be Apostolic in their succession, and that, therefore, all subsequent Anglican ordinations or consecrations were thereby rendered invalid. In proof of this, they state that the first "Protestant" Archbishop, Parker, in this "new Establishment," "as by law established," was never properly consecrated. And they invented the Nag's Head fable, where an informal ceremony at that public-house was, as alleged, performed by unconsecrated Bishops. It is on the truth or falsehood of these assertions that the momentous question of "Apostolic succession" in the Anglican Church is made to depend—the test of a true or false Church. If the consecration of the Elizabethan bishops was invalid, then all subsequent ordinations of priests follow suit. Suppose the tale to be true. What then? Are we to believe that out of the Roman Church there can be no ministry of God's Word, no Sacraments, no Church, no salvation? Is it to be supposed that the great and merciful God would place our salvation so as to be dependent

on the truth or falsehood of such a circumstance brought about by the arbitrary and cruel acts of Queen Mary and her Popish advisers? that the merciful atonement of our Blessed Lord ceased to take effect on all Anglicans because Matthew Parker was not, as alleged, legally consecrated, after a peculiar form and fashion invented by man, and which was never declared by Christ or His Apostles to be essential? So wedded are Romanists and High Churchmen to this theory of Apostolic succession, that a host of Romish writers, on the one side, have written volumes to prove not only the truth of the Nag's Head fable, but also of Parker's alleged invalid consecration; while an equal number of champions of the High Church school have written an equal number of volumes to prove it to be "a weak invention of the enemy"; but neither party is convinced by the arguments of the other. The Nag's Head fable becomes important only as illustrating the theory, contended for by these two parties, that the essence or principle does consist in the supposed fact of an uninterrupted or unbroken personal succession (even though it comes through a tainted current), as being transmitted from hand to hand from the time of the Apostles to the present time, through a succession of duly consecrated bishops, and both making the supposed fact the article of a standing or fallen Church. If the tale be true, and Parker's consecration invalid, then our Anglican Church, according to Ritualistic notions, ceases to be a Church; her "priesthood" is an empty title; her Sacraments null and void, since they claim their pedigree through the Roman Church. But as we cannot bring ourselves to a serious contemplation of the supposed frightful consequences of such a state of things, and as the facts have been properly investigated, we believe that Matthew Parker was duly consecrated by recognised duly consecrated bishops, and that the claim of antiquity and precedent was followed.

If any consolation, this is easy of proof. Pope Julius III. addressed a brief to Cardinal Pole, dated March 8, 1554, desiring him to absolve and reconcile the bishops and priests made in Edward VI.'s time, but not directing him to re-ordain them, though they had received no sort of commission to sacrifice. The Council of Trent was asked by Pius IV. to declare the Elizabethan bishops unlawful, but the Council expressly refused to do so. It was admitted at the Council of Trent that Anglican bishops "had due vocation, election, consecration, and mission," and only needed the recognition of the Pope to be acknowledged as true bishops in the Roman sense. The Irish bishop, Fitzmaurice of Aghadoe, discussed the question at the Trent Council, asserting that the recognition of

the Pope constituted the only distinction between Roman and Anglican orders, and this was universally accepted.¹

To come to a later date. The subject of the validity of Anglican orders was completely cleared up, for what that examination was worth. The objection was set aside by the production of our records, when the French divines, in 1718, sought to effect a union of the Anglican and Gallican Churches. Twice before this question of "orders" came before the doctors of Sorbonne in Paris, as recorded by Courayer, and on both occasions the validity of Anglican orders was recognised. Even Bossuet admitted that the ordination of Anglican bishops and priests was as valid as that of their own.²

And Dr. Lingard, the historian and Roman priest, referring to the appointment of bishops under Queen Elizabeth, admits that—

The consecration (of Parker) was performed, though with a little variation, according to the ritual of Edward VI. Two of the consecrators, Barlow and Hodgkins, had been ordained bishops according to the Roman Pontifical (quoting Wilkins, iv. 193); of this consecration there can be no doubt. Perhaps in the interval between the refusal of the Catholic prelates and the performance of the ceremony some meeting may have taken place at the Nag's Head, which gave rise to the story. ("Hist. of England," vol. viii., p. 500. London, 1823.)

The Nag's Head incident Lingard pronounced to be a "fable."

Dr. Dollinger—and perhaps modern Rome has produced no more learned man—at Bonn in 1875 said:—

The fact that Parker was consecrated by four rightly-consecrated bishops, *rite et legitime*, with imposition of hands and the necessary words, is so well attested that if one were to doubt the fact, one could with the same right doubt one hundred thousand facts. . . . The fact is as well established as a fact can be required to be. Bossuet has acknowledged the validity of Parker's consecration, and no critical historian can dispute it. The Orders of the Roman Church could be disputed with more appearance of reason. (Report of the Conference at Bonn, 1875, p. 96. London, 1876.)

The main objection now relied on is that the documentary proof of Barlow's consecration is not forthcoming. Though missing, we have plenty of confirmatory evidence of the fact. He sat in the House of Lords as Bishop in Queen Mary's reign, and the objection was only raised forty-seven years after his death, and eighty years after his consecration. If we applied the same requisition to Roman bishops, how few could be substantiated! The documentary proofs of the consecration of

¹ *Quæ sententia omnibus placere maximè visa est* ("Le Plat. Mon. Concil. Trid.," tom. v., p. 578).

² See Courayer, "Défence de la Dissertation," c. iv. (Bruxelles, 1726), Pièces Justificatives.

more than twenty bishops during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., including two archbishops of York, are equally wanting, and no objection has been taken to their consecration.

All this is no doubt very consoling to the claimants of a *personal* Apostolic succession, but all these forms and ceremonies were of human invention; and are our "priests" in any more secure position by claiming parentage through the Church of Rome? What does it really signify in the sight of God one way or the other? The objection raised to Parker's consecration brings to mind a similar difficulty in the election of a Pope. We are told by Cardinal Baronius in his "Annals,"¹ on the election of Pelagius I., himself at the time a layman, he "could find no bishop at Rome to consecrate him, and it was necessary that a *priest* of Ostium—a thing which had never occurred before—should discharge that office instead of a bishop, according to the orders of Pelagius himself." Parker's alleged irregular election is a dangerous precedent for a Romanist to quote.

Let us now consult a higher and infallible tribunal, the sacred Scriptures.

Christ appointed twelve Apostles to carry out and perpetuate His teaching; there was no form or ceremony in their appointment, but His last injunction to them was, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. And these signs shall follow them that believe. In My name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover" (Matt. xvi. 15-20). And we are told that they "went forth preaching everywhere, and confirming the Word with signs." We would ask our "Apostolic successionists" whether they practise and inherit these Apostolic powers? As to doctrine, they were "to observe whatsoever Christ had commanded them," and on their fulfilling that command, He promised His presence, "even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20). And we find that they "continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine," and they "sold their possessions, and gave them to all men as every man had need." But the office of preaching and teaching was not confined to the Apostles; the same commission was given to "the seventy" (Luke x.), all laymen; and superhuman powers were given to them; and to these laymen our Lord

¹ A.D. 498, tom. iv., p. 582, Antwerp, 1601.

² We have proofs of several cases of priests being poisoned while partaking of the Sacrament consecrated by themselves.

said: "He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me." And "He gave them power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, and nothing shall by any means hurt you." So that these exceptional privileges were not confined to the Apostles. These would-be successionists can practise none of the Apostolical gifts, while they retain to themselves exclusively an Apostolic succession. To what do they succeed which any other minister of the Gospel cannot equally practise and teach?

They call attention to the power given "to bind and loose" (Matt. xviii. 18). By examining the context it will clearly appear that this had no reference whatever to the forgiveness of sins in Sacramental absolution. Our Lord in addressing the disciples delivered a *moral* lesson; and note, "He called a little child and set him in the midst of them;" therefore we may fairly presume there were women and children present whom He was addressing. This lesson reads as follows:—

Moreover, if thy brother shall *trespass* against thee, go and tell him his *fault* between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church (*ἐκκλησία*, literally assembly); but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in My name, *there am I in the midst of them* (Matt. xviii. 15, 20).

The context explains fully the intention of our Lord, as relating to *personal offences only*. The word "Church" (*ἐκκλησία*) can only mean the *assembly*, and not "priests." That Peter himself so understood the teaching of our Lord is evident from the inquiry which immediately followed: "Lord, how often shall my brother *sin against me*, and I forgive him? till seven times?" Jesus said unto him, "I say not unto thee until seven times: but until seventy times seven."

I would ask our Apostolic successionists whether they adopt this course when they undertake to "bind and loose"? Do they not rather take their penitent into a confessional-box and there *secretly* hear the confession and give absolution, but do not "tell it unto the Church"?

The word *ἐκκλησία* is three times rendered "assembly" in the Roman Catholic translation (Challoner Wiseman edition, 1847), Acts xix. 32, 39, 40, and an "assembly" which was confused.

The text Matt. xviii. 18 is invariably quoted in conjunction with the text from St. John's Gospel xx. 22, 23.

"He" (Christ) "breathed on them" (the disciples) "and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained."

If the passages are parallel, as Bellarmine maintained, then the commission was restricted to personal offences; and nowhere do we find that the Apostles or disciples undertook to remit sins. It is evident that others beside the "eleven" were present on this occasion (see Luke xxiv. 33). Cleopas found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them; who, equally with the Apostles, received the same breath of the Spirit, and the Holy Ghost. But it may well be questioned whether any power of "binding and loosing," as understood by the Church of Rome, was then conferred upon the Apostles and disciples. The account given by St. Luke (xxiv. 47) of our Saviour's words states: "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name." Adopting this explanation, we can well understand that those who accepted the preaching of the Gospel by the Apostles would obtain the "remission of their sins," while to those who rejected it, their sins were "retained." This, too, seems to have been the interpretation placed by the Apostles upon our Lord's words, for we do not find an instance of any Apostle pronouncing an "absolution," or remitting the sins of any individual. On the contrary, we read, Acts iii. 19, that Peter himself preached to the Jews, "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord." He did not say, "Confess to me and I will give you absolution," as it would have been his bounden duty to do, if he had received any such power from our Lord. It is a fact to be noted that Matthew xxviii., Mark xvi., and Luke xiv. refer to this interview, but do not even mention the important incident and words related by St. John. But we do read that Christ upbraided them; also commissioned them to go and teach all nations what he had commanded them (Matthew), that they should attest their mission by performance of miracles and signs (Mark); and they received the blessing of the Lord (Luke). If such an exceptional power had been conferred on them as now asserted, could they have failed to record it?

We read in St. Matthew's Gospel (x. 8) Christ had conferred on His Apostles powers to heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, to raise the dead. Freely he had given them these powers, and He enjoined them freely to exercise them. It is a remarkable fact that throughout the New Testament we do not find one

instance of the Apostles, or the disciples, or "the seventy" forgiving sins, but we do find it recorded that the Apostles and the seventy performed other miracles. How is it, I ask, that our "Apostolic successionists" do not attempt the latter process, heal the sick, etc., while they profess to give their absolutions from sin? The solution of this question is easy, for if they attempted the latter their imposture would be revealed, while they profess to give absolution from sins and no one is the wiser as to the result! In not one of the instances cited is any intimation given that the promises should extend to the successors of the Apostles. Whereas these modern theorists place an equal power in the "hands" of a bishop as the breath of Christ shedding on His disciples the gift of the Holy Spirit, whatever that may have conveyed.

We are often reminded in controversy by Romanists that Christ entrusted to St. Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and "*Whosoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven*" (Matt. xvi. 19). Here was a personal gift given to St. Peter, and not extended to any of his so-called successors. This is the view taken by Tertullian, of the second century, rebuking the Bishop of Rome when he undertook to whitewash an adulterer;¹ while others of the Fathers say what was said to Peter was said to all the Apostles. And we find it nowhere recorded that Peter availed himself of these figurative implements, which are now claimed by every Pope, bishop and priest of the Roman Church—a claim founded on the assertion that Peter was first Bishop of Rome, and that the Popes are his lawful successors, not only as Bishops of Rome, but also endowed with all the prerogatives and powers alleged to have been vested in Peter. Whereas there is not a tittle of evidence that Peter was ever Bishop of Rome; and many have raised strong doubts whether he ever was at Rome. But that is another branch of the controversy.²

Further, it will be observed that Christ has here adopted the same form of words as on the occasion recorded by St. Matthew (xviii.) above referred to, addressed to the whole assembly, when Peter was present. The whole of the Petrine claim is based on the text of Matt. xvi., as clearly set forth in the decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870. But, what is also remarkable, neither Mark, Luke, nor John, in their Gospels, in the most distant manner refer to the gift of the keys or of

¹ "De Pudic.," c. xxv., pp. 767, 768, edit. Rhenan.

² For proofs see my "Chair of Peter," in reply to Mr. Allnutt's "Cathedra Petri," Protestant Alliance, Strand, W.C. Price sixpence.

founding Christ's Church on Peter. Surely they could not have conceived the notion that the Church was founded on Peter, and that exceptional powers were vested in him which he never assumed, much less that those powers were to descend on his so-called successors, the Popes of Rome now claiming the exclusive privilege of being such successors.

They now tell us that the "twelve" were appointed priests, when at "the Last Supper" Christ said to them, "Do this in remembrance of Me" (Luke xxii. 19). Now, it is again remarkable that these words, so important in the establishment of a priesthood, are not recorded by the other three Evangelists. Eastius, a learned Roman Catholic divine, does not assign such interpretation of Christ's words; he said: "It does not appear at all solid, nor agreeable to ancient interpreters." And he adds, "*Hoc facite*: 'Do this,' belongs to the common people eating and drinking of this Sacrament, and that St. Paul refers to them."¹

Presuming, however, that the "twelve" were constituted as "priests," but not in the modern Roman sense, "sacrificing priests" (for no such institution is recognised in the New Testament), there is another important fact which we must record: Judas had committed suicide. The eleven deemed it necessary to appoint a successor in the ministry, the first recorded act of Apostolic succession, "to take part of this ministry and apostleship." There were two candidates, Barnabas and Matthias. The election was made by lot, and the lot fell on Matthias" (Acts i. 26). And "they continued in Apostolic doctrine." The next form we find in Acts vi. 2, when Stephen was chosen deacon by the twelve, with some others, with prayer and laying-on of hands; the disciples multiplied "*and were obedient to the faith.*"

With all these facts before us we conclude that the claim to Apostolic succession by virtue of the "priestly" office is a myth. Whatever may be the wisdom of historical forms of government, and the duty of national communion, they have the true Apostolic succession who "hold the Apostolic faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life," whether lay or clerical, Churchmen or Nonconformists.

I conclude with the words of Archdeacon Farrar in his sermon on Hebrews vii. :—

True Apostolic succession is the blessed continuity of Christian goodness.

C. H. COLLETTE.

¹ In lib. iv., Sent. tom. iv., p. 105. Paris, 1638.

ERRATA.—In last No., p. 40, for "incubere famæ" read "incumbere famæ"; and in note 3, p. 42, for "Hertæ" read "Halæ."

ART. VI.—SPIRITUAL REALITY IN ORDINARY LIFE.

WHEN the disciple of Christ has realized that he is indeed ideally a member of his Divine Master, has been translated into a new atmosphere, and that his whole life has become related to a new society, he hopes at first that the truth that all things are become new will easily become the dominant and effective factor of his whole existence. As time goes on, and he finds himself necessarily mixing in the same social surroundings as before, influenced by the same bodily wants and conditions, passing his days with the same friends, reading the same newspapers, immersed in the same literature, sharing in the same recreations, taking his part in the same worldly organizations, recognising the same duties as a citizen, with the same intellectual and æsthetic tastes, listening to the same light and cheerful conversation, and moving about amongst numberless pleasant and respectable people, who cannot be credited with any consciousness of the obligations and privileges of a regenerate life, there is a very strong tendency to yield to the immediate pressure of the influences that are tangible, immediate, and earthly, and to reckon the spiritual realities as remote, or at best only to be vividly felt on intermittent occasions. The religious life in the Church of Christ is liable to be overlaid by the continual pressure of ordinary life. The circumstances of ordinary life ought of course all to be transformed by the facts of the inner life, the life that is hid with Christ in God; but we find that this is not always the case.

There are, for example, some ministers of the Word and Sacraments who are worldly, who are perhaps anxious about promotion, or eager for earthly honours, or who spend the greater part of their time in amusements or secular pursuits, or who are inconsistent and even faulty in their conduct. There are some laymen who think that any thought or conversation about the religious life is all very well for Sunday, but that unless it is banished on the other six days of the week, it is an infringement of their prerogatives. And, indeed, we have to remember that almost all worldly and fashionable men and women, almost all persons of evil life or unbecoming conduct in all classes of society, are nominally Christians. It is not necessary to go farther than that thought in order to remember how glaring is the contrast in the majority of cases between the Christian ideal and the common experience. And we have only to look into our own hearts and measure faithfully our own conduct, in order to prove the interest which we ourselves personally have in this consideration.

How can we safely move as our Lord wishes us to do in the world, and yet keep from the evil? It can only be by earnestly and prayerfully bending ourselves to realize more fully and unremittingly His Divine Presence. "Abide in Me," said our Lord, "and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in Me. I am the Vine, ye are the branches. He that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without Me ye can do nothing." This is the most precious and fertile truth of the Christian life when once faith has become operative. We cannot suppose that it is thoroughly and intelligently grasped by all Christians. Our Lord is far more to us than the object of our allegiance, or the pivot of our faith. He is more than a Divine character for our imitation, or a Master whom we have to serve. He is more even than the revelation of God, and the keystone of the system of doctrine on which we rest. He is a living presence in our hearts, who can be there continuously and without interruption from the present moment to the very latest breath of our lives. We can know Him as dwelling within us in all the fulness and detail of His character of love and sympathy, and wisdom and graciousness, which shines forth on every page of His Divine Gospels. "If a man love Me, he will keep My words, and My Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." This is no mere rhetorical phrase or poetical ornament. It expresses the deepest secret of our spiritual life. We are privileged to speak of the Lord Jesus Christ in us, the hope of glory. St. Paul travailed again with his converts until Christ was completely formed in them. To our beloved Saviour, as we know Him in the pages of the evangelists, we can take every thought, every idea, every choice of action, every suggestion, every friendship, every acquaintance, every amusement and pleasure, every difficulty and hesitation, and ask Him what He thinks of it. And the answer will not be merely an analogy supplied by our reasoning faculties from our understanding of his ways and lessons. It will be more than a direction of our conscience enlightened by the recollection of His teaching. It will be direct from Himself in proportion to the earnestness of our faith and the sincerity of our prayer. We can never in this life fully explore "what is the exceeding greatness of God's power to usward who believe, according to the working of His mighty power, which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places . . . and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." "I will not leave you comfortless. I

will come unto you." "Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." We are already "risen with Christ." To Him we are already "raised up together and made to sit in the heavenly places."

The practical bearing of this vital and essential truth is that besides being to us all that He is in other ways, our Lord is our own familiar friend, with whom we can converse and take sweet counsel. "Ye are My friends if ye do whatsoever I command you. Henceforth I call you not servants: for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth; but I have called you friends." "Whosoever will do the will of the Father which is in heaven, the same is My brother and sister and mother." At any moment we can look up to this adorable and Divine Being as revealed in the Gospels, and ask Him His advice, His help, His guidance. We have not to entreat Him to condescend. He is here, with us, our brother, our nearest and dearest and truest. "Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out." "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My name that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son."

Ordinary life consists of the several outlines on which our scheme of existence is framed, and the daily details of which it is made up. First, with regard to general outlines. We cannot all choose our professions and employments. For many of us the choice seems fixed by circumstances. Nor can all professions and employments be considered ideal. From the Christian point of view the calling of the healer, the calling of the teacher, and the calling of the minister of the Word and Sacraments would be the highest; in many callings there is much of the earth inseparably associated. But all callings alike that are not immoral can be consecrated. There is no employment so humble or so repulsive that cannot be used as a means of grace. Our Lord Himself was engaged for many years in one of the humblest of occupations; and there must have been much of discomfort, roughness, and unpleasantness in His wandering life. We have all of us to accept much as it comes; and to see that our consciences undertake nothing in which He could not share. In all our concerns He must be our partner. If we are constantly alive to our responsibilities in our relations as employer or employed, and in all the various aspects of our ways of business, they cannot but be helps to our religious life. In any case, they must be tests of our spiritual reality. If a man is inclined to extract every advantage he can out of his commercial enterprise, without considering the interests of those who work for his advantage, but treating them as mere inanimate pawns on a chess-board, he cannot flatter himself that the Lord Jesus Christ is with him

in such an estimate of his position. On the other hand, if the justice, pity, tenderness, and love of the Saviour of the world be admitted as the dominant factor of business relations, then each incident of the most commonplace and unspiritual transactions becomes an opportunity for the exercise of self-discipline, virtue, and the cultivation of the ideal.

The other part of ordinary life consists of the details of which it is composed. Here we think of such departments as home, conversation, society, and recreation. It is, of course, impossible for human beings, while in the world, to be unceasingly conscious of the Divine element in their lives. Such an attempt would almost inevitably lead to the overthrow of the human brain, limited as it is by physical conditions, and by inherent imperfection and feebleness. The attempt "to tune ourselves too high" must necessarily tend to the cracking of the string. But each day can be so arranged as to produce the quiet unconscious sense of fixed principles and a definite order. The life as a whole consists of the separate days as units: as one day, so the year; as the year, so the aggregate. There will, of course, at the beginning, be the private dedication of ourselves afresh to God, and the earnest entreaty for the continued counsel and presence of the Lord Jesus Christ. Then there will be the assembly of the whole family for worship, meditation, and instruction. It is difficult to understand how a household can consider itself Christian without such a wholesome and invariable custom. Such a state of things as is revealed in a recent powerful novel on the life of an English servant could hardly exist without the protest of the individual conscience, even of the simplest and most ignorant, if family prayers were universal, simple, earnest, and graced by the unction of the Holy Spirit. In Scotland the habit may be said to be the rule, even in the huts of the lowliest peasants. In England its restoration is far more worthy of promotion than many an enterprise, ecclesiastical or religious, that has been pursued with ardour and self-sacrifice. Let me urge on this influential assembly to do their very utmost to receive it in every cottage where their responsibilities extend.

Then there is the daily reading of the Word of God. Whether the passage be long or short, whether read in the morning or evening, it cannot be safely neglected. Many persons have banded themselves together into unions for this purpose, and receive every year a syllabus of selected passages of no great length, but of varied and important bearing. Such associations may very likely be of great help in fixing a habit, in supplying a guide, and of giving the encouragement of sympathy. At all events, the spiritual life cannot grow if it

is not sustained by regular consultation of the revealed will of God.

Further, any invasion of the Lord's Day in its twofold aspect of rest and worship must be firmly and quietly resisted by those who wish religion to permeate ordinary life. Religious impressions in England depend more on the observation of the first day of the week than on any other external help.

In other ways the constant realization of the presence of Christ will drive away from the home its chief enemies—the spirits of frivolity, carelessness, self-assertion, self-will, the quarrelsome temper, and all that is unseemly.

With regard to conversation, the consciousness which we have of the Divine indwelling will be regulative rather than exclusive and imperious in its effect. To aim always at improving and religious talk would be artificial; the strain, even for the best, would be too great. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and the heart is to take its full share in the concerns of this world, as well as to ponder on that which is to come. Nothing that is human is alien to the Christian disposition; there is a time to laugh and be merry, as well as a time to be thoughtful; a time to play, as well as a time to work; a time to love, as well as a time to aspire. What is needed is that nothing should be said or thought that is incongruous to the Christian ideal; the idle talking and jesting of which St. Paul spoke were clearly about things improper and unbecoming. The spiritual life would be hindered by gossip, slander, censure, backbiting, detraction, exaggeration, untruthfulness, dissimulation, crossness, and all forms of ill-temper; everything approaching to coarseness and vulgarity by self-restraint in all these points would be sustained.

As to recreation, we all need times of relaxation. There is nothing incongruous between sport and the truly religious life. Whatever is really manly is fitting and becoming. We all of us have our own different tastes for recreation, and they vary greatly according to our circumstances and resources. What is one man's meat is another man's poison. We can lay down no rule for others, nor attempt to judge them. All depends on the temper in which the relaxation or amusement is carried out. We may remember that our Lord went to a marriage-feast, and that He dined with a Pharisee. Whatever is in itself neither foolish nor harmful need not be incongruous to His Spirit. If we condemn others in what their own conscience allows, we may be classing ourselves amongst that evil generation who, when the Son of man came eating and drinking, said, "Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber!"

Lastly, as to society. How can the spiritual life be promoted

in the ordinary intercourse of the drawing-room or the workshop? The right principle seems to be to take it as it comes; neither to seek it nor to avoid it; to go where your duty sends you, to receive those who naturally come to your house. Here, again, at each moment we may have with us the Lord of wisdom and goodness. We should be so thoroughly imbued with His benign temper, His friendly sympathy for humankind, His scorn of lies and hatred of wrong, that wherever we go His Divine Presence checks ungodliness and folly, and purifies and sweetens the atmosphere.

I have said nothing about the help received through the ordinances of the Church, because that consideration is something different from the right use of ordinary life. It is only necessary to say that the ordinances of the Church are all directed towards strengthening in us this spiritual faculty of being conscious of the indwelling presence of the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit, of hearing the voice of our Saviour as the sheep hear the words of the good shepherd, and of following him in and out and finding pasture. This is not once in our lives only, it is not once every day; it is at every moment that we are to look to Him for guidance and light, and obey His gracious invitation—"Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For My yoke is easy, and My burden is light."

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

Reviews.

The Philosophy and Development of Religion: being the Gifford Lectures for 1894. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. In two volumes. Blackwood and Sons. Price 15s.

THIS extremely clever and excessively one-sided book, though it is made to hang together in a somewhat artificial fashion, is in reality two separate books, of which the first gives us Dr. Pfeiderer's *Philosophy of Religion*, and the second his account of the evolution of the Christian faith. There is nothing new in the Professor's pages, for everything he says here has been said by him before, either in his four-volumed "*Philosophy of Religion*," or in his "*Paulinism*," both of them excellently translated into English.

Pfeiderer's position as a loyal adherent of the Tübingen school, which has fallen into disrepute of late, is so well known that one need only restate it here in brief. He is, frankly and consistently, an anti-supernaturalist; and, therefore, in his view Christianity is not a Divine deposit of truth put into the world at a given time and place by the hand of God, but the highest revelation of man's spirit to itself, the final

culmination of untold centuries of religious toil and effort. Miracle, according to Pfeiderer, has been rendered incredible at once by the progress of science and of historical investigation; naturally, therefore, he dismisses any notion of the *external* authority of the Divine will. But surely the true end of our own will is the exact correspondence between it and the will of God; and, if so, why shrink from this idea of external authority? Pfeiderer's criticisms (vol. i., p. 43) seem to me singularly inconclusive on this point.

On pp. 102 *sqq.*, may be read the Professor's interpretation of the origin, not of Christianity, but of religion itself, which is frankly rationalistic. The origin of all religion, he believes, may be discovered in the interaction of nature-spirits which have been humanized, and ancestral spirits which have been deified. First the family God, then the tribal, then the national, lastly the universal God—these are the steps. In this explanation—if explanation it can be termed—Pfeiderer is, of course, following in the steps of the purely rationalistic school of theologians, who, because they cannot comprehend how in primitive days any spiritual religion can have existed, promptly deny its presence altogether in those early “seekers after God.” Such methods seem painfully uncritical, and savour of theories framed in order that facts may dovetail into them, not that they may illustrate the facts themselves. In any view of the case, such an account as Pfeiderer gives us of the beginnings of religion wholly fail to account for this stupendous fact in the history of humanity, that the consciousness of the being of God, *in some form or other*, is a primary element in the spiritual constitution of man.

When we turn to vol. ii., we are at once enveloped in a tissue of hypotheses, all built up to account for the great *fact* of Christianity in human history. Nothing could be more conclusive evidence of the frailty of so many of the theories we have at one time or another imported from Germany, than to note how completely Baur's treatment of the Apostolic history has of recent years fallen into the background. At present a new school, that knows not Baur, is in the ascendant, and everybody is anxious to do homage to it; I allude, of course, to the school of Ritschl, which is exercising considerable influence in the theologic circles just now. With all its insufficiencies and its positive blunders, this school is more wholesome in its doctrine than the school to which Pfeiderer belongs; it has at least recognised that mankind will not rest upon purely negative criticisms, and that construction of some sort is imperatively demanded. Ritschl in matters doctrinal is the very antithesis of Baur.

Readers must not suppose that because one finds so much that seems either futile or false in the position taken up by a writer so eminent as Pfeiderer, that one can find nothing good and wise and true in what he says. With many of his thoughtful and suggestive comments one may be completely in agreement; but I do regard it as something not only painful, but surprising, that men of the highest intellectual power should have so harnessed themselves to a theory as to be unable to see where that theory breaks down. Thirty years ago Baur's hypothesis (so we are told) was to demolish for ever the opinions anciently and for long generations held, touching the beginnings of Christianity; to-day we are apt to smile rather contemptuously upon that same once-belauded hypothesis, and regard even a German theologian who holds firmly by it as “rather behind the time.” So does the learning of one generation become the folly of the succeeding; “whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.” What a profoundly instructive book—and how profoundly sad a one, too!—might be made out of a history of human errors, if ever such a book could be written.

October, 1894.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

VOL. IX.—NEW SERIES, NO. LXXIV.

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Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas. By W. M. CONWAY. T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1894.

This is a magnificent book of travel and mountaineering, and may well be considered to be the most delightful and novel work on mountain-climbing which has been published for a long time. No one is more fitted to ascend mountains, or to describe their scenery, than Mr. Conway, as his connection with the Alpine Club peculiarly fits him for the work.

The mountain region which he selected for his exploration contains the grandest glaciers in the world, out of the polar regions, and the sublimity of its mountains is almost indescribable.

The Karakoram Mountains are not strictly a portion of the Himalayas, as they lie between the basin of Upper Indus on the south and the wild regions of Chinese Turkistan on the north, so that they constitute the northern boundary of our Indian Empire. Between the rivers Indus and Shayak on the south, and the Karakorams on the north, there is a vast region of stupendous mountains and glaciers, which were first really explored by Colonel Godwin-Austin in 1861, and here it was that Mr. Conway's explorations took place. Mr. Conway and his party journeyed from Srinagar (Kashmir) to Gilgit, passing under the magnificent Nanga Parbat, which is 26,669 feet in height. They then crossed the Indus and entered the Gilgit valley, down which runs the most important road from the upper Oxus to India. Gilgit is our chief outpost, and a garrison is maintained here in order to watch over the frontier territories of Yassin, Kanjut, and Chitral. The expedition explored the glaciers at the head of the Bagrot valley, and the neighbourhood of the great peak of Rakipushi (25,500 feet), and Mr. Conway's party then proceeded up the Kanjut valley. This valley was until lately a perfect nest of robbers, who had filled it with castles, and carried on widespread depredations. We conquered it, however, in 1890, and since then it has been tranquil. After exploring the glaciers of the valley, Mr. Conway crossed the Hispar Pass, and descended upon the great river of ice called the Biafo glacier, which is forty miles in length, and receives enormous glaciers from the north. It took the party several days to cross this wilderness of glaciers, and at length they reached Askole in Baltistan. They now proceeded eastwards and came to the Baltoro glacier, which is more than thirty-five miles long. Around it rise the following giant peaks: K. 2 (28,250 feet), Gusherbrum (26,378 feet), the Hidden Peak (26,480 feet), Masherbrum (25,676 feet), and the Bride (25,119 feet), while enormous rivers of ice flow into the main glacier from north and south. The old Mustagh Pass, lately crossed by Captain Younghusband, descends the Karakorams at the head of the Baltoro glacier, but it has been abandoned because of its dangers, and a new track has been found leading up the Punmah glacier. Mr. Conway in this region scaled the Pioneer Peak (23,000 feet), the highest ascent yet made, and camped for two days at the head of the Baltoro glacier at an elevation of 20,000 feet. After leaving these sublime mountains, Mr. Conway returned to Skardo, the capital of Baltistan, and ascended the Indus to Leh, the chief town in Western Tibet, from which caravans start for Yarkand. From Leh Mr. Conway returned to Srinagar (the capital of Kashmir) along the great road from India to Central Asia, and crossed the Zoji Pass (11,500 feet). This splendid account of mountaineering should be widely read. It contains descriptions of snowy peaks and vast seas of ice, which are almost indescribable in their awful sublimity, and all who wish to gain an idea of the northern mountain barrier of India should read Mr. Conway's delightful and truly magnificent book.

Short Notices.

St. Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life. By Dr. SPARROW-SIMPSON. Elliot Stock.

THE learned Librarian of St. Paul's Cathedral has issued another volume from his rich store of antiquarian knowledge. This time it is the aspect of St. Paul's towards its civic surroundings which is treated. We have the treasury of the Cathedral in 1245, and again in 1402, and a very large number of interesting papers on incidents connected with the City and the Cathedral, such as the sanctuary in 1289, royal visits and such matters; provisions for civic visits to the Cathedral; provisions made from time to time for repairs; facts about the cross and the sermons; facts about the City Companies; the introduction of the Bible; the first touches of the Reformation; the literary surroundings of the Cathedral, and many other noteworthy topics.

The book will be found equally interesting to antiquaries, students of Church history, and lovers of St. Paul's.

Walks in Palestine. By H. A. HARPER. Pp. 128. R.T.S.

This exceedingly handsome volume is in some sort a companion to the well-known and popular picturesque series of the R.T.S., but the illustrations are photogravures by the late Mr. Shadbolt, of a very high order of artistic merit. It is a reprint of an *édition de luxe*.

The writer has described his chief observations and impressions during his residence in the Holy Land, and they will be a great help to those who have not the opportunity of going there themselves. It is a very appropriate and beautiful gift.

The Church Almanack for 1895, published by Mr. Sherlock, of *The Church Monthly* office, is this year very attractive. The centre is an engraving of Holman Hunt's picture of "The Light of the World," and there are illustrations of "Service on the Battle-field," "Service on a Man-of-War," "The Visitation of a Hospital," and "The Charity Girls' Singing." The texts for every day are beautifully selected, and there is a prayer for the parish, rules for every day, and other excellent matter.

The Church Parish Almanack for 1895 has in the middle a photograph of Doulton's statuette of the Good Shepherd, with photographs of the Cathedrals and Bishops of Durham, Winchester, Rochester, and St. Asaph.

The Home Words Almanack is distinguished by its pretty colouring, and has illustrations of country life.

The Fireside Almanack is also coloured, and has Baptism, Confirmation, a Village Wedding, Family Prayer, the Sailor Boy leaving Home, Canterbury Cathedral, and York Minster.

PRESENT DAY PRIMERS. R.T.S.—

1. *English Church History.* By J. VERNON BARTLET. Pp. 160. Price 1s.

This little book gives a sketch of the growth of Christianity from the time of the Apostles to the age of St. Augustine. It traces in a perfectly accurate and impartial manner the growth of Christian institutions and

currents of thought. It follows the lines laid down by Bishop Lightfoot, and it is impossible to speak too highly of it as a corrective to biased and prejudiced theories.

2. *The Printed English Bible.* By RICHARD LOVETT. Pp. 160. Price 1s.

It would be impossible to get more useful information in such small space on this important subject. After an introduction on Wycliffe and printing, we have an account of Tindale, the Pentateuch of 1530, the New Testament of 1534, Coverdale's Bible of 1535, Matthew's Bible of 1537, the Great Bible of 1539, the Geneva Bible, the Bishop's Bible, the first Roman Catholic Bible of 1582, the authorized Bible of 1611, and the Revised Version of 1885.

These primers should be in every schoolroom in the country.

3. *How to Study the English Bible.* By CANON GIRDLESTONE. Pp. 120. Price 1s.

This excellent little manual contains chiefly hints on Bible difficulties; ten important rules which should be observed in Bible study; hints on special books, such as the Psalms, the Prophets, unfulfilled prophecy, the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles; the study of doctrine; practical and devotional use, method, and order. It is a short and suggestive summary of careful study, thought, and learning.

4. *A Brief Introduction to New Testament Greek.* By SAMUEL GREEN, D.D. Pp. 128. Price 1s.

This is a simple and accurate Greek grammar, adapted to the study of the New Testament, and would be sufficient for students of either sex who had not learnt Greek at school to enjoy the Christian writings in the original.

- The Story of Egil Skallagrimsson.* Translated from the Icelandic by the Rev. W. C. GREEN. Pp. 222. Elliot Stock.

This is an Icelandic family history of the ninth and tenth centuries, and gives an exceedingly graphic picture of Norse manners at that time. All that concerns the Norwegian or Danish element in our national pedigree has a special interest for the British race. A recent Danish critic has given his opinion that the accounts of personal events in Iceland and Norway are in the main true. Accounts of other countries are less trustworthy. The chronology is sometimes faulty, but there is extensive geographical knowledge and insight into Icelandic and Norse law and culture.

- Early Christian Art.* By the Rev. EDWARD CUTTS, D.D. Pp. 364. Price 6s. S.P.C.K.

The object of the book is to throw light upon Church worship and customs before the time of Constantine. Dr. Cutts, we think, starts with a mistake—that "the worship of the Church was the continuation of the solemn liturgical worship of the Temple; not of the prayer-meetings of the Synagogue." All the evidence of the New Testament is the other way. He also assumes, without a particle of evidence, that the upper room of the Last Supper became the central place of worship of the Church at Jerusalem. When, however, he is dealing with archæology and not with inference, Dr. Cutts gathers together a large number of useful and interesting facts. There are eighty-five illustrations.

A Five Years' Course of Bible and Prayer-Book-Teaching Lessons for the First Year. Pp. 147. Sunday School Institute.

The First Course consists of fifty lessons; twenty-four of the Gospels up to the call of St. Matthew, followed by fourteen on Genesis, interspersed at intervals of a month with twelve on the Prayer-Book. Five years are held to be the average school-life of a Sunday scholar. The children will thus be taken over a large and comprehensive field. The work is carried out with the usual clearness and fulness which characterize the productions of the Institute.

Travels in Egypt and Palestine. By AUGUSTA BREWSTER. James Nisbet and Co.

This simple record of life and travel, chiefly in the Holy Land, will be read with interest by all lovers of Scripture history and scenery, and will also be acceptable to intelligent children over twelve years old. The clearness of the print is highly to be commended.

How to be Happy, though Married. Popular edition. T. Fisher Unwin.

This cheaper edition of a well-known and popular manual on the duties, dangers, and delights of matrimony needs no recommendation except a word of praise on its new form, which is compact and portable, while its price—one shilling—brings it within the reach of all.

Little Rests by the Way. By E. H. G. Elliot Stock.

This little book of practical religious teaching will be welcomed by mothers and teachers to read aloud each day to children, or to put into the hands of those able and willing to profit by such a book. The similes are clear and graphic.

By Hook or by Crook, and five other stories. By AGNES GIBERNE. S.P.C.K.

Miss Giberne's writings are too well known and too popular to need praise or comment; but these six stories will be welcomed at mothers' meetings, where a single story is often so acceptable for each meeting, and will pass away a weary hour in the hospital ward. The print, too, is so excellent that this book will form a valuable addition to the old people's shelf in the parish lending library. The lessons—on thrift, cleanliness, pure water, fresh air, etc.—are wrapped up in a most attractive form.

Noble Womanhood. By G. BARNETT SMITH. S.P.C.K.

These short biographical sketches of eight illustrious women—Princess Alice, Florence Nightingale, Frances Havergal, Harriet Beecher-Stowe, Sister Dora, Louisa Alcott, Elizabeth Fry, and Felicia Hemans—are well condensed, and exceedingly interesting. The volume would make an admirable gift-book for grown-up girls, and might be read with pleasure and profit at working parties and to better-class mothers' meetings.

Both Worlds Barred. Pp. 220. Price 5s. 6d. Fisher Unwin.

This is a story of Scotch ministerial life, written from a somewhat pessimistic standpoint. College life is first sketched from St. Andrews, and then the plunge into a remote village parish is accompanied by several humorous touches and sketches. The young minister falls into various unmerited troubles, and, after drifting through a sceptical period, settles down into a utilitarian view of Christianity. Some of the arguments on both sides are well put.

The Controversy of Zion. Being the miscellaneous works of the late T. W. CHRISTIE, B.A. (Camb.). Liverpool : Howell, 1894. Pp. 580.

Controversy is, according to Mr. Christie, glorious. Perhaps so ; but love is even better than controversy. While we have a sincere sympathy with many of the views taken by the author of this rather ill-constructed and tedious work, we earnestly deprecate the fierce and oftentimes (as we think) loveless spirit which is continually cropping up in its pages. Definite and unyielding allegiance to God's truth is right, and our bounden duty ; but even here Maldenius' golden maxim holds good : " In necessariis unitas : in non necessariis libertas : in utrisque caritas."

A Creed or a Philosophy. By the Rev. T. MOZLEY, M.A., author of "Reminiscences of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement." London : Longmans and Co. Price 7s. 6d.

This stimulating and suggestive work was, indeed, the last fruit from off an old tree. A few months after its publication, Thomas Mozley, the brother of Professor J. B. Mozley, and the brother-in-law of Newman, had passed to where, "beyond these voices, there is peace." There is no need to describe at length this book, for Mozley's peculiar tenets are well known—his cordial disapproval of the "Anglican dogma" (as he calls it) of the Trinity, his dislike of modern hymns and hymnals, and so forth. In this book, which may be regarded as his final appeal, he sums up what he had long been saying, in season and out of season, in his own brilliant way, and condenses it all into the brief compass of some 300 pages. With much of his teaching we disagree ; but we have read with deep interest, not unmixed with a feeling of sadness, his concluding words to this century, now fast ebbing away into the eternal silence.

The School of Calvary. By Rev. G. BODY, D.D. Longmans and Co., 1894. Price 2s. 6d.

A new edition, in a cheaper form, of Canon Body's "Lent Lectures" for 1890, which were delivered in All Saints' Church, Margaret Street. This little work purposes to instruct people in the laws of Christian living. Naturally enough, there is throughout its pages a flavour of mediæval devotion ; but the book is, nevertheless, most devout, and should be helpful, if duly taken to heart.

The Scientific Study of Theology. By W. L. PAGE COX, M.A. London : Skeffington and Son. Pp. 180.

An admirably lucid and really thoughtful treatise on scientific methods in theology. Such books as these, which boldly and earnestly demand of thinking men that they should regard theology as something that can be approached in a truly rational and scientific way, are precisely what are needed just now. We thank Mr. Cox for his most suggestive little work.

The Christ-Controlled Life. By Rev. E. W. MOORE, M.A. London : Nisbet and Co. Pp. 231. Price 2s. 6d.

"Not self-control, but Christ-control." That is, in briefest space, the central teaching of this book, which is excellent alike in style and matter. Few who possess it will care to part with it.

Those of our readers who are not yet familiar with the books of George Ebers should lose no time in possessing themselves of the translations, which are cheaply published in the Tauchnitz Series. The author of "An Egyptian Princess," "Narda," and "Joshua" is an accomplished Egyptologist, and his vivid portrayal of Egyptian and Hebrew life is unsurpassed by anything of the kind which has been hitherto attempted.

Echoes from the Undying World. Rev. F. HARPER, M.A. R.T.S.

An excellent book in its way, as the sermons it contains enter into no doctrinal controversies, but preach the Gospel pure and simple. The author makes no attempt at mere grace of style and elegance of diction, so that the book is one which may be safely placed in the hands of the young or the lower classes.

Milestones on the Road of Life. Rev. J. G. RAINSFORD, D.D. Partridge and Co.

This booklet contains twenty chapters, most of which seem to be too full. If the matter were compressed into a smaller space, a wider circulation would be ensured.

The King's Table of Blessing. Rev. ALFRED HUNT, M.A. Wm. Hunt and Co.

Manuals for communicants are so very numerous that fresh ones are hardly needed. However good they may be the supply is always in excess of the demand. The present little work is good of its kind.

MAGAZINES.

We have received the following (October) magazines :

The Thinker, The Expository Times, The Religious Review of Reviews, The Review of the Churches, The Anglican Church Magazine, The Church Missionary Intelligencer, The National Church, The Foreign Church Chronicle, The Evangelical Churchman, The Gospel Magazine, The Church Sunday-School Magazine, Blackwood, The Cornhill, Sunday Magazine, The Fireside, Cassell's Family Magazine, The Quiver, Good Words, The Leisure Hour, Sunday at Home, The Girl's Own Paper, The Boy's Own Paper, Light and Truth, The Church Worker, The Church Monthly, The Church Missionary Gleaner, The Philanthropist, Light in the Home, Awake, India's Women, Parish Magazine, New and Old, The Dawn of Day, The Bible Society's Gleanings for the Young, The Bible Society's Monthly Reporter, The Cottager and Artisan, Friendly Greetings, Little Folks, The Child's Pictorial, The Children's World, Our Little Dots and The Boy's and Girl's Companion.

THE MONTH.

THE readers of THE CHURCHMAN will be rejoiced to have heard that a true and able friend to Reformation principles has been appointed Bishop-Suffragan of Coventry for Birmingham. On the nomination of the Bishop of Worcester, the Crown has appointed the Rev. Canon Knox, Vicar of Aston, Birmingham, to the Suffragan Bishopric of Coventry, vacated by the death of the late Bishop Bowly. Canon Knox has also been appointed to the rectory of St. Philip's, Birmingham. The Rev. Edmund Arbutnott Knox, who was son of an able and powerful Evangelical minister and friend of the Church Missionary Society, was a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and whilst at the University distinguished himself by obtaining three first classes, as well as the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship. He was elected a Fellow of Merton in 1868, and was tutor and Dean of the College from 1875 to 1885, in which year he accepted the vicarage of Kibworth, in Leicestershire, where he remained until 1891. He was then appointed Vicar of Aston, in succession to Canon Eliot, now Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bournemouth. Canon Knox is an Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral and was one of the honorary secretaries of last year's Church Congress.

The deanery of Elphin, vacant by the resignation of the Very Rev. William Warburton, D.D., has been conferred by the Bishop of Kilmore upon the Rev. Prebendary Francis Burke, incumbent of Ardcarne.

The Rev. W. H. Binney, Vicar of Witton, Cheshire, and Commissary in England of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, has been unanimously chosen to succeed the late Dr. Sillitoe as Bishop of New Westminster, British Columbia. The Bishop-elect, who was educated at New College, Oxford, and the Leeds Clergy School, was ordained in 1881 to the curacy of Tarporley, and five years later was presented to the vicarage of Witton. He has acted as Commissary to the late and present Bishops of Nova Scotia since 1885, and was appointed Rural Dean of Middlewich in 1888. It is said that he has declined the offer.

The *Record* announces that Archdeacon W. L. Williams has been elected by the Synod as Bishop of Waiapu in succession to Bishop Stuart. The new prelate is an Oxford graduate, who has spent his ministerial life in New Zealand and in missionary work.

The new church of St. Catherine, Hatcham, S.E., has been consecrated by the Bishop of Rochester in the presence of a large congregation. The church is a fine building with nearly 1,000 sittings, and occupies a commanding position on the summit of Pepys Road, formerly known as Telegraph Hill. The cost of construction has been defrayed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, the latter being the patrons.

The Very Rev. Hussey Burge Macartney, D.D., Dean of Melbourne, died at his residence in Melbourne on October 7 at the advanced age of ninety-six. Dr. Macartney was born in Dublin and educated at Trinity College. He was the son of the late Sir John Macartney, a member of the Irish House of Commons, and of Catherine, daughter of the Right Hon. Walter Hussey Burgh, Lord Chief Baron, who was long a representative of the University of Dublin in Parliament. In 1822, the year after he graduated B.A., he was ordained to the curacy of Banagher, in the diocese of Meath, and received the priest's orders in 1823. For twelve years he was incumbent of Creagh, in the county Cork; and in 1847 he accompanied Dr. Perry, first Bishop of Melbourne, to Australia. In October, 1848, he was appointed Archdeacon of Geelong, and in January, 1852, he became Dean of Melbourne, with the incumbency of St. James's parish attached, and some time afterwards he was appointed Archdeacon of Melbourne. During the episcopate of Dr. Perry he was three times Vicar-General of the diocese when the Bishop was absent in England. He also administered the affairs of the diocese before the arrival of Bishop Moorhouse, and in the interval between the departure of Dr. Moorhouse and the arrival of Bishop Goe.

The Bishop of Ripon has made good progress towards recovery from his recent illness, and, by the advice of his doctors, is arranging for a short absence from his diocese.

Princess Alix of Hesse has obtained concessions from the Russian Holy Synod such as no Princess in a like position has ever before secured. In embracing the orthodox faith her Royal Highness will not declare her former religion to be accursed, nor will she state that her conversion is due to the conviction that the truth lies not with her own, but with the Russian Church. The Synod will content itself with the declaration that the Princess has joined the Greek Church in order to be of one religion with her future husband.