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I have, however, noted, for correction in any future edition, some words which, I gladly acknowledge, might convey a misapprehension.

III. Mr. Hobson's interesting discussion of 1 Cor. xi., which will, I trust, receive due attention. I do not understand that it is questioned by Mr. Hobson that in the Corinthian Chnrch the Eucharist was, in some sort, made to be a part of (or, by error, made into) a social meal, and that this meal was a *supper*.

Not but what, beyond this, Mr. Hobson's argument has an important bearing on the subject.

I will only add that, in speaking of Pliny as determining "the early dawning as the hour of the Eucharistic meeting," Mr. Hobson is inadvertently begging the question (not altogether an unimportant one) on which I have touched in my note on pp. 431-2.

Yours faithfully,

N. DIMOCK.

ST. PAUL'S VICARAGE, MAIDSTONE,
April 2, 1886.



Reviews.



A Dictionary of Islam. A Cyclopædia of the Doctrines, Rites, Customs, and Theological Terms of the Muhammadan Religion. By THOMAS PATRICK HUGHES, B.D., 1885. London : W. H. Allen and Co.

If the reader expects to find in this review a blind and wholesale abuse of Muhammad and his doctrines, and an uncritical disregard of the great fact that one hundred and seventy-five millions at this moment adhere to this persuasion, he is mistaken. The subject is a very solemn one, and should be treated with solemnity. The writer has lived a quarter of a century in intimate acquaintance with Muhammadans. The servants who cooked his dinner and waited at his table ; the coachman who drove his carriage ; the horsemen who were his companions in his rides ; many of the clerks and officials who engrossed his orders and transacted his business ; the judges of first instance who presided in the Civil Courts ; the Collectors of the State-Revenue ; and the superintendents of the police stations were, in a very large number, followers of Islam, intermixed with an equal number of Hindus ; and yet they were upright, trustworthy, and esteemed, full of affectionate interest, and entirely devoid of fanaticism. The Muhammadan nobleman or prince is a born gentleman, stately in his bearing, courteous in his expressions, and yet dignified and reserved.

The great leading error, disfigurement, and misfortune of a Muhammadan is simply this—that he is not a Christian. He has no idols to get rid of ; no abominable customs, such as widow-burning, female infanticide, human sacrifices, or cannibalism, to be trodden down ; his laws, his ceremonies, his customs, are reduced to writing, and in these latter days are printed. He is not ashamed of his past history, for his creed has filled a large page in the world's chronicles, overrunning large portions of Asia, Europe, and Africa. If the political influence of that creed is now on the wane, the propagandist power is by no means diminished. We must consider the phenomena of its existence with judicial calmness. It cannot be supposed that such a mighty factor in the world's history came into play without the special sanction of the Almighty. The promulgation of the doctrines of Muhammad is one of the greatest land-

marks in history. Human sacrifices, idolatry, and sorcery fell before the approach of Islam ; for there is found in its texts an expression of an everlasting truth, a rude shadow of the great spiritual fact, and beginning of all facts, "the infinite nature of Duty ;" that man's actions never die, or end at all ; that man in his little life reaches up to heaven or down to hell, and in his brief span holds an eternity fearfully and wonderfully shrouded from his sight and conception. The doctrine promulgated was so simple that it could be understood at once, never forgotten, and never disproved ; so consonant to reason, unassisted by revelation, that it seemed an axiom ; so comprehensive that it reached every human state, and embraced all the kindreds and races of mankind. "There is no God but one God." Simple as was the conception, none of the earlier religions, fashioned by human intellect, had arrived at it. There were no longer to be temples, altars, or sacrifices, or anthropomorphic conceptions, but a God incapable of sin and defilement, merciful, pitying ; King of the day of judgment ; one that heareth prayers, and will forgive, so long as the sun rises from the east ; a God not peculiar to any nation or language, not the God of the hill-country, or the plain-country, of the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Hittite, or the Moabite, but the God of all, alone, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent.

Much, if not all, of this grand conception had been borrowed from the Jews and the Christians, but it had been purged from the follies and degradations with which it had been overlaid in the sixth century after Christ, and it had never been so distinctly enforced, nor so extensively and enduringly promulgated in such gleaming phraseology. It was, indeed, an indignant protest against the degradation to which the Syrian, the Nestorian, the Greek, and the Coptic Churches had fallen in their insane discussions about Homoousion and Homoiouousion, and the awful mysteries of the Trinity, and the Divine Person of our Saviour. Until these latter days, when the germs of pure and healthy Christian belief are planted in every part of the world, where soil can be found ready to receive them, it had been given to no propagandist religion to find such immediate and vast expansion. It not only trod out the decaying and corrupted Christianities, but it passed beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, the Euphrates, into regions to which the Christian religion had never reached, and extinguished for ever the ancient ritual of the Fire-worshipper, and pushed on beyond the Indus, to hold its own against the great Brahmanical legends of India. The Arab merchant carried it backward and forward, and still to this day carries it, over the deserts of Africa, giving it to black races as the first germs of civilization ; the Malay pirate carried it to the cannibals and head-hunters of the Indian Archipelago, telling them of the natural equality of man before God, the abolition of priestcraft, and the certainty of a day of judgment, and everlasting happiness or torment. These doctrines may have lost their youthful vitality, but not their truth. Over vast regions they have propagated themselves, and are still propagating, by the force of their own superiority, for there is nothing in the simple formula to stagger reason, or make large demands on intelligence and faith.

But much of the Paganism which it tried to supersede clung to its skirts ; being but a human conception, it had not the power to sound the depths of the human heart. And the heathen, when he accepts Islam, is not a changed man, a converted man, born again, but the same man with a new formula, and a new creed ; and a new law of commission and omission, but the same unrenewed heart. Then it was essentially an Oriental conception ; it was crystallized into a civil and criminal code,

which may have suited the Arab or the Oriental neighbours of the Arab, but was not susceptible of expansion to meet other wants, and other intellectual and social environments, of which its human framer in his limited knowledge had no conception. Herein is the Divine marvel of the Christian conception, fashioned, indeed, in an Oriental model, but capable of being adapted to every possible circumstance and state of culture of the human race. Thus it has happened that slavery and polygamy are rightly or wrongly deemed to be part and parcel of the Muhammadan faith, though among the fifty millions of Muhammadans in India slavery is absolutely extinct, and polygamy on the wane. Thus also customs such as circumcision, abstention from certain foods, formal prayer in a language totally unintelligible to the worshipper, prolonged fastings, and lengthy pilgrimages have survived into an age which has outgrown such ceremonious observances, which laughs at so large a husk round so small a kernel of doctrine, not likely to survive under the scorching heat of public opinion, and the unsympathetic contact of a nineteenth-century occidental civilization.

It would be a bad time for the Christian missionaries if any large section of a Muhammadan nation were to wake up to the fact that men's minds grow wider with the progress of the suns, and were to add monogamy to their existing practice of total abstinence from all spirituous liquors, were to substitute a careful study in the vernacular of the really grand and beautiful portions of the Koran for the vain repetition of incomprehensible Arabic formulæ ; were to add purity of morals to their existing purity of dogma, and to live the lives of decent Europeans, adding a hatred of slavery to their present hatred of idolatry and worship of images, whether by Pagan or Roman Catholic ; if to this they added a careful study of the Old and New Testaments, which are in fact as sacred to them as to us, and still failed to be converted, and, setting their faces like flint against Christian interpretations of the Bible, were themselves to send out missionaries of a Reformed Islam, they would indeed become a factor in the mission-field of a most formidable import. We may congratulate ourselves that they are as we find them. Many a Hindu is better than the religion which he nominally professes, and his religion is incompatible with education and civilization. But every Muhammadan is far worse than the religion which he nominally professes ; he never really understands it, for it is never taught in its integrity. If uneducated, he knows nothing beyond the dogma, the rite of circumcision, the daily prayers, and the annual fastings ; if he is educated, he is either a debauchee, breaking the very laws of the faith which he professes, or he is notorious for his fierce prejudices, his intolerant notions, his entire deficiency of philosophical and historical acumen, and is despicable as an antagonist. The Muhammadans in Turkey or Persia will talk wildly about the impossibility of a follower of Islam submitting to any law but that of the Koran and its accompanying traditions ; but we in India know that fifty millions live very happily under Anglo-Indian codes of law without a particle of Muhammadan law, except what relates to marriage and inheritance, and that a very large section of converted Hindus, or Neo-Muhammadans, reject even that fragment, and prefer to retain the Hindu laws in these particulars.

The book before us is one of extreme importance ; the very best authorities admit that it is an accurate representation of Muhammadan doctrine and practice, and a most complete one. It errs on the side of exceeding rather than falling short of the requirements of the case, and there is a want of relative proportion of the length of some of the notices to the importance of the thing noticed ; and the book would have

been handier if it had been of less bulk, and more available to students in being cheaper. Still it is a noble and important work, but it is the work of an able and experienced Protestant missionary, whose knowledge of living Muhammadanism, as distinguished from knowledge acquired from books, is confined to the Afghans of Peshawar, thorough ruffians, and totally uneducated. The vision of a missionary, in itself of necessity narrow, by the requirements of his holy calling, is, in this case, further contracted by the limited contact with the professors of the religion which he describes.

He states in his preface that his "intention is to give, in a tabulated form, a concise account of the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and customs, together with the technical and theological terms, of the Muhammadan religion." We must admit that his task has been fully accomplished, and that no missionary would be justified in entering upon the Muhammadan field of labour who has not studied this volume. It cannot be too thoroughly understood that the epoch for the missionary, pious yet ignorant, self-consecrated but untrained, is past. The brave savage does not inquire into the strength of his antagonist, but the skilful general takes no forward step until he has obtained every possible information of the enemy's strength, resources, and tactics. It is fair to state that the author's statements are remarkably sober, fair, and impartial.

His method of treating the subject appears to be very judicious. A dictionary is not pleasant for continuous reading, and is by its alphabetical necessity disjointed; yet for any *pro re natâ* reference, commend me to a dictionary. We all know what time is lost hunting through tables of contents, or running the eye down an unscientific index. Having selected his topics, the author usually begins his notice by a quotation from the Koran, supplementing it by quotations from the traditions and esteemed Muhammadan commentators; to this he has added quotations from European scholars. Now this is very conscientious and exhaustive treatment. A kind of doubt must, however, seize the mind of the reader, whether the author is acquainted with the Arabic language beyond spelling out the Koran, and whether he is acquainted with any of the European languages; for the subject of Muhammadanism has been so elaborately discussed by French, German, and other Continental scholars, none of whom he quotes.

This opens out another question. Muhammadanism extends from the Western Provinces of China, right through the Continent of Asia, as far north as Kazán on the Volga, to the Mediterranean and Black Sea, over some portion of Europe, over a considerable portion of Africa, as far as the Straits of Gibraltar eastwards, and southwards as far as Zanzibar on the East Coast, and the Basin of the Niger on the West. The author's personal knowledge of the practice of Muhammadans is restricted to a small province in Afghanistan across the Indus, and the people of the Panjáb. The area is enormous, but the circumstances are extraordinarily different of portions of these religionists. There are millions under the rule of England, France, Holland, and Russia, strong Christian Governments, which know how to make themselves obeyed. There are millions under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, Muhammadan sovereigns, yet still exercising a reality of substantial rule. There are millions under barbarous systems of government, such as the Chinese Local Governors in Chinese Tartary and the Province of Sechuen, the Amir of Afghanistan, the Amir of Khiva and Bokhara, the Sultan of Morocco, the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the Imam of Muscat; and there are millions without any semblance of Government at all, such as the inhabitants of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, the nomads of Arabia, and of the great African Sudán,

which extends from the Nile to the Niger, and beyond to the Atlantic. There is a great diversity in their practice and their tenets. The Indian and African would naturally be deemed very bad Muhammadans from the contact of the corruption of their Pagan neighbours ; the Egyptians are notoriously bad Muhammadans, the Malays are only skin-deep converts.

The author, in his preface, hopes that the book will be useful (1) to the Government official called to administer justice to a Muhammadan people ; (2) to the Christian missionary engaged in a controversy with Muhammadan scholars ; (3) to the student of comparative religions ; (4) to all who care to know the leading principles of thought of 175 millions of the human family, who have adopted the tenets of Muhammad.

To the fourth class a consecutive treatise would have been more agreeable. It is difficult to conceive anyone who had not some direct duty to, or relation with, Muhammadans deliberately reading a dictionary such as this. The third class would certainly consult the original documents, which are readily and amply available. The second and the first class will furnish the readers of this book. There are Christian missionaries at this moment in Turkey, Egypt, Algiers, Morocco, at Zanzibar and on the Niger, in Persia, Afghanistan, and India ; and they will have to use caution in reading this book, or they may be misled. Much of it is applicable to Muhammadanism in its early period, but totally inapplicable now. Some of the precepts of the Koran are about of as much practical value as the Book of Leviticus. The convert accepts circumcision, repeats the Fatihah, abjures pork, and enjoys entire freedom of matrimony up to four, and that is pretty well all that he knows of his new faith. Even the Maulawi themselves are found to be grossly and ridiculously ignorant. The missionary who has mastered the Koran, either in its original or a translation, and who studies Mr. Hughes' book, will be as much above the level of the knowledge of the people among whom he dwells, as one of the Old Testament Company would be among the nominal Christians of towns in England.

There remains the first class, the Government official. This can apply only to the official in Anglo-India. The wildest enthusiast can hardly imagine a Muhammadan Kadi, or Wali, or Kaimmakam, or the petty local tyrants of Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan, or the Sheikhs of the independent nomads, or the French préfet, or juge, or the Russian military commandant, studying Mr. Hughes' book. But the official in Anglo-India is just the very person to whom the book would be useless ; at least such is the opinion of one who was judge and magistrate over Muhammadans for more than twenty years. The Code of Positive Criminal Law and Procedure, and the Code of Civil Procedure, has made a clean sweep of Muhammadan laws, and, as already stated, with the exception of the two reserved subjects of marriage and inheritance, civil decisions follow the precedents either of English or Roman law. When we consider the topics of slavery, eunuchs, evidence, oaths, and land, they are only of antiquarian interest, as the people of India have learned to do very well without them. Nor would the article as to the position of women in Arabia have any possible bearings on the circumstances of women in India, which are so totally different.

Two long articles have been introduced into the book from the pens of two distinct authors, which it would have been better to have omitted, as they have added to the bulk of a work with which they have nothing in common. One is an essay on Arabic writing, by Dr. Steingass, an interesting subject no doubt, but not in the least connected with the Muhammadan tenets and customs. As a fact it existed in Arabia before the time of Muhammad, and is by rules of strict induction derived from

the old Phenician alphabet, of which the earliest monument is found in the Moabite Stone. This character is used by all the literary classes of Hindus in Northern India, and by the Christians in Syria and Egypt. It is by no means a sacred alphabet, nor is it one restricted to religious uses. Still more unnecessary and improper was the introduction of a long article on Sikhism, by Mr. Pincott. The Sikhs are only Hindu sectarians, and it might as well be said that a Baptist was not a Christian as that a Sikh was not a Hindu. It has no practical value at all, and has not even the merit of being a correct representation of existing facts. The Sikhs hated the Muhammadans with a deadly hate, and, while they were in power in the Panjab, desecrated their sacred buildings, confiscated their religious grants, and oppressed them in every possible way. Whatever fusion Nanak may have dreamt of, disappeared when Guru Govind commenced his career of vengeance upon his Muhammadan oppressors, whose dominion in India he helped to annihilate.

The articles upon Jesus Christ, the Jews, Jerusalem, the Koran, Tradition, Muhammad, and Muhammadanism, are of permanent value. So also are the notices of Scripture personages, such as Moses, Joseph, and others, from the Muhammadan point of view. The account of the great festivals, the Id-ul-Az̄hā, Id-ul-Fitr, and the Muharram, is satisfactory. There is nothing in the Koran to connect the first-named festival with Ishmael, but it is held by Muhammadans to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to offer up his son as a sacrifice, and the son thus offered was Ishmael, NOT ISAAC. The writer of this paper once ventured to remark to an excellent and worthy native judge, that Abraham was ready to offer up Isaac, NOT ISHMAEL. With a kind and pitying smile he corrected me, remarking that a Muhammadan only could know the truth of what Abraham, *who was himself a Muhammadan*, did. An entire absence of historical and geographical knowledge is an important factor in an inflexible faith in a false religion.

No one who has travelled in India and Turkey can have failed to remark how totally different the mosques of the two countries are. The mosque of Sultan Suleiman at Constantinople has no resemblance whatever to the Jama Masjid of Dehli, and still less to the famous mosque of Cordova in Spain. Mr. Hughes, in his article on Masjid, "the place of prostration in prayer," points out the necessary feature of a mosque, the Mihrab, which indicates the direction of Mekka, and therefore the direction pointed in Cordova is precisely the reverse of the one pointed at Dehli, and the Mimbar, or pulpit, from which the Khutbah, or Friday oration, is recited. In the Court there are conveniences for water for purposes of ceremonial ablution. The Imam leads the devotions, the Muazzin calls to prayers from the lofty gallery of a Minaret; there is great dignity and solemnity and lifting up of heart in the whole ceremony. The writer of this notice has stood by the side of the Muazzin in an oasis of the great Suhara, in the centre of crowded cities such as Constantinople, Damascus, Cairo, Banaras, and Dehli, as he sounded out over the houses far below, above the city's din, the cry that "God is great, and that there is no God but one God. Come to salvation." The long rows of kneeling figures in the interior is an imposing sight. The worshippers are terribly in earnest, and the object of their worship is the Supreme Creator of the universe, and the prayers, which are uttered in Arabic, though utterly unintelligible to the person praying, convey the noblest form of adoration clothed in the most majestic and sonorous phraseology.

Two more articles deserve notice, as they touch upon the relation of the religion of the Muhammadans to the Civil Governor. From the Mimbar in the Masjid the Khutbah, or Friday oration, is delivered.

Tradition hands down that Muhammad used frequently to deliver a Khutbah, fresh and new, and not the studied and formal oration which has now become the practice. It is the old story. In the beginning there were men gifted with the power of speech, and they spoke the living thoughts that coined themselves into golden words as they rose from the heart to the lips. A generation followed, less spiritual and less vivid, who read their own written sermons. To them succeeded a generation still more lazy and stolid, who read the stereotyped words of others, but not necessarily the same formula. Mr. Hughes gives two or three selected Khutbah, and if only the hearers could understand them, they would be profitable for instruction and reproof; but it is doubtful, whether they are intelligible in countries, where Arabic is still the vernacular in a somewhat modernized dialect and pronunciation, and are totally useless in other countries. Besides the great sin of ritual accompanies them, in that they are chanted in non-natural and sing-song tones, and the best Khatib was he who whined and intoned the best. The Prophet himself, with an astuteness which marks that superior intellect which he no doubt possessed, has left on record that "the length of a man's prayer and the shortness of his sermons are the signs of a man's common-sense."

According to the best traditions, the name of the reigning Khalifah ought to be recited in the Khutbah, and this gives an interest to the article on that word. As the Pope of Rome and the Lama of Tibet, so also the Khalifah claims to be vicegerent of God by spiritual succession; but the question arises, "Who is the Khalifah?" The lineal descendants of the Prophet and the line of the Koreish were soon exhausted, and the fact that in Muhammadan countries the name of the Sultan, or Amir, or Shah is substituted for the Khalifah has a deep significance. In British India the expression "Ruler of the Age" has been substituted by loyal Muhammadans. The claims put forth by the Sultan of Turkey to the spiritual headship of Islam, beyond his own dominions, is shadowy in the extreme, and may be puffed away. The Sultan is by the male line a Turk from the regions north of the Oxus; by the female line he is a Circassian of the regions of the Caucasus. His ancestor, Bajazet, was defeated at the battle of Angora, and carried captive in an iron cage by Timúr the Lame, the ancestor of the great dynasty of the Great Mogul of Dehli, which came to an end only in the year 1857 in the furnace of the Indian mutinies. The mighty monarchs who ruled over India would have laughed at the idea of any Imam in the Masjids of their kingdoms praying for anybody but themselves. Mr. Hughes sets out the absurdity of the claim of the Sultan of Turkey very clearly and very accurately. The assumption of the title by anyone not of the Arab Koreish tribe is undoubtedly illegal and heretical, and is a mere gasconade of the irresponsibly Turk.

One incidental advantage of the publication of such books as this, and the valuable works of Sir W. Muir, and the German and French authors, is that the attention of the champions of the Christian faith should be called to the phenomena presented by this great Antichrist. It is not judicious to paint Muhammadanism and its followers with colours that are not true. They are by precept and practice total abstainers, and so far on a higher platform than the average Christians. Polygamy is the exception. The present Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt present an example of monogamy in high places. Slavery was the disgrace of Christians in the time of many of us still alive, and it will die out in Muhammadan countries before the present generation has passed away. Toleration of other religions was ever the rule of Islam, whatever may be said to the contrary, as is evidenced by the existence of the fallen

Churches in Western Asia, and North Africa, and by the great Hindu nation in India. The present century will possibly see the extinction of the last Muhammadan independent kingdom ; at any rate their claws have been cut, and they supply good subjects, and excellent public servants, and respectable members of society in India. The important point is that just as Paganism, and Nature worship, and the Brahmanical religion, and the Buddhist must and do fade away under the scorching light of education and contact with other nations, Muhammadanism, on the contrary, becomes stronger and more refined. It has nothing to fear in its essentials from science ; it never claimed miracles ; it appeals to a book, the most wonderful uninspired literary monograph that the world ever saw, and the everlasting truths which, intermixed with much irrelevant and incoherent matter, that book contains. As the Christian writers, inspired by God, drew freely upon the contents of the Jewish books, so Muhammad was audacious enough to pervert both Christian and Jewish books to his own false purposes, giving a new colour and interpretation to the composite amalgam. A "Comforter" was promised (John xiv. 16) under the term *παρακλητος*. The Muhammadan would read *παρακλυτος*, which being interpreted is "Muhammad"—"the one that is praised." The names of Abraham, the Friend of God ; Moses, the Word of God ; Jesus, the Spirit of God, are coupled with terms of deep respect with the name of Muhammad, the Prophet of God. In Isaiah xxi. 7, the prophet sees in his vision "a troop of asses and of camels." The Muhammadan interprets this as a prediction of Jesus, who came riding on an ass, and Muhammad on a camel. The name of our Lord is never uttered or written without expressions of respect. Once purged of the dross of ignorance and spiritual deadness, and set free from the defilement of Paganism, which clings to the skirt of its clothing, refined by such men as the Wahhábi revivalists, who, as Mr. Hughes justly says in his article on that subject, are the Protestants of Islam, it will stand out as the religion of pure and elevated Monotheism, with a code of the strictest morality, not ignoring but overshadowing the tenets and books of the Jews and the Christians ; and in the next generation men of the stamp of Sayed Ahmed, of Alygarh, will be sent out as missionaries of Islam all over the world. It is well, therefore, that the leaders of the Christian world should understand with what a power they may have to cope in the twentieth century—one more dangerous than Agnosticism, Atheism, and Indifferentism, because it simulates the truth, and is severely Propagandist.

The good Muhammadan so many times a day prostrates himself, and coldly and proudly bandies words with his Creator, with a perfect belief of a future state. He feels no sense of his own sinfulness, or any need of a mediator, because, as far as he understands the law of his Prophet, he has fulfilled it. He has abstained from liquor and swine's flesh ; he has not violated the sanctity of his neighbour's family ; he has repeated the prescribed prayers and kept the prescribed fasts ; he has cursed the infidels and idolaters, and is satisfied. In India he is on excellent terms with the Hindu idolater, and in Turkey on equally good terms with the Jews and the Christian idolaters, for he justly considers that the worship of images and pictures in the Roman and Greek Churches is in fact the *ειδωλολατρεια* which is forbidden by the Torah, and the Anjil, and the Koran ; by Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. It might be thought by sincere Christians that such a bending or broken staff of faith and hope would fail him miserably at the last moment of his life, but it is not so. He goes to his death with an assurance of Paradise, whether that death is peaceful or violent, for he is quite sure of his inheritance, having taken his Prophet at his word. Innumerable instances have occurred of this grand and dignified submission to fate. The disgraced Pasha accepts the bow-string without a

murmur ; the mutinous soldier proudly looks his last unquailing look as he stands under the gallows ; the Cadi, detected by his sovereign in the practice of the very vices which he was commissioned to prevent in others, and condemned to death, made no palliation, and asked for no mercy, but told the bystanders to throw open the shutters and tell him from what quarter of the heaven the sun is rising, and bowing his head to the sabre, he said, "The Prophet has written that so long as the sun rises from the east, so long God will have mercy on His creatures." It is the same in ordinary private life. The writer of this notice one day missed in his audience-chamber a much-respected Muhammadan official, wise and gentle, well-informed and faithful. At evening his son came, and reported the death of his father ; and described simply how, when he felt his end near (and it came suddenly), he asked to have a copy of the Koran placed in his hands, and then covering his head with a sheet he calmly awaited the coming of the angel of death, Azrael. Now, if all Muhammadans were of this type, their conversion would be impossible. Under any circumstances, the progress must be slow, and so it has proved. Whole islands of degraded Nature-worshippers may be gathered in, while one Muhammadan is being converted. The study of the sacred books of the Book-Religions of the world, which are now revealed to us, may convince us how serious the task is that lies before us, but none the less is it our duty to grapple with it. Poor weak men must sow the seed ; it is the Lord alone that gives the increase. We accept His great commission. We believe in the promise that accompanied it.

ROBERT CUST.

March 31, 1886.

The Endowments and Establishment of the Church of England. By the late J. S. BREWER, M.A., etc., etc. Third Edition, revised. Edited by LEWIS T. DIBBIN, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. London : Murray, 1886.

This third edition does not seem perceptibly to differ from the second of 1885, in which the slight but valuable additions of the editor appear. Mr. Dibdin, in the preface, makes due acknowledgment to the Principal of King's College, London, which Professor Brewer adorned while living, and to the Bishop of Chester, for "helping him through more than one difficulty." As a considerable memorial of one who was very chary of his published writings, the work of Professor Brewer has a special value. His lectures dwell no doubt in the memory of his pupils, and his personal influence in their characters. The present writer was one of a small society of London curates many years ago, which met stately at King's College, and not seldom enjoyed the benefit of his lucid guidance in Church history and kindred subjects. The present historical *r  sum  * of the growth, adventurous existence, and survival to this day of the Endowments of the Church is the freshest and most vigorous reading one will easily meet with on the subject. It touches incidentally many larger subjects of national character or social usage with a light hand, thus relieving dryer matter, as in the following :

The Anglo-Saxons were careless and slovenly ; their whole system of government, judicature, and defence uncertain, slow, and unwieldy. Never prepared to meet their enemies, they were easily conquered, and easily disconcerted, notwithstanding their personal bravery, when opposed to a nimble and active adversary. On the other hand, the Normans, systematic and precise, decisive in their movements, costly in their dress, nice in their food, sumptuous in their buildings, carried the same love of order and the same discipline into all the relations of life. The face of the nation was as rapidly changed as a country lout, under the hands of a recruiting sergeant, with some trouble and grumbling, is transformed into a smart,

clean-shaven, and orderly soldier. The whole country became like a great garrison. The Church itself could not escape from the same influence, and was not allowed, if it could.

The miserable pittances on which most of the clergy have always subsisted has been the disgrace of the parochial system, and is so at this day. Another abiding blot is the extortion to which they are subjected in parochial rates. The average clerical income is put somewhere in this volume at about £300 a year. If that is meant to be the spendable net balance, it is probably far too great, and £200 would be nearer the mark. Repeated notices of attention called to the degradation and humiliation to which they are exposed in consequence are recorded in these pages. In tracing the origin of endowments two main sources are carefully distinguished, the central and the local. The former lay in the Bishop and his attendant society of monks or clergy, or both, who gradually acquired by donation and bequest an amount of property variable in value as time went on; the other lay in the owner of the soil, who, as no endowment could be permanently made for the support of the clergy save from the land or its produce, was naturally the pillar of the social system. The bishop might cause a church to be built, and attach property to it, and appoint a priest to serve it. The feudal system had not in England yet come in, but the current of events was working towards it, and nearly all social influences were in sympathy with it. Thus the bishop might carve a *beneficium*—analogous to a feudal estate, and thus going under the same Latin name (whence our modern “bene-fice”—out of the estates which were at his disposal, and attach it to a church, with duties, not, as in the feudal parallel, of military, but spiritual service. Or the local owner might make his own arrangements, perhaps with a monastery, to send one of its clerical members as its vicar, itinerant or resident; perhaps (and more frequently as the monastic houses were wrecked by the Danes after 787), as the founder of a parish church with local endowment on his own domain, with which the parish would then be conterminous. For these purposes the heptarchical king, or even the “Bretwalda,” seems to have counted as a private founder only; and thus the famous “donation of Ethelwulf” is briefly dismissed as having no bearing on the question of tithe in its general aspect.

Curiously, as we might think, yet under the social conditions very naturally, the right of sepulture is reckoned as one constant source of revenue and endowment. Not only “mortuary fees” but “bequests of land and other property” followed consecrated ground, and the church “with cemetery annexed” is, in Canute’s laws, distinguished from that not so provided.

The earlier chapters of this book are invaluable, for their historic range and pithy conciseness, to the defender of Church endowments as the Church’s own; not given *by* the nation, not given *to* the nation, and therefore in no practical sense “national” property. A brief note on p. 79 sums up this part of the argument thus :

So far from the nation having built or endowed churches in its corporate capacity, the people of England generally contributed neither to one nor the other. They enjoy the use of churches built for them either by the Bishops or the lay patrons, to which they have not been called upon to make any contribution in the way of tithes or endowments.¹

As regards the question “How the Christian religion was taught?” *i.e.*, to Englishmen (chap. iii.). It is almost amusing at the present

¹ See also a qualifying note on p. 121; in which a mention of the London churches rebuilt after the Great Fire, by a duty on coals, statutorily legalized, might also properly have found place.

day to find Augustine's mission monopolizing the entire area of view, and Canterbury as the sole centre mentioned. Iona and Lindisfarne are as though they were not. This is true to the old-fashioned standpoint. In the days when Professor Brewer read occasional papers to the London curates, none of us (I can answer for one) knew or heard of anything of St. Columba, St. Aidan, or St. Kentigern, on whose labours in the northern group of counties so much light has of late been thrown. As regards Mr. Dibdin's notes, he might have been less sparing. Some of us would like to have known what light he, as a lawyer, could throw on the origin of legal "corporations sole." Of his two annotations on this part of the volume that on tripartite or quadripartite tithe, in which he corrects a venerable error into which Professor Brewer had fallen on page 135, is perhaps the most valuable. The question how the bishops obtained their seats in the House of Lords (really in the Great Council of the nation) was also, perhaps, worth, in the second part, a brief annotation. We are merely told that they sit "as bishops," *not* "as barons," which reminds us of a question in the famous "Pickwick Papers": "Sir, do you see anything to object to in these stockings, *as stockings*?" But the question is perhaps soluble on the same grounds as that other famous one *in foro domestico*, how the apple of a dumpling "got inside" the crust.

As regards the "Establishment," Professor Brewer is quite sure that it dates from the Reformation, *i.e.*, the period from Henry VIII. to Elizabeth, and his editor thinks there is "little doubt that" his view is historically unassailable. Strange, rather, it might seem that in order to "establish" a thing we must "reform" it. To ordinary minds this involves the position of the cart before the horse. But the word "establish," *e.g.*, "stablish," has changed its meaning in popular usage since James I.'s time, when (see the Canons of 1604) it seems to have been first applied to the Church. Its then force is precisely represented in the text of the Authorized Version (1 Peter v. 10), "stablish, strengthen, settle you," where it represents closely the Greek $\sigmaτηπιξαι$ = "make solid or stedfast." And the notion in that first usage undoubtedly was that of giving power of resistance against "exterior persons" (King Henry's own phrase), by whose agency it had been much harassed and disturbed before (see p. 190). It had previously possessed that power in a degree, witness the many examples of resistance to Papal aggression before and after, and notably at the Conquest. Thus far we are in close accord with the Professor and his editor. But he seems to place the essence of "establishment" in "control" (p. 283), and goes on further to specify "control" by "the State," gliding thus imperceptibly through the force of language to a later notion, *viz.*, "the State," and educating a theory of State supremacy. Now the universal language of the older Reformation Statutes is "the King," and even down to Elizabeth's time there was no authority of the State, nor was the term even distinctly applied to the civil or secular power. This is plain from the title itself of Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy "restoring to the Crowne thaūcyent jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiasticall and Spuall, and abolysing all Forreine," etc. Thus "the State," so far from appearing as a distinct power, is here used for the Church itself, with distinguishing epithets. This brings us to the point that "control" always implies the reciprocal duty of protection. And this forms, on the Professor's view, a grave difficulty. For protection, save the equal protection of law which all sects enjoy, is absolutely gone: they, therefore, who rest the essential or chief part of "establishment" on "control," have to show cause why the same amount of control—nay, a greater amount, or at any rate an *arbitrary* amount (resting for its *quantum* on the sole discretion of the civil power), should be kept up now

that its correlative of protection is gone. Queen Elizabeth would send a warning to her faithful Commons, that "no bills concerning religion shall be . . . received . . . unless the same should be first considered and liked by the clergy" (D'Ewes' Journal, May 22nd, 1572). But *nous avons changé tout cela.* Let Mr. Brewer speak:—

It [the State] always has been supremely indifferent to the interests of the Church itself, so far as any active aid, support, or pecuniary assistance was concerned. Denunciations of the Church may be heard on all sides in the House of Commons; bitter reproofs of real or supposed transgressions or neglect of its duties; trenchant exposures of its weakness and shortcomings; but aid, encouragement, and support, never.

And presently, after dwelling on the task which evergrowing multitudes impose, and which "outstrips the resources and machinery of the Church," he adds:

But the nation, as such, has never touched the burden with so much as its little finger. It has left the Church, alone and unaided, to struggle with the rising flood of immorality, atheism, and discontent. Yet but for these efforts Government would have been paralyzed, and commerce engulfed in revolution. Establishment, then, is *wholly a benefit on one side*, and that on the side of the nation, not of the Church.

The words which we italicize need no comment, and make counter-argument superfluous.

One is a little surprised to see the title "Head of the Church," expressly renounced by proclamation and abrogated by statute over three centuries ago, resumed on p. 219. One odd thing which strikes a reader of Part II. is, that Mr. Brewer never seems to contemplate the case of Scotland, where the maximum of "Establishment" is combined with such an absolute minimum of "control" as to be wholly evanescent. He had only to look across the Border to find grave reason for doubting the soundness of his theory. His editor, p. 289, remarks that "Establishment in Scotland is not the same as Establishment in England," but does not pursue the subject further, and startles us by announcing, p. 294, that "the Constitutions of Clarendon affirm" an "appeal in every case from the Ecclesiastical Courts to the Crown." This seems either to go against the text of the cited authority, or else to use it in a wholly novel sense. That text is, "From the Archdeacon process must be had to the Bishop; from the Bishop to the Archbishop; and if the Archbishop should be slack in doing justice, recourse must be had to the King, by whose order the controversy is to be settled in the Archbishop's court" (Matt. Paris, *sub ann.* 1164, Concil. M. Britt., i. 435). Surely he must read "appeal" into "recourse."

Mr. Dibdin has some very sensible remarks on p. 289 on the "indefinite number of intermediate positions" between "Establishment" and "Dis-establishment," until it seems "impossible to discern the difference." Through many of these "intermediate" points our Church seems to have passed, and some might think her three parts or more "disestablished" already. Such were the repeal of the Test Act, the abolition of Church Rates, the diverting from the Church the care of educating the nation (most important, although least formally obvious, of all), and, before all these, the reducing "the King" to a chiefly ornamental position in the commonwealth, instead of that robust personality which filled the Crown at the time of the Reformation settlement, and in which the Church vested that supremacy which alone she acknowledges. These considerations open questions too lengthy for discussion here.

HENRY HAYMAN.

In the *National Review* appear two very interesting papers, "Canvassing Experiences," by CLARA, Lady RAYLEIGH, and "An Irish Churchman's View of the Rights of the Laity," by Dr. JELLETT, Arch-deacon of Cloyne. We shall return to the latter.

Church Reform, by the Rev. ALFRED OATES, Vicar of Christ Church, Ware, is a vigorous and timely little pamphlet.

Thoughts for Holy Week, by Bishop OXENDEN (Hatchards), is an excellent little volume.

In *Blackwood*, a good number, Mrs. Oliphant's article on the late Professor Tulloch—including, as it does, two letters from the Queen—will be read with much interest.

In the *Monthly Interpreter* (T. and T. Clark), Canon Rawlinson continues his valuable "Introduction to the Book of Isaiah."

The April number of the *National Church* has its usual share of articles and intelligence. We may be pardoned for quoting a portion of one of its review-notices :

The Churchman, Volume XIII. (Elliot Stock), is before us. It contains a remarkable number of high-class papers, among which may be specially mentioned those by Chancellor Espin on Church Reform, by Mr. John Shelley on Free Education, and by Mr. Gilbert Venables on Church Defence. . . . The record of "The Month" in each number is remarkably well done. . . . There is at once a vigour and a reasonableness about *The Churchman* which should make it acceptable and useful to all classes of Church readers.



THE MONTH.

M R. GLADSTONE'S Home Rule project has at length been disclosed. It is very generally discredited, in the House and in the country, and, we are happy to believe, is doomed. Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen, agreeing with Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, protested against it. The most influential newspapers have sharply criticized it, and, as a rule, condemned it.¹

The protest of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, against Home Rule, is most remarkable.² The Presbyterians have protested with equal warmth.

¹ To-day (the 12th) the *Times* says: "Happily there is no longer any room for doubt as to the judgment of the country on a project which if the Prime Minister were not habitually secluded from contact with the wholesome air of public criticism, and if he had not separated himself from all his former colleagues except those consenting to be puppets of his will, could never have been laid before Parliament. The central characteristic of the scheme—the establishment of an Irish Parliament with entire control over administration, legislation, and taxation—is now thoroughly understood. The apparent limitations are seen to be illusory."

² The Bishop of Limerick moved the first resolution as follows:—"That we, the Bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of Ireland assembled in this general Synod from all parts of Ireland, and representing more than 600,000 of the Irish people, consider it a duty at the present crisis to affirm our constant allegiance to the Throne, and our unswerving attachment to the legislative union now subsisting between