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TRIAL

OF THE

BISHOP OF NATAL

FOR

ERRONEOUS TEACHING.

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BEFORE THE

Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town,

AND THE BISHOPS OF

GRAHAM'S TOWN AND THE ORANGE FREE
STATE AS ASSESSORS.

CAPE TOWN: "CAPE ARGUS" Office, Adderley-street.
LONDON: G. STREET, 30 Cornhill, and other Booksellers.
PLYMOUTH: R. WHITE STEVENS.

1863.

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49 AND 50, ST. GEORGE'S-STREET.

INDEX.

	PAGE
The Citation	2
Affidavit of Service	3
Letter of Presentment	3
Articles of Accusation :	
Schedule 1	5
Schedule 2	6
Schedule 3	8
Schedule 4	9
Schedule 5	14
Schedule 6	16
Schedule 7	21
Schedule 8	26
Schedule 9	27
Notice of Documents filed in Evidence	31
Documents filed from 1—14	32
Letter of the Bishop of Natal, read by Dr. Bleek	39
Protest of Dr. Bleek	40
Speech of the Dean of Cape Town	41
Speech of the Archdeacon of Graham's Town	141
Speech of the Archdeacon of George	156
Letter of the Bishop of Natal, read in Defence... ..	244
Reply of the Dean of Cape Town	260
Opinion of the Bishop of Graham's Town	272
Opinion of Bishop Twells	319
Judgment of the Metropolitan	339
The Sentence	402
Protest of Dr. Bleek	405



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THE

TRIAL OF BISHOP COLENZO.

The trial of Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, on charges of erroneous teaching preferred against him by the Dean of Cape Town, the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and the Archdeacon of George, was commenced in St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, on Tuesday morning last, the 17th November, at eleven o'clock. The Right Rev. Bishop Gray, Metropolitan of Cape Town, presided, and was assisted by his Suffragans, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Graham's Town (Cotterill) and the Right Rev. the Bishop of the Orange Free State (Twells). The accusing clergy, Dean Donalds and Archdeacons Merriman and Barnhall, were present to support their accusations, and Dr. Bleek, Curator of the Grey Library, attended as a personal friend of Dr. Colenso, to protest against the proceedings.

The Court being constituted,

The Bishop of Cape Town said: On a presentation made to me as Metropolitan by the Very Rev. the Dean of Cape Town, the Ven. the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and the Ven. the Archdeacon of George, I have cited the Bishop of Natal to appear here to-day to answer certain charges of false teaching which have been brought against him; I am now ready to hear those charges, with the assistance of the Bishops that are here present. The other Bishops, I am sorry to say, are not able to be present. The Bishop of St. Helena has expressed his very great readiness and anxiety to be present, but the distance of his diocese—two thousand miles—and the distance of the diocese of the Bishop of the Zambezi, also two thousand miles, and the difficulty of communication, have prevented them from being present. I now call upon the Registrar to read the citation and the charges with the return.

The Registrar (Mr. Tennant) then read the citation, the affidavit of service, and the annexure A, as follows:

THE CITATION.

To the Right Reverend JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO, Doctor in Divinity, Lord Bishop of Natal, and a Suffragan Bishop of the Province of Cape Town.

MY LORD,—By direction of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, I hereby cite you to appear before the Most Reverend Robert, Lord Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan, on Tuesday, the seventeenth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in the vestry of the cathedral church of Saint George, Cape Town, then and there to answer to certain charges of false, strange, and erroneous doctrine and teaching, preferred against you by the Very Reverend the Dean of Cape Town, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and the Venerable the Archdeacon of George, to wit, ~~that in and by the writing, printing, and publishing, and the sale within this Province of a certain book or work, entitled "Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated and explained from a missionary point of view, by the Right Rev. John W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Printed at Ekukanyeni, Natal, 1861."~~ *in Excellence*

And in and by the writing, printing, and publishing, and thereafter the sale within this Province of a certain other book or work, entitled "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined, by the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1862," being part I of said work. And in and by the writing, printing, and publishing, and thereafter the sale within this Province of part II of said book or work last mentioned, entitled "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined, by the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part II. London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863:" Your Lordship did, in and by such writings and publications, in whole or in part, hold, maintain, set forth, teach, inculcate, and express belief, doctrines, views, and opinions in opposition to and at variance with the doctrine and teaching of the United Church of England and Ireland, as set forth, expressed, and maintained in the Book of Common Prayer, the Sacraments, and other rites of the said Church, the 39 Articles of Religion, and the Canons Ecclesiastical; the several portions or extracts from the said writings and publications containing the erroneous and strange doctrine, contrary to God's word, so complained of as aforesaid, and the charges thereon being hereto annexed, marked with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and K, including the schedules marked from No. I to IX inclusive.

Should your Lordship fail to appear, either in person or by

proctor, or otherwise make default herein, the Bishop of Cape Town, as Metropolitan, with the advice and assistance of such of the Suffragan Bishops of the Province as can conveniently be called together, will, after proof of the due service of this citation, hear and investigate, at the time and place aforesaid, the charges so preferred against your Lordship, and proceed to the final adjudication thereon.

Dated at Cape Town, this eighteenth day of May, A.D. 1863.

I remain,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

DAVID TENNANT, Registrar of the Diocese of Cape Town.

AFFIDAVIT OF SERVICE.

"I, DOUGLAS DU BOIS, of Doctors' Commons, in the city of London, proctor, solicitor, and notary public, make oath, and say, as follows:

"That I duly and personally served the abovenamed, the Right Reverend John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, with the citation dated eighteenth May, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three (whereof a copy is above written), together with the charges and schedules thereto annexed, marked respectively from A to K, and from I to IX, both inclusive; to wit, by delivering to and leaving with his Lords, in the said original citation, with said charges and schedules annexed, at No. 23, Sussex Place, Kensington, in the county of Middlesex, on the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

"DOUGLAS DU BOIS.

"Sworn by the said Douglas du Bois at the Mansi n-house, in the city of London, this first day of July, 1863, before me,

"WM. A. ROSE, Mayor."

Annexure A.

THE LETTER OF THE DEAN AND ARCHDEACONS.

To the Most Reverend ROBERT GRAY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan.

MY LORD, —We, the undersigned, being Clerks in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland, and having cure of souls within the Province of Cape Town, under your Lordship's Metropolitan jurisdiction, constrained by a sense of duty to the Church within which we hold office, desire to lay before your Lordship a charge of false teaching on the part of the Right Reverend John William Colenso, Doctor in Divinity, Lord Bishop of Natal, and a Suffragan Bishop of this Province.

The charge which we bring is founded upon certain extracts from writings published and put forth by the Bishop,

entitled, " *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans newly translated and explained from a missionary point of view* ; and Parts I and II of the " *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*," and sold and published in the city of Cape Town within the last two years.

These extracts are contained in nine schedules, and a copy of them is hereto annexed, numbered from I to IX inclusive.

I. With respect to the eight, all and each of them which stand first, we charge the Bishop of Natal with holding and promulgating opinions which contravene and subvert the Catholic faith as defined and expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and the Formularies of the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland.

And, accordingly, under each schedule of extracts, we have specified the particular article or articles and other portions of the Church's symbols and formularies, which, we are persuaded, those extracts contravene, and which we crave may be considered as if herein inserted, ~~and~~ word for word repeated.

II. With respect to the extracts contained in the ninth schedule, we charge the Bishop of Natal with depraving, and impugning, and otherwise bringing into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer, particularly portions of the Ordinal and the Baptismal Services, and in so doing with violating the law of the United Church of England and Ireland, as contained in the 38th of the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical. We are deeply conscious of the gravity of these charges, as brought against one who holds the office of a Bishop, and of the responsibility which we incur in making them ; but the scandal which these publications have caused, and the feelings which are entertained regarding them by the clergy of the Province generally, seemed imperatively to require that we should lay them before your Lordship, and ask for your judgment upon the doctrines which are therein maintained.

It only remains for us to inform your Lordship that we are prepared, if required, to prove the charges which we bring, and further to request that an opportunity may be afforded us of proving them at such time and in such manner as your Lordship may see fit to appoint.

Dated at Cape Town the 6th, and at Graham's Town the 12th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1868.

We are, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servants,

H. A. DOUGLAS, Dean of Cape Town.

N. J. MERRIMAN, Archdeacon of Graham's Town.

H. BADNALL, Archdeacon of George, and Rector of St. Mark's, George Town.

Before reading the schedule of charges the Registrar received from the Dean the works containing the alleged erroneous passages, and then proceeded as follows:

ARTICLES OF ACCUSATION.

Schedule I.

Extracts from "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated and explained from the missionary point of view." Edition, printed at Ekhanyeni, Natal, 1861.

Articles and Formularies contravened in the Extracts contained in Schedule I.

Article ii.

Article xxxj.

Page 93, 150, v. 6.—"On behalf of.—Once for all, let it be stated distinctly there is not a single passage in the whole of the New Testament which supports the dogma of modern theology, that our Lord died for our sins, in the sense of dying instead of us, dying in our place, or dying so as to bear the punishment or penalty of our sins."—*Our Heavenly Father, who, of thy tender mercy, didst give us only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."*

Page 95, 156, v. 10.—"We were reconciled to God by the death of His Son.—The language of St. Paul is: 'God hath reconciled us to Himself by the death of His Son.' 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself.' It is not He who needs to be reconciled to us; for He loves us all along. It is we, poor, sin-stricken creatures, who need to be reconciled, brought back to Him. And in order to this, as the first step to this, we need to be assured of His love to us."

Page 97.—"Let the expression, however, once more be noted. The Apostle does not say that God is reconciled to us by the death of His Son, but that we are reconciled to God. The difference in the meaning of these two expressions is infinite. It is our unwillingness, fear, distrust, that is taken away by the revelation of God's love to us in His Son. There is nothing now to prevent our going, with the prodigal of old, and throwing ourselves at His feet, and saying, 'Father, I have sinned; but Thou art love.'"

Page 110, 176.—"He died not instead of us: but He died for us, on our behalf."

The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule I, the writer maintaining that Our Blessed Lord did not die in man's stead, or bear the punishment or penalty of our sins, and that God is not reconciled to us by the death of His Son, impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

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Articles and Formularies contravened in the Extracts contained in Schedule I.

Article ii.

Article xxxj.

Prayer of Consecration in the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy

Communion.—"Almighty God,

Our Heavenly Father, who, of

thy tender mercy, didst give

thine only Son, Jesus Christ,

to suffer death upon the cross

for our redemption; who made

there (by His one oblation of

Himself once offered) a full,

perfect, and sufficient sacrifice,

oblation, and satisfaction for

the sins of the whole world."

Schedule II.

Extracts from "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated, and explained from a missionary point of view" Edition printed at Ekhanyeni, Natal, 1861.

Page 62. 112, v. 23.—"Being made righteous freely through His grace.—As he has just said that all sin, and all come short of God's glory, so now he must mean that all are made righteous, justified freely by the grace of God. In former days the Jews were all 'made righteous,' treated as righteous, though many of them individually were unfaithful. They were all embraced in God's favour, and dealt with as children, not for any works of righteousness which they had done, nor for any virtue they possessed in themselves as descendants of Abraham, but because of God's free grace, which had called them before others to the knowledge of His truth, and the present enjoyment of His gift of righteousness,—a gift, however, which was intended for all mankind, and was actually, in fact, bestowed from the first upon them, though as yet they knew it not, for it was not yet revealed to them. But now it is revealed that this gift of righteousness is meant for all, that all are being made righteous (the Greek present implying their continuing state of righteousness),—all men, everywhere, though many may be unfaithful, who have heard the blessed tidings, and many more may not yet have heard them, and so may have little or no present enjoyment of their Father's love.

Articles and Formularies contained in the Extracts contained in Schedule II.

Article xi.

Article xviii.

Article xix.

The Apostles' Creed: "I believe . . . the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints."

Nicene Creed: "And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church, I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins."

The 3rd collect for Good Friday.

The collect for All Saints.

The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants to be used in the Church.

The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children in Houses.

The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years, and able to answer for themselves.

The Hymn called the *Te Deum Laudamus*.—"When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.—(Second prayer in Post-Communion service)—"Almighty and everlasting God . . . very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people."

A Catechism, that is to say, an Instruction to be learned of every Person before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop.—"Question: Who gave you this name?"

"Answer: My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism,

"The Apostle's words in this verse most probably mean this, because he afterwards (v. 16—19) fully and explicitly states it, namely, that the justification here spoken of extends to all, to those who have never heard the name of Christ, and who cannot have exercised a living faith in Christ, as well as to Christians. It is certain that, in this latter passage, he is speaking of the whole human race."

Page 74, 120, v. 33.—"Who will make righteous.—It should be observed that both here and elsewhere, when the Apostle says that God justifies any, or makes them righteous, he means, that he justifies them in their own consciences, he brings home to them conscientiously the gift of righteousness."

Page 76.—"And all of them, as St. Paul plainly teaches afterwards, are counted as righteous creatures, though they may not know it, through the grace of God, bestowed upon the whole human race, in His own dear Son whom He has given to be their Head, and whose members they are."

Page 103, 171, v. 19.—"Whenever the 'unrighteousness' of any Jew, Christian, or Heathen, 'is forgiven, and his sin covered,' whenever he feels any measure of the peace of God's children, in the faithful discharge of any duty or in forsaking any path of evil,—whenever there is brought home to his heart in any way the message of God's fatherly love by means of any one of earth's ten thousand voices,—then he hears, as it were, a fresh declaration of righteousness, he may know that he is recognized again as a child of God's house."

Page 114, 180, v. 4.—"Of course, it is true that we ought to do so; but just because we have already died unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness in our very birth-hour, through the gracious gift of God, by that mysterious union with Christ our head, which we all enjoy through the grace of our Heavenly Father as members of the great human family, and by virtue of which we are partakers of the death which He died, and of the life which He now lives."

wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven.

"Question: What is the inward and spiritual grace?"

"Answer. A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace."

"Question: What is required of persons to be baptized?"

"Answer: Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament."

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The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule II, the writer maintaining that justification is a consciousness of being counted righteous, and that all men, even without such con-

sciousness, are treated by God as righteous, and counted righteous; and that all men, as members of the great human family, are dead unto sin and risen again unto righteousness, denies that men are justified by faith, and impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

Schedule III.

Extracts from "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated, and explained from a missionary point of view." Edited at Ekukanyeni, Natal, 1861.

Page 114, 180, v. 4.—"We also should walk in newness of life.—Though his words are true in their measure (v. 15-21) of all mankind, yet the Apostle is specially speaking here of Christians, to whom their baptism is a sign and seal of their share in the death of their Lord, and also in His resurrection-life. This is expressed in the Church Catechism by saying that the inward spiritual grace, or free gift of favour, which is given us in baptism, is 'a death unto sin,' and 'a new birth unto righteousness.' These words of the catechism are often explained to signify that in our baptism is set forth to us our duty to die unto sin, to mortify and kill all vices in us, and so to walk in holiness of life as becomes God's dear children. Of course, it is true that we ought to do so; but just because we have already died unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness, in our very birth-hour, through the gracious gift of God, by that mysterious union with Christ our head, which we all enjoy through the grace of our Heavenly Father, as members of the great human family, and by virtue of which we are

Articles and Formularies contravened in Schedule III.

Article xxvii.

The Nicene Creed.—"And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church; I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins."

The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants to be used in the Church.

The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children in Houses.

The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years, and able to answer for themselves.

Catechism, that is to say, an Instruction to be learned of every Person, before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop. — "Question: Who gave you this name?"

"Answer: My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven.

"Question: How many sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church?"

"Answer: Two only as generally necessary to salvation, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord.

"Question: What is the inward and spiritual grace?"

"Answer: A death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness, for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.

partakers of the death which He died, and of the life which He now lives. That is, the "death unto sin,"—our share in our Lord's own 'death unto Sin,'—and that is the 'new birth unto righteousness,'—our share in our Lord's own 'life unto God' (Rom vi, 10)—which are said to be given to us as the inward spiritual grace, set forth to us by the outward visible sign in our baptism."

Page 115.—"But the point now to be noticed is that the 'inward spiritual grace' is not

the effect wrought upon ourselves by coming to the holy sacrament, depending, therefore, on the spirit in which we come to it, but the Body and Blood of Christ, which are graciously given to us of God, which we may, or may not, faithfully partake of, which are given to us, however, and to all the human race, not only in the sacrament, but at all times, and of which, in fact, all men are ever, where partaking, through God's mercy, and so receiving all the life they have, as redeemed creatures, whether they feed upon it by living faith or not, whether they know the precious gift of God's grace or not, whether they heed or disregard it."

The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule III, the writer maintaining that all men have the new birth unto righteousness in their very birth-hour, that is to say, are regenerated when born into the world, as members of the great human family; and, also, that all men are at all times partaking of the body and blood of Christ, denies that the holy Sacraments are generally necessary to salvation, and that they convey any special grace, and further denies that faith is the means whereby the body and blood of Christ is received and eaten, and that faith is necessary in order that the grace bestowed by God in sacraments may have a wholesome effect and operation, and therefore impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

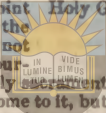
Schedule IV.

Page 175, 261, v. 21.—"That the creature also itself shall be set free from the bondage of corruption, into the freedom of the glory of the children of God.—I cannot shut my eyes to the

"Question: What is required of persons to be baptised?"

"Answer: Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament."

The Order of Confirmation (Collect preceding imposition of hands).—"Almighty and Everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these Thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost."



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Articles and Formularies contravened in the Extracts contained in Schedule IV.

The Creed of Saint Athanasius.—"And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that

truth, which these words appear so clearly to imply, that there is hope in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom and Love for all; for all 'the creature,' for the whole human race, that fell in Adam and has been graciously redeemed in Christ. The children of God, the faithful and true of all ages, all lands, all religions, will be revealed, will receive their glorious freedom in the kingdom of their Lord. While others, perhaps the great mass of human kind, who have been wilfully unfaithful, in greater or less degree, to the light vouchsafed to them, and are still willingly held in the bondage of corruption, though they might have asserted their freedom from it, and lived as godly men and true, with the light vouchsafed to them, will receive their righteous judgment unto condemnation, — indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh out evil. But this chastisement, after all, comes from a father's hand upon those who may be wilful, prodigal, unruly, disobedient; but yet are treasures, whom He Himself has redeemed, for whom Christ died. Can we say with those words of St. Paul before us, that such chastisement, however severe, may not be remedial, may not be intended to work out the hope, under which the whole race has been subjected to vanity, which hope, in the Apostle's mind, is the justification of the eternal justice and love, in so subjecting it when it had not deserved such a fate, nor brought it about of its own accord by any

have done evil into everlasting fire."

The Absolution or Remission of Sins.—"Wherefore, let us beseech Him to grant us true repentance, and His Holy Spirit, that those things may please Him which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy, so that at the last we may come to His eternal joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The Catechism.—"Question: What desirest thou of God in this prayer?"

"Answer: I desire my Lord God our Heavenly Father, who is the Giver of all goodness, to send His grace unto me and to all people; and I pray unto God that He will keep us from all uncleanness and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death."

The Order for the Burial of the Dead.—"O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, in whom whosoever believeth shall live though he die; and whosoever liveth and believeth in Him shall not die eternally."

A Commination.—"The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night.' Then shall it be too late to knock when the door shall be shut, and too late to cry for mercy when it is the time of justice. O terrible voice of most just judgment, which shall be pronounced upon them, when it shall be said unto them: 'Go, ye cursed into fire everlasting, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.' This if we do, Christ will deliver us from

set of His own? Is there not ground, from this text, as well as others, for trusting that, in some way, unknown to us, the whole race shall be made to share this hope at last, and so be set free from the bondage of corruption, into the freedom of the glory of the children of God?

"I feel it necessary to say more on this subject. There was a time when I thought and wrote otherwise. Some years ago, in the year 1853, I published a small volume of 'Village Sermons,' which I dedicated to a dear and honoured friend, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, and which was violently attacked, in consequence of this dedication, by those who had previously assailed Mr. Maurice's teaching, as containing what seemed to them erroneous statements of doctrine, and particularly as expressing agreement with Mr. Maurice's views on the subject of 'eternal punishment.' I was able to show, by quotations from my little book itself, that these charges were untrue, and that I had given offence partly by stating larger views of the redeeming love of God in Christ Jesus than the reviewer of my sermons himself thought it right to hold (though views, by such men as Barrow and Macknight), but chiefly by expressing my cordial sympathy with Mr. Maurice in his noble and blessed labours. In particular, I was able then to show that, in several places in those very sermons, I had distinctly spoken of eternal punishment in terms directly at variance with those which my friend would have used, and in exact conformity with the views of my reviewer. Accordingly, in the preface to the second edition of his 'Theological Essays,' Mr. Maurice spoke of me as having proved by my sermons that I believed in the endlessness of future punishments. I did believe in that dogma at the time I wrote and printed those sermons,—so far as that can be called belief which, in fact, was no more than acquiescence in common, I imagine, with very many of my brother clergy in the ordinary statements on the subject, without having ever deeply studied the question, probably with a shrinking dread of examining it, and without having ever ventured formally to write or preach a sermon upon the subject, and pursue it, in thought and word, to all its consequences. There are many, who, as I did myself in those days, would assert the dogma as a part of their 'creed,' and now and then, in a single sentence of a sermon, utter a few words in accordance with it, but who have never set themselves down to face the question, and deliver their own souls upon it to their flocks, fully and unreservedly. For my own part, I admit, I acquiesced in it, seeing some reasons for assuming it to be true, knowing that the mass of my clerical brethren assented to it with myself, and contenting myself with making some re-

the curse of the law, and from the extreme maledictions which shall light upon them that shall be set upon the left hand, and give us the gracious benediction of His Father, commanding us to take possession of His glorious kingdom."

ference to it, now and then, in my ministrations, without caring to dwell deliberately upon it and considering what might be urged against it.

"The controversy which arose about Mr. Maurice's essays and my own little volume of sermons brought the whole subject closely before me. And for the last seven years I have carefully studied it, with an earnest desire to know the truth of God upon the matter, and with an humble prayer for the guidance and teaching of His Holy Spirit in the search for it. I now declare that I can no longer maintain or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of 'future punishments,'—that I dare not dogmatize at all on the matter—that I can only lay my hand upon my mouth, and leave it in the hands of the Righteous and Merciful Judge. But I see that the word 'eternal' does not mean 'endless.'—And for such reasons as the following I entertain the 'hidden hope' that there are remedial processes, when ~~this life~~ is ended, of which at present we know nothing, but which the Lord the Righteous Judge will administer, as ~~He~~ His wisdom shall see to be good."

Page 186.—"Seeing, then, that we can recognize, even for some of those who in the main are good and true, a possibility, rather *University of Fort Hare* a probability, and even a necessity of 'stripes,' and a presumption, *Together in Excellence* almost amounting to certainty, of growth and progress, an upward, onward tendency in the state of spiritual being in the world to come, we may reasonably recognize something of the same kind as possible in the case of all, of the whole human race, who (as St. Paul says in the text before us) 'shall one day be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the freedom of the glory of the children of God.' He who has been pleased to subject them to their present state has 'subjected them in hope' of this. Stripes more or less, according to the judgment of the All-knowing and All-righteous, may be, and doubtless will be appointed in His wisdom and mercy, for those who need them; 'indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish,' must be the portion—our own hearts plainly tell us this, as well as the Bible—of every one who 'keepeth back the truth in unrighteousness,' of every one who 'worketh out evil.' We bow to this rule as holy and righteous; we glorify God for it; we rejoice, even while self-condemned ourselves, at the very idea of such a judgment as this. But, that utter, unspeakable misery should be the portion, for endless ages, for ever and ever, alike of all, who are not admitted at first into the realms of infinite joy—that there shall be no hope, in the horrible outer darkness, for the ignorant young child of some wretched outcast, who has been noted by the teachers of the ragged or the Sunday School as having contracted some evil habit, it may be, of lying, stealing, swearing, or indecency, any more than for the sensual libertine, who has spent a long

life in gratifying his lusts, and has been the means of that child, and others like it, being born in guilt and shame, and nursed in profligacy, our hearts, taught as they are by God's Spirit, instinctively revolt at such a dogma as a blasphemy upon the name and character of the High and Holy One, and refuse to believe it, though a thousand texts of Scripture should be produced which may seem at first sight to assert it."

Page 193.—"How is it possible that the judgment in one case should be more tolerable than in the other, if in both the same ingredient is found which is the very essence of the woe of hell, as popularly understood, namely, the horror of helpless, hopeless misery in utter, dark, despair, shut out for endless ages, from any possibility of ever seeing again in one single ray of the light of God's mercy? And what right have we poor, wretched, ignorant creatures of the dust thus to limit the mercies of our God, to bind Him down to our narrow notions, and possible interpretations of one or two passages of Scripture, when yet the whole tenor of the Sacred Book, and other separate passages, and our human hearts also, with their best and strongest utterances are manifestly teaching us a different lesson? If the 'eternal fire' be the ever-burning wrath of a Holy Being against all sin, that is, against all wilful evil, so long as that evil continues to exist, it is conceivable that they who sinned against their better light and knowledge in Sodom and Gomorrha, and they that have similarly sinned under the Gospel, may alike be subjected to the vengeance of that fire; and that, on those who had more light given them than others, and have most abused it, the judgments will be sorer and more permanent."

Page 280 (note on 262).—"There will he perish everlastingly—and will lie perishing, until that Father sees the work is done. In the cold and gloom of night he will lie, in the outer darkness, shut out from home, and the place where God's brighter glory shines, while the faithful ones are admitted within, and the children look upon their Father's face, and rejoice in His love; or to use the other figure, he will pass into that 'eternal fire,' which is ever burning to destroy all evil things in God's kingdom. And there, too, will he lie till God sees that the work is done, the wood, and hay, and stubble consumed, the filth purged away and the pure gold left, or silver, or precious stone, which even in the heart of that sinful child the Father's eye can see.

"I do not assert that this is what was meant by the writer of the creed; for it bears the stamp, as I have said, of a harsh and intemperate age, when men were too ready to consign each other to endless perdition."

The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule IV, the writer maintaining that he cannot any longer maintain or

give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments, impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

Schedule V.

Extracts from "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined."

Page 152. 184.—"Let us rather teach them to look for the sign of God's Spirit, speaking to them in the Bible, in that of which their own hearts alone can be the judges, of which the heart of the simple child can judge as well as—often, alas! better than—that of the self-willed philosopher, critic, or sage,—in that which speaks to the witness for God within them, to which alone, under God Himself, whose voice it utters in the secrets of His inner being, each man is ultimately responsible,—to the reason and conscience. Let us bid them look for it in that within the Bible, which tells them of what is pure and good, holy and loving, faithful and true, which speaks from God's Spirit directly to their spirits, though clothed with the outward form of a law, or parable, or proverb, or narrative,—in that which they will feel and know in themselves to be righteous and excellent, however they may perversely choose the base and evil,—in that, which makes the living man leap up, as it were, in the strength of sure conviction which no arguments could bring, no dogmas of church or council enforce, saying, as the Scripture words are uttered, which answer to the voice of truth within, 'These words are God's,'—not the flesh, the outward matter, the mere

Articles and Formularies contravened in the Extracts contained in Schedule V.

Article vi.

Article xvii.—"Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture, and in our doings that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God."

Article xx.—". "To ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound our place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another."

Article xxii.—". "Grounded upon no warrants of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

Article xxiv.—"It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God."

Article xxxiv.—"So that nothing be ordained against God's Word."

Preface to the Book of Common Prayer; Concerning the Service of the Church.—"For they so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once every year; intending thereby, that the clergy, and especially such as were ministers in the congregation, should (by often reading and meditation in God's Word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adver-

letter, but the inward core and meaning of them,—for they are spirit, they are life.”

Page 888. 513.—“The Bible is not itself ‘God’s word,’ but assuredly ‘God’s word’ will be heard in the Bible, by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it.”

Page 13, 14.—“And that truth in the present instance, as I have said, is this, that the Pentateuch, as a whole, was not written by Moses, and that with respect to some, at least,

of the chief portions of the story, it cannot be regarded as historically true. It does not on that account cease to ‘contain the true word of God,’ to enjoin things necessary for salvation, to be profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness.

It still remains an integral portion of that Book, which, whatever intermixture it may show of human elements,—of error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance, has yet, through God’s providence, and the special working of His Spirit on the minds of its writers, been the means of revealing to us His true name, the name of the only living and true God, and has long been, and, as far as we know, will never cease to be, the mightiest instrument in the hand of the Divine Teacher for awakening in our minds just conceptions of His character, and of His gracious and merciful dealings with the children of men. Only we must not attempt to put into the Bible what we think ought to be there: we must not indulge that ‘forward delusive faculty,’ as Bishop

series to the truth; and, further, that the people (by daily hearing of Holy Scripture read in the church) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true religion.

“But these many years passed, this godly and decent order of the ancient fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories and legends. . .

It is more profitable, because here are left out many things, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious; and nothing is ordained to be read, but the pure word of God, the Holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same.”

Exhortation of the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer.—“When we assemble and meet together to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at His hands, to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy Word.”

The Nicene Creed.—“And I believe in the Holy Ghost. . . Who spake by the prophets.”

The Ordering of Deacons.—“The Bishop: Do you unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?”

“Answer: I do believe them.”

The Ordering of Priests.—“Then the Bishop shall deliver to every one of them kneeling the Bible into his hand, saying, ‘Take thou authority to preach the Word of God.’”

Buller styles the "imagination," and lay it down for certain beforehand that God could only reveal himself to us by means of an infallible book. We must be content to take the Bible as it is, and draw from it those lessons which it really contains.

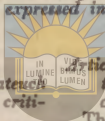
Preface to Part I, page xii.—"For myself, if I cannot find the means of doing away with my present difficulties, I see not how I can retain my episcopal office, in the discharge of which I must require from others a solemn declaration, that they 'unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament,' which, with the evidence now before me, it is impossible wholly to believe in."

The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule V, the writer maintaining that the Holy Scriptures contain the word of God, but are not the word of God, impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

Schedule VI.
Extracts from "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined."

Page 152, part of Section 188.—"In view of this change, which I believe is near at hand, and in order to avert the shock which our children's faith must otherwise experience, when they find, as they certainly will before long, that the Bible can no longer be regarded as infallibly true in matters of common history,—as we value their reverence and love for the sacred book, let us teach them at once to know that they are not to look for the inspiration of the Holy One, which breathes through its pages, in respect of any such matters as these, which the writers wrote as men, with the same liability to error from any cause as other men, and where they must be judged as men, as all other writers would be, by the just laws of criticism."

Page 186. 224.—"We must next endeavour to arrive at



Articles and Formularies contravened in the Extracts contained in Schedule VI.

The Nicene Creed.—"And I believe in the Holy Ghost, who spake by the prophets."

Article vi.

Article vii.

Article xvii.—"Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God"

Article xx.—". . . . "To ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another."

Article xxii.—". . . . "Grounded upon no warrants of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

The Ordering of Priests.—"Then the Bishop shall deliver to every one of them kneeling, the Bible into his hand, saying,

some clearer notion, from an examination of the books of the Pentateuch themselves, as to the time when, the persons by whom, and the circumstances under which, they were most probably written. And, in pursuing our investigation we need not be restrained by any fear of trespassing upon divine and holy ground. The writers of these books, whatever pious intentions they may have had in composing them, cannot now be regarded as having been

'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God.'

The Consecration of Bishops.—"The Archbishops: Are you ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word; and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same?"

"Answer: I am ready, the Lord being my helper."

under such constant *infallible* natural guidance as the ordinary doctrine of Scripture *inspiration* supposes. We are at liberty, therefore, to draw such inferences from the matter which lies before us, and to make such conjectures, as we should be readily allowed to do in a critical examination of any other ancient writings.

Page 382, part of Section 511.—"In this way, I repeat, the Bible becomes to us a mirror, in which the thoughts of other hearts are opened to us, of men who lived in the ages long ago, and in circumstances so different from ours."

Page 382, part of Section 512.—"We must not blindly shut our eyes to the real history of the composition of this book, to the legendary character of its earlier portions, to the manifest contradictions and impossibilities which rise up at once in every part of the story of the Exodus, if we persist in maintaining that it is a simple record of historical facts. We must regard it, then, as the work of men, of fellow-men like ourselves, fighting the same good fight on the side of God and His truth, against all manner of falsehood and evil, though fighting in their own primitive way, and without the light of that Christian teaching which shines upon our warfare of to-day, and makes many things plain and clear to our eyes which to them were still dark and uncertain." 513.—"But then, on the other hand, we must study the Bible with the *heart* as well as with the *mind*. The Bible is not itself 'God's word,' but assuredly 'God's word' will be heard in the Bible by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it. Undoubtedly, it is a fact which can never be lost sight of by thoughtful men, that the Jewish nation has been singled out, by the express will of God, from all other nations for this great end, to be the instrument by which His more clear and full revelations of Himself should be in the earliest days conveyed to mankind; and thus be the special messenger of His grace and goodness to all the ends of the earth. As the Greeks have been endowed by the 'Father of Light' with those special gifts in art and

science and literature which have made the works of their great masters in all ages the models for the imitation of mankind,—as the Roman has been distinguished in matters of law and government, and other nations have had their own peculiar endowments for the common welfare of the race; so, too, has the Hebrew mind had its own special gift from God.”

Page 380, section 508.—“But some one, perhaps, may now say, ‘Do you then take from us God’s word—the Bible?’—I must reply again, ‘Whatever is done it is not I, but the truth itself which does it.’ If the arguments which I have advanced are not really founded upon truth let them be set aside and thrown to the winds; but if they are, we dare not, as servants of God, do this; we are bound to hear and to obey the truth. It may be then—rather it is, as I believe, undoubtedly—the fact, that God Himself, by the power of the truth, will take from us in this age the Bible as an idol which we have set up against His will, to bow down to it, and worship it. But, while He takes it away thus with the one hand, does He not also restore it to us with the other,—not to be put into the place of God and served with idolatrous worship, but to be revered as a book—the best of books—the work of living men like ourselves,—of men, I mean, in whose hearts the same human thoughts were stirring, the same hopes and fears were dwelling, the same gracious Spirit was operating, three thousand years ago, as now?”

Page 9, part of Section 9.—“I then clung to the notion that the main substance of the narrative was historically true; and I relieved this difficulty and my own for the present by telling him that I supposed that such words as these were written down by Moses and believed by him to have been divinely given to him, because the thought of them arose in his heart, as he conceived, by the inspiration of God, and that hence to all such laws he prefixed the formula, ‘Jehovah said unto Moses,’ without it being on that account necessary for us to suppose that they were actually spoken by the Almighty.”

Page 351, Section 466.—“It is conceivable that the recollections of that terrible march may have left indelible traces on the minds of the people, and may have been exaggerated, as is the case with legends generally, while circulated in their talk, and passed on by word of mouth from sire to son in the intervening age. In this way natural facts may have been magnified into prodigies, and a few thousands multiplied into two millions of people. It is quite possible that the passage of the Red Sea, the manna, the quails, and other miracles may thus have had a real historical foundation, as will be shown more fully in our critical review of the different books of the Pentateuch. And Samuel may have desired to collect these legends and make them the basis of a narrative, by which, he being dead, might yet speak to them with a prophet’s voice, and while rejected by them himself as a ruler, might yet be able patriotically to help forward their civil and religious

welfare under kingly government, and more especially under the rule of his favourite, David, whose deep religious feeling accorded with his own sentiments so much more fully than the impetuous, arbitrary character of Saul. His annual journeys of assize, when 'he went from year to year on circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places' (1 Sam. vii. 16), would have given him good opportunities for gathering such stories, as well as for knowing thoroughly the different parts and places of the country to which such legends were attached. He may have spent a great deal of his life, especially the latter part of it since, Saul came to the throne and he was himself relieved from the cares of government, in the elaboration of such a work as this, filling up from his own mind, we may conceive, the blanks left in such legendary accounts, and certainly imparting to them their high religious tone and spiritual character."

Page 368, Section 485.—"The preceding investigations have led us to the conclusion that the Pentateuch most probably originated in a noble effort of one illustrious man, in an early age of the Hebrew history, to train his people in the fear and faith of the Living God. For this purpose he appears to have adopted the form of a history, based upon the floating legends and traditions of the time, filling up, in his own imagination, perhaps to a large extent, in *the* *of his* own imagination, where those traditions failed him. In a yet later day, though still, probably, in the same age, and within the same circle of writers, the work thus begun, which was, perhaps, left in a very unfinished state, was taken up, as we suppose, and carried on in a similar spirit by other prophetic or priestly writers. To Samuel, however, we ascribe the Elohist story, which forms the groundwork of the whole, though comprising, as we shall show hereafter, but a small portion of the present Pentateuch and Book of Joshua,—in fact, little besides about half of the book of Genesis, and a small part of Exodus." Section 486.—"But in order to realize to ourselves, in some measure, the nature of such a work as that which we here ascribe to Samuel, we may imagine such a man as Asser, in the time of King Alfred, sitting down to write an accurate account of events which had happened four centuries before, when different tribes of Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa, and other famous leaders—the old Saxons, Angles, Jutes, &c., all kindred tribes—came over the sea at different times, in larger or smaller bodies, and took possession of the land of Britain. Yet Samuel's sources of information for the composition of such a history must have been far less complete than those which the Anglo-Saxon author would have had before him, when writing was so common, and midway between the times of Hengist and Alfred, Venerable Bede had composed his history. The Saxon chronicler, however, has no difficulty in filling up a genealogy, and traces up that of Alfred, through Odin and his progenitors, to Bedwig.

who was the son of Scaaf, who was the son of Noah; he was born in Noah's Ark!—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Bohn's edition, page 350."

Page 374, Section 498.—"It is true that the Elohist has set the example of introducing in his narrative the Divine Being Himself, as conversing with their forefathers, and imparting laws to Moses,—though not, indeed, the minute directions of the ceremonial laws in Leviticus and Numbers, for these, we shall find, are all due to later writers. But, in this respect, he has only acted in conformity with the spirit of his age, and of his people, which recognized, in their common forms of language, a direct Divine interference with the affairs of men. The case, indeed, would have been different, if the writer had stated that these Divine communications had been made to himself, that God had spoken to him in his own person, instead of to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and had revealed laws to him, instead of to Moses. It would have been different, also, if he had claimed for all he wrote Divine infallibility,—if he had professed to have received these early records of the race by special inspiration, so that every part of the story which he recorded must be received with unquestioning faith as certainly true." Section 499.—"But there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the last writer of the story in the Pentateuch ever professed to be recording infallible truth, or even actual historical truth. He wrote certainly a narrative. But what indications are there that he published it at large, even to the people of his time, as a record of matter-of-fact, veracious history? Why may not Samuel, like any other head of an institution, have composed this narrative for the instruction and improvement of his pupils, from which it would gradually find its way, no doubt, more or less freely, among the people at large, without ever pretending that it was any other than an historical experiment, an attempt to give them some account of the early annals of their tribes? In later days, it is true, this ancient work of Samuel's came to be regarded as infallibly Divine. But was it so regarded in the writer's days, or in the ages immediately following?"

Page 262, part of Section 339.—"Is it not possible, then, that the name Jehovah may have been first employed by Samuel, in order to mark more distinctly the difference between the Elohim of the Hebrews and the Elohim of the nations round them, and make it more difficult for them to fall away to the practice of idolatry?" Section 340.—"Certainly, it would be much more easy and natural to suppose, if that were not contradicted by the actual evidence in the case before us, that Samuel, or whoever else composed the Elohist document, found the name already in use among his people, and with some legendary traditions attached to it, as to the way in which it was first made known to them by Moses during their march through the wilderness. If it were right to wish any such fact of history

to be other than it really is, one would rather desire such a solution of the present difficulty, and gladly embrace it. But a firm and honest adherence to the plain results of critical inquiry, as set forth in the following chapters, will not allow of our making this supposition. They seem to compel us to the conclusion that the name was quite new to the Hebrew people in the days of Samuel; and, if so, we can scarcely avoid the inference that he himself must have first introduced it."

Page 339, part of Section 446.—"My own conviction, however, from the accumulated evidence of various kinds before us, is that Samuel was the first to form and introduce the name, perhaps in imitation of some Egyptian name of the Deity which may have reached his ears."

The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule VI, the Holy Scriptures are spoken of and treated as a merely human book, not inspired by God the Holy Spirit, or inspired only in such a manner as other books may be inspired, and that so to speak and treat of the Holy Scriptures is to impugn and contradict the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

Schedule VII. *Articles and Formularies contained in the Extracts from "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, critically examined."*

A.

Page xvii, Preface to Part I.—"Being naturally unwilling, in my present position as a Bishop of the Church, to commit myself even to a friend on so grave a subject, if it could possibly be avoided, I determined to detain my letter when written, for a time, to see what effect further study and consideration would have upon my views. At the end of that time,—in a great measure by my being made more fully aware of the utter helplessness of Kurtz Hengstenberg, in their endeavours to meet the difficulties which are raised by a closer study of the Pentateuch,—I became so convinced of the unhistorical *

Article vi.

Article vii.

Article xx.

The Ordering of Deacons.—

"The Bishop.—Do you unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?

"Answer.—I do believe them."

The Ministration of Public Baptism.—(First Prayer).—*"Almighty and Everlasting God, who of Thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the Ark from perishing by water; and also didst safely lead the children of Israel, thy people, through the Red Sea, figuring thereby thy holy baptism."*

Prayer for Fair Weather.—

"O Almighty Lord God, who for the sin of man didst once drown

* Page xviii, note to Preface, Part I.—"I use the expression 'unhistorical,' or, 'not historically true throughout,' rather

character of very considerable portions of the Mosaic narrative, that I decided not to forward my letter at all. I did not now need counsel or assistance to relieve my own personal doubts; in fact, I had no longer any doubts; my former misgivings had been changed to certainties. The matter was become much more serious. I saw that it concerned the whole Church,—not myself, and few more only, whose minds might have been disturbed by making too much of minor difficulties and contradictions, the force of which might be less felt by others. It was clear to me that difficulties such as those that are set forth in the first part of this book would be felt and realised in their full force by most intelligent Englishmen, whether of the clergy or laity, who should once have had them clearly brought before their eyes, and have allowed their minds to rest upon them. I considered, therefore, that I had not a right to ask of my friend privately beforehand a reply to my objections, with respect to which, as a Divinity Professor, he might, perhaps, ere long be required to express his opinion in his public capacity.

"This conviction which I have arrived at, of the certainty of

all the world, except eight persons, and afterwards of Thy great mercy didst promise never to destroy it so again."

Prayer in the time of any Common Plague or Sickness.—"O Almighty God, who in thy wrath didst send a plague upon thine own people in the wilderness, for their obstinate rebellion against Moses and Aaron."

The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.—"Then shall the Priest, turning to the people, rehearse all the ten commandments."

"Minister: God spake these words, and said I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have none other Gods but me."

Catechism. — "Question: Which be they?"

"Answer: The same which God spake in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, saying, I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage."

The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.—"Exhortation for giving warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion.

"Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of His word repent you

than 'fictitious,' since the word 'fiction' is frequently understood to imply a conscious dishonesty on the part of the writer, an intention to deceive; yet in writing the story of the Exodus from the ancient legends of his people, the Scripture writer may have had no more consciousness of doing wrong or of practising historical deception than Homer had, or any of the early Roman annalists.

the ground which the main of your sins, or else come not argument of my book rests (viz., to that holy table."

the proof that the account of the Exodus, whatever value it may have, is not historically true), must be my excuse to the reader for the manner in which I have conducted the inquiry.

Page xx, Preface to Part I.—"If my conclusions, indeed, were only speculations, if they were only matters of higher or lower probability, I feel that I should have no right to express them at all in this way, and thus, it may be, disturb painfully the faith of many. But the main result of my examination of the Pentateuch,—namely, that the narrative, whatever may be its value and meaning, cannot be regarded as historically true,—is not—unless I greatly deceive myself—a doubtful matter of speculation at all; it is a simple question of facts."

Page 8, part of Section 7.—"The result of my inquiry is this, that I have arrived at the conviction—as painful to myself at first, as it may be to my reader, though painful now no longer, under the clear shining of the light of truth—that the Pentateuch, as a whole, cannot possibly have been written by Moses, or by any one acquainted personally with the facts which it professes to describe, and, further, that the (so-called) Mosaic narrative, by whomsoever written, and though imparting to us, as I fully believe it does, revelations of the Divine will and character, cannot be regarded as historically true."

Page 10, part of Section 9.—"This was, however, a very great strain upon the cord which bound me to the ordinary belief in the historical veracity of the Pentateuch; and since then that cord has snapped in twain altogether." Section 10.—"But I wish to repeat here most distinctly that my reason for no longer receiving the Pentateuch as historically true, is not that I find insuperable difficulties with regard to the miracles or supernatural revelations of Almighty God recorded in it, but solely that I cannot, as a true man, consent any longer to shut my eyes to the absolute, palpable self-contradictions of the narrative."

Page 11, part of Section 11.—"For the conviction of the unhistorical character of the (so-called) Mosaic narrative seems to be forced upon us by the consideration of the many absolute impossibilities involved in it, when treated as relating to simple matters of fact."

Page 848, Section 462.—"Thus, then, even if it were conceivable that Moses should have written a story about matters in which he was personally concerned, involving such contradictions, exaggerations, and impossibilities, as we have already had before us, yet the fact above noticed would alone be decisive against such a supposition. The great body of the Pentateuch, and all the other historical books which follow it, could not have been compiled until the name Jehovah was in common popular use, and that was not until after, at all

events, the middle of David's reign. Whereas the Elohistic portions of the Pentateuch, which appear to have been composed when the name Jehovah was not in common use, and with the very purpose of commending it to popular acceptance, must have been written during, or shortly before, the earliest part of David's life, when that word was only occasionally employed by him. Hence we may, with very good reason, abide by our supposition that they were written very probably by the hand, or, at least, under the direction, and certainly in the time of Samuel."

Page 371, part of Section 491.—"And to such as these I reply, It is not I who require you to abandon the ordinary notion of the Mosaic authorship and antiquity of the Pentateuch. It is the truth itself which does so."

Page xviii, Preface to Part II.—"Now let us consider what this leads to. Let us suppose a clergyman to begin to 'inquire,' having a difficulty about the Deluge put before him by some intelligent layman of his flock. If he does this, he will assuredly soon learn that the results of geological science absolutely forbid the possibility of our believing in an universal deluge, such as the Bible manifestly speaks of. He will find, also, that mathematical and physical science, as well as the text of Scripture, equally forbid our believing in a partial deluge, such as some have supposed, since that involves an universal flood. Rather, without any appeal to science at all, if only he allow himself to think upon the subject, and to realize to his own mind the necessary conditions of the supposed event, he will need only a common practical judgment to convince him that the story which is told in the book of Genesis is utterly incredible."

Page xx, Preface to Part II.—"On all the above grounds, then, and for many other similar reasons, which the least acquaintance with scientific facts, or common sense itself, will soon suggest to him, if he once begins to 'inquire,' it is extremely probable that any such clergyman must needs come very soon to doubt, and before long to disbelieve, the truth of the Scripture account of the Deluge."

Page 169, part of Section 201.—"We shall see the utter impossibility of receiving any longer this story of the Exodus as literally and historically true, whatever real facts may lie at the basis of the narrative. The one only cause, indeed, for astonishment is this—not that a Bishop of the Church of England should now be stating that impossibility—but that it should be stated now, by a Bishop of the Church, as far as I am aware, for the first time; that such a belief should have been so long acquiesced in by multitudes, both of the clergy and the laity, with an unquestioning, unreasoning faith; that up to this very hour, in this enlightened age of free thought, in this highly civilized land, so many persons of liberal education actually still receive this story in all its details—at least, in all its main

details—as historical matter of fact, and insist on the paramount duty of believing in the account of the Exodus, among the things necessary to salvation, contained in the Bible, as essential to an orthodox faith in the True and Living God.”

Page 262, part of Section 389.—“In fact, from what we have already seen of the unhistorical character, generally, of the account of the Exodus, we have no longer any reason for supposing it to be necessary to believe that the name Jehovah really originated in the way described in E. vi.”

B.

Page 349, part of Section 463.—Ans.: “According to our view, Joshua was only a mythical or, perhaps, legendary personage, whose second name, compounded with Jehovah, certainly originated in an age earlier than that of Samuel. At all events, there is no evidence that this new name was popularized; that it ever did obtain universal acceptance; that Joshua ever was a well-known popular hero.”

Page 332, part of Section 451.—“The stories in the Book of Judges are also, like the story of the Exodus, most probably founded upon some real traditions; and, though in some places they are evidently exaggerated, and in others they have assumed a legendary form, and the chronology throughout is the despair of the ‘reconciling’ school of theologians; yet the heroes, whose exploits are there described, seem to have been real characters, and their names, in most cases, may be supposed to be genuine.”

Page 343, Section 452.—“We conclude, then, that the ‘Song of Deborah’ was written after Psalm lxxviii, that is, after the middle part of David’s life, perhaps towards the close of it, two or three centuries after the time of Barak and Deborah, by a writer who, except in the free use of the word Jehovah, has produced an admirable imitation of an ancient song, a ‘Lay of Ancient Israel,’ and thrown himself thoroughly into the spirit of the age which he describes.”

D.

Page 196, Section 286.—“For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to observe, as above noted (236), that the author of the Book of Chronicles must have been, to all appearance, a Priest or Levite, who wrote about B.C. 400, nearly two hundred years after the Captivity, B.C. 588, and six hundred and fifty years after David came to the throne, B.C. 1055.

“This must be borne in mind when we come to consider the peculiarities of this book, and the points in which the narrative differs from, and often contradicts, the facts recorded in the Book of Samuel and Kings. We have already had occasion to point out some of its inaccuracies, and we shall see, as we proceed, further reason for believing that the chronicler’s statements, when not supported by other evidence, are not at all to be relied on.”

The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule VII, the authenticity, genuineness, and truth of certain books of Holy Scripture in whole or in part are denied; and that, by this denial, the authority and canonicity of these books in whole or in part are called in question, and denied in contravention of the Catholic faith, as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

Schedule VIII.

Extract from "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined."

Page xxxi, Preface to Part I (iii).—"Lastly, it is perfectly consistent with the most entire and sincere belief in our Lord's Divinity, to hold, as many do, that, when He vouchsafed to become a 'Son of Man' He took our nature fully, and voluntarily entered into all the conditions of humanity, and, among others, into that which makes our growth in ordinary knowledge gradual and limited. We are expressly told, in Luke ii, 52, that 'Jesus increased in wisdom, as well as in stature.' It is not supposed that, in His human nature, He was acquainted, more than any educated Jew of the age, with the mysteries of all modern science; nor, with St. Luke's expressions before us, can it be seriously maintained that, as an infant or young child He possessed a knowledge, surpassing that of the most pious and learned adults of His nation, upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch. At what period, then, of His life upon earth is it to be supposed that He had granted to Him, as the Son of Man, supernaturally, full and accurate information on these points, so that He should be expected to speak about the Pentateuch in other

Articles and Formularies contravened in the Extracts contained in Schedule VIII.

Article ii.

Nicene Creed.—"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God."

Creed of Athanasius.—"Furthermore, it is necessary to also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man; God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the substance of His mother, born in the world; perfect God, and perfect Man; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting; equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead: and inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood; who, although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but One Christ; One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God; One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man; so God and Man is One Christ."

terms than any other devout

Jew of that day would have employed? Why should it be thought that He would speak with certain Divine knowledge on this matter, more than upon other matters of ordinary science of history?"

The charge preferred is that, in the extracts contained in Schedule VII, the writer maintaining that Our Blessed Lord was ignorant and in error upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch, denies the doctrine that Our Blessed Lord is God and Man in one person, and by this denial impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith, as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to.

Schedule IX.

Extracts from "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined."

Page 149, Section 178.—"And it may be that the time is near at hand, in the ordering of God's Providence, when the way shall be opened for a wide extension of missionary work among the heathen; when that work, which now languishes, which cannot make progress among them, either among the ignorant Zulu or the learned Hindoo, shall no longer be impeded by the necessity of our laying down, at the very outset, stories like these, for their reception, which they can often match out of their own traditions, and requiring them, upon pain of eternal misery, to believe in them all 'unfeignedly;' and when a missionary Bishop of the Church of England shall not be prevented, as I myself have been, from admitting to the Diaconate a thoroughly-competent, well-trained, able, and pious native, who had himself helped to translate the whole of the New Testament and several books of the Old, because he must be ordained by the formularies of the Church of England, and those require that he should not only subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledge the Book of Common Prayer—parts of which, the nice distinctions of the Athanasian Creed, for instance, cannot possibly be translated into his language—but solemnly declare, in the presence of God and the congregation, that he unfeignedly believes in canonical Scriptures, some part of which, as the genealogies in Chronicles, and the Books of Esther and Daniel, as well as large portions of the prophecies, he had never read."

Page xx, Preface to Part II.—"On all the above grounds, then, and for many other similar reasons, which the least acquaintance with scientific facts, or common sense itself, will soon suggest to him, if he once begins to 'inquire,' it is extremely probable that any such clergyman must needs come very soon to doubt, and before long to disbelieve, the truth of the Scripture account of the Deluge. Rather let me ask, does any intelligent clergyman at this day—anyone who has allowed himself to 'think' upon the subject as he would think about

any other recorded fact of ancient history—really believe in that story? Do the Bishops and Doctors of the English Church believe in it? If they do not, then do not these divines, one and all, ‘disbelieve the Church’s doctrine’ on this particular point, whilst yet, in common with all their fellow-clergy, they use habitually that solemn form of address to Almighty God in the Baptismal Service, which expressly assumes the reality and historical truthfulness of the story of the Noachian Deluge—‘Almighty and everlasting God, who, of Thy great mercy, didst save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water?’ It is of no avail to say, ‘There was a deluge of some kind or other, and this is only a legendary reminiscence of it.’ The Church Prayer Book does not mean this. When those formularies were laid down, and the clergymen were bound by a solemn subscription to declare their ‘unfeigned assent and consent to all things written in the Book of Common Prayer,’ it was assuredly meant to bind them to express an unfeigned belief in the story of the Deluge, as it is told in these chapters of Genesis, and not to some imaginary flood of any kind, which any one may choose at his pleasure to substitute for it; otherwise, it would be very easy to explain away in like manner every single statement of the Scriptures, Old and New, which we cannot believe. But the fact is that, by the present law of subscription, each clergyman is bound by law to believe in the historical truth of Noah’s flood, as recorded in the Bible, which the Church believed in some centuries ago; and he will be so bound, till the Legislature of the realm shall relax the painful obligation, and relieve him from the duty, to which he now stands pledged, of using a form of prayer which involves such a statement as this. Are, then, all these—prelates as well as ordinary clergy—to resign at once their sacred offices because they disbelieve the Church’s doctrine on this point?

“But what are they to do under these circumstances—those, I mean, who have their eyes open to the real facts of the case, and who cannot bear to utter what they know to be untrue in the face of God and the congregation? Many, probably, will get rid of the difficulty, with satisfaction to their own minds in some way, by falling back on the notion above referred to, that the account in Genesis is a legendary narrative, however incorrect and unhistorical, of some real matter of fact in ancient days. Others—though, I imagine, not many—will justify themselves in still using such a form of prayer, though they know it to be unreal and unmeaning, by considering that they are acting in a merely official capacity as ministers of the National Church and administrators of the laws which the main body of the Church has approved and has not yet rescinded.

“But what shall be said to those who cannot conscientiously adopt either of the above methods of relieving themselves from the burden of the present difficulty, and yet feel it to be impos-

sible to continue any longer to use such words in a solemn address to the Almighty? I see no remedy for these but to omit such words, to disobey the law of the Church on this point, and take the consequences of the act, should any over-zealous brother clerk or layman drag them before a court, and enforce a penalty in the face of an indignant nation. It is true that a soldier is bound, as a general rule, to obey his commanding officer, and a servant his master; but there are times when a faithful servant is bound, as he loves his master and cherishes his best interests, to disobey his orders. A master may, in ignorance of the real circumstances of the case, or, perhaps, from want of forethought, or from the mere infirmity of age, issue an unwise or injurious command—one that, if carried out, would in the end be ruinous and even fatal, to his own safety. He may have issued it long ago, under a totally different state of things, for which he had then most wisely provided. But now, under changed circumstances, such an order may be most ill-judged, and the attempt to enforce it irrational and unchristian. In such a case the most true and trusty servant would deem it right to disobey—would be bound to disobey—though the consequences of the act might bring ruin on himself, should his master, in his blindness or obstinacy, not appreciate his motives. On the other hand, it may be that the master, in such a case, however angry and even violent at first, when he sees only the outward act of disobedience, and does not yet recognize the spirit of true faithfulness which prompted it, and the real danger from which he had been saved by it, will at length awake from his delusion, and gratefully acknowledge the righteousness and truth of the course of conduct which he before condemned. Just such, I apprehend, is the state of many of us at present with reference to our relations as clergy to the National Church. At the time when we were admitted into her ministry, we heartily believed what we then professed to believe, and we gave our assent and consent to every part of her Liturgy. But we did not bind ourselves to believe thus always to the end of our lives. God forbid that it should be supposed by any that the Church of England had committed so great a sin, as to bind in this way, for all future time, the very consciences of her clergy. But we engaged in her service, it is true, upon certain conditions; in virtue of which we were subject to her laws, and amenable to her courts in case of disobedience. If, therefore, in obedience to a higher law than that of the National Church,—if in obedience to the law of truth, which is the law of God,—if, in dearest love to our spiritual mother, and truest sense of duty towards her, we now feel it necessary to disobey, deliberately, any one of her directions, we must be prepared, of course, for the consequences of such an act, which, in her present state of ignorance as to the real facts of the case, and the perilous dangers which threaten her, she may choose to inflict upon us. In the end, we know

we shall be justified for the very acts which may now be condemned.

"But will they be condemned by the great body of intelligent laity? Is not this the way by which, in England, all laws become disused and practically abrogated, long before they are formally and legally annulled? At this moment, how many are there of the clergy who never read the Athanasian Creed? And do their Bishops compel them to do so? Should, however, a prosecution be set on foot in such a case, and a clergyman be suspended or expelled from the Church of England, because he could not bear to approach the holy presence of God by addressing Him as the Being, who of His great mercy did take Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water, then may we sooner attain the freedom which is needed to make the Church of England what it professes to be, the National Church, and to realize the principles which, however lost sight of and practically ignored in these days, is yet involved in the very fact that her Bishops are seated in Parliament, not surely as the heads of a mere sect, but as the representatives of the whole community, in its religious capacity, and, therefore, in these days, of every form of earnest religious thought within the realm."

Page xxviii, Preface to Part II. — "Let the laity answer the above questions for themselves, and then ask themselves the reason of this. It is not because the clergy, bound by their ordination vows and the fetters of subscription, either dare not think at all on such subjects, or, if they do, dare not express freely their thoughts from the pulpit, or by means of the press, without incurring the awful charge of 'heresy,' and the danger of being dragged into the Ecclesiastical Court by some clerical brother who has himself no turn—perhaps no faculty—for thinking, or who has else abandoned his rights and duties as a reasoning man, to become the mere exponent of a Church system or a creed, but who will, at least, prevent others from exercising their powers of thought in the inquiry after truth, and so disturbing the quiet repose of the Church. How, in fact, can it be expected that a clergyman should venture to 'think' on these subjects when by so doing he is almost certain to come to doubt and disbelieve some portion, at least, as we have seen above, of the Church's doctrines; and then he may feel bound to follow his own sense of duty, if it accords with the sentiments expressed by the Bishop of London, and abandon voluntarily the ministry of the Church, deprived of all share in its duties and emoluments, yet burdened still with the necessity, according to the present state of the law, of dragging about with him, for his whole life long, his clerical title and its legal disqualifications for engaging in other duties of active life, for which his temper, abilities, or circumstances may fit him, sacrificing thus the means of livelihood for himself and his family, after work, it may be, for many long years well done, and with strength still, and a hearty will,

to do more in the Church's service, if only he may be allowed to think and speak the plain honest truth as a free man, and not be required to hush up the facts which he knows, and publish and maintain, in place of them, by silence, at all events, if not by overt act, transparent fictions?

The charge preferred under the extracts contained in Schedule IX is fully set forth in section II of the letter addressed to the Metropolitan, being the Annexure A.

Having concluded the reading of the articles of accusation, the Registrar read the following notice by the accusing clergy to himself:

Cape Town 16th November, 1863.

To DAVID TENNANT, Esq.,
Registrar of the Diocese of Cape Town.

SIR.—We beg to notify to you, for the information of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town, that we intend at the hearing of the charges preferred by us against the Right Reverend John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, to avail ourselves of and to use as evidence in support of said charges the following documents, letters, and writings as filed with you, to wit:

1. Declaration by the Very Reverend the Dean of Cape Town, as to the sale within the Province of Cape Town of the books and works referred to in the citation.
2. The Letters Patent of the 8th December, 1853, constituting the See of Cape Town.
3. The Letters Patent of the 23rd November, 1854, constituting the See of Natal, being an office copy, extracted from the Principal Registry of the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, together with the profession of obedience to the Metropolitan thereto annexed.
4. The *Natal Gazette* of the 14th February, 1854, containing the publication of the Letters Patent of the Bishop of Natal, with the Proclamation by the Governor of the 11th February, 1854.
5. Extract from the "Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Natal to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese," dated Maritzburg, October 1, 1855.
6. Extracts from a letter dated "Bishopstowe, Maritzburg, March 2, 1858," addressed by the Bishop of Natal to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.
7. Extracts from a letter dated "Bishopstowe, Maritzburg, April 3, 1858," addressed by the Bishop of Natal to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.
8. Extracts from a printed letter dated "Bishopstowe, August 11, 1858, addressed by the Bishop of Natal "to the Clergy and Laity of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal."

9. Extract from a letter dated "Bishopstowe, Maritzburg, August 2, 1858," addressed by the Bishop of Natal to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.

10. Extract from a letter dated "Bishopstowe, November 12, 1858," addressed by the Bishop of Natal to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.

11. Extracts from a postscript to a letter dated "Bishopstowe, December 31, 1858," addressed by the Bishop of Natal to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.

12. Extracts from a postscript to a letter dated "Bishopstowe, March 7, 1859," addressed by the Bishop of Natal to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.

13. Minutes of proceedings at a meeting of the Metropolitan and Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Cape Town, held at Cape Town on the 26th December, 1860, and following days.

14. Letter dated "Bishopstowe, Natal, June 1st, 1863," addressed by the Venerable Archdeacon Grubb, of Maritzburg, the Bishop of Natal's Commissary, to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town, with the copy of an address by the clergy of Natal to the Bishop of that Diocese, now enclosed in said letter.

And we have to request that a copy of this notice may be served on Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, the Bishop of Natal's agent.

University, Sir, Your obedient Servants,

H. A. DODD, ~~Dean of Cape Town.~~

N. J. MERRIMAN, Archdeacon of Graham's Town.

H. BADNALL, Archdeacon of George.

The Registrar then produced the documents referred to, which he read as follows:

[1.]

I, Henry Alexander Douglas, Dean of Cape Town, do solemnly and sincerely declare that a certain book or work, entitled "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated and explained from a missionary point of view, by the Right Reverend John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal," was sold and advertised for sale in Cape Town, in the *Argus* newspaper of the 25th September, 1862, and in the said month of September, 1862, exposed for sale at the publishing office of the *Cape Argus* in Ad-derley-street, Cape Town.

And I do further solemnly and sincerely declare that the certain book or work entitled "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined, by the Right Reverend John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal," being Part I of said work, was likewise sold and advertised for sale in Cape Town in the *Argus*, newspaper of the 20th December, 1862, and 25th of December, 1862, and at the date so advertised was exposed for sale at the shop of J. C. Juta, of Wale-street, Cape Town, bookseller and stationer, and that the said Part I of the last-named work was also advertised for sale by Messrs. Davis and Son, of Pieterma-

ritzburg, Natal, in a certain newspaper published at Pietermaritzburg, Natal, and styled the *Natal Witness and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, of the 6th February, 1863, and in said advertisement described as "By the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Natal, the Pentateuch shown to be unhistorical;" and in the *Natal Witness and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, of the 1st of May, 1863, Part II of the said work was advertised for sale at Messrs. Davis and Son, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, and in said advertisement described as "Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch," as will be seen from the copies of these papers hereto annexed, marked A and B.

Signed, H. A. DOUGLAS.

Declared at Cape Town, this 16th day of November, 1863, before me,

Signed, DAVID TENNANT,
Justice of the Peace for Cape Town.

Letters Patent, 8th December, 1859.

[3.]

Letters Patent, 23rd November, 1854.

I, John William Colenso, Doctor in Divinity, appointed Bishop of the See and Diocese of Natal, do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town, and to his successors, and to the Metropolitan Church of Saint George, Cape Town. So help me God, through Jesus Christ.

Signed, J. W., NATAL.

[4.]

Natal Gazette and Proclamation, 14th February, 1854.

[5.]

Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Natal to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese.

Maritzburg, October 1, 1855.

My Brethren in Christ,—

1. I have the pleasure to lay before you a copy of an address which has just reached me from the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity of the Metropolitan Church of Cape Town to those of the Church of Natal, expressing, as you will see, the deep interest they take in the great work to which we have been called.

[6.]

Bishopstowe, Maritzburg, March 2, 1858.

I am afraid you will be grieved this mail by a communication from the Dean. Of what kind it will

be, I cannot, of course, say beforehand; but the simple fact is that I am directly at issue with him on the subject of our Lord's real presence in the Holy Eucharist, and that I feel bound to protest against the views he holds, to the utmost of my power. . . . But these things are trifles, compared with what will cause you much greater pain, whether you agree with my views or differ from them. May God guide and comfort and keep you, in this and all the other many trials by which, I fear, your path is beset. . . .

[7.]

April 3, 1858.

By this mail, you will receive from me a copy of the sermons which I have preached on the Holy Eucharist, and another I expect from the Dean. What your own views are on the subject in question I know not. . . . I am grieved that you should be troubled in this matter, when you have so much else to trouble you; but unless I am judged and deposed as a heretic, I will live and die preaching the doctrines of these sermons in this my post of duty, and it will be miserable to feel that every sermon I preach will sound to the Dean as heresy. . . . I need hardly say that, under such circumstances, it will be impossible for us to work together with any cordiality henceforward. . . . And if I am not myself to be removed from my office, heartily glad should I be if one of them would present him with a good living in England. . . .

[8.]

Printed letter "To the Clergy and Laity of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Natal."

August 11, 1858.

My Brethren in Christ,—

You are aware that in the early part of this year, the Very Rev. the Dean of Maritzburg and the Rev. Canon Jenkins formally presented me, their Bishop, to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town, charging me with unsound and heretical teaching on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, in consequence of two sermons which I felt it my duty at that time to preach in the cathedral church of this diocese, and subsequently to publish for the information and, I would humbly trust, the edification of my flock. As you must naturally be desirous to know what are the views of the Metropolitan upon the point in question, I think it right to say that a reply has been received from him, in which, while declining to pronounce an official judgment upon the matter, he yet gives his opinion on the main subject, in the following words. . . .

Such being the opinion of the Metropolitan on this point, I conclude that there must be passages in my sermons which are liable to be thus misrepresented

[9.]

August 2, 1858.

You will see that one of our resolutions requests me to ascertain how this stands from the *Primate*. I need hardly say that the reference was made to him, rather than to yourself, from no want of respectful sense of duty to you as Metropolitan, but because it was considered that a question of this nature, which was not of the nature of an appeal from a judicial decision, but one of inquiry respecting the principles of the Church of England, ought more properly to be addressed to the *Primate*.

[10.]

November 19, 1858.

In respect of his last letter to yourself, Mr. Jenkins has, no doubt, been influenced to take the course he has adopted mainly in consequence of that passage in your letter to the Dean in which you say that you think a clergyman is at liberty to present his Bishop—or rather your expression is, “Presbyters” may, for grave matters, present a Bishop. The expression, as it stands, is doubtless liable to the interpretation which Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Crockett, and others have put upon it, but against which I most respectfully but most firmly protest, on the ground of Church order, and common propriety, viz., that a single Presbyter, or two or three Presbyters, of a diocese may present a Bishop. I say on the ground of Church order, because I find that the American Church, who have doubtless well considered authorities in this matter, beyond what, with the limited means at my command, I am able to do, have laid it down as a rule that a *Bishop*, or two thirds of the clergy, alone can present a Bishop. And this precedent appears to me to be confirmed by a sense of common propriety. . . .

[11.]

December 31, 1858.

I hope that when the Bench of Bishops meets they will take into consideration the question of metropolitanical jurisdiction, as well as the constitution of Church councils. So, too, I use the word Province of the South African dioceses, but only in a popular way. I see clearly Canon Jenkins, and probably the Dean, does not—but looks upon you as an independent Metropolitan. That you would be, doubtless, if you were Metropolitan by Church authority, and not by Royal Patent. But it seems to me that we are really still in a certain sense within the *Province* of Canterbury, by virtue of the clause which makes your proceedings subject, not merely to the supervision, but to the *revision* of the *Primate*. To take for example an instance. Suppose that on a clergyman.

who had signed adherence to our present rules of council, . . .
 . . . I found it necessary, because of some infringement of
 the rules, to pass a sentence of suspension, and he appealed to
 you, and you (as you say you should do) reversed my proceed-
 ing, of course I must submit to this, as the Bishop of Exeter
 to the Archbishop in the case of Mr. Gorham; but I imagine
 that I should do right to appeal to the Archbishop, not to
 reverse, but to *revise* your decision, and that if he decided against
 you, you would be bound in conscience to follow that judgment
 in case of any future appeal of a similar kind. This is the way
 in which our mutual relation at present presents itself to my own
 mind. But it would be most desirable that the whole matter
 should be settled for us by the proper authorities in England.

[12.]

March 7, 1859.

You say that you regret my sanctioning my clergy and
 laity writing to the Archbishop. It was not to ask advice
 of him, however, that they wrote, nor did it occur to me
 that they were doing anything which appeared to put a
 slight on your office as Metropolitan. They only wished to be
 properly understood in England, and without making any re-
 quest for the Archbishop's opinion, simply stated to him the
 facts of the case. *Together in Excellence*

Nevertheless, I am sorry that I sanctioned *this* letter being
 written if it has pained you.

[13.]

Minutes of proceedings at a meeting of the Metropolitan
 and Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Cape Town.

Signed R. CAPE TOWN.
 J. W. NATAL.
 PIERS ST. HELENA.
 H. GRAHAM'S TOWN.

[14.]

Bishopstowe, Natal, June 1, 1863.

To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Cape Town.

MY LORD,—It is my duty to forward to your Lordship, as
 Metropolitan, the enclosed, of which a duplicate copy will be
 sent by the mail now leaving to the Bishop of Natal.

I think it right to add that this document has not been sent
 to Zululand for the signature of the clergy there, and that of the
 four licensed clergy in Natal who have not signed it none have
 any sympathy with the views to which it alludes.

I have the honour to be,
 My Lord,
 Your faithful servant,

C. L. GRUBB.

To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Natal.

We, duly licensed clergy, ministering in the diocese of Natal, desire to address your Lordship upon a matter of the utmost importance to the Church planted in this colony.

We have heard, with the deepest pain, of a work published by you, in which you state in effect that you no longer hold, believe, nor are able to teach some, at least, of the most vital of the doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland.

We consider that, in our relative positions, it would have ill become us to have been the first to draw attention to acts of yours done before the whole world, and therefore we remained silent until those in authority in our Church had publicly marked their sense of your Lordship's proceeding.

But we understand that a very large majority of the Archbishops and Bishops having written to you suggesting the propriety of your resigning your office, you have answered that it is not your intention to comply with that suggestion.

Under these circumstances, we consider that a longer silence on our part would be most culpable.

There are, we are aware, legal questions which it belongs to others to decide, but we feel that we have a duty independently of any merely legal proceedings.

The various offices which we hold, the emoluments we receive, are held on the faith of our upholding and defending the doctrines of the Church of England, and on that understanding only could we honestly and conscientiously continue to hold those offices or to receive those emoluments.

Unfeignedly believing all the Canonical Scriptures of the New and Old Testament, and bound to "banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word," we feel compelled, in the sight of God and His Church, and more especially before "the people committed to our care and charge," to protest most solemnly against the position taken by you in the publication of this book, and your determination to retain the office of Bishop; and we think it right to lay this our protest before the ecclesiastical authority to whom, next to your Lordship, we must look, the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town.

We are,

Your Lordship's faithful servants,

C. L. GRUBB, M.A., Archdeacon of Maritzburg;
WILLIAM HENRY CYNRIC LLOYD, Colonial Chaplain,
Rector of Durban;

JAMES WALTON, Pinetown;

A. TOUNESEN, Ungaboba;

W. BAUGH, Umbazi;

W. A. ELDER;

JOSEPH BARKER;

A. W. L. RIVETT, Addington.

Mr. Walton, after the words "our care and charge," would

continue, "to avow our unaltered adherence to the doctrines of our Church as found in our Articles and authorized Formularies, believing them to be in accordance with God's Holy Word; and the office which your Lordship holds, and the opinions you avow, appear to us to be greatly at variance with consistency, accompanied as it is with an intimation on the part of your Lordship that you can no longer use the Formularies to which you have subscribed."

Having finished the reading of the documents, the Registrar said that the notice which he had previously read had been served upon Dr. Bleek, who had inspected the documents to which it referred.

The Bishop of Cape Town then said: Before calling upon the accusing clergy to proceed with their arguments in support of the charges which they have preferred, and which have just been publicly read, I have to state that I have received a letter from the Bishop of Natal, in which, amongst other things, he informs me that he has asked Dr. Bleek to appear for certain purposes on his behalf to-day. Therefore I now call upon Dr. Bleek to read, as I understand he is instructed to do, the letter of which I hold in my hand a copy.

Dr. Bleek then rose and read a formal protest against the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cape Town.

The Bishop of Cape Town: The Bishop of Natal tells me he has instructed you to read a certain letter. Are you reading that letter?

Dr. Bleek: I am instructed first to protest, and then, if your Lordship assume jurisdiction, to read the letter.

The Bishop of Cape Town: Will you produce the authority of the Bishop of Natal to protest.

Dr. Bleek read the following passage of the letter of the Bishop of Natal:

I have instructed Dr. Bleek, of Cape Town, to appear before your Lordship on my behalf for the following purposes:

(I) First, to protest against your Lordship's jurisdiction.

(II) Secondly, to read this letter (of which I have sent him a duplicate), as my defence, if your Lordship should assume to exercise jurisdiction.

(III) Thirdly, if you should assume jurisdiction and deliver a judgment adverse to me, to give you notice of my intention to appeal from such judgment.

The Bishop of Cape Town: It is a letter, as I understand, that you are instructed to read. First read the letter.

Dr. Bleek: Then does your Lordship assume jurisdiction?

The Bishop of Cape Town: Will you read the letter if you please? That is your business.

Dr. Bleek then read the following letter:

London, October 5, 1863.

To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop
of Cape Town, Cape Town.

MY LORD,—I have received from your Lordship's Registrar a citation calling upon me to appear before you at Cape Town on November 17, there to answer a certain charge of "false teaching" preferred against me by the Very Reverend the Dean of Cape Town, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and the Venerable the Archdeacon of George.

I am advised that your Lordship has no jurisdiction over me, and no legal right to take cognizance of the charge in question. I therefore protest against the proceedings instituted before you, and I request you to take notice that I do not admit their legality, and that I shall take such measures to contest the lawfulness of your proceedings, and, if necessary, to resist the execution of any judgment adverse to me which you may deliver, as I shall be advised to be proper.

My absence from the Cape will make it impossible for me to know what view your Lordship may take of your jurisdiction till long after your decision has been announced, and I have no desire to cause any unnecessary delay in the settlement of this matter, such as would be produced if I were to confine myself to a mere protest against your jurisdiction. I therefore think it better to state at once the answer which, if you have any jurisdiction in the matter, I have to make to the charge brought against me.

I admit that I published the matter quoted in the articles annexed to the citation: but I claim that the passages extracted be read in connection with the rest of the works from which they are taken. And I deny that the publication of these passages, or any of them, constitutes any offence against the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland.

For further explanation of my meaning in some of the passages objected to from my "Commentary on the Epistle of the Romans," I beg to refer your Lordship to a letter which I addressed to you on or about May, 1861, in reply to one from yourself, expressing strong disapproval of some of the views advanced by me in that work, and with reference to some of those objected to from my work on the Pentateuch. I desire also to request your attention to the Preface to Part III, a copy of which I forward by this mail.

I have instructed Dr. Bleek, of Cape Town, to appear before your Lordship on my behalf for the following purposes:

(I) First, to protest against your Lordship's jurisdiction.

(II) Secondly, to read this letter (of which I have sent him a

duplicate), as my defence, if your Lordship should assume to exercise jurisdiction.

(III) Thirdly, if you should assume jurisdiction and deliver a judgment adverse to me, to give you notice of my intention to appeal from such judgment. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

J. W. NATAL.

Dr. Bleek: I wish to give this protest, which I will hand to you.

Dr. Bleek then laid the protest upon the Registrar's table.

The Bishop of Cape Town: I wish just to mention, first of all, that if Dr. Bleek wishes to argue in support of the Bishop of Natal's first exception on the subject of jurisdiction, this is the time to do it.

Dr. Bleek: My instructions are not to argue, but merely to protest.

The Bishop of Cape Town: Then you can put in your protest.

Dr. Bleek then handed in the following protest:

My Lord.—As duly authorized thereto by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Natal, I appear before your Lordship for the purpose of protesting against your Lordship's present assumption of jurisdiction over the Bishop of Natal, and to repudiate your Lordship's assumed right to take cognizance of the charge of "false teaching" preferred against the Bishop of Natal by the Very Reverend the Dean of Cape Town, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and the Venerable the Archdeacon of George.

On behalf of the Bishop of Natal, I therefore protest accordingly against the proceedings now instituted against him before your Lordship, and I request you to take notice that he does not admit their legality; and, further, that he will, if necessary, take such measures to contest the validity of your proceedings, and to resist the execution of any judgment which your Lordship may see fit to pronounce, in such manner as the Bishop shall be advised.

W. H. I. BLEEK.

Cape Town, 17th November, 1863.

The Bishop: Then you do not want to argue at all upon the subject, Dr. Bleek?

Dr. Bleek: No, my Lord. The Bishop's defence is in that letter.

The Bishop of Cape Town: Then I now call upon the accusing clergy to address the Court in support of the charges they have brought.

The Very Reverend the Dean of Cape Town said: In rising to address your Lordships upon this case—the greatest which has ever been brought before a Court of the Church of England in modern times, or perhaps in any times—I may be permitted to state that I am keenly alive to the extreme importance of the occasion, and to the painfulness and difficulty of the position in which I now stand. Indeed, so clearly do I see the greatness of the issue which hangs upon this trial, and my own unfitness for dealing with a case of such magnitude—for the person charged with error is one who holds the highest office in the ministry, and the errors which are charged against him lie at the foundation of the faith, and touch both the person of our Divine Lord and the Cross on which He bled for man's redemption—that nothing but a sense of duty, which left me no choice, and took from me the power of refusing, could have induced me to accept the office of an accuser, or to undertake the labour of an argument which few could hope to perform well. But having been asked, in virtue of my office, by the clergy of this western section of the diocese, to plead our common cause, and dependent on our common feelings, I can only say that I stand here because I cannot help it, and that I begin my task with a sure hope that He whom I desire to serve will help me in it, and with a prayer as earnest as the heart of man can offer, that every word which I now speak may be chastened with a spirit of wisdom, and serve nothing but the pure and simple ends of truth.

My associates in this unwelcome office are in a similar position. They are here because they have been sent. The Archdeacon of George represents the clergy of that archdeaconry, and is present on this occasion at their request. The Archdeacon of Graham's Town comes, I may say, as proxy for that diocese, which, having formally expressed its satisfaction that he was likely to join in the accusation, has virtually appointed him to appear on its behalf. The diocese of Natal is not associated with us. But the reason of this is not to be found in any sympathy with the opinions of their Bishop—for I believe that all his clergy repudiate, as a whole, the books on which we found our accusation; and as a proof of this I may refer to the address of the clergy which has been put in as evidence to-day—but from feelings of delicacy which your Lordships will appreciate, and which we, on our part, must accept as their legitimate excuse. They concur, however, in the course which has been adopted, and they consider that our accu-

sations are, in the main, just. We appear, therefore, not as three individuals, but as representing the clergy of three dioceses; and we beg your Lordships to consider that all our brethren are present in us and with us, asking for justice from you, our spiritual fathers, and praying you to free the Church from this corrupt element of false doctrine which, unless ejected from it, threatens it with speedy death. Weak, and conscious of our weakness, we yet are confident in the truth of our cause, and we ask you to allow us to prove its truth. If, in doing this, we speak with that plainness of speech which truth requires and justifies, we pray you to consider that this case is now before a Court. We have not come here to trifle, or to speak smooth things. We charge a Bishop with that which the Church has called heresy, and we believe that we can prove that charge. For myself, at least, I must confess that I feel strongly upon the points which are now to be decided; and, feeling strongly, I shall not scruple to speak in strong words where the offence appears great, and truth seems to require it. At the same time, I hope that I shall not forget the respect to which the accused is entitled, whether in his office as a Bishop or in his person as a man.

The charges, as your Lordships are aware, are nine in number, and are founded upon two publications; the four first upon opinions which his Lordship has seen fit to express in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, published in 1861; the five last upon the views which are contained in parts I and II of that later work upon the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua which he has published in England during the past and present years. It might be shown, if it were necessary, that the two works are allied, or even related to each other, and that the germs of the more recent publication are to be found within the first; but their subjects are specifically different. The Commentary, as we should expect, is chiefly occupied with the doctrine of man's redemption, and with the questions which naturally connect themselves with that momentous subject. The later publication is mainly critical in its character, and addresses itself to those considerations which touch the method of the Divine Revelation, and the nature of those extraordinary writings, which, while confessedly the work of human instruments, are yet so highly sacred that the Church has always treated them as God's Word. The author, indeed, is forced, by the course of his daring speculations, to put forth a theory upon the manner of the union

between the two natures of our Divine Master which should satisfy the difficulties of his system, and as the result of his theory to ascribe error to our omniscient Lord;—and this is among the gravest of the questions upon which the decision of this Court is now invited. He is also led to comment on those expressions in the Book of Common Prayer which are founded on a belief in the truth of certain facts recorded in the sacred books, which he has presumed to treat as mere legends, baseless and utterly incredible, and in so doing to commit an offence which the English law recognizes, and which this Court must, we think, regard as both improper and highly censurable. It will appear, however, in the course of the argument, that the view which ascribes to our Lord error grows out of that main branch of heresy in which it finds its origin, being the necessary counterpart of the author's view on Holy Scripture. There is nothing, therefore, which need deter me from ranging the matters which are now before your Lordships under two main classes,—the first consisting of errors, or what we regard as errors, on the subject of man's recovery from ruin; the second of errors pertaining to the doctrine of Scripture, which our Articles and Formularies following the faith of all ages, habitually designate as God's Holy Word.

In entering upon the first of these subjects, it is important, in order to a clear discrimination of the Bishop of Natal's meaning upon the several points in which we accuse him of erroneous teaching, that your Lordships should place yourselves as nearly as possible in his position, and look at the truths which are under discussion from his point of view. What that point of view is, admits, I think, of no doubt. It is impossible to observe the references to what the Commentary speaks of as the "modern dogma," and the "dogma of modern theology," or to notice the allusions to the Paradise Lost, or, indeed, to remark upon the general tone and scope of the whole work, without feeling that the author's mind is occupied, as it were, in a recoil from some real or imaginary school of theology which seems to represent the Almighty as a severe and vindictive Being who took pleasure in the punishment of His Son, and thus to exhibit the redemption of the human race as a concession wrung from an unwilling and arbitrary ruler, who was forced to recognize the claims of justice, rather than as an act of sovereign mercy which had its primal origin in God's paternal love. Your Lordships will at once

perceive that it is no part of my business, on the present occasion, to determine whether any such opinions are held, or not held, by any school of theology, within or without the Church of England; or whether such opinions, if held, are wrong or right. I refer to the matter only because it is necessary to observe and show that the Bishop of Natal, recoiling from this, which evidently seems to him a shocking view of the Divine Being, assumes an antagonistic position, and, taking his stand upon the doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood, sees all doctrines and examines all theories only in the light of God's love. Now, your Lordships, I feel sure, will be most ready to acknowledge that love is the crowning attribute in that mysterious entity which, in our human way, we venture to describe as the Divine character, and that benevolence is the prevailing impulse by which the Almighty God is always moved, — above all, in things which pertain to man's recovery from death and ruin. But, at the same time, you will, I think, be no less ready to affirm also, in the spirit of Bishop Butler, when he touches upon this subject, that while there may be beings in creation to whom the Author of Creation manifests Himself in that most amiable aspect of absolute infinite benevolence, to us, as reason and conscience, no less than revelation, clearly teach us, He shows Himself as a moral governor who is both righteous and just. In fact, "God's whole nature is one great impulse to what, upon the whole, is best." You will also, I believe, agree with me when I say that man must not be wise in such things beyond what is revealed for his guidance, and that truth is to be found by weighing Scripture against Scripture, and doctrine against doctrine, with scrupulous exactness, giving to each its due place and relative importance, and never so esteeming one portion of the complex whole as to neglect or to disparage any other. Hence it is that patience is so essential in one who would investigate Divine things. Without a calm and equable temperament, wrought into the character by God's spirit, and that quiet self-restraint of mind which can bear long with difficulty and obscurity, content to wait and see mistily until the light breaks and the dimness vanishes, it is impossible to discover truth. And hence, too, it often happens that men, in whom impulse is strong and patience wanting, rush into extremes—sometimes, also, from one extreme into another. Confident in their own hearts, or in their own intellects, looking too hastily, and, therefore, mistaking a part

of truth for the whole, and supposing that they have seen a truth on all its sides when they have seen but one or a few out of its many complexities, they so handle truth, and so misuse it, that in their hands it becomes error; the very light on which they look blinds them; the very good which they rashly touch becomes their harm. I believe, my Lords, that an instance of this is now before you in the opinions which you are now to consider. If we believe the Scripture, we know that the work of man's redemption is a harmony of truth and mercy. In that mysterious plan, devised by everlasting wisdom, mercy and truth meet, righteousness and peace agree. Love set the work in motion, followed the course of operations, presided at its triumphant end; but truth and righteousness had each a part to play as well as mercy. God was not in such wise love as that He ceased to be justice, nor in such wise justice that He ceased to be love. God did not make peace on terms which were injurious to His own honour, or perilous to the perfection of His holiness. Had He forgotten the claims of truth, can we doubt, my Lords, that the Father would then have put by a plan for love now would then have put by a plan for justice? But all claims were satisfied. Love forgave, and forgave on terms which answered the demands of justice. So deep are the riches of the Divine wisdom. So unsearchable are God's judgments and His ways past finding out. Such, however, is not the view which the Bishop takes upon this subject. The Bishop—as the course of my argument, I think, will show—denies the existence of this wondrous harmony. In his opinion, God is absolute benevolence. Considering what men are and how insulting sin is to that Supreme Governor, who absolutely hates it, I am afraid that infinite benevolence, however great it sounds, is only another name for amiable weakness; but it is in this light, and in this light alone, that the Bishop will regard the Almighty. God is so love as to be love only. And in accordance with this, his fundamental view, the Bishop puts forth a scheme of opinions—doctrines I cannot call them,—which strips from the atonement its satisfying, vicarious, and propitiatory character; removes faith from the position which it holds as the introduction to a state of salvation; takes from the sacraments all use and virtue; denies the existence of a Church, and does away with hell. My Lords, I am conscious of the strength of the language which I am about to use, but I cannot refrain from asserting, at the outset of my argument, that

opinions such as these are something more than heresy, Upon the plea of showing forth the love of God our Father, the Bishop has put forth a wild though mystic and alluring scheme of blind benevolence, which is subversive of all that is generally known as Christianity. Professing to show us that God is all love, he represents Him as indifferent to evil, and maintains that our Lord was sent here, not to die for sin and bear it for us, but only to cheer us and encourage us in our efforts for our own deliverance; to show us, indeed, the way to God, but not to propitiate His Father's anger, for there was never any real separation between man and God. Such, my Lords, is the substance of the Bishop's teaching. And having made these introductory remarks because they seem to throw some light upon all those portions of the Commentary which we have brought before your Lordships as heretical, I proceed now to take up in detail the several points which form the ground of our complaint.

The Archdeacon of Graham's Town, interrupting the Dean's argument, rose and said: I feel constrained to make an inquiry. I hope I shall be pardoned for doing so; and will give my reasons. I have come from a distant part of the Province in the hope that I should here meet the Bishop of Natal, and that in the course of these arguments, and by our remonstrances, but still more by brotherly intercourse with your Lordships, he would be induced in some measure to retract, or modify in some way, the very painful statements which we have come here to examine. But, although he is not here present, we are exceedingly glad to find that he has employed a gentleman to represent him, but in respect to whom I should very much wish to know whether we have the hope that in adducing these proofs—the citation and the formularies upon which we found our arguments, we are addressing one who, like the Bishop of Natal himself, would give due weight to them; whether, Dr. Bleek,—I believe that is the name of the gentleman; I have never seen him before, and, therefore, I can have no possible objection to him; on the contrary, I am exceedingly glad to see him here—whether he is a member of the Church of England, or of any communion which will recognize the formularies of our Church, upon which the whole of our arguments are founded. I hope I shall be permitted to put that question—of course, through your Lordships—before we proceed further with the argument.

The Archdeacon of George: I hope I shall be allowed to

supplement what the Archdeacon of Graham's Town has said to this effect. This is the first occasion upon which I have had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Bleek. I did not even know it was he who sat down at the table. Therefore, I am sure, he will acquit me of every vestige of personal feeling; and, not residing quite so far from Cape Town as the Archdeacon of Graham's Town does, I may be allowed, perhaps, to say that I have heard his name mentioned, as that of a gentleman, not only not a member of our communion, but of a gentleman very well known to sympathize in the very strongest way with quite the freer sort of Socinianism. I do not intend even the slightest personality; but unless that be expressly denied, I cannot help asserting in the strongest way my surprise at the extraordinary fact that the Bishop of Natal, a Bishop of a Christian Church, should have chosen such a representative. Therefore, I beg to supplement what the Archdeacon of Graham's Town has said, and to join with him in requesting that the question may be decidedly put. We do not at all wish that Dr. Bleek should tabernacle himself in the least degree. On the contrary, I only express the feeling of the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and of the Dean, as well as myself, when I say that it is our sincere hope that every indulgence may be given to him. But still, returning to the point that has been raised, I must request that the question may be put.

The Bishop of Cape Town: Dr. Bleek, you have heard the question put by the Archdeacon of Graham's Town; if you feel inclined to answer it you may do so.

Dr. Bleek: I came here to perform certain formal acts in connection with the inquiry going on, not for the purpose of any inquiry being made as to my own opinions. I did not come here as a member of the Church in any way, but merely to read this letter and to do some formal things. If this Court is to be converted into any other purpose than that which I am instructed not to recognize, then I have no business here.

The Bishop of Cape Town: The question proposed to you was, whether you, as the agent of a Bishop of the Church of England, were a member of that communion; or whether, if not a member of that Church, you held the faith of the Church of England on these subjects.

Dr. Bleek: My Lord, I decline to answer that question. They have no right to ask such a question.

The Dean then proceeded with his address as follows:

The first series of passages has the atonement for its

subject, and I shall make it my first business to set before your Lordships the opinions which the Bishop of Natal has promulgated upon this cardinal point. The passages recited in the Articles do not of course contain the Bishop's whole view upon this subject. They are not intended to do so. They express rather what seems to us defective and erroneous in the doctrine, as set forth by the Bishop, than the Bishop's doctrine itself. If his Lordship was to express positively the light in which he viewed our Lord's sacrifice, he would select, I should suppose, the passage which forms the 114th section of his commentary, and to that passage I would beg to call the attention of your Lordships. With this passage, so far as it goes, and speaking of its terms generally, without adopting every form of expression, or regarding it as a true exposition of the Apostle's meaning, I have no desire to quarrel. On the contrary, considering it as describing one side and one aspect of this mysterious and many-sided doctrine, I am disposed to admire the beauty of its language, and to rejoice in the fervour of its thoughts. Warmly, and with a strength of feeling which your Lordships, I am confident, will fully appreciate, it exhibits the desire of the Father to display His love for us, His creatures, and to convince us of the greatness of His affection by the readiness with which His Son came to be a sharer in our trials, and an inheritor of all that was lowest and hardest in man's lot. It states too that the Father, accepting Him, accepted us in Him for the sake of His obedience. If this passage of the commentary had stood alone, it might have been felt perhaps that it was insufficient, and that it could not be regarded as in any way approaching to a complete development of the mystery upon which it touched, but no one would have been disposed to cavil at it; and, speaking for myself, at least, I should have been ready to concur in it heartily, so far as it went. But, regarding it as one of many passages which treat of this doctrine, and placing it beside the quotations which are before your Lordships in the articles of accusation, and beside other expressions, not quoted but of the same tenor, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the author intends it for something like a complete exposition of the nature of our Lord's atoning sacrifice, and that he means emphatically to deny that our Lord's sufferings were vicarious, or that any act of His was needed to satisfy the Father before He could forgive the world its sin. His Lordship denies again and again that our Lord died in our stead. Our Lord (he teaches) died for us, on our behalf,

to show His love for us, to express and display His boundless sympathy; but He did not die to bear our sins; He did not bear the weight of the curse. God (he affirms) did not need to be reconciled to man. Man needed to be reconciled to God, but God always loved us, and was never estranged from us. The Bishop will not allow it to be said that God was reconciled to us, because this implies that before the reconciliation He was angry with us, which He was not. His Lordship's opinion is expressed so often, and with such emphasis and clearness, that it is hard to mistake or misinterpret it. He regards the doctrine that our Lord died instead of man as a modern dogma; and, not objecting to the novelty—for the novelty, I imagine, would not offend, as the antiquity most assuredly is not the ground on which he seeks to recommend his own opinion—he asserts with a boldness which is astounding, if it is not admirable, that the dogma finds no colour for itself in Holy Scripture, and that there is no ground for thinking that God could require to be reconciled, because He never had the feelings which are presupposed in reconciliation, never any wrath which could be appeased.

University of Fort Hare

Now, my Lords, if we were disposed to deal with this case in a mere technical and legal spirit, or to treat the accusation which we have felt it our painful duty to bring against the Bishop of Natal as a matter of words, further argument on this point would be superfluous. The language of Article ix. is express upon the subject of reconciliation. The Article states that our Lord "suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us." The Bishop of Natal says in a passage which is now before you, "The Apostle does not say that God is reconciled to us, . . . but that we are reconciled to God. The difference in the meaning of these two expressions is infinite." He says also that "It is not He who needs to be reconciled to us." The Bishop, that is, distinctly implies that there is an infinite difference between these two expressions, and that the first of them, "God is reconciled to us," is not in accordance with Scripture or agreeable to truth. The Bishop's language means nothing if it does not mean this. Indeed, we understand at once, in reading what he says, that he desires to identify himself with the objectors to that mode of speaking, and to say that he considers their objection sound and reasonable. May I not say, then, that the Bishop intends to contradict the Article? I do not mean to state that the Bishop speaks

in plain terms and declares, "I am aware that the second Article speaks to such and such a purpose, and I mean it to be understood that I do not agree with the language of the Article, and that I openly dispute its correspondence with the Word of God." I do not for a moment imply this. But I mean that the Bishop, quite aware that the Article embodies and expresses a certain view of our Lord's atoning work, intends, in the most open way, to contradict that view. He intends to quarrel with that view of our Lord's atonement which represents Him as appeasing His Divine Father. He intends to assert that the love of God is such that He could never need to be appeased. But the subject with which we have now to deal is far too great to be treated as a matter of mere verbal technicality, and therefore, while maintaining that the expression in Article 11. is a true exponent of a Divine fact, and that the Bishop is not at liberty to contradict it, I am willing to widen, as far as possible, the terms of contest, and to join issue with the Bishop's language in the objected passages, as being contrary, not only to the language of this Article, and of other statements in our Articles and Formularies, but to the faith of the Church Catholic on the subject of sacrifice, satisfaction, and propitiation, as held in all places and at all times.

My Lords, the Bishop of Natal has spoken of the doctrine that our Lord died in our place or stead, so as to bear the punishment of our sins, as a "modern dogma," and has stated that no such statement as that our Lord died in our stead is to be found in the whole of Scripture. He has also taken upon himself to dispute the translation of Romans v. 6, which regards the preposition there used as denoting substitution, asserting that it never means "instead," and can only mean "on behalf of." With regard to the two latter of these assertions, it is obvious that this Court is no place for critical disputings, and that if questions of grammar and exegesis are to be discussed and investigated here, the work which your Lordships have now to perform would be interminable. The duty of your Lordships is not, as I conceive it, to arrive at truth by immediate deductions from Holy Scripture, but rather, taking the results at which the Church has arrived already, and which are binding on its members, to test the opinions of the Bishop Natal by these authoritative conclusions. At the same time, as assertions so strong as these seem to be founded upon fact, and as our future argument would seem to move as if with a drag upon it

if objections so fatal as these were not swept away before we proceeded further, I must ask permission to remind your Lordships that these assertions are utterly without foundation. The Bishop says that the doctrine of substitution is no where clearly laid down in Holy Scripture. Has the Bishop never read the saying of our Lord Himself, that the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many. In this passage (St. Matthew xx, 28), the Greek admits but of one meaning, *dounai ten Psychen hautou lutron anti polton*. Not to press the force of the word *lutron*, which is a sacrificial term, the preposition used is *anti*, which the Bishop himself admits to mean "instead." I would further remind your Lordships, without intending to do more than glance at this grammatical side of the question, that in 1 Timothy 2, 6, we have the words *dous heauton antilutron hyper panton*. Not to speak of the comment which we find in this passage upon the words of our Lord already quoted, we have here an answer to both the assertions of the Bishop, the *anti* in *antilutron* conveying the idea of vicarious sacrifice, and the use of *hyper* in immediate sequence, demonstrating that this preposition is to be taken as having the sense of "instead." And upon both points I would invite your especial attention to the prophetic words of Caiaphas, who, being High Priest that year, said within the Jewish Council, "Nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people—*hyper tou laou*, and that the whole nation perish not." This passage alone is quite conclusive of the question. Language is unable to speak in plainer terms than those words which we find here. A man is to die for the people; and an explanation is subjoined,—"that the whole nation perish not." I do not refer to the real meaning of this passage, deeper and more wonderful than the speaker knew, as St. John takes care to show us. I only say, here is substitution. And, moreover, here is *hyper* used to express the fact of substitution. And yet the Bishop of Natal tells us that substitution is never taught us in Holy Scripture, and that *hyper* is never there used to mean "instead." With regard to classic Greek, his Lordship, I believe, is not less unfortunate. The passage which he has quoted from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and to which I have referred, is, I submit, a disproof of his assertion rather than a proof, as he considers it. It is usually quoted as a proof that *hyper* may be used as synonymous with *anti* in classic Greek. The Commentator Raphael

adduces it as one of several instances, as your Lordships will find on reference to McGee on the Atonement, page 68, ed. 1842. With regard to the use of *hyper* generally, I would also refer to Jelf's Grammar, page 284, and would assert that substitution is an essential part of its meaning. It denotes the placing of one thing over another, so as to cover it, and be substituted for it. So much, my Lords, for his Lordship's strong asseverations upon these topics. But I think I may say that I have shown their true value, and that I may now proceed with the argument, as little clogged or impeded by them as if they had not been made.

I come then to his Lordship's favourite charge of novelty. He tells us that the doctrine of vicarious suffering is a "modern dogma." My Lord, I have already had occasion to remark that the novelty of this doctrine, if it were really new, would not be just the feature in it which would most repel his Lordship or excite his noblest indignation. It is no injustice to the Bishop of Natal to state that reverence for antiquity, or an idolatry for past formulas of doctrine and opinion, is not the light which would most allure his footsteps, or the temptation which would soonest lead his strong and independent mind astray. But, accepting the argument which is contained within his Lordship's expression,—the argument, I mean, which is an axiom of sound theology, that nothing new—nothing not primitive,—is true; and thankful to find that at least on this point there is no difference between us, I shall proceed to argue that the dogma is both true and primitive. I hold it immaterial which of these points is put the most forward. They must necessarily go together. If the doctrine is true, it is also primitive; and if it is primitive, if it can be traced downwards from the age of the Apostles,—then, surely, it must also be true. My Lords, I maintain that this dogma is even more than apostolic. It is as old as revelation. It has been believed from the days of Adam to our own day. Seen as in a glass darkly in prophecy, in figures, in type, and ceremonies, by patriarchs and Jewish saints, it has been clearly recognized in the Christian Church as the essential counterpart of the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, and as a truth which cannot be denied by any who will not sooner or later proceed to deny also that Jesus is the Son of God. "Dogma of modern theology!" I protest against the libellous insinuation. I appeal to every offering for sin which ever burnt upon a Jewish altar,—I appeal to the creeds of the Church,—I appeal to the liturgies of Christendom,—to the

Fathers of the first and every age,—and to the sign of the cross, so early used as the type and symbol of our faith; and I affirm, as I believe that I can also prove, that the life and the existence of the Church, both Jewish and Christian, has turned upon belief in Christ's vicarious death as its moving spring and cardinal principle. It has always been believed. The Church of early centuries believed it; the Churches of the middle ages believed it; it is believed by the Church now. The Church has always taught that God was angry with man because of sin, and that our Lord, sent by His Father's love, and moved by His own affection for us, stepped in to satisfy His Father's honour by bearing sin's penalty, and to appease a God who waited to be gracious; not offering Himself to death that He might please a God who rejoiced in suffering and slaughter, but, still, really satisfying justice, and making it possible to save the sinner while yet the sin was punished, and law in every jot and tittle was perfectly fulfilled.

I proceed, then, to show that the doctrine that our Lord's sufferings were vicarious and propitiatory is not a "modern dogma," but is an essential part of that catholic idea which our Church expresses in Article II in the words, "sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men," and in Article XXXI in the words, "The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the world, both original and actual;" and, consequently, that the Bishop of Natal in assailing this doctrine is unfaithful to his vows as a member and a bishop of the Church of England, and is deserving of such censures or punishment as this venerable Court shall see fit to award to him. I admit, of course, that the word "satisfaction," no less than the clear development of that particular form of thought which it embodies, dates from the twelfth century (though with certain expressions before us taken from an ancient liturgy, which I shall afterwards adduce, I am not sure that this should be admitted), and from the time of Archbishop Anselm; but I hope to prove that both the word and the thought are in entire harmony with all those older conceptions which are now associated with it; and, in fact, that Anselm, bringing philosophy to bear upon a doctrine which had hitherto been rather believed in, lived upon, and loved, than thought of, drew out into the light a latent truth, and translated a religious fact into the terms of philosophic theology. But "sacrifice" and "propitiation" are the words to which I

shall chiefly direct attention; and in treating of "satisfaction," I shall have little more to do than to show to your Lordships that the Church, in admitting that word as a part of her proper terminology, has added nothing to that sure deposit of the faith which is found within the sacred pages of the Divine Word.

And here, my Lords, on entering upon the proof which I have now to lay before you, I make the necessary admission that we look in vain to early times and early writers for that definite and systematic development of the doctrine which began in that later period of the Church's history when men proceeded to reflect and to philosophize upon the truth which they had long received and loved. Upon this subject, I cannot do better than refer your Lordships to the words of the historian Neander, and to an article in Chambers's Encyclopedia, which, as a whole, I recommend to your notice as a most able condensation of the history of the doctrine which we are now considering.* In the earlier stages of the Church's life, while the memory of our Lord's acts and love was still comparatively fresh, and while the believers were engaged in a terrific struggle with infidelity and barbarism, it is only what we should expect if men were too much taken up with a devout contemplation of the living and objective reality, to speculate upon its abstract characteristics, or to analyze its constitutive parts. Heresy, too, had not as yet appeared in that direction, so that it had not as yet been needful to erect systems and definitions, as bulwarks and defences of the truth. At the same time, as Neander states, the germ and the principle of the after-growth was there in the foundation of the Christian consciousness. The idea of our Lord's death as a propitiatory offering for sin, and the means by which the devil was subdued, and the consequences of sin were turned away from us, lies at the basis of all ancient teaching, and of all worship and devotion. This will be shown easily, but we must first determine the exact import of the terms with which we are now concerned.

And first, "propitiation."—What do we mean when we say that our Lord's offering is a propitiation? To answer this question, we must go to the Greek. When St. John says that

* See Neander, vol. ii, 382 and iii, 200. Chambers Encyclopedia, article *Atonement*, page 530. See also Archbishop Thomson, in *Aids to Faith*, page 340.

our Lord is a propitiation for sins, he uses the word *hilasmos*; and the verb *hilaskomai*, as well as the neuter noun *hilasterion* are often used in their several relations to that one great thought which each in its different way describes and represents. What, then, is the conception which is set before us? It is that which we express in English by the word "appeased." The root *hilaos* or *hileos* is translated in Liddell and Scott, "soothed, appeased; hence, of God, propitious." "The verb *hilaskomai*," says the same authority, "is used always of gods, and in connection with sacrifices, or other pacifying influence, and it denotes, to make propitious to one, reconcile oneself to him, win his favour." Such, too, is the meaning of the word in Scripture Greek. Joined with *hamartias* in Hebrew 2, 17, *hilaskomai* denotes expiation, to expiate for sins, to make reconciliation for them, to appease the anger of God which is excited by them. And in the Epistle to the Romans iii, 25, the word *hilasterion* is used to describe our Lord as the mercy-seat, the true propitiatory victim set forth by God to bring remission of sins to men. Such, too, is the force of the word *hilasmos*, as used by St. John in a passage of like import, when he says that God loved us, and sent His Son to be a propitiation for our sins. I may add that *hilaskomai* and its kindred words are used in the Septuagint as the translation of those sacrificial terms which are connected with the idea of atonement. It is clear, then, what the meaning of the term is. When the publican prayed "God, be merciful to me a sinner," he indicated that God was angry, and he asked that He might be appeased. And when our Lord is called a propitiation, we understand that He did some act by which His Father was made propitious to us. The word is never used except when anger is supposed to exist, and it describes the removal of that anger. In saying this, my Lords, I do not mean to argue for the doctrine from Holy Scripture. I simply mean to say that here is a word brought into theology out of Scripture, and into Scripture from classic Greek, and that going to the fountain head to discover its meaning, we find it always used in this sense. It is important, however, to observe that the word is never used in Scripture so as to denote that man appeased God. The truth is that the work of placation goes on within the Godhead, and God is not appeased by man, but by Himself.

It has been shown that when we use the term

propitiation, we necessarily mean that God is appeased. I go on to ask the meaning of the word "sacrifice;" or rather—for the difference is of some importance—of sacrifice for sin; and to show that in this expression there is involved, in addition to the idea of propitiation, the idea also of vicarious suffering. Articles II and XXXI virtually declare that our Lord was made a sin-offering. What do we mean by this? We mean that which is taught us by the symbolic import of the Jewish sacrifices. The terms of Jewish sacrifice are used in Holy Scripture as descriptive of our Lord's atonement, and they must therefore be regarded as exhibiting the nature and meaning of His work. When, therefore, we read in Leviticus that those who had sinned, priest, prince, or people, were to bring a victim, and having confessed their sin upon its head, to slay it as a sin-offering, and when further, we read that on the great day of atonement, the High Priest laid his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confessed all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities, we conclude without any hesitation that an offering for sin carries sin away, bears and suffers for the sins of others, transfers to itself their burden, and expiates their guilt. Of course, the offering for sin included propitiation also; but to that, as considered already, I do not refer again. Besides the notion of propitiation, it included also that of bearing guilt, and this transference of guilt was the means of propitiation. If your Lordships will refer to the work of Archbishop Magee on the Atonement, you will see the form prescribed to be used by sinners on presenting their sacrifice as described to us by Jewish writers. The individual was to say, "O God, I have sinned, I have done perversely, I have trespassed before Thee and done this. Lo, now I repent and am truly sorry for my misdeeds. Let, then, this victim be my expiation." These last words were accompanied by the action of laying hands on the head of the victim, and were considered by the Jews to be equivalent to this, "Let the evils, which in justice should have fallen upon my head be transferred to this victim."* It is impossible to enter at great length into the proof of this point; but I think that there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the term, offering for sin, regarded as a phrase of Juda-

* See also Burnet on the Articles. Article ii.

ism, or that this meaning, whatever it may be, has been transferred from Judaism to Christianity, and may be taken from the New Testament as being used by the sacred writers to explain the nature of our Lord's work. If the transference of sin was figuratively represented in the ceremonies of Judaism, it cannot be disputed that an actual transference of evil from man to man's redeemer was actually effected by our Lord's atoning sacrifice. As Butler puts it, "The sacrifice of Christ was in the highest degree, and with the most extensive influence of that efficacy for obtaining pardon of sin which the heathens may be supposed to have thought their sacrifices to have been, and which the Jewish sacrifices really were in some degree, and with regard to some persons."

It has been said, indeed, and if I remember right, the Bishop of Natal has renewed the old objection, that all such phrases are mere allusions to the Mosaic law, and that to treat them as having any reference to Christ is to carry Christianity back into the dead formalities of Judaism. I say, therefore, that "our Lord's offering was not built upon the Jewish sacrifices. That which happened was exactly the reverse. The offerings of the law were built upon the offering of Christ; they were the type of a future reality, which cast its shadow beforehand on the Jewish nation." In the words of Bishop Butler, "The law was a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things. The priests that offer gifts according unto the law serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, *i.e.*, the Levitical priesthood was a shadow of the priesthood of Christ, in like manner as the tabernacle made by Moses was according to that showed him in the mount. The priesthood of Christ and the tabernacle in the mount were the originals: of the former of which the Levitical priesthood was a type, and of the latter the tabernacle made by Moses was a copy. The doctrine, then, of the Epistle to the Romans plainly is that the legal sacrifices were allusions to the great and final atonement to be made by the blood of Christ; and not that this was an allusion to those."

Having shown, then, that the word "propitiation" is fitted to describe the belief in two things (1) that God was angry on account of sin, and (2) that our Lord removed this anger by what He did when here on earth; having shown, also, that sacrifice for sin, including

in itself propitiation, denotes, besides, vicarious suffering and the removal of guilt by transference of punishment,—I have to show that these conceptions cannot be excluded from these expressions as applied to our Lord without distinct opposition to the Church's faith from the first ages to our own day. And your Lordships will bear in mind, as a consequence of that which has been proved already, that anything which proves that suffering for man's sin was held as a doctrine covers the idea of propitiation, because that idea is a part of the wider and more inclusive thought.

In the first place, I would invite your Lordships' attention to the clear evidence for the belief in these aspects of the doctrine of the stonement which the early liturgies supply. If it be true, as has been stated already, that men were more occupied in living upon the doctrine than in speculating on its more abstract character, this is just the kind of evidence which we should naturally look for. And, indeed, it is hard to understand the very meaning and purpose of that chief ordinance of our religion, which gave their whole form and substance to the older liturgies, if we shut out from our minds the doctrines which the Bishop of Natal denies. Why should men feed on the symbols and memorials of our Lord's passion if that passion had not the most immediate bearing upon them, and if it was not to be made over to them, and to impart to faithful men forgiveness of their sins? Why plead before the throne the Saviour's sacrifice if it did not propitiate the Father? Why feed on its memorials if they are not the signs and instruments of life? But without insisting upon this further, I would refer to certain portions of certain ancient liturgies, in proof that the Churches which used these liturgies prayed to God in this faith. (Here reference was made to several ancient liturgies, as translated in Neale's Eastern Church.) With these passages before us, taken from most ancient liturgies, there need be no hesitation in asserting that the passage from the Consecration Prayer in our own Service, which we have quoted in the articles of accusation, though of mediæval origin, breathes the very spirit of the first ages, and differs from the ancient liturgies only in form of words. Nor is it only in the spirit of its language that the Eucharistic Service of our Church bears witness to the ancient faith. The preface for Easter, which contains the words, "He is the very Paschal Lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken

away the sin of the world, who by His death hath destroyed death," is a clear exposition of doctrine, and it dates from the fifth century, being as old as the Sacramentary of Gelasius, from which it passed into the English Missals, and thence into the Service of our Reformed Church. If I do not refer to the *Gloria in Excelsis*, that most ancient hymn of Eastern origin, it is only because it uses the very words of Holy Scripture, when it addresses our Lord as the Lamb who takes away the sins of the world. While I am speaking of liturgies, I may notice a petition in the Litany, which has a direct bearing upon the question which we are now considering. That petition runs thus: "Neither take Thou vengeance of our sins. Spare us, good Lord, spare Thy people, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever." The import of this petition can hardly admit of any question. It deprecates Divine vengeance. It prays God not to be for ever angry with us, and speaks of the blood of Christ as the cause and means of our redemption. And this petition is older than the days of Anselm, and prior to what the Bishop would describe as the modern era of the doctrine. It originally formed an anthem in the Sarum Breviary, which was compiled by Osmond, Bishop of Salisbury and Chancellor of England, about 1085, eight years before Anselm was made archbishop. So that even if it does not owe its origin to a still remoter period, it cannot be regarded as the product of that new mode of thinking which Anselm is supposed to have brought into the Church. My Lords, I do not think it necessary to trouble you with further reference to this branch of evidence, though I have by no means exhausted the testimonies which the Prayer-book might bring forward upon this point. I proceed now to the testimonies of learned men who have weighed the testimony of the Fathers, and whose statements upon a matter of this nature are worthy of the highest credit. I have already quoted Neander. I adduce from the same author another passage, part of a paragraph which has it for its object to show that the ancients believed our Lord to have suffered not only on behalf of us, as the Bishop of Natal teaches, but as a substitute, in our stead.* I quote these passages not only to show what was thought by St. Irenæus, Origen, and St. Justin Martyr, but also to show the result of his examination of

* See Neander, Bohn's Edition, 2, 384-387.

the Fathers upon the learned historian, and to set before your Lordships the testimony of one who was no especial lover of dogmas, respecting the doctrine of the atonement as held by the early Church. I would refer your Lordships next to Hagenbach's History of Doctrines, Clark's translation, pages 172—178, 354—356. In reference to the note on page 178, I may remark that it furnishes the true explanation of the mistake which the Bishop of Natal has committed when he describes the doctrine of vicarious suffering as a modern dogma. The novelty is in the word "satisfaction." That word, or at least the full development of the idea of vicarious satisfaction, is unquestionably new. But it is simply absurd to bring the charge of novelty against the whole doctrine of vicarious suffering. Its truth or falsehood may admit of discussion, but its antiquity can be established by most ample proofs. But in the remarks of Hagenbach, and in the passages which he quotes, to which I cannot stay to refer further, your Lordships will find abundant data for arriving at a conclusion as to the faith and opinions of the Fathers of the Church. I would also refer to pages 341—346 of Archbishop Thomson's *Together in Excellence* "Aids to Faith." But especially I would ask your Lordships' attention to the discussion of this subject in the lectures of Professor Blunt. The professor has handled the question with his usual learning and vigour, and I would read to your Lordships certain portions of his lecture and several extracts from the Fathers which he quotes. (Blunt's Lectures on the Early Fathers, 518, 531.) Your Lordships will perceive that time would not admit of more detailed argument of this nature, or allow me to select passages out of the number of those copious extracts to which these several authorities will lead those who are disposed to follow them. It is sufficient, therefore, if any doubt exists upon your Lordships' minds, to indicate the sources from which you may at once obtain the fullest information. The learning of those whose testimony has been quoted admits of no cavil, and I may well be content to leave the question of antiquity in their hands.

The Creeds have not as yet been noticed, but it is impossible to pass them wholly by. It is admitted that while their real meaning is unquestionable, they do not speak on this matter in terms which would refute objectors; and that for the best of all reasons,—because occasion had not yet been afforded for precise definition upon this point. At the

same time taken, in connection with the liturgies and with the known doctrine of the Church as taught by the ancient Fathers, we can have no hesitation in declaring that when the Apostles' Creed speaks of our Lord as suffering and dying, and when the Nicene Creed states that He was "crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered, and was buried," and when the Athanasian Creed declares that "He suffered for our salvation,"—these several asseverations are to be taken as affirming that we owe to Him salvation, that the chastisement of our peace was laid upon Him, and that by His stripes we are healed.

With regard to the term "satisfaction," I have only time to state that it differs in no essential manner from the more ancient and sacrificial terms which have already been considered. It states in the language of general ethics the truth which the Scriptures usually designate in language which is derived from Jewish sacrifice and ceremonial. The term "sacrifice" implies the restoration to God's favour of those who have been alienated from God by sin. The term "satisfaction" implies the payment of a debt which we have no means of paying, a duty of reparation for sin, or of obedience to compensate for former disobedience. But upon this subject I shall content myself with referring your Lordships to the explanatory statements of Archbishop Thomson.*

It has been shown, then, that the doctrine which the Bishop of Natal impugns is ancient. Let me now show that the negations which the Bishop opposes to it are new,—new, and therefore false,—false, and therefore new. The Arian and Nestorian controversies show us, as a quotation from the Aids to Faith has already indicated, that such opinions as those which the Bishop of Natal has promulgated are never far distant when errors touching our Lord's nature or personality come to light: But if the seeds of error were sown by Arius, it was not till the days of Abelard, who was a youth when Anselm was made archbishop, that the error ripened, and bore its fruit. It is in Abelard's writings that I have first found the expression which has been brought into our Article 11. from the Augsburg Confession, and while he uses it as a mode of speech with which men were then familiar, and therefore shows, I think, that it was even then accepted as the ordinary mode of expressing a doctrine, he objects to

the doctrine which it expressed. "How could God become reconciled to man by the death of His Son?" Abelard's opinions, as contained, by the way, in a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, as well as in other writings, were the same as would now be called rationalistic. His views upon Scripture were of that class which, looking mainly to the human element, and overlooking the Divine, is disposed to treat the Bible in much the same way as any common book. And on the doctrine of redemption, he looked upon our Lord's passion and incarnation as "simply a manifestation of Divine love, and referred everything to the subjective impression wrought upon the minds of men by this love." His own words are, "Every person becomes more just, that is more full of love to God, after the sufferings of Christ than before them, because every one is more inflamed by benefits bestowed than by benefits hoped for." He says also, "Redemption is that greatest love enkindled in us by Christ's passion;" and, "The entire life of Christ was directed to the great end of enlightening and instructing, and of exciting to love by the manifestation of the love of God." Such was Abelard's teaching, and your Lordships will at once perceive that in its main features it is the view which is based upon Arian theology, and which writers of the Socinian school have more completely developed in later times. I do not say this to awaken prejudice. I simply state a fact. It is impossible to read the statements of expositors upon Article II, or the opinions of Bishop Pearson upon reconciliation, as contained in his work upon the Creed, Article X, or the arguments of Professor Blunt as already quoted, or any other writers who discuss these questions, and not perceive clearly that the teaching of the Bishop of Natal on the subject is essentially Socinian. His opinions, indeed, burn with a glow which is not usually found in writers of that cold school of theologic moralists, but the halo of mysticism cannot disguise their true nature or hide from us the painful certainty that our Lord, in his opinion, is only a great teacher. I should rejoice if I could say for certain that he believes him to be the Son of God. [And what, my Lords,—what is the damning flaw in this opinion? It is this. It omits the necessity for death which sin imposed. It rejects the infinite merits of the divine vicarious, propitiatory sacrifice. Upon this subject, I will quote a portion of the answer of St. Bernard; all of it is well worth reading. It is thus that he replies to Abelard (Milner, 3, 366): "As far as in him lies, he who attributes the

glory of redemption not to the cross of Christ, but to his own holy conversation, renders void and of none effect the mystery of the divine dispensation. But, God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom is our salvation, life, and resurrection. I see, indeed, three capital objects in this work of our salvation—first, the form of humility, by which the Son of God made Himself of no reputation; second, the measure of love, which He extended even to the death upon the cross; and third, the mystery of redemption, in which He suffered death. *The two former, exclusive of the latter, are as if you painted on a vacuum.* Great and necessary, indeed, was the example of humility; great and worthy of all acceptance was the example of His charity; but remove redemption, and these have no ground to stand upon. I would follow the humble Jesus. I would embrace with the arms of love Him who loved me, and gave Himself for me; but I must eat the Paschal Lamb. Unless I eat His flesh and drink His blood I have no life in me. Neither examples of humility nor displays of charity are anything without redemption." Such was St. Bernard's mode of dealing with this controversy. Abelard could speak of our Lord's love and our Lord's humility, and these were essential parts of that sacrifice which had obedience for its active side and living principle. But the suffering may not be forgotten. Mere obedience could not put away sin. Obedience must be joined to death. Our Lord was "obedient unto death," and in death. Death is sin's penalty, and in order that the penalty may be completely paid, the person who pays the penalty in man's nature must also be the Son of God. It is true, my Lords, that this side of the doctrine, and the facts of substitution and propitiation, which are connected with it, may sometimes have been treated in too exclusively narrow, and, therefore, in a hard and repulsive way. Taken by itself without its correlative doctrines, and presented in a form which is too naked and bare, this side of the truth may have exhibited our God and Father in the light of a vindictive Sovereign, who found His pleasure not so much in the consummate holiness and glad obedience, as in the suffering agony of His incarnate Son. I will not say that some views and some statements of this doctrine have not been open to objection, or undeserving of some such charge and imputation—true, yet too starched, and too rigid, and narrow in the form and expression of this signal manifestation of divine love and truth; but we cannot afford to

lose one least portion of the great whole; we cannot refuse to hold that God, though all love, and though the author and origin of our salvation, needed the satisfaction of His own truth, required to be propitiated. It is true that the propitiation goes on within the Divine nature, emanating from God the Father, brought about by God the Son, and that God loves His Son, even while he is angry with Him for our sakes. But we cannot allow it to be said that God was not angry, and was not appeased by punishment. The divines of the middle ages, however much they may have dwelt on other sides of this vast truth, never forgot the side of punishment. Christ, says Aquinas, "must take upon Himself that punishment which is the termination of all other, which virtually contains all other in itself,—that is death." What has been thought by the divines of the Reformation and the succeeding period upon this topic, it is superfluous for me to mention. To show that the notion of reconciliation is ~~not~~ that of appeasing, in the estimation of English theologians, I shall quote a few authorities.* Indeed, so important has this side of truth appeared, that it has almost appropriated to itself the name of the atonement. And it has justly been regarded as a test of orthodoxy upon the subject of our Lord's Divinity. It cannot consistently be denied by any who acknowledge Jesus as the Son of God.

And now, my Lords, I am able to conclude my argument on this our first point. In dealing with the Bishop of Natal's opinions, I have not thought it necessary to set forth the doctrine of the atonement in all its many bearings, or upon all its many sides. Had I attempted to do this I must have occupied your Lordships for even a longer time, and I believe to no purpose. I must have endeavoured to show its relation to the incarnation of our Lord and to that whole "cycle of ideas relating to Christ's headship, and to the unity of our nature as common to Him and us," which issues and culminates in it. But to treat the question thus was needless. It was sufficient to show that certain thoughts and conceptions were an essential portion of the doctrine, and that to reject them was to oppose the faith of Christendom, and to impugn the Catholic Articles and Formularies of the English Church. I believe my Lords that this has been done. It has been shown that terms applicable and

* See Browne on the Articles, pages 74, 75; Pearson on the Creed (Oxford Edition), page 430, and Archbishop Magee.

applied to this doctrine in our Church's Articles.—Sacrifice, propitiation, satisfaction—denote that God was angry on account of sin, which is a great evil and a great insult to His Majesty, and that the work of His Son in our flesh, who freely and lovingly offered Himself to be our Saviour, appeased His just wrath, satisfied His honour, and, as St. Bernard has it, “quenched His thirst, not for His Son's blood, but for Man's salvation.” It has been shown, also, and shown, I think, conclusively, from the Liturgies, Creeds, and Fathers of the Church, that the truths which these words contain have been handed down from Apostolic ages, and are part of that inheritance of faith which must be clung to as we cling to life. It has been shown, further, that the opinions of the Bishop of Natal, excluding from the doctrine of the atonement all propitiation and all that is called vicarious, agree essentially with those of Abelard in the 12th century, who was condemned for them by a Gallican council; and of Socinus and his kindred in later times. The Bishop admits the humility and the love of the atonement; but he denies that for our Lord appeared His Father, or bore man's punishment, and suffered in man's stead. How, then, will your Lordships deal with these opinions of the Bishop? Will you allow him, as a Bishop of the Church, to deny this cardinal doctrine? Will you suffer him to proclaim that God is all mercy and no justice? Will you permit him, with all the weight of influence which his position gives him, to teach that God does not feel anger because of sin, and that our Lord was never made a curse for sin, never suffered for us? Is teaching such as this within the limits of toleration? Is a commentary like this upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans to be the Gospel which shall convert the Kafirs of Natal? My Lords, it is not for me to instruct your Lordships in your duty, and I look with confidence to your wisdom in judging upon this matter. But I maintain that the opinions which you are now to judge are rank with heresy. The Articles of our Church are contradicted by them. The prayers of our Liturgy, and of liturgies more ancient than our own, are repugnant to them. The Creeds implicitly condemn them. The Christian world, divided on so much besides, agrees in its repudiation of them. They are a stain upon your own office. They bring reproach and scandal upon this infant Church.

II.

I proceed now to the second point. It has been shown, as I believe, that the Bishop of Natal is in error upon the

doctrine of the atonement, and that the opinions expressed by him on that subject contradict the faith of all ages, and are repugnant to certain Articles and Formularies of our Church. I have now to endeavour to prove that on the questions connected with the reception and appropriation of the Sacrifice of Christ by those who are to derive advantage from it, he is no less certainly in error, contradicting at least three of our Articles as well as portions of the Catechism, and contravening both the letter and the spirit of the Baptismal Services and of certain Collects specified in the articles of accusation which are before your Lordships.

My Lords, the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, understood in all the fulness of the truth which that word indicates, is the sole meritorious cause of man's salvation. But I need hardly say that while everything in the way of merit and everything that is needful to procure grace is done for us, before what is done by Christ can be availing to us, something must follow on the side of man, something must be done by us. Those merits of Christ which are the ground and basis of our justification, existing, as in themselves they do, out of us and apart from him, must in some way be made over to him and appropriated by him. The doctrine of justification is thus the counterpart of the doctrine of the atonement, and as they are inwardly related to each other, so the opinions which are held upon the one must colour the view which is taken of the other; and we must expect that error on the subject of atonement will appear again in a new form, though in its old substance, when we discuss that application of the atonement which makes the sinner just.

Now this matter is not without its difficulties, and theologians like your Lordships are well aware that justification and sanctification, in their relations to each other, and many other questions, connected with the subjects of faith and holiness, have awakened controversy, and excited considerable disputes and differences. But these questions are only distantly related to the points which I have now to consider and discuss. The Bishop of Natal, as it appears to me, differs from all schools, and from all known opinions. All schools of Christians—at least all schools of Christians which are orthodox upon the subject of our Lord's Divinity—are agreed, I believe, in thinking that faith in some way precedes our justification and is a necessary condition to it. In like manner, there are certain broad views and principles upon the subject of faith itself which are within the

limits of general agreement. The ground, therefore, is tolerably open and clear before us, and I may proceed in my argument without feeling that any of these controverted questions are at all involved in this particular discussion.

It is agreed, I believe, that faith is that high kind of virtue which we usually call a grace. It is one of that trinity of graces—faith, hope, and charity—which are the special product of Christianity, and the peculiar gift of God's good Spirit. It is not less generally admitted that, being a virtue, it is a virtue which is most intimately connected with a right state of conscience and heart. But, strictly speaking, it is a virtue of the intellect. That it is a virtue of the mind may not be at once deducible from the express terms of Scripture; but I may refer to Bishop Pearson as embodying the sense of Scripture, when he says: "Belief I define to be assent to that which is credible, as credible;" and, again, "Faith is a habit of the intellectual part of man." And Hooker uses like language: "Though faith be an intellectual habit of the mind, and have her seat in the understanding"—v. University of Toronto. Together with the above. Arch-
bishop Laud defines it as a mixed act of the will and understanding. The Heidelberg Confession thus speaks, "*non tantum notitia sed fiducia in corde occensa.*" The Helvetic Confession, "*evidens ac constans animæ assensus.*" The homily, too, upon salvation calls it a virtue. Faith is, in fact, an active state or habit of the human mind when Divine truth is set before it and is received with welcome by a spiritually enlightened heart. Such is faith. What, then, is justification? As I have said before, I avoid all nice distinctions, and take my stand upon the broadest ground. It is the condition of those who have from God the righteousness of Christ. Whenever the atoning work of Christ is applied to them and made over to them, those who have it are justified. Whether it be an act, as some have held, taking place at one moment, and not repeated; or whether it be a state, as its connection with faith would indicate that it must be, I do not now ask or attempt to determine. I only mean to affirm that, when we say that a man is justified, we mean that he stands before God as one for whom the work of Christ avails, accepted by God the Father for His Son's sake. And if we put together these two thoughts, and say, as St. Paul says, that man is "justified by faith," we mean, of course, that faith and justification go together; faith going before, faith acting as an instrument. Faith is thus the condition without

which justification cannot be. He who has faith may possibly not be justified; but, certainly, he is not justified who has not faith. If justification by faith means anything, it means that God receives no man, saves no man, unless that intellectual virtue or habit of mind, as Pearson, Hooker, Jackson, and others call it, has gone before his acceptance, and been instrumental to it. Of course, when this is said, it is not implied that nothing more is necessary. Repentance goes along with faith in the introduction of a sinner to His God. And baptism is the means of his admission into the Christian covenant, and to fellowship with that mystical body which is the Church of the Redeemed. If the whole process were described, I suppose that we should speak of it thus.—A heathen hears the truth preached, and believes it; believing, he confesses his sins and repents of them; repenting, he is allowed openly and formally to confess his faith before God and man; and, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, he is admitted by means of baptism into the Christian Church, and into fellowship with the society of God. We may have some difficulty in awarding to each of these steps the word which most properly describes it, but each of them has some part to play in his progress into that condition in which he is considered just. Repentance is the preparation. Faith is the instrument of his salvation. The Holy Spirit is the effecting agent. Baptism is the means by which life is imparted to him. The Church of Christ is the congregation or company of faithful men in fellowship with whom he finds life. I do not profess now to determine the exact connection in which repentance, faith, the gift of the Spirit, and the Church stand to that act or state which we denote as justification; but I simply mean to say that all are more or less nearly associated with it, and that a justified man stands in some close relation with them, and especially with faith, by which he is justified.

This, at any rate, is what we gather from the Formularies and Articles which were ~~made~~ as contravened by the opinions of the Bishop. The Collect for Good Friday represents the unbelieving world,—Jew, infidel, heretic—as in a lost condition, ignorant and hard in heart; and the Church as that fold in Christ in which they may find a home. The Catechism represents man by nature as sinful, and a child of wrath; repentance and faith as requisite to his adoption into God's family; baptism as the means of his adoption; and his new state into which he is thus

brought as a state of salvation. The Baptismal Services treat of a covenant in which God from love bestows favour, but requires faith as the ground of tenure upon which its privileges are held. The Creeds speak of a Church, of the communion of saints, and of baptism as closely related to forgiveness; while the Creed of Athanasius declares expressly, "Whosoever will be saved, before all things, it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith." Articles xi, xviii, xix definitely and formally embody the same views of doctrine. Article xi virtually tells us that faith is the instrument by which the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is made ours. Article xviii declares that belief in Christ's name is essential to salvation. Article xix defines the Church as a congregation of faithful men. This, too, is the clear testimony of the Homilies: "Upon Christ's part justice, that is, the satisfaction of God's justice, or the price of our redemption. Upon our part pure and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ." Again: "Righteousness, which we so receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God." And there are many like passages. My Lords, I believe that the general import and meaning of these several services, symbols, and sermons is so evident that further comment is unnecessary, and I proceed at once to compare them with those extracts from the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which differ from them as light from darkness, and night from day.

I am far, however, from presuming to say that I can show at all clearly what the Bishop actually teaches, or what he really means. With no desire to be disrespectful to him, or to deny the force and clearness of his style, I am compelled to acknowledge that to gather a consistent scheme of doctrine, or an intelligible summary of opinions, out of the strange notions which he has heaped together upon this topic, is quite beyond my power and skill. The passages selected by us are fair specimens of his teaching, and they and other passages assert such things as these following: All men, Christians, Jews, Turks, stand upon the same level before God. There is no difference between them—no important difference. All are justified. God's gift of righteousness was from the first bestowed upon them. The whole of mankind (page 63) are recipients of God's grace in the Gospel. My Lords, let me call your attention to that word "recipients." That is to say, as he explains it, regeneration, a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteous-

which justification cannot be. He who has faith may possibly not be justified; but, certainly, he is not justified who has not faith. If justification by faith means anything, it means that God receives no man, saves no man, unless that intellectual virtue or habit of mind, as Pearson, Hooker, Jackson, and others call it, has gone before his acceptance, and been instrumental to it. Of course, when this is said, it is not implied that nothing more is necessary. Repentance goes along with faith in the introduction of a sinner to His God. And baptism is the means of his admission into the Christian covenant, and to fellowship with that mystical body which is the Church of the Redeemed. If the whole process were described, I suppose that we should speak of it thus.—A heathen hears the truth preached, and believes it; believing, he confesses his sins and repents of them; repenting, he is allowed openly and formally to profess his faith before God and man; and, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, he is admitted by means of baptism into the Christian Church, and into fellowship with the society of God. We may have some difficulty in awarding to each of these steps the word which most properly describes it, but each of them has some part to play in his progress into that condition in which he is considered just. Repentance is the preparation. Faith is the instrument of his salvation. The Holy Spirit is the effecting agent. Baptism is the means by which life is imparted to him. The Church of Christ is the congregation or company of faithful men in fellowship with whom he finds life. I do not profess now to determine the exact connection in which repentance, faith, the gift of the Spirit, and the Church stand to that act or state which we denote as justification; but I simply mean to say that all are more or less nearly associated with it, and that a justified man stands in some close relation with them, and especially with faith, by which he is justified.

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ness, belongs to us from our birth hour, that is, as men, by nature; "the whole brotherhood of man," as he elsewhere phrases it (113), being members of Christ's Body; or, as he says again, in another place (113), being "all related to the second Adam by a second spiritual birth, as they are by their natural birth to the first Adam;" or, as he puts it yet again, "a life unto righteousness is as much our inheritance, as human beings, from the second Adam as the sin in our nature was from the first." And further (155, 156), he distinctly implies that all men, as men, have the Holy Spirit. He speaks thus: "If he had no living spirit given him by union through God's grace with the living head of the great human family." Taking these words in connection with their context, I am unable to understand them in any other way. Now, my Lords, when opinions such as these are met with, the question naturally comes,—What, then, is the good of being a Christian? What is the difference between a heathen and a Christian? The Bishop answers thus: The Christian knows more. He is conscious of his privileges. He has a present joy in God. In actual state and condition, there is no difference between a Christian and an infidel. Both are regenerate. Both are members of Christ. Both belong to God's family. Both have received the gift of righteousness. But the heathen for the present is in darkness. The cloud of ignorance hides from him his blessedness while life lasts. Revelation has not made known to him his great privileges and future happiness. In other words, the good which the Christian gets from Christianity, from the oracles of God, from the sacraments of grace, from the ministry of Christ, from the possession of the Church, nay more, from the gift of the Spirit, is a clearer *knowledge* in life, and the present joy and peace which this *knowledge* gives him. A knowledge such as this, severed as it is from all grace, is a mere intellectual possession. The Christian knows more in the most bare sense of the word "know;" that is all. We talk of Gnostics in the first ages. Have we no Gnosticism here? And this, my Lords, this is the doctrine of a Christian Bishop who has come from Christian England to preach to the savage African, and guide him into the way of life.

Out of these opinions it is difficult to determine the view which his Lordship takes of justification. We might suppose that he considers it as the knowledge of God as made known in Jesus Christ. Once he seems to define it thus: "He brings home to them consciously the gift of righteousness." But then he also speaks of the heathen as justified, "though as yet

they *know* it not;" and again, "though they may not know it."—Let me say, my Lords, that in our charge against the Bishop, in the articles, we intend that all these expressions shall be treated collectively, as expressing the Bishop's view. His view must be interpreted, not in its isolated parts, but in its totality.—At other times he speaks of it as if it was a thing of degrees, and as if the Christian had that highest degree, which consists of knowledge, whereas others have that lower degree, which has no knowledge in it. At page 200 he uses these expressions,—“adopted in that lower sense in which all mankind are adopted to be children of God.” And then he goes on to speak of the higher sense in which all Christians are said to be adopted, avouched, declared to be children of God. Again he says (207), “He has called us with a clearer voice than others.” He speaks, too, of Christians as having the light of the sun, while others have but a feeble glimmering of light; and (209), commenting on the passage “it is God who justifies,” he says, “the spirit of these words is applicable to the whole human race. But the Apostle’s language is especially true of those who have received their Father’s call in the Gospel, to come as chosen ones, and be *consciously* embraced in His love;” that is, to know that He loves them. One thing, however, admits of no doubt whatever. He denies that faith is necessarily connected with justification, for he says expressly (89), that the Apostle must not be supposed to mean that none are justified except they have conscious faith,—that is to say, men may be justified without faith. As to faith in this scheme, when St. Paul says that we are “justified by faith,” the Bishop of Natal is careful to assert (88) that he refers, not so much to the believer’s *subjective activity* in laying hold of the promises, as to the *objective existence* of the promises themselves. In plain words,—when St. Paul says that men are “justified by faith,” he does not say that men are justified by faith, the virtue, but by *the* faith, the body of truth; as if we should thus speak,—men are justified by the creed; that is to say, whereas faith is a virtue, something in us, a state of our minds and hearts, and has for its object *out of us*, that body of doctrine in which we believe, the Bishop maintains that we are not justified by the virtue, but by the truth which is to be believed. The nature of his mistake is evident. He confuses between the merits of Christ, which are the cause of our justification, and faith which is the instrument of our justification,—the virtue or grace by which it is made ours; and he denies the existence of the

instrument by substituting the cause. In other passages he takes another view of faith. In page 89 it is implied to be comfort and *peace* of mind, a *sense* of God's love, *joy* in God when consciously recognized as a reconciled Father. In 91 it is the *peace* which comes from a simple, childlike, trustful dependence. Elsewhere, it is the *peace* of God's children which passes understanding. On the whole, I believe his view of faith to be this,—Faith is a *feeling*, a *sense*, *peace*. It is not a virtue, an active energetic habit or state of mind and heart, which influences the soul and brings it into a certain relationship with God; it is that feeling which is the consequence and result of knowing God's love. Thus, in his view, justification—at least in the case of Christians—is a clear consciousness of being saved; and faith is the *peace* which follows from this consciousness. What justification is in the case of those who are not Christians I cannot pretend to determine. Certainly, in their case, it is not knowledge.

Now, my Lords, I shall not refer to St. Paul's language, who says, "Being justified by faith we have peace;" or ^{University of Cambridge} ~~University of Cambridge~~ ^{Examiner} ~~Examiner~~ that *peace* which is a feeling consequent on justification, cannot be the same as faith, a virtue which precedes it; for, as I have said already, we have now to deal, not with Scripture, but with those definitions of the doctrine contained in Scripture which are authority to us. But I will ask, is this the doctrine of that Church which teaches in its Articles that we are "justified by faith?" Of course, we could expect no other teaching from one who had already stated that God was never separated from man, and that our Lord's atonement did not change man's state,—did not bring any real change into the relations which existed between man and God—but only clearly proved to Him his Father's love. If man's condition needed no change there was no need for a new heart and a new life, no need for such a disposition of heart and life as would lay hold on Christ's cross and draw the sinner to it, no need of a Holy Spirit to renew him, and of a Church or society of faithful men in which he might find a new Divine fellowship, instinct with the powers of the world to come. But then, my Lords, the Church of Christ, following the words of Holy Scripture, has always taught us that we need a new heart; that faith saves; that repentance and conversion are required from us; that baptism, following on faith and repentance, conveys and seals remission; that the door of heaven opens only to believers, and that he who believeth not is damned.

My Lords, I maintain that no wit of man, no sophistical reasonings, no mystic subtleties, can bring such sayings as these which I have set before your Lordships into agreement with the faith of the Church Catholic as expounded and interpreted for us in these Articles and Formularies of our Church. The Bishop teaches that men, as members of the human family, belong to Christ. He says this again and again. I maintain that to teach this is to raise nature to the level of grace. I maintain that if men, as men, belong to Christ, they do not belong to Christ by faith; they do not come to Christ in baptism; they are not saved by Christ's name; they do not find safety within the Christian Church. If Article XI has any meaning, it declares that faith is needful as applying to man the merits of Christ. If Article XVIII means anything it declares that Christianity differs essentially and fundamentally from Heathenism, Mahometanism, Judaism, and other anti-Christian forms of error, and that a profession of Christianity, if not all that is necessary to salvation, is, at least, a pre-requisite, without which no man can be saved. And if Article XIX has any meaning, it declares that faith is a leading characteristic of those who are members of that mystical body which is the Church of Christ. So, too, if the Creed is a true exponent of that which St. Paul calls the deposit of the faith, we must believe that there is a Church, a fellowship of holy persons—which, of course, involves the exclusion of those who do not believe and are not holy—and baptism is a sacrament which is closely connected with washing away of sin. Moreover, if the Catechism which we teach our children is any guide to us, we are born children of wrath—not members of Christ, as the Bishop teaches, but children of wrath, and are made the children of God in holy baptism. The theology of the Bishop—if that is to be called a theology which teaches things like these—is in direct antagonism, not only with these several statements, but with that whole view of truth which lies behind them, and which they express. The justification which he teaches is a term which has no meaning. For what can that righteousness be which bad and good, infidel and Christian, share alike? Faith, too, is nothing; for if faith is anything it is a virtue, and not a feeling, and to make it a feeling is to make it nothing. Baptism also is nothing; for it is the sign of nothing, and the sign of nothing is nothing. The Church is nothing; the Holy Spirit is nothing—in fact, Christianity is nothing.

It is easy, indeed, to understand the reasons which have led the Bishop to sweep from Christianity these several portions of the truth. If God is absolute benevolence, as he would teach; if love absorbs into itself the whole Divine nature, and all that we are wont to call Divine attributes, he must at once get rid of faith. To allow that faith must go before righteousness, and penitence before baptism, and baptism before salvation, would be to grant that God's love, however large, works upon conditions; and he would have it unconditional. He cannot for a moment grant that God can make terms with man, or enter into covenant and agreement with him. Any conditions whatsoever are in some sense a restraint and limitation of the Divine love. It is true, no doubt—as I concede willingly—that we may speak of terms and covenant in too dry, and matter-of-fact, and business-like a way, forgetting that they are but human and imperfect modes of speech, applied to Divine and transcendent mysteries; and that, so speaking, we may bind, as it were, in chains of bondage the large and unfettered love of God. But language is our only instrument, and we must express in some form or other the nature of the Divine dealings with us. And, in the view of the Bishop, God so deals with man that He only loves man and makes no conditions; whereas the Church has always held that God so loves man as to give him life in Christ, the meritorious cause; by faith, the apprehending instrument; through baptism, the outward means of inward grace; the Spirit intervening as the effecting agent, and the Church being that mystic company and divine society in which life is. But I believe that further argument on this point is needless. It has been shown that the opinions of the Bishop amount to a complete subversion of the Gospel, as commonly understood by all Christians. In fact, having before denied that our Lord removed sin by His atoning sacrifice, the Bishop proceeds to show that nothing is needed upon man's side to apply to himself the work of the atonement and bring to his heart that fountain for sin and all uncleanness which springs and flows unceasingly for all believing souls.

In the course of my argument I have not alluded to an objection which might, perhaps, be raised on this topic, and at which, indeed, the Bishop has himself hinted, or more than hinted, in more than one portion of his Commentary. I refer to that condemnation of the heathen and of other ignorant or unfortunate persons which the requirement of faith as a condition of

acceptance might at first sight seem to involve. The objection is not of any great weight, but I may call the attention of your Lordships to some remarks of Bishop Burnet which effectually meet the objection,* and to a saying of Dr. Arnold which clearly represents the truth. Dr. Arnold writes thus. I quote from Browne on the Article (443): "I hold it to be a most certain rule of interpreting Scripture, that it never speaks of persons when there is a physical impossibility of its speaking to them.

So the heathen who died before the Word was spoken, and in whose land it was never preached, are dead to the Word; it concerns them not at all, but the moment it can reach them it is theirs and for them." Coleridge, too, has said, in reference to the text which forms the basis of the Article: "From these premises we may deduce that every doctrine is to be interpreted in reference to those to whom it has been revealed, or who have had the means of knowing or hearing the same." He adds—"If a theological dogmatist should attempt to persuade me that the text was intended to give us an historical knowledge of God's future actions and dealings, I should remind him that the purpose of Scripture was to teach us our duty, not make us to sit in judgment on the souls of our fellow-creatures."—Aids to Reflection, 165 (Ed. 1836). We need not, then, determine, as some of old thought, that to require faith is to condemn those who could not have it. Questions of that kind, however interesting, and even important in themselves, in no way directly concern us, except in so far as they may influence our zeal in making truth known to those who are in darkness. The question for us, and the question with which the Bishop really deals, is this: On what terms will God treat with those who can know the Gospel? The Bishop's answer is: God treats you who know the truth precisely as he treats Jews, Turks, and Infidels. You are no better off than they. You are in no more safe condition. You know more of God's love; and that is all the difference. In other words, he brings the Christian down to the low level of heathenism. He would say, I suppose, that he lifts the heathen up to our level. And he is welcome to that mode of expression if he prefers to use it; but, to my mind, there is no difference between them. If the heathen and the Christian are in the same state, except in the matter of knowledge,—if they stand upon the same footing, and are accepted by God upon the

* See Burnet, pages 213, 214.

same terms, it is quite immaterial to me whether the Christian is said to be let down, or the heathen to be raised up. Either way a Christian is stripped of all his blessedness and all his privileges; and while he is told of a love which embraces heathenism, he finds that the substance of grace is but a shadow, and all his hopes in God a bright, but delusive dream. With respect to the general meaning and import of Article XVIII, I have not thought it necessary to occupy your Lordships' time by references and quotations. I regard it as self-evident that it declares the Christian religion to be the only true and safe religion; and that safety is generally found by none who do not believe in Christ and enter His Church. Such has ever been the Church's doctrine, and such is the intention of the Article, as you will find it proved, if proof is necessary, in the comments of Beveridge and Harold Browne on this point. I contend, therefore, that your Lordships must condemn the passages specified in this schedule, and that you must declare that the Bishop of Natal has taught heresy on the important question of justification by faith. If this doctrine be, as in the Churches of the Reformation it has commonly been held to be, a cardinal doctrine, "*the articulis stantibus aut cadentis ecclesiae*," how great must be the error of him who does not merely withhold from faith its proper place in relation to the Church and sacraments, but sweeps it from the province of theology, by changing it from a virtue into a feeling, and making it follow that of which it is, in real truth, the preceding and instrumental cause. I think it is impossible to doubt that faith is a virtue, and that, in order of thought, faith goes before, justification comes after. It is essential to the Bishop's theory of love that justification should precede faith. Faith thus becomes a feeling, and the doctrine which St. Paul taught as so essential, vanishes into air, and becomes nothing. My Lords, I must maintain that teaching such as this is destructive of all religion. If this be faith, then faith is nothing; and where is religion when there is no faith? "Without faith it is impossible to please God." And yet the Bishop tells us that those who cannot have faith stand on the same level as those who by faith see God. And what is that faith by which the saints see God? It is a sense, a feeling. It is peace: so the Bishop tells us. My Lords, whatever faith is, it is not *peace*. And the Church will not allow the instrument to be confounded with the consequence, or faith to be confused with *peace*. The Church, however tolerant, however broad its limits, how-

ever patient its endurance, cannot endure so strange and so preposterous a doctrine, cannot tolerate so wild a heresy as this.

III.

I proceed now to the third point, which, I need hardly say, is closely related to the second, for the connection between the doctrine of justification and that of the sacraments is so near and so obvious that I shall not delay your Lordships even for a moment in proving it or pointing it out. Indeed, in discussing faith and justification, it has been found impossible to avoid some reference to baptism as the ordinance by means of which the gift of righteousness is visibly made over to us, assigned and sealed as ours.

His Lordship's views upon the sacraments are of a most peculiar kind. At the same time, I believe that they are quite consistent with his opinions upon kindred subjects; and, indeed, it is clear that he was compelled to take up some such position in reference to them if his ground was to be maintained on other points.

Upon baptism his view is this: A death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness are necessary for man. But this change does not take place at the time of baptism or at any time which could in any way be supposed to be connected with man's spiritual history as distinguished from his natural history. It takes place at the very last period in which we should have looked for such a change, "at our very birth-hour;" at which hour, he says, we were joined to Christ, and made members of His body through grace. And this gift of God—union to Christ, with all its consequences—is not bestowed only upon certain persons, upon some members of the human family; it is bestowed on all. All men obtain this inheritance from the second Adam, as all men received a sinful nature from the first (127). Upon this point it is impossible to doubt his meaning. His statement is, that all men are "related to the second Adam by a second spiritual birth, as they are by their natural birth to the first Adam" (107). And whereas the objection might naturally be made that our Lord spoke to Nicodemus as if he was not new born and needed new birth, the Bishop is careful to meet the objection, and to inform us that we must not so think (166). He implies, in fact, that Nicodemus at that time was actually born again. That, then, is the Bishop's theory. All men must be born again, and all men are born again, born in their very birth-hour. Contemporaneously with birth there comes new-birth. Side by

the Gospel;" and again (64), that "all are *partakers* of the gift of life in the Gospel;" and again, that the gift of life is actually given to all men. He means actually received by all men. But of this more hereafter.

I proceed to the Bishop's teaching upon the other sacrament. He says, what is quite true, that there is a gift in the sacrament apart from the state of mind in the recipient, meaning, of course, that we must distinguish between the gift objectively and the gift subjectively regarded, and that this gift is the Body and Blood of Christ, as is stated in the Church Catechism. But then follows the extraordinary doctrine: This gift is given to us not only in the sacrament, but at all times, and not to us only, to us who are Christians, but to the whole human race. In fact, all men, everywhere, are always having this grace, whether they have faith or not, whether they know anything about it or not, whether they value it or despise it.

At this point of the Dean's argument the Bishop of Graham's Town asked whether the Bishop of Natal did not make a distinction between "partaking" and "feeding?"

The Dean replied that he thought the Bishop of Natal did not make any distinction. But even if he did, it was immaterial, since the Bishop held that all had the blessing whether they partook faithfully of the sacrament or not. That was the sense in which he understood it; but he would think of the matter and revert to it.

The Dean then continued: Such, my Lords, is the distinct teaching of that passage in the Commentary which we present to you as heresy. The Bishop does not, you will see, deny, in express terms, that there is grace in the sacrament, and that this grace enters into true recipients. He does not deny the clear doctrine of the Catechism that the Body and Blood of Christ are the inward grace of the sacrament. But admitting this, at least in words, he asserts that this same grace is being always taken in, and received, and possessed by the whole human race, in all places, whether they are ignorant or wise, whether they are bad or good, yes, and even by those men whose lives are swinelike, men who trample this pearl beneath their feet and turn again and rend it. You will observe he holds that all men receive this, apply, appropriate to themselves, possess, partake of this gift. My Lords, it is difficult to speak without impatience upon so extravagant a doctrine, and, I must say, so impious a theory as this.

But let me endeavour to set forth the exact nature of the Bishop's error, at least as it appears to me.

The Bishop teaches in the barest way that baptism is a mere form, a formal ratification of a gift previously bestowed and bestowed on all persons. The new birth comes with nature, and I must add by nature, if it comes to all as members of the human family, or, which is really the same thing, as men. I maintain, my Lords, that to hold, as the Bishop teaches, that new birth comes to all at birth, and comes too, as at such a time it must come, by no intervening ordinance, no mediating channel, is distinctly to hold that it comes by nature. This, I feel sure, admits of no doubt. What do we mean when we speak of nature as the antithesis of grace? We mean that whole state of things pertaining to man, that whole moral condition of man, which lies beyond, outside, and independent of the mediating work of Christ, as God and man in one Person. And to speak of the mediating work as cotemporaneous and coextensive with man's natural condition, is to break down every distinction between grace and nature, and, by confounding grace with nature, to destroy the very existence of grace.

This is a point of supreme importance, and I must say more about it. Our Blessed Lord took to Himself human nature that He might be the medium of intercourse between God and man. Being perfect God from all eternity, He became perfect man in time that He might be the ladder between earth and heaven, and the bridge across that gulf which separated sinful man from the All Holy God. And it is an axiom with all who believe that God became incarnate, that no grace, no mercy, none of the blessings of redemption, come to men, except by means of the one mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus. The gifts and the properties of nature come to us from Adam the first, but the gifts of grace come to us alone by Him who is the man from heaven. This, however, is what the Bishop teaches. All men, and all at birth, are born again. All men, as sons of Adam—Jew, Turk, Infidel—without exception, have this gift of grace. I maintain, my Lords, that this is equivalent to a distinct assertion that Adam is the channel of grace, that there is no need of a mediator between God and man, that the first Adam gives, by the transmitted inheritance of nature, all the privileges of the Gospel, and all the blessings which God bestows on man.

Moreover, what becomes of the sin of nature if we are born

in this state of grace? The Bishop's views upon original sin are far from satisfactory; but we felt, on considering them, that in certain portions of his Commentary there was at least an appearance of orthodoxy in this particular, and that charity might allow him the benefit of any doubt; but I cannot help asking, in connection with this subject of the sacraments, where is the sin of man's origin if his origin is thus so signally distinguished by marvellous gifts of grace? My Lords, if man is born in sin, he is not born in grace; and if he is born in grace, he is not born in sin. One and the same act, one and the same state, cannot make him a child of wrath and a child of grace. To say that he is both, is simply to say that words have no meaning. He must be either the one or the other. If he is born in sin, and therefore a child of wrath, he is not born of grace and the child of God. If he is born of grace, he is not born in sin. The Bishop is brought to a choice between the two alternatives, but he cannot hold both; and if he chooses to maintain that every man is born in grace, where is original iniquity?—if he chooses rather to maintain that every man born of God in his birth a sinner, where is this extraordinary doctrine that all men from birth partake of grace?

The Bishop indeed says that new birth comes from union with Christ; but how is the union effected? Knowledge does not teach about it, for they know nothing. Ordinances do not give it, for they have no ordinances. Faith is not required for it. How does it come? How is it given? How is the idolator, savage or civilized, born again in Christ? The Bishop can but say, grace is directly given. The Spirit of God directly communicates His gracious influences to every son of Adam upon the wide earth. And this, my Lords, is just what I object to as grievously heretical. It is a denial of that essential truth that our Lord is the sole mediator between God and man. It makes Adam a mediator. It identifies grace with nature. It is really pure Pantheism. Confusing between God and nature, it makes nature God.

And how, my Lords, how does this confusion between grace and nature agree with the Articles and Formularies of our Church? How does it agree with Article XXVII, quoted in the articles of accusation, which states that "Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by

an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed." This Article, as I need hardly say, distinctly teaches that baptism is the means by which we are engrafted into a Church and into relation with the promises of forgiveness, and affirms that the Holy Spirit effects our adoption into God's family. Baptism is here treated as the engrafting instrument, and the Church of Christ as that elected and privileged body in which those who are engrafted find forgiveness and life. Or, again, how will this agree with the whole scope and meaning of the Baptismal Services, which both receive light from the Articles, and throw light upon them again? The Baptismal Services are, of course, an embodiment of the Church's doctrine, and though I believe that this doctrine may be clearly established from the Articles and Catechism without referring to the Services, their testimony is at least illustratively valuable, if it is not even legally and formally of great and independent weight. I have not thought it necessary to raise the questions as to the basis upon which your Lordships' judgment must be founded in the case which is now before you. In England, the Privy Council has determined in like cases that the Articles are the exponent of the Church's doctrine, and that the Liturgy and Catechism can only be referred to on points which are undetermined by the Articles. In the present instance, I believe that the Articles are sufficiently explicit to prove the heresy, but I should wish to plead that the Services may be allowed to add their co-ordinate testimony; or, if this should not be conceded to them, that at the least they should be suffered to illustrate and confirm the truth. I ask, then, what is the witness of our Baptismal Services in refutation of the strange opinions which the Bishop of Natal maintains? In the opening address to the assembled congregation which has met together to take part in the solemn initiatory sacrament, the minister of Christ, standing at the font, and speaking in his Master's name, says: "I beseech you to call upon God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of His bounteous mercy He will grant to this child that thing which *by nature he cannot have.*" If the object had been to select language which should utter a formal and explicit contradiction to the Bishop's doctrine, language more contradictory could scarcely have been found than this. The Bishop, as we have seen, teaches that all men, as men, have at birth new birth, and

explains that new birth as being membership with Christ. The Service says distinctly "that thing which by nature he cannot have," and the thing is afterwards explained thus,—"that he may be received into Christ's holy Church, and be made a lively member of the same." The Bishop teaches that membership comes at birth—that is, by nature. This address teaches that membership and reception into Christ's Church is "that thing which by nature he cannot have." The contradiction between the two is absolute and explicit. To proceed with the Service. The second prayer asks that he may receive spiritual regeneration—clearly, of course, implying that he is not then regenerate. The exhortation upon the Gospel—which Gospel, of course, implies that the child has not yet come to Christ—treats the child as coming to obtain Christ's blessing. The thanksgiving is framed in the same spirit. The prayer of consecration asks that the child may receive grace. After the baptism the child is said to be regenerated, and thanks are offered for regeneration, reception, and incorporation into the Church. The language of the whole Service is utterly inexplicable on the notion that the child had been regenerated from its birth-hour, and implicitly, yet distinctly denies that nature could have imparted to him this gracious and mysterious gift. The service for private baptism is even more conclusively repugnant. The minister, having first ascertained that the child has been duly christened, thus certifies the fact: "I certify that this child ———, being born in original sin, and in the wrath of God, is now by the laver of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of children of God, and heirs of everlasting life; for our Lord Jesus Christ doth not deny His grace and mercy to such infants." This language exactly agrees with that of the Church Catechism, which says: "Being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace." Both suppose the child to be born in sin, and subject in birth to the Divine displeasure. Both treat baptism as instrumental to reception into God's family, and the certificate connects this grace and mercy with the mediating work of Christ. Is it possible, by any logic or any sophistry, to do away with the explicit contradiction between such teaching and the clear universation of the opposing statement? The service for adults is formed upon the same type, and, interpreting our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus in a way which is not to be reconciled with the Bishop's comment on it, calls our particular attention to the necessity of that sacrament where it may be had; precisely as the Catechism

states, also, that the sacraments are generally necessary—necessary, that is, where nothing intervenes to make their reception not possible. And this suggests to me another argument. If this grace, this new birth, is given without the sacrament—before the sacrament, independently of the sign—I use the Bishop's own language in this last expression—if all persons, whatever their state, knowledge, profession of religion have this grace, why baptize any? The Bishop answers: To prove to them that they are born again, to give them their title-deeds. In short, the ministers of Christ are simply conveyancers, and the Church is simply an office of registration. Men like to be clear in matters of importance, and when so great a thing as an inheritance may be at stake they like to be assured that all is right. Well, my Lords, I can understand this, and I can fully allow that this is one of many ends which an ordinance like baptism secures and accomplishes. But one thing I cannot understand. Why prove an universal gift? The Bishop says this gift is universal. Every man has it. Now we do not issue titles to gifts which all possess. The lawyers would be busy men if this were a portion of their office, and the titles when we had got them would be but bits of paper which most men would throw away. We do not give men titles to the use of air. We do not say, "air is a great blessing, and you may like to know that you have a right to use your lungs, and enjoy this valuable property." Men are quite aware of this, and use their right without having recourse to law and asking for a title to it. Men do not ask for proofs of universal gifts. It is when a man receives a good which others have not got, and when his claim may be disputed and denied, that he asks for a title to possession. It is idle I might even say it is profane, to mock the Christian with empty signs and barren instruments, if, after all, he is only to get by means of these what every cannibal in the Pacific Sea has got without them. I need hardly add that faith is an essential requisite to new birth, at least where faith is possible. The Baptismal Service is constructed upon this idea as its basis and foundation. Creeds, it is well known, had their first origin in that profession of belief which has always preceded baptism, and formed from the first a portion of that answer of a good conscience to which St. Peter refers in his first Epistle, when he touches upon this sacrament. But, of course, there can be no faith before or at the birth-hour. And, indeed, as we have seen already, faith is just one of those things which the Bishop of Natal can

in no wise admit into his scheme of doctrine, lest he limit that all-swallowing attribute of the Divine benevolence which must exist not only supreme, but in solitude, the one single quality of the Divine Being, which destroys all barriers and all terms and conditions.

With regard to the other sacrament, I consider that the objection on the score of confusion between grace and nature which I have already had occasion to raise in connection with holy baptism applies also to the Bishop's theory of the Lord's Supper. If all men partake of the Body and Blood of Christ always and everywhere, they do not partake of it by any means which can in any way connect their partaking with the mediating work of grace. Human nature is the channel in which the grace flows. Adam is the person, the ~~only person~~, in whom a universal gift can have its origin. ~~The Bishop of Natal may speak about a second Adam, but no second Adam is needed in his scheme of man's redemption.~~ If he is right, Adam is the world's redeemer. That a man shall be saved he needs but to be a man.

But without dwelling upon this further, except to state that the objection, if sound, is of the strongest and most condemning character, I have shortly to point out that if his Lordship's view is at all correct, the most sacred ordinance of our faith is in no way needful to salvation. He teaches that the grace of that sacrament is independent of the sacrament. Jew, Turk, Infidel feed upon it. The men who are steeped in every sin constantly partake of it. Men who have faith receive this grace, but men who have no faith equally possess it. Men who know about have this precious gift; men without knowledge, men to whom knowledge is impossible have it also. Men who heed it and men who disregard it are in precisely the same position. The aged saint who has found it his chief privilege and joy throughout a life of faith and of loving service spent in devotion to Him who gave these dear memorials of his dying agony and life-affording passion, is not more truly a partaker of this holy sacrament than the poor degraded wretch who consummates a life of infamy by dying without repentance upon the gallows. Does he intend to shock the Christian world by such an insult to its faith as this? I believe him incapable of any wilful outrage upon decency. I believe that his heart is too good for any meditated injury to those whose feelings of devotion are most deeply wounded by the bare mention of such a theory as this. But I must express my deliberate conviction that to

publish this opinion is to defile as he best could the most sacred rite of our religion, and drag it through the mire.

But, speaking as calmly as I am able, and attempting to discuss on terms of reason an opinion which has no reason in it, let me say that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not⁴ generally necessary to salvation," if this theory has any truth in it. How can it be necessary to go to the Lord's Table, if Jew, Turk, and Infidel feast upon the banquet there spread without going to it, whether they will or no? How can it be needful to eat of that commemorative sacrifice in which Christ, our passover, is significantly set before us, and imparted to the faithful partaker, if the whole world, faithful and unfaithful,—men who have on the wedding garment, and men who are without the robe of Christ's righteousness,—are feeding on it every day and every hour of their lives? My Lords, it needs but common sense to see that it is reasonable to take some pains to go and attend upon a feast, if those who go get something which those who go not get not. But, if the same feast is spread in every house,—if it is brought to every door and put into the mouth of every person, whether they stay at home or whether they go to seek it,—if those who are without, gnashing their teeth with vexation, eat of the feast as truly as those within, among the blaze of lights, knowing less, but differing in knowledge only, then common sense will ask if that can properly be called a feast at all which thus is thrown into the ditch and flung before the dogs and swine. I am quite aware, and I rejoice to know and feel, that our Lord is the Redeemer of His whole race, and that His blood avails in its *sufficiency* for all who will believe in it. I am conscious, also, of the difficulties which rise within the mind when it reflects upon the vast multitudes who lie beyond the knowledge of salvation. I am not dead to all this; but I am no less conscious of the truth which Scripture clearly testifies—that the Church is a chosen body, and that the love of God, working in ways that are mysterious to man, saves those who enter into this body of the elect, and justifies those who believe. The *sufficiency* of Christ's atonement is one thing; the *efficiency* of that atonement to save all is quite another. Universal salvation is as clearly contrary to every page of Scripture as universal redemption is everywhere discovered in it, written in words of light. But, my Lords, it is into such strange errors as these which we have now considered that men are allowed to fall when they vaunt their own wisdom, and will not submit their minds to God's

Word. And I feel that it is idle to waste time in further proof of their extravagance. The mere statement of his Lordship's opinion upon the holy sacraments is its own sufficient refutation. Let me add that I have avoided all discussion of questions appertaining to the relations between faith and sacramental grace. It seemed to me that the opinions of the Bishop were independent of what are called high or low views in this matter. If my estimate of his opinions is correct, he confounds grace with nature, and destroys the very being of grace.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: Before you pass on, Mr. Dean, will you allow me to ask you one question? I understand the Bishop of Natal to maintain that grace is given to us in our birth, though not by our birth. I am not aware that he has said that grace is conveyed by the birth, but in the birth. Your answer, as far as I understand it, is that what is given to man as man, is given by nature and not by grace.

The Dean: That is a part of it. I hold that anything which belongs to man *quâ* man, is given him by his nature.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: Take such a case as that of John the Baptist, who was filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb. I only wish to know what your argument is, because it seems to me that the Bishop's statement is that the grace is given in the birth, but not by the birth.

The Dean: I should like to think about that, if your Lordships will allow me to refer to it at a later stage. It is a delicate point. My argument is, that to say that anything belongs to man as man, is to make grace co-extensive with nature, and to do that is to overturn the very being of the Church.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: Will you also bear in mind that redemption is coextensive with nature, and is in a certain sense grace.

The Dean then proceeded:

IV.

I come now to the question of Eternal Punishment. With the Bishop's theory of Divine Absolute Benevolence it is at once evident that the doctrine of the Church in all ages could not possibly agree. On that theory, punishment can only be corrective and remedial, and its final issue can only be the elevation of the condemned to that state of bliss in which all must find their end at last. The Bishop's teaching upon this subject may be described thus. He

once held the ordinary doctrine, though rather in the way of passive acquiescence than of active faith, differing from the views of Mr. Maurice, as expressed in his essay upon that subject. But he is unable any longer to maintain or give utterance to the doctrine. His heart, taught, as he says, by the Holy Spirit, revolts at the dogma that all who are not at first admitted into the realms of infinite joy shall have utter misery for their portion, and he considers the dogma to be a blasphemy upon the character of God. He regards the dogma as founded upon a narrow interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and contrary to the spirit of the whole Bible; and he does this as considering the dogma to pass the same sentence upon infants (perhaps maniacs) and ignorant outcasts, who have had no opportunity of knowing truth, as upon the sensual libertine who has spent a life in gratifying lusts, though at the same time his theory includes this sensual libertine, whose conduct he so strongly condemns, among those for whom there is still hope. Such is his negative doctrine. He denies the ordinary doctrine of the Church. What he positively believes appears to be this:—He thinks that there is ground for hoping that punishment is chastisement, and therefore remedial, and that in some way the whole human race shall at last be set free from the bondage of corruption and brought into the freedom of the glory of the children of God. Stripes are appointed to each according to his needs and deserts for this end; and this is just; few stripes to the ignorant, many stripes to those who have had light and abused it: As to the meaning of the word "eternal," in reference to this subject, he regards it as antithetic to temporal; not, however, as if temporal had reference to time, and meant limitation of time, but as if *temporal* was equivalent to *sensible*. Thus, eternal punishment is spiritual punishment; not punishment in things of sense, pain of body, loss of goods, and the like, but punishment with respect to things spiritual, real inward misery, pangs of conscience. This a bad man will suffer till God sees that the purgation of his soul is fully accomplished,—the wood, hay, and stubble consumed, the filth purged away, and nothing but the pure gold or precious stone left. Your Lordships will at once perceive that this opinion has in it something of a purgatorial character, though differing in some important features from what is commonly known as purgatory. But upon this part of the subject I have no desire to dwell.

I shall content myself with remarking that the

Church of which his Lordship is a bishop, teaching her members to consider themselves as brought by covenant with God into a state of pardon, warns them not to forfeit their privileges, and bids them be of comfort so long as they continue by faith and repentance to apply to themselves the merits and the mercy of Christ. And, further, for sin committed she leads them to look, not to purgatorial chastisement when life is over, but to the cleansing virtue of Christ's atoning blood, sought and used in that accepted time of this present life, which is the day of salvation. But, passing this by, I have to treat the Bishop of Natal's opinion as the substitution of a remedial process undergone in hell for the catholic doctrine that wicked souls dwelling in revived bodies shall perish everlastingly. I shall begin by referring to Waterland's commentary on that part of the Creed of Athanasius which is thus contravened by the Bishop. Your Lordships will see, as Waterland states, that this Article found its way into the Creed, as well as the last Article into the Apostles' Creed, in consequence of the notion started by Origen, and taken up by others who were influenced by his writings, and that the opinions held by these Origenists resembled those of the Bishop, the fire being treated as if it was suffering of conscience, and the eternity being also denied on verbal grounds. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that the opinions of the Bishop are either wholly novel or without the support of some venerable names. I gather from Neander and Hagenbach that Gregory of Nazianzum, Gregory of Nyssa, and other teachers, adopted the substance of the Origenistic theory, which was founded on a belief in the restorative efficacy of our Lord's redemption, and in the ultimate annihilation of moral evil as the fruit of that divine work. It is shown, however, by these authorities that agreement with Origen in this respect was soon regarded as heretical, and that St. Chrysostom in particular, when the doctrine of eternal punishment was explained away from mere frivolous ways of thought, and a shrinking from the consequences of sinful living, maintained it with earnestness as an important truth of practical religion. It would seem, too, that Origen maintained the doctrine in popular discourses, speaking in one of these "of eternal condemnation and of the impossibility of being converted in the world to come." However, there can be no doubt that the main current of antiquity is against the principles of Origen, and his doctrine of restoration was condemned at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 544, as may be seen in Mansi ix, 399.

In modern times we meet with the doctrine of restoration as one among the fanatical tenets of the Anabaptists. In Hardwick's "Reformation," we find: "One or both these schools were also Universalists, *i.e.*, contended for the restoration of all things, and even for the ultimate conversion of the evil spirit." In a note he gives an extract from the *Reformatio Legum*, which clearly condemns the opinions as heresy. He adds, they sought to establish their theory on the terminability of future punishment by referring to abstract ideas of God, and partly by broaching new interpretations of the word "eternal" and other scriptural phraseology. When it is added that the basis of the doctrine of Johannes Denk, one of these Anabaptists, was the doctrine that God is love, your Lordships will perceive that both in the root and in the fruit there is a close parallel between the tenets of these dangerous and, as they proved themselves, licentious fanatics and the writings of the Bishop of Hereford. Moreover, as these tenets of the Anabaptists throw some considerable light upon the teaching which is now before your Lordships, so the expressions in the *Reformatio Legum* and the last of the 42 Articles of 1552 define the views of the Reformers and furnish this Court with a strong reason for condemning this opinion. The Article to which I refer, taken from the Augsburg Confession, was directed against the English Anabaptists, and runs thus: "Those also are worthy of condemnation who endeavour at this time to restore the dangerous opinion that all men, be they never so ungodly, shall at length be saved, when they have suffered pains for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice." This Article, together with three others, was not inserted in the later Articles, it being afterwards needless to refer to errors which, at an earlier period, it was thought expedient to condemn. I believe, indeed, that this omission has been made by some a reason for asserting that liberty on this subject was intended to be conceded to members of the English Church. It is enough, in answer, to refer your Lordships to the reason for the omission which I have just given, and further to remind you that the Articles were never meant to be a perfect and complete system of doctrine on all topics, but only a pacificatory statement, suited to the actual state of the Church at the time of their compilation. They are, as one has called them, a bulwark of the fortress which guards the treasure of truth for the Church of England, not the fortress itself. That fortress

consists of the Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechism, the Homilies, the Canons, all built together in one compact whole. "The book of Articles," says Bishop Pearson, "is not, nor is pretended to be, a complete body of divinity, or a comprehension and explanation of all Christian doctrines necessary to be taught: but an enumeration of some truths, which, upon and since the Reformation, have been denied by some persons, who, upon their denial, are thought unfit to have any cure of souls in this Church or realm, because they might by their opinions either infect their flock with error, or else disturb the Church with schism or the realm with sedition."

The doctrine has also been covertly attacked by Socinus, and I refer your Lordships to Bishop Pearson's treatment of the sayings of Socinus, and generally to his discussion of this subject in dealing with the last Article of the Creed.* No doctrine is more clearly revealed in Holy Scripture. And, in fact, the bliss of heaven and the punishments of the lost must stand or fall as doctrines together. We have no better ground for assurance in the happiness of heaven than for belief in the eternal miseries of hell. Nor is it only Scripture that supports this doctrine. The light of nature leads us to it as well as the revelation of grace. Even upon earth we visit great criminals with a punishment which is final so far as earth can have to do with finality, and the common approbation of society supports the punishment as right and just. Conscience, too, speaking in a way which is mysteriously infinite, presages a dreadful doom for those who die with sin upon them. And, in fact, if there be now a governor of the world and men, that righteous person, who even here, by nature's laws and the ways and customs of society, punishes evil now with great severity, cannot change his character when life ceases and the world ends, but must execute his righteous laws with even greater strictness by-and-by. The arguments of Bishop Butler in the direction of this point are doubtless in your Lordships' minds, and I doubt not that you feel their unanswerable cogency. But that which the heathen saw and the light of nature teaches with very tolerable clearness has been promulgated afresh, and conspicuously declared in the records of Divine Revelation. Happiness which knows no limit, misery which has no bounds, are the alternatives which Christ offers to those who are faithful unto death upon the one hand, and to those who refuse sal-

* See also Harvey on the Creeds.

vation upon the other. On this point the Church has borne a clear and all but universal testimony. The Athanasian Creed, in its language upon this subject, speaks but that which the other creeds imply, and which the Church has generally recognized as an unquestionable fact, which admitted of no dispute and scarcely needed confirmation. How could it require proof? Sin is a deadly evil, meriting death. And the death of the soul is not annihilation, but living, unending misery. To prevent this spiritual death and that misery of the body which would result from its eternal association with a miserable soul, the Redeemer came to save a race. And he actually and effectually saves all that believe. But some reject mercy. They stay where they are; lost, undone, perishing. They refuse the safety which our Lord offers. What other way of life remains? If they reject the only Saviour, what can they do but still suffer? Steeped in sin, they reap its dreadful consequence. Refusing life, they stay in death. I need hardly say, as indeed has been shown already upon a former point, that the condition of idiots, infants, and other ignorant persons is a question which ought not to be dragged here as part of this subject. Arguments on this point, as on a matter which revelation has passed in silence, are beside this question, and may be passed by. We have only to deal with those who know the Gospel. What is the truth for them? Our symbols and formularies supply a sure answer. Article xvii asserts that some only are elected to life. The Athanasian Creed declares that they who have done evil shall go to everlasting fire. The prayer in the Burial Service, the passage in the Catechism referred to in the Articles, the Sermon in the Communion Service; and other passages not recited, teach plainly that wicked men dying in sin shall die, and be miserable for ever. It is a painful truth. All must deeply feel its painfulness. But there it is, written in plain language within the Word of God. For persons who die in sin there is no hope. Life is their time of probation; and being proved and tried, they are found wanting. What then? As the tree falls, so it lies, and so it lies for ever. The Bishop of Natal denies this. He says that the tree may have another chance; that the sinner may yet be reformed; that stripes, useless now, may profit afterwards. Does he think that hell is a better school than Christ's Church on earth, and that devils are more kind and apt instructors than those bright angels who minister to man's salvation, or those messengers of

peace whom Christ sends upon an embassy of love among their fellow-men? Does he think that there is more love in hell than here? And yet we generally imagine that it is just the absence of affection which makes hell that dismal region in which God our Father cannot be. I know not what he thinks. But he tells us that God is love. And so He is. But there are limits to forbearance; and patience, suffering long, ceases at the last to bear with sin. Then comes justice. Obstinate, wilful sin brings down upon itself a doom at last. Mercy, hovering long, ceases at last to hover, and folds with sorrow her bright angelic wings. Then the cherubim draw forth their bright swords, which glitter with deserved vengeance, and the sinner is driven down into a pit which has no bottom, and into the lake which burns with everlasting fire. It is terrible, no doubt, to think and speak of things like these. And I am fully convinced of their severe and dreadful aspect. But such, my Lords, is the doctrine of truth as made known to us by our Lord Himself, the fountain of grace and mercy; and the terror which it inspires is a salutary terror, which tends to check the sinner and arrest his progress in a career of sin. *Excellente* believe, too, that your Lordships have no alternative before you, and that you must condemn the opinion which impugns this awful doctrine, as both subversive of the faith and dangerous to morals and society.

I have only further to point out that the Bishop does not shrink from allowing that his opinions are at variance with the Creed of Athanasius. He says, p. 280, that the interpretation which he has put upon its damnatory clauses is not what is meant by the author of the Creed. In other words, he allows that he does not agree with Article VIII; as, in instructing the laity that they are not bound to believe it, he violates the engagements of his ordination, in which he solemnly promised to minister the doctrine of Christ as this Church and realm hath received them, and to teach the people with all diligence to keep and observe the same. I believe, too, that to speak as he does of the "absolute wickedness" of these clauses is both an offence against propriety and decency in one who retains his office as a bishop, and is also what in legal phraseology would be called a depravation of the Creed, and an offence under the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz.), as likewise under the 3rd and 4th Canon of 1603. In what relation this Court may stand to such Acts of the English Parliament I need not now attempt to determine. But, at any rate, the Canons are

in some way binding on the Bishop; and it is evident that such a depravation of a Creed which is a part of our Liturgy, and possesses coequal authority with the Creed of the Apostles and of Nicæa, has sinned against his duty as a bishop and is not a sound member of the English Church.

And now apologizing, as I sincerely do, for the length of the arguments which I have felt myself constrained to offer upon this portion of our case against the Bishop of Natal, I have just a word or two to speak by way of summary. I have shown, or at least I have endeavoured to show, that on each of four important questions the Bishop has been guilty of publishing opinions which contradict and overthrow the faith. My Lords, if but on one of all these points his teaching had been heretical, the keys of discipline which your Great Head had placed in your keeping must have been turned against him, to shut him out from his exalted privileges, unless by God's grace he should recant his error and return into the way of truth. What, then, must you do if your brother is in error, not upon one doctrine only, but upon all the four? From the Atonement of our divine Lord, *University of Fort Hare* *Together with Brilliance* a way of propitiation, and he denies that the sin of man is borne upon the cross. He makes that virtuous habit of faith which goes before righteousness a mere feeling which is unintelligent and follows righteousness. He confuses between grace and nature in the spirit of a pure Pantheist, and, to speak in the language of Holy Scripture, he throws the children's bread, which God gives to His own in Holy Sacraments, to dogs and swine. And, then, having thus made void the mystery of man's redemption, whether we look to the objective side of Christ's work, or to the subjective side of man's reception, he walks from time and sense into the world invisible, and confuses all our thoughts of heaven and hell. What are we to think of such theology as this? Is it possible to look calmly on and permit a bishop of the Church to teach this new and strange doctrine, which does not only undermine the faith, but saps the very foundations of society, and makes sin nothing while it boastfully proclaims the love of God? My Lords, it is no pleasure to me thus to accuse another person, and that person one whom for his office I should venerate, as for much that is in him I should also admire him as a man. But in these days, when truth is often held too cheap, and zeal for truth is undervalued, it may be well to remember that St. Paul himself could say "anathema" on one who preached another gospel. Even an angel must not be tolerated if he departs from necessary

truth. I maintain, my Lords, that the truth from which your brother has fallen is part of Christ's Gospel. I contend that he has denied the faith.

Wednesday, Nov. 18.

The Court sat at eleven o'clock. The minutes of the previous day's proceedings having been read,

The Dean resumed his argument. He said: With reference to the two questions asked by one of your Lordship's yesterday, I desire to say that I have carefully looked at the extract in the third schedule (page 115), and that I consider the Bishop of Natal does not intend to draw any distinction between the feeding upon by living faith, and the other expressions which he uses. I consider that he regards these as synonymous expressions. The view I take of the whole passage is, that he is arguing against the notion of anything on our part being necessary, in order to the reception of the grace which God gives. In fact, after he has denied what we call the subjective side of the truths connected with our redemption, he argues for the objective grace in such a way as to confound the objective with the subjective, and make them one and the same thing. It is an essential part of his whole view of things to get rid of faith, and having the sacraments in his way, this is his mode of getting rid of them. This is the view I take of the whole passage,—that he is getting rid of faith as being necessary to a reception of grace in the sacraments; and, therefore, as I understand, he distinctly goes against the doctrine expressed in the 28th Article which makes faith necessary in order to our partaking. The view I take of that passage is, that it is irreconcilable with the Articles, and with the view that is contained in that Article. And when he says, "whether they feed upon it by living faith or not," he means just the same thing as when he says, "which we may or may not faithfully partake of." He means to say, that the giving of the sacrament, and the reception of grace in the sacrament, is wholly independent of the faith of the receiver. Of course, there is no consistency in the view. I do not pretend to say it is consistent with itself, but that it is his view.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: You mean that you do not consider yourself bound to explain what he does mean by feeding by faith?

The Dean: Yes, my Lord. With regard to the other remark that was made by one of your Lordships upon the subject of whether saying that man *qua* man is saved or jus-

tified, is the same thing as to say, that by nature man is justified, I contend that, to say that man *qua* man is justified, is the same thing as to say that men are justified by nature; but I would use one strong argument in favour of the view in addition to those already brought forward, though I did bring forward this yesterday. I hold that the doctrine of election is an essential part of Christianity; and, therefore, that to say that men *qua* men are justified, is necessarily and absolutely to exclude the doctrine of election, and so to destroy the very idea of a Church in any sense whatsoever. With regard to John the Baptist's being filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb. I should in the first place contend that John the Baptist, in virtue of his parents, was within the Jewish Covenant, and in that sense within the limits of election. And that in his case there was a special mediating instrument, he being born miraculously with the special intervention of an angel. We are allowed to use the expression in connection with angels, because we are told that the law was given by the mediation of angels. That is my mode of meeting any objection that may be raised upon that score. But the great point I would press is, that to say that men *qua* men are redeemed necessarily and absolutely excludes any view of the doctrine of election.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: Do you mean to deny that man *qua* man is redeemed?

The Dean: "Redeemed" was an incorrect expression,—I meant to say, justified.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: I do not see how your argument meets the other question. We allow that man *qua* man is redeemed; but not by nature, by grace.

The Dean: I do not think we do allow that man *qua* man is justified. Redeemed was an incorrect expression. I deny that man *qua* man is justified.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: I understand your argument to be, that whatever comes to man *qua* man, comes by nature, not by grace?

The Dean: Yes, my Lord.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: Your argument is, that man cannot be justified *qua* man, because it would be by nature.

The Dean: And would exclude the mediating work of Christ.

The Bishop of Graham's Town. Then, how does that hold with redemption? We allow that man *qua* man is redeemed.

The Dean : I would distinguish between the sufficiency and the efficiency of our Lord's redeeming work,—between universal redemption which is a true doctrine, and universal salvation which is a false one.

I come now to that second portion of our case which deals with the Bishop of Natal's views on Holy Scripture, and I desire to indicate that line of argument which I propose to myself to follow before entering upon the first of those specific charges which are before the Court. The work of the Bishop which furnishes the grounds of accusation is filled with arguments which are designed to shake the reverence which is so usually felt for Holy Scripture, and to prove that large portions of the Divine record are not historically true. Now, my Lords, I desire to state at this stage of the case, and before proceeding with my argument, that I am far from considering it as any part of my business on this occasion, and in this Court, to reply to his criticisms, or refute his reasonings. There is a time and a place for everything, and this is neither the place nor the time for a literary warfare, which could not end soon. But your Lordships, Bishops of the Church of England, are sitting now as a Court of the Church in Southern Africa, and your duty, if I mistake not, now is, not to act the part of critics, and to decide upon rival schools of criticism, but to interpret the laws of the English Church. You are met here, as I conceive, not to make law but to apply law. The Church as a society of faithful persons has had from its origin that sacred deposit of sound doctrine committed to her keeping by our Lord and His apostles, which is the Christian faith. This faith, written in God's Word, which is its rule or canon, taught by the Spirit of God to faithful men, embodied in creeds, and expressed from time to time as heresy arose and called for explanation and expression; interpreted, too, to us as members of the Church of England, in our laws, liturgies, symbols, and other spiritual inheritances, is in its essence one and unalterable, and must be applied from time to time as exigencies arise to test the truth and determine heresy. Hence the position of a spiritual court in relation to the things which come before it for decision, is substantially the same as that of a temporal court in civil things. The temporal court does not put forth the mere opinions of the men who act as judges in it; it bases its decisions on the authority of known law. The spiritual court bases its decisions upon law also. And there is only this difference between them. The law which the temporal court follows, though binding, authoritative,

and supreme over the court which applies and interprets it, and over the persons who are beneath its jurisdiction, is not in its nature infallible, for after all it is but man's law. The law which the spiritual court administers, in its essence at least and primal origin, is from no human author, for it is based upon the Word of God. The Bible is its code of statutes. The spiritual court bases its decisions upon God's unerring Word.

I consider it important to call the attention of the Court to this matter. The Bishop of Natal is not present, either by advocate or in his own person. If he were, I can conceive it possible that he might seek to defend his strange position, as a Bishop of a Church whose statutes he refuses to acknowledge, by arguments of such a kind as those which may be found within his book. If he did, I should object to his mode of argument. I should say that he could not come into this Court and argue against the statutes and the laws on which this Court is based, and by which he must be tried in it. If in a civil Court a man should thus act, he would be told, "You are not at liberty to discuss the wisdom or the merits of the law by which you must be judged, you can only be allowed to plead that you have not sinned against them." So, in this Court, the Bishop of Natal would not, I think, rightly plead that the Church was wrong in the estimate which it had formed of the Bible. He could only plead that a high estimate of the Bible was not and could not rightly be regarded as part of the Church's faith. At any rate, my Lords, with your permission, it is on these grounds that I intend to argue. I do not intend to discuss questions of criticism. I do not intend to ask whether the faith of the Church is right or wrong. That faith is law for me and statute. There is a common law which is inscribed upon the heart and the instincts of Christendom. There is a statute law which, derived in its principles from Holy Scripture, is written in the creeds, decisions, and symbols of the Church. And the question before me will be this, and this only: Has the Bishop of Natal promulgated that which is contrary to this established doctrine? Has he kept or has he sinned against this one faith. Let us see.

V.

And first, what is his opinion of the Bible? The Bible is not the Word of God; the Bible is not infallible; the Bible is not free from error, infirmity, passion, ignorance; the Bible is not divine as to the letter. Such is his negative opinion. Positively, he teaches that the Bible is

the book in which the Word of God is deposited; it contains God's Word. It is the means of revealing God's true name. It is the means of awakening just conceptions of God. It is the work of men worked on by the Spirit. It is the word of God in its spirit. It speaks from God's Spirit to man's spirit directly, without any intervening medium. It is the voice by which God's Spirit speaks. It is the correlative of conscience and reason in man. Such is the view which he puts forth on Holy Scripture in the passages adduced against him. A reference to the Commentary on Romans (p. 189—190, Natal Edition) will throw some further light upon the matter. These passages are in some respects capable of being explained away, and are not so definitely clear as those which he has published since, but they teach very distinctly that the light in man is the divine word, and that this inward light is supreme and superior to anything without, that is, to the Bible; and is the test by which the acts of the Church, the decisions of councils, the writings of prophets and apostles, even the very words of our Lord Himself, are to be tried. He says plainly that conscience is the lawgiver, and is superior to Scripture and the Church. The general import of all this is obvious enough. The Bible is not as a whole the Word of God. The letter, the outward words of the Bible, cannot be called divine. It is only the spirit which is in the Bible which is divine and true. The letter may even be erroneous and irreligious. And the most that we can say for the book as a whole is that it is a better book than any other, and that more of God's Word is contained in it than in any other. And it is not either by itself, or in conjunction with anything besides, the rule of faith and truth, for that rule is the conscience and reason which is the light in every individual, and is supreme above all besides. He distinguishes in the most marked way between the letter of the Bible and the spirit of the Bible, and he maintains that the letter is not of God, and that the spirit is of God. Now, my Lords, I maintain that such a view as this,—a view which subordinates the Bible to that light in every human soul, which is to try it, and to separate the spirit from the husk of the letter which contains it, contradicts that faith of the Church, and of the Church of England, which regards the whole Bible as the Word of God.

Let me endeavour to show that the Church of God has always thus esteemed the Bible. A philosopher of modern times, whose estimate of the Bible is not

higher than that of the Bishop of Natal, has called attention to the fact that in all nations raised above a savage condition there has existed in some form or other a belief that the Supreme Being has at times revealed Himself and made known His will to man. A fact like this, account for it and explain it as we will, is a testimony borne by human nature to the possible existence of a Bible, or Word of God to man, and, moreover, prepares us for the discovery in some quarter of a book which shall satisfy the true yearnings of humanity after some certain knowledge of that Almighty Being in whom we live and move. When, therefore, we meet with a people, separated from other nations in a peculiar manner, and evidently chosen out by God for some extraordinary purpose, and having also a religion which was conspicuously higher and purer than all others, at a time when all other nations were sunk in the pollutions of idolatry, and when we find among this people a book which accounts for their distinctive characteristics, and while it testifies to miraculous facts which are woven into the woof of their history, claims for itself a sacred and even divine origin, we are led at once to inquire into the views which were taken of its character by those who were its guardians, and to regard those views whatever they may be, with great respect and veneration.

What, then, was the view which was taken of the Old Testament by the Jewish Church? It was regarded with the highest awe as a divine book. The Pentateuch—that very portion of the book which the Bishop now assails, as worthless in its history and faulty in its moral teaching—was placed, as it declares, and as the Jews believed, as soon as written, in that holiest spot within the tabernacle which none but the High Priest might enter, beside that Sacred Ark which was the type of the Redeemer and the cherub-winged throne of God. This, the primal text, secured thus from alteration and corruption, was to be kept as the genuine and authentic copy, and was to be copied in after ages by Jewish sovereigns, as the guide which should sanctify their government and order their lives. Such, as a matter of Jewish history, is the origin of the Bible, written, as the Jews believed, by the Prophet Moses, who, on the lowest view which may be taken, must undoubtedly be regarded as one of the greatest and most famous among men. The Pentateuch was placed among the holy things, in the most holy place, where God was. In course of time the law in which the Scripture had its origin, grew into the Psalms

and Prophets, which were received by the Jewish Church with the same kind of veneration, and which, taken from the sacred chest in every synagogue, with prayer before and after reading, were read on every Sabbath to the people, not as the word of man, but as the Word of God.

Speaking to your Lordships, who are well acquainted with the literature of this portion of the subject, I feel that I need but to be brief. But I must just suggest to your memories the well-known care and almost superstitious scrupulosity of the Jewish Church, which counted every word and letter of the whole volume, and numbered even its very points. And I must remind you, for it is very important, that the kingdom of Israel, divided in so much besides from Judah, and almost driven by that policy which was essential to its very existence, to separate, as far as possible, in faith and religious practice, agreed in this with the rival Church and rival kingdom,—that it received the same Scriptures, and received them, too, as God's Word. And how do these Scriptures speak of those who thus esteemed them? They are filled with rebukes and objurations. They narrate fall after fall, rebellion after rebellion against God. They treat the Jewish people, ^{who never dream} of disputing their infallible authority, as a race of ungrateful persons who are always offending a kind and gracious God. Every feeling which pride suggests, every prejudice which opposition rouses, called upon the Jewish people to prove these records worthless. And yet with one consent and one mouth they treated them as divine oracles, and they respected them as the voice of God. I can account for this miraculous circumstance if the ancient Scriptures are what the Jewish Church considered them; for I can see that conviction overcame prejudice. I ask the sceptics to account for it on any other ground.

For full information upon this part of the argument, I must refer your Lordships to Beveridge on the Articles (vi), Dr. Lee on Inspiration (Lect. 2, Appendix F.), Dr. Wordsworth on Inspiration (Lecture 2). But I must quote from them the testimonies of Jewish writers, especially of Philo and Josephus, who may be respectively considered as uttering the opinions of Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews in Apostolic times. Not to speak of writers in the Apocrypha, who draw a marked distinction between writings which are or are not canonical, Eleazar, who was high priest in the third century B.C., writes that "Moses had been instructed in all matters by God Himself." Aristobulus, who was a priest in the second

century B.C., says also, "that competent judges marvel at the wisdom of Moses, and the divine Spirit by whose inspiration he had been proclaimed a prophet." But the later testimony of Josephus is more explicit. "We Jews have not a multitude of books *at variance with one another*; we have only twenty-two books, which contain the record of all time, and are *the books*, which are rightly believed to be *divine*." He adds, "We show by our practice what our belief is in these books. For, although so long a time has elapsed since these books were written, yet no one has ever ventured to make any addition to them, nor to take anything from them, nor to make any change in them. And it is a principle innate in every Jew, to regard these books as oracles of God, and to cleave to them; yea, and to die gladly for them." Your Lordships will observe that the books,—not the spirit of the books, but the books themselves,—the writings, the outward letter, are treated as divine. (Wordsworth, Lecture 2.) Josephus also states that the Scriptures were committed to the care of the High Priest, and that they were written with unerring certainty, according as events occurred; and he calls them Holy Scripture. Philo speaks to the same purpose. The words of Moses are oracles (*logia*). Genesis is styled *hierai graphai*, Exodus *hiera biblos*, Leviticus *hieros logos*, Numbers, *hierotaton gramma*, Deuteronomy *chresmos*. His favourite idea is that of oracle. He uses this expression, "The Father of all uttered his oracles through the mouths of prophets."

Such, upon the whole, and briefly stated, is the testimony of that Jewish Church to which, as St. Paul says, was committed the oracles of God. And I maintain that if this testimony stood alone, it would be so strong that it must work conviction in the minds of reasonable persons. Here are certain books, confessedly the most remarkable which were produced throughout the whole world, before Christ; in dignity of thought, in purity and elevation of tone and sentiment, in diction, also, and imaginative power, without any rival. And these books, the property of a people whose history is scarcely less remarkable than their book, have always been regarded by this most famous and singular people as divine books. Is it possible to account for the conviction, except by the fact that these books are indeed divine?

But this is only the weakest link in the argument, and I proceed to these later links, which are even more strong. Throughout these old books, there runs a constant thread of prophecy, which points to a great and Divine

Man, who shall some day rise among the Jewish people, and who, by his works and wisdom, shall regenerate and redeem the earth. And this thread of prophecy, becoming a voice and wandering beyond the Jewish people, made itself heard among the nations, and awakened strange, though dim hopes across the wide earth. At last this heaven-born Man appeared, and what did He say of this mysterious book? He confirmed the witness of the Jewish Church. He treated the Jewish Scriptures as divine writings. He read them in the Jewish synagogues. He referred to them as authoritative records. He built His arguments upon them. He settled disputes by them. He ascribed error to want of acquaintance with them. He said that they could not be broken. He made them the rule of His own conduct. He used them as His weapon when He fought with Satan in the wilderness, and Satan, more modest than some of those who boast of critical acuteness, allowed to their unerring wisdom and allowed himself to be refuted by them. The Bishop of Natal will say—and it is grievous to know that he has said it—that our Lord was ignorant and in error upon matters of this nature, and that He spoke as other Jews spoke, who were all mistaken. *University of Fort Hare* *Teacher in Myellora* I claim for this part of my argument the weight of absolute, divine authority. I will not for one moment allow that our Lord was not in everything the Son of God, and your Lordships, sitting as judges of that Church which is His Body, will not permit it to be even imagined here that His testimony upon this matter is not final and conclusive. But take the case of an apostle, and forget for an instant that the apostle, speaking by the Spirit, speaks as an inspired man. The Bishop of Natal will allow, I should suppose, that St. Paul was a man of learning, and of great powers of intellect, and will admit that the man who counted himself a debtor to the wise as well as unwise, and who was at home among Athenian philosophers, and quite a match for them, is an authority of some weight on these matters. What does St. Paul say? He treats the Bible as a divine book. He sees in its facts spiritual mysteries. He says, "All these things happened;" all these things of the Exodus, which the Bishop of Natal impugns; and he founds upon their truth those spiritual and doctrinal lessons which vanish into nothingness if the facts on which they rest are not realities. And it cannot be said that St. Paul accommodates his teaching to the false views of those to whom he wrote, for he says this to Gentile Christians; and he communicates his views of inspiration to that favourite

disciple Timothy, who needed no accommodation, and who, if any one, could certainly have borne to know the bare and naked truth. And the writers of the New Testament, generally, bear the same testimony. All follow the leading of their Divine Master and endorse the doctrine of the Jewish Church. They use the words "Scripture," "the Scriptures," "Scripture of the Prophets," "Holy Scriptures," as technical expressions, belonging exclusively to the sacred writings. They hand on to the Christian Church the opinions of its Jewish ancestor. They make belief in the Divine oracles a portion of the Christian faith.

Here it is needful that I should not omit to notice that the appearance of our Lord as man on earth, and the gift of the Spirit which resulted as the consequence of His return as man to Heaven, was signalized by an addition to the sacred volume of a new element, which we might speak of as even more sacred than an elder brother, if both were not essential parts of one whole, and both were not divine. But I feel that it is quite needless to enter into any special proof of the divine character of the New Testament, which emanating especially from Christ's Spirit, is vouched for by Christ's Church and Christ's apostles, for no one who would concede to the Old Testament the title of Divine Scripture would for a moment withhold the same title from the New.

Considering, therefore, that any difficulties which may be raised appertain chiefly to the Jewish Scriptures, and merely mentioning that this addition took place at the commencement of the Christian era, I pursue my argument by showing in what light the Bible has been regarded by that Spirit-illuminated body which is the Christian Church. The Christian Church has taken up the testimony of Judaism, and carried the old faith in the peculiar sanctity of the divine writings over the whole earth. Throughout the first eight centuries of the Christian era not a single theologian disavowed the full inspiration of the Scriptures, and error of this kind was only to be found among the worst of those heretical sects who cannot rightly be regarded as belonging to Christianity. Theodore, of Mopsuestia, in the fifth century, is the only person who has ever been regarded as an exception to this singular unanimity, and it is probable that the charges which have been brought against him upon this ground are not well founded, though he was justly condemned for his Nestorianism by the fifth general council. Excepting

those worst and grossest forms of heresy to which allusion has been made already, in all controversy both sides appealed to Scripture as the authoritative arbiter in all disputes. "*Tanta*," writes St. Irenæus, "*tanta est autem circa Evangelium hæc firmitas, ut et ipsi heeretici testimonium reddant eis, et ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam.*" It is of course impossible to do more than glance at the evidence on this subject; but I may say that the Article in the Nicene Creed is a formal testimony of a council to belief in the divine authorship; that Origen speaks of Jew and Christian as agreeing that the sacred books were written by the Divine Spirit; that in quoting Scripture it was usual to say, "So spake the Holy Ghost;" that the Holy Ghost is said by S. Gregory the Great to be "the author" of Job; and that such expressions as "Scriptures of the Lord," "Divine Scriptures," "Heavenly Letters," were generally current. St. Athanasius calls them "holy and divinely inspired." The critical Eusebius holds it presumption to try to show that there is error in them. St. Justin Martyr speaks of the words of a prophet as spoken by the Divine Word who moved him, and dares not imagine that one Scripture can contradict another. St. Augustine says that in Scripture the members of Christ wrote what their Head dictated, and that Scripture can neither deceive nor be deceived. But your Lordships will find numerous passages to the same effect in Lee (Appendix G.) And I would also refer you to Hagenbach, pages 320 and 321, to Harold Browne in *Aids to Faith*, page 288, to a most valuable collection of passages in Routh's *Opuscula*, and to a note in Farrer's *Bampton Lectures*. And the doctrine of the Fathers was upon the whole the doctrine of the middle ages. "The Church of the middle ages" (says Browne, *Aids to Faith* 291), "had for the most part a belief similar to that of the earlier Fathers," though writers like Abelard rationalized upon this as upon other subjects, and others, led away by mysticism, adopted Pantheistic notions, which led to a rejection of Scripture as the Word of God. And thus following the chain of history from the days of Moses to our own day, and admitting that the claims of Scripture have in latter days been called in question, there is nothing which can at all disprove the assertion that the Church (as the Church) in all ages has held the opinion that Scripture is indeed divine.

There are certain facts and usages which clearly point in the same direction, and to some of these

I shall refer now. Our 20th Article assigns to the Church as part of its office that it shall bear witness to Holy Writ and preserve its integrity. In token of this function it has been customary in every branch of the Church Catholic, from the second century down to our own day, to deliver to the newly consecrated Bishop a copy of the Holy Scriptures with a charge that he shall heed it and teach according to it. This custom, which symbolizes two aspects of the Bishop's duty,—the maintenance of the truth, and the preservation of the book which contains it,—carries on the idea which we have seen to be a part of Judaism, and confers upon the Christian Bishop the custodial office of the Jewish High Priest. It leads us back in thought to the Ark in which the law was deposited, and reminds us that the Bible still reposes beneath the gracious governing of the cherubic wings. Another testimony of the same nature is the reverence with which the Bible, or at least, the New Testament, was treated in the councils of the Church. Of the opening of that council at Ephesus which condemned Nestorius, Fleury writes thus: "The Bishops opened the *ecclesia* in St. Mary's Church. . . . Upon the Holy *Thronus* (the Bishop's seat) which stood in the centre, was placed the New Testament, to denote Christ's presence among them; the Bishops were ranged down each side." There the Bishops sat in the Council, the New Testament placed upon a throne between them as they were ranged in rows beside it; confessing thus that they required its guidance, acknowledging its words as the will and law of God. It is impossible not to see in such a treatment of the New Testament a clear recognition of its most intimate connection with Him whose name is the Word of God. We have another witness in the readiness with which the early Christians braved death when required to deliver to the magistrate those sacred documents which were not less hateful to the heathen than they were precious to themselves. The light in which the "traditores" were regarded is well known. The act to which they owed their names was considered sacrilege, and was treated by the Church as a betrayal of the faith. We saw before that the Jew would die for the sacred writings. The history of the Christian Church shows us that for the same book the Christian often died also. But, above all, the reading of the Holy Scriptures as part of her solemn worship, in imitation of the Jewish practice, and in the midst of hymns and thanksgiving which make that reading praise, is more than a witness to their divine character

for it is a worship of Him from whom they come. If other evidence were wanting, this constant reading of Scripture would be convincing proof that the Church, as Christ's Body, regarded Scripture as her Master's Word.

Now, my Lords, I am quite aware that the argument which has been thus drawn out might have been stated with greater force and more convincing cogency; but at the same time I believe that sufficient has been said to show certainly, that in this wide-spread and universal conviction we have a clear instance of a "vox populi," which is indeed the voice of God. Far be it from me to say that every brief and transient blast of popular opinion is that "vox Dei" which man must clearly recognize as sounding upon earth from heaven. The crowd is oftener moved by influences which have no divine fountain. But when the *ho passi dakes* of the ancient philosopher has been realized on this gigantic scale, when an influence runs throughout a stream of centuries, and when a body like the Church of God, from Moses to our own days, sings as it were on one note, and delivers one consistent testimony, the truth to which it testifies must take its place among those moral certainties which force conviction, and speak from God within the human heart. If a faith like this were baseless, it would go far to prove that nothing was to be believed at all.

But one thing, however, is certain. The Church which believes this rejects not the letter of the Bible, but taking letter and spirit together, accepts the very words as God's. To say that the Bible is the Word of God is one thing. To say that the Word of God is contained in the Bible is something quite different. If I say that the Bible is God's Word, I treat it as a kind of mystery. I recognize a divine and human element, a word of man and a word of God, so blended together, so linked in a mysterious union that while I cannot theorize about it, and state either where the human ends and the divine begins, or where the divine ends and the human begins, I must yet allow that the divinity runs throughout the least syllable, and is never absent from any part. Men will ask, is that verse divine in which St. Paul prescribes a little wine to Timothy, or asks for his parchments, and the cloak which he left at Ephesus? It might just as well be asked, was Christ the Son of God when He sat down to meat? The Son of God was God in the acts which were most human; His blood shed upon the cross was the blood of God. And so, in like manner, the most human parts of

Scripture are penetrated with divinity, and the Spirit of God breathes life into the whole mass. If its name be the Word of God, as St. Paul calls it, and if the Son of God, speaking in it by His Spirit, gives it that name by communicating to it His own properties, then, my Lords, it will follow that so to distinguish between the human and the divine as to separate the one from the other, is to adopt the heresy of Nestorius, who, in asserting the distinction of our Lord's natures, denied their union in one Person and one God. I shall have occasion, upon another subject to argue that the Bishop of Natal has avowed opinions which are Nestorian, and I believe that those opinions are not an accidental error into which he has fallen while endeavouring to escape a difficulty of his own creation, but are the flaw which runs throughout this whole book. He is a Nestorian when he treats of our Lord's knowledge. And he is guilty of a kindred error when he maintains that Scripture is not one divine book, in which human and divine elements mingle marvellously, but two things existing together in disunion; the Word of God being really that God within the man who reads them, and which finds for itself in Scripture a word from heaven. My Lords, I am convinced that the only true light in which we can regard the Holy Scripture is when we take it as an organic whole. Strangely, and by the influence of the Spirit of God, who was its living principle, this book grew like a tree in course of long ages, spreading out its wide arms in forms which seem to man extraordinary, and not such as man himself would have given to it, yet so growing that when its fulness was attained men marvelled at the surpassing beauty of its free and majestic limbs. And I maintain that it is just as absurd to separate between the letter and the spirit of the Bible as between the form and the life of a tree. The life and form may be distinguishable, but they are not divisible. And you may distinguish between the letter and the spirit of the Bible, but you cannot divorce them. You cannot say the letter is human and partakes of human error, but the spirit is unerring and divine.

My Lords, the relationship between the Word written and the Word incarnate is a question of so much importance that I must dwell upon it, and point your attention to one or two passages of Scripture which can only be explained by admitting that relationship. The famous saying in Hebrews iv is interpreted by Eusebius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Gregory Nyssen, Cyril, Ambrose, and

others among the ancients, and by Pearson, Sanderson, Jackson, Bull, and others among English theologians, as applying to the incarnate Word first, and to the written Word secondarily. In like manner, the expression of St. Peter, in reference to new birth by the Word of God, is applied by the deepest divines to the Son of God. And, I believe, that it is only in the recognition of this near connection between the book and the person, who have one and the same name, that the truth will be seen clearly upon controverted questions touching the Book of God. Theories on this matter are no more possible than theories upon the mode of that union of natures which makes our Lord God and man in one person. All that we can do is to recognize distinctly that the book is the work of man and of the Good Spirit, while at the same time we claim for it that one name which alone describes its true character, and call it God's Word.

If this be true, we cannot hesitate to admit that the Bishop of Natal's opinion is radically wrong, and contradicts the terms of our Articles, which again and again speak of it, not as if God's Word was discoverable in it, but as if it was itself, and, as a whole, the Book of God. The Articles call it holy; speak of its books as canonical—ruling, that is, and determining truth; refer to its authority as never doubted; contrast it with the Apocrypha, as establishing doctrine; treat of the moral law which is contained in it as binding; affirm that the Creeds derive their warrant from it; say that we are bound to follow God's will as declared in God's Word; limit the appointments and requirements of the Church by what is contained in God's Word written, nothing being necessary for salvation which is not found there; state that the decisions of councils must be based on Holy Scripture; condemn certain doctrines or practices as not warranted by Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God. There is no mistaking words and sayings such as these. They speak such language as a Church might be expected to speak which succeeds to that which has been held always, and which believes that the Bible, as a whole, is God's Word. They call certain books apocryphal, because God is not their author. They treat the Books of the Canon as the Word of God—and, as such, as true, authoritative, ruling, establishing doctrine, warranting faith and conduct, the guide and way of life. In short, they make the Bible that which I have ventured to call it, the infallible statute book of God's Church. They do not suppose that we, illumined

with our own reason and wisdom, can go and throw our light on Holy Scripture, so as to find in it that which finds us, and which we ourselves import. They treat the Holy Scripture as having authority in all matters of faith and religion, just as the law of the land has authority in civil matters over those who are subject to it. If we are to go to Holy Scripture, and having God's Word in ourselves, or, in fact, being gods, for it amounts to that, are to find the divine in it, the Bible is not divine. Then we are divine, not the Bible. Then we cannot say, "Thy Word is a light to my feet," but we must say, "I am a light to Thy Word." I may add that the teaching of the Homilies is substantially the same as that of the Articles. They treat Scripture as the sure Word of God.

It may be said, perhaps, although the argument scarce deserves an answer, that Article vi confirms the Bishop's language, because it speaks of Holy Scripture as containing all things needful to salvation. Your Lordships are well aware that these words have quite another reference. Having an eye to another controversy, the Article affirms that nothing not deducible from Scripture has authority, and it denies that anything except Scripture can rule the minds and consciences of men. In reality, it condemns the view which we are now considering, for it magnifies the power and office of Holy Scripture, implying that it alone is God's Word. I shall have to recur to this subject, when considering the vow which deacons take at ordination, but I believe that I have answered the fallacious argument which might be built upon the letter of the Article, and on expressions in the Homilies to the like effect.

The Articles, as has been seen, are in direct opposition to that low theory of Scripture, which separating the human elements from those divine elements which are essentially united with them brings into contempt the whole book. I have now to ask your Lordships to compare with this theory the statements in the preface to the Prayer Book, which are utterly repugnant to it. The preface, you are aware, states that the calendar has been so arranged that the whole Bible shall be read annually. The whole Bible, or nearly all, is to be read. Here is no distinguishing between part and part,—no setting up of old against new, and new against old, to the disparagement of the Old Testament,—no comparison between Epistle and Gospel, as if the Gospel was more the word of Christ than the letters of His inspired Apostles; though, undoubtedly, the calendar selects for frequent reading the parts which are least to be

forgotten in that whole which is all divine, but the Bible is treated as one whole, and is called "the *very pure* Word of God, the Holy Scriptures." And with what is it contrasted? With things untrue, uncertain, vain, superstitious, with legends and uncertain stories, which bring no profit to those who read and hear them? I do not know point out how repugnant both the letter and the spirit of this preface is to that scandalous opinion which makes the story of the Pentateuch a chain of legends and Samuel an impostor, who lies in strict accordance with those new laws of critical morality which put to shame the law of Moses; but I say, the venerable men who wrote the preface to the Prayer-book did not think that the Bible only contained the Word of God. They thought that the Bible—the Bible as a whole—the whole book pronounced canonical—is the Word of God. Nor did they draw the line between the letter and the spirit with that surprising subtlety which separates things inseparable, and leads us so to read that we should reject the miserable husk and only feed upon the kernel; but they give us the whole and tell us that it is all pure when understood rightly, *all bread and milk*, "all true bread, every word proceeding out of the mouth of God." My Lords, when dealing with this unwarrantable division, I am reminded of an aphorism of Coleridge, who says, "It is a dull and obtuse mind that must divide in order to distinguish, but it is a still worse that distinguishes in order to divide." He adds that in this worst form of dulness we must look for the source of heresy and other kindred evils. The Bishop so distinguishes between the human and the divine in Holy Scripture as to divide the indivisible. There is the source of his error in dealing with the Word of God.

I need not dwell upon the sentence which is taken from the daily exhortation. It simply adds one to the innumerable testimonies of the Prayer-book, though it is worth notice that it speaks in the superlative, and describes the Bible as "God's most holy Word." Upon the Article in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed I must remark something. I have referred to it already as the decree of a council, and as such, and as accepted by the Church whose universal opinion it embodied, as being an integral portion of that *vox populi* which is truly the voice of God. I would now point out that it is the Church's mode of affirming that the whole Bible is the work of God. Upon this subject I cannot do better than quote the words of Dr. Lee in his second lecture on Inspiration: "This confession not only defines the inspiration of the sacred writers to be the act

of the Holy Ghost; but it lays down also, as a fundamental doctrine of Christianity, that Old and New Testament have proceeded from the same source, and are alike *divine*. That to this latter truth the Article refers admits of no doubt. In fact, it merely embodies a tenet maintained from the very first, in opposition to the various phases of Gnosticism; for in the earliest writings composed in defence of Christianity, the epithet prophetic is the title usually assigned to the Holy Ghost." And he supports his assertion by references to patristic testimonies, which time forbids that I should now quote (pages 472, 480.) Here, then, we have an article on the Creed, which, describing all the writers of Holy Scripture, Old and New, under the term prophets, makes the author of their writings to be the third Person of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of the Church is, that all revelation is made by the Word or Son of God, and that the Person through whom He speaks is the Spirit, and that the men by whom He speaks are inspired by the Spirit. To this doctrine the article of the Creed now cited testifies; and Unitarianism, it declares that the Bible, as a whole, is God's Word.

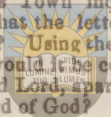
I proceed now to take up the declaration which a deacon makes at ordination. When the Bishop of Natal was himself ordained a deacon, he was asked by the Bishop this question: "Do you unfeignedly believe *all* the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?" and he made this answer, "I do believe them." Had he declined to make this answer he would not have been admitted to the office of a deacon, and he would not now have held the office of a bishop in the Church. Moreover, the Bishop has asked this same question of every person who has been ordained to the diaconate by his own hands, and thus has again and again pledged himself to the truth, whatever it be, which these words contain and imply. His own ordination and his ordination of others alike bind him to that view of Holy Scripture which lies behind this question and this declaration, as the ground on which the first is asked and the second made. Now upon this matter there cannot be a shade of doubt. "All the canonical Scriptures." There is the word *Scriptures*,—the technical word reserved for God's Book. There is the word *canonical*, denoting rule, measure, standard, warrant, authority. There is the word *all*, declaring that the book is one, that its parts are all essential, that together they constitute a whole, that nothing may be subtracted from them. *Old and New Testa-*

ment,—there is the co-equality of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. *Unfeignedly believe*,—there is the necessity of *faith* in them as connected in the closest way with the God who gave them, and as the Code and Statute Book of Truth. These words, if they mean anything, mean that there is a book different from all other books, emphatically the Scriptures, the writings of all writings; that this book has been determined by the Church to possess indisputable authority; that the parts of this book are members of one body, all essentially connected, all breathing one spirit; and that no one can be admitted even to the porch and vestibule of the Christian ministry unless there is in him that grace of faith which unfeignedly, without reserve, hypocrisy, doubt, or hesitation, fully and lovingly receives them. If the Bishop of Natal is right, the question means,—Do you feel sure that the Word of God is to be found in the Bible by that light of reason which illuminates your own heart? Are you certain that there is a divine spirit contained within that fallible, historically doubtful, and sometimes historically false, passionate, erroneous letter which is the word of man? Upon the Bishop's view a man is asked, on one of the most solemn occasions of his life,—Can you distinguish between the false and the true in the Bible, and while you reject the false, believe the true? My Lords, will any honest man say that this is what is meant by this most solemn declaration? But the Bishop appeals to the Court of Arches. He can ask this question if Dr. Lushington's law is to rule the faith of English churchmen. My Lords, I do not pretend to any knowledge of law, but I must be allowed to say, with all respect for that venerable judge, on whose staff the Bishop of Natal leans, that if his dictum is law, it is not theology. It has been ruled by Dr. Lushington that the deacons' declaration means that "the Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary to salvation," and "to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty." It is evident that Dr. Lushington confuses between the rule of teaching which is laid down first in Article vi, and again in the question addressed to candidates for the priesthood—confuses, I say, between the rule of teaching thus defined and the profession of belief which is required of deacons. The Articles and the Bishop, addressing the expectant priest, tell him,—You are not to teach as binding and necessary anything not in Scripture; Scripture is the rule for the Church. Dr. Lushington says this means that you may distinguish between what is human and

divine in Scripture, and so long as you believe that all that is divine is to be found there, you may treat as you think fit all that is human. I maintain, my Lords, that if this was the doctrine of the English Church she would be a Church no longer, for she has been unfaithful to her office as the witness and keeper of Holy Writ. But I deny that the Church of England suffers this. And Dr. Lushington himself denies it, for he says, at a later stage of the same judgment: "I must hold that to deny that the Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, or to deny the canonicity of these Books, or any of them, or substantially to impeach their divine authority, would be a violation of Article vi." and also "a disregard of the declaration of belief made in them at the ordination of deacons." My Lords, I assert that the Bishop's views impeach the divine authority of Holy Scripture. It might as well be maintained that a man's mind is not hurt when his limbs are directed against his body as that the divine part of Scripture is not impeached and injured when its letter is denied to be the Word of God.

I maintain, then, that the view which the Bishop of Natal has published is a denial of the faith as touching the Word of God. To say that the Bible contains the Word of God, but is not that Word—which is one of his modes of speaking—or to say that the spirit of the Bible, not the letter of the Bible, is the Word of God, which is another, and, in this book, synonymous expression—is to separate the human and divine elements as things which have no essential relations to each other, and are not necessarily bound in one. This has never been the faith of the Church, whether Jewish or Christian. The Jewish Church revered the very letter as divine. The Christian Church, succeeding to the Jewish faith, has never ceased to look upon the whole Bible as a divine book. That book has been read in churches as if its words were a message from heaven. That book has sat as the voiceless president of councils symbolizing the Invisible Word, who is the Son of God. For that book, in times of persecution, saintly men and women have shed their hearts' blood. And we, of the Church of England, heirs of all the past ages, call it in our Liturgy and Articles—what generations without number have called it—God's Word. Is the Bishop of Natal to rise from his episcopal seat and tell us, against the testimony of ages, against the witness of Jew and Gentile, against the faith of saints and martyrs, that it is folly to

reverence the letter, and superstition to say that a book which men wrote is God's Word. I will not say that superstition has left the Word of God untouched. There may be those who forget that the Bible and the living Church must go together, and that the Bible is not the instrument by which our Lord designed to change the world. I admit that some are apt to dissociate the Word from that body of Christ which is intrusted with it. But, admitting all this, we cannot afford to yield an inch in this matter; we cannot allow this book to be despised as not the Book of God. My Lords, the Bible is the Word of God, and to say that God's Word is contained and may be found in it is to deny that it is the Word of God.

The Bishop of Graham's Town inquired whether the Dean intended to argue that the letter of the Bible, as such, was the Word of God?  Using the illustration which he had himself employed, would it be correct to say of the human nature of our Blessed Lord, apart from His divine nature, that it was the Word of God?

The Dean: If you separate them, perhaps not. But I argue that you cannot separate them. and it is the same with the Bible.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: Do you insist in your charge that the letter of the Bible is the Word of God?

The Dean: We do not insist in the charge that it is so. And my argument is that you cannot separate the human element from the divine.

The Dean then proceeded:

VI.

The subject to which I now come is most intimately related with that which has gone before it, and much of what I have said already bears upon this new point. Indeed the two subjects might have been treated together, but it was thought upon the whole desirable that we should first take up the Bishop's view of the Bible, as a whole and in its general aspect, and then proceed to those more special and detailed opinions upon the nature of its inspiration which might be treated as distinct from the wider and broader view. I shall endeavour, as far as possible, to keep from repetition, and to call the attention of your Lordships only to such matters as have not yet been under review.

From the passages which are before your Lordships under the 6th. head you will see that the Bishop's view of inspiration contains in itself the following ingredients. The Bible is a human book. It is to be revered as the best of books, the

work of living men like ourselves. Just as the Greeks were chosen by God and endowed by the Father of Lights for educating the world in art and science and literature, and the Romans for certain purposes of law and government, so the Hebrew race had, as a gift, to be instruments of revelation and the special messengers of God's grace. The spirit of the age and the people has, therefore, a large share in the form and composition of the book, which is to be judged by the laws of ordinary criticism and criticized as other ancient writings. Taking this view, he naturally tells us that we need not be at all afraid that we are treading upon holy ground. The writers are not under infallible guidance, and do not claim divine infallibility. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the writer of the Pentateuch ever professed to write even *actual historical truth*. But we have not yet got to the bottom of the opinion. To do this we must see the anatomy of the book. The Bishop then dissects the book with the knife of a relentless criticism, and having cut to the bone this human body, proceeds to tell us that the Pentateuch is composed of legends, picked up by Samuel in his circuit as a judge, such as Sir Walter Scott might have learnt in the Border tales in his wanderings among the lowland hills of Scotland, the miracles being wholly due to the exaggerative tendencies of time and long tradition, and the legends and miracles together being woven by the prophet into a tale which seems to be a history, while the blanks were filled up by his imagination, and deficiencies supplied by his religious mind. It is said that extremes meet, and the Bishop, having spent his early days in literature of a severely scientific nature, may be designing in his older age to "turn his mind to lighter subjects; but I must be allowed to inquire is this what we are asked to call criticism? Proposing to account for the existence of a set of writings which, to say the least, are full of great thoughts, and which are of a high order of literary excellence—not to say that they are full of religious maxims and precepts—the critic who is to set us all right and show us our exceeding blindness on these subjects actually tells us that these works were composed by a very great and very good man, who, writing a romance, calls it a narrative or history, and imparts to this tissue of fables and spurious miracles a high religious tone and spiritual character.

do not think that I have unfairly stated the Bishop's view, and I must candidly confess that it excites my warmest indignation. But as a matter for argument, this is the kind of inspiration which we must look for in Holy

Scripture. And I regret to say that the bottom of the gulf has not been reached yet; for at page 369 I am afraid that the Bishop desires to dart a sneer against the sacred narrative, shooting backwards, like the Parthian of old, as he flies from his former faith. At least such is the tone of the whole passage, and it is only on this supposition that I can account for the stop with which he points the quotation where he gives us a portion of a Saxon genealogy, and traces King Alfred to Scaef the son of Noah, who was born in Noah's ark! St. Chrysostom reverently says that even in the genealogies of Scripture there are mysteries. It would be too much to look for reverence like this in one who teaches that the Bible is a common book; but surely the Bible is beyond the reach of ridicule. I should be glad to think that the charge is not warranted; but I am afraid that the Bishop has so lost his reverence for Holy Scripture that his feelings regarding it cannot find expression in a cold and miserable sneer. After this we are prepared for anything and we learn without astonishment that the name of Jehovah comes from Egypt, and was introduced by Samuel in imitation of some Egyptian name of God.

Now, my Lords, there is no mistake about a view like this. The Bishop's style is vigorous, and he tells us with a force and clearness which we might admire upon a topic which was worthy of it, that the Bible is a common book. That it was not divine, we have seen already. But now he plainly tells us that the book is human. The Pentateuch *originated* (so he says) in a purely human manner; not from God, but from the mind of Samuel, in an effort to make his people religious. And being human to the backbone, it may err in matters of history, and is to be criticized with the utmost freedom, and in a spirit the opposite to that which God required of Moses when He told the Prophet to take off his shoes from off his feet, because the place on which he stood was holy ground. Wherein, then, consists the inspiration? The Bishop tells us (381), in these men "the same gracious spirit was operating three thousand years ago, as now," in us. It is plain that in the view of the Bishop inspiration in Holy Scripture is specifically of the same kind as that by which all good members of the Church are always actuated; and that the Bishop adopts the opinion of Mr. Maurice, who asks if there is any difference between the inspiration which we pray for in the Collect for the Communion Service and that by which the writers of the sacred book were moved? The source of this opinion is Schleiermacher, and, as

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it is necessary to understand its bearings, I shall set before your Lordships Schleiermacher's view. In his opinion the idea of inspiration is of quite subordinate importance in Christianity, the statements of the sacred writers being, in fact, nothing more than the result of the *natural* faculties of the human mind exercised in reflecting upon the revelation of Jesus Christ. This principle was borrowed, through Spinoza, from Maimonides, the leading spirit of modern Judaism, who lived in the twelfth century, and is thus expressed by Spinoza: "*Merito mentis naturam . . . primam Divinae revelationis causam statuere possumus.*" Accordingly, Schleiermacher objects to "the notion that the agency of the Holy Spirit in the composition of the Scriptures is of a specific kind, distinct from its working in the universal Church and from its general agency in the disciples of Christ." Inspiration, in short, is the ordinary influence of the Holy Spirit; and when this has once been determined, it is easy to confuse between the nature of the human mind and spiritual influence, so as to resolve inspiration into the natural effort of the human faculties.

This, at any rate, is what the Bishop of Natal does. With him, inspiration leaves the writing which is composed beneath its influence among the ordinary class of human books. In degree of excellence it may be higher, but in kind the inspiration which moved St. Paul or St. John is not different from that which moves a good man now, or even from those motions of the spirit by which Æschylus wrote his tragedies and Socrates taught a high philosophy. To an inspiration of this nature we can be asked to listen only upon one ground, and that the personal excellence of the man who speaks beneath its influence. In proportion to his holiness God employs him as an oracle, and men must attend to what he speaks, as being so far forth divine. But, then, how does it come to pass that men like Balaam speak by inspiration; or how shall we distinguish between that in a true prophet which is worthy of attention, and that in which he speaks erroneously, and as an uninspired man? St. Peter did not always speak or act rightly, and yet he wrote inspired epistles. His character is one thing, and his inspiration is another. A theory like this breaks down as soon as it is tested, and we see at once that inspiration as connected with revelation is specifically a special and extraordinary endowment of the Holy Ghost.*

Inspiration, then, is not the same influence of the Spirit as

* See Lee on Inspiration, page 239; Hooker Sermon v. 3. 4.

that which makes a man good. It is a special endowment bestowed for a specific purpose when God desires to communicate His mind and will by man to man. The Son, who is the Word of God, the *Logos*, the sole revealer of the Godhead; the Son, who, as St. Athanasius writes, "has it for His office, by His peculiar providence and setting in order of the universe, to afford instruction concerning the Father," when He designs to speak to man, sends His Spirit into the mind of some chosen person who speaks by inspiration and imparts to His fellow-men the Word of God. The word thus spoken is a human word, and has all the essential characteristics of human speech, but it is not the word which man's wisdom speaketh, but the word which the Holy Ghost speaketh. As St. Paul teaches, it is not the word of man, but of God.

There is no impossibility in such a union of the divine with the human, however mysterious and mysterious the union may be. If God could become flesh, assuming man's nature, there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent this union between the mind of the Spirit and the mind of man, between the thoughts of God and human language, which is the wheel of the chariot of human thought. We know that the Spirit connects Himself in some way with Christian ordinances, so that the sacraments consist of an outward sign and an inward grace; strictly they are outward signs of an inward grace. It is only a mystery of the same kind if the language of man is the Word of the Spirit. Man, too, and man's body, is made the temple of the Holy Spirit, and it is therefore quite within the limits of possibility that man's language spoken under a special and extraordinary influence may be the Word of God.

But if this be the truth which we mean when we speak of Holy Scripture as given by divine inspiration, is an influence like this compatible with error? Is a book thus written fallible? Can error of any kind find place within the Book of God? My Lords, I am quite aware that I am entering upon a question of exceeding delicacy, and not without some or many difficulties; but I feel also that to shirk it would be an act of moral cowardice, and that an opinion upon this point, though not perhaps essential to a decision of the case which is before the Court of this Province—for the Bishop of Natal's opinions are contrary to any view of inspiration whatsoever—must be formally and definitely pronounced by the Church of England, later or sooner, if that Church is to guide her children and perform her duty as a witness for the truth.

The same spirit of unbelief which of old assailed the Persons of the Godhead, revived in modern times, under a new form, assails now the works and offices of those Divine Persons, denies the atonement, denies the inspiration of the Word of God. And if the Church is to do her office, and to stand as a lighthouse amid these waves which rage and swell tumultuously, she must accommodate herself to novel forms of heresy, and speak, where speech is needed, in clear tones of truth. I feel, therefore, that it is my duty, as pleading on this question, to state what I believe to be the true doctrine, and to show, as I think, that every charge of error in history or in any other matter is a libel against that holy book. I shall state my opinion briefly, and rather indicate the grounds of argument than follow it out at full length. The evidence upon this point which our Lord Himself furnishes is of the strongest character. He calls Himself the truth. He says that He came into the world to bear witness to the truth. He told Nicodemus that He testified what He knew and had seen. We are told more than once that His words upon earth were *the Words of God*. And, as He was the truth Himself, so He calls the Holy Spirit whom He would send the Spirit of Truth, and says that He would guide into all truth. And, moreover, He used once this expression—"Thy Word is truth." If any one could wish for stronger proof than these of the perfect identification of our Lord and His cause in every way with truth, he must be insensible to the force of proof and argument. We must hold, with sayings such as these before us,—and these are only specimens,—either that our Lord was a deceiver, or that He knew everything with absolute and divine omniscience. How, then, does our Lord treat the Jewish Scriptures? As to His general treatment I have already spoken; but how does He deal with its particulars? He treats them as if the least word was full of meaning. From the tense of a verb in a saying, which we in our blindness might have treated as a formula, "I am the God of Abraham," He deduces the distinctive doctrine of the Christian faith, as from the singular "seed," St. Paul derives the doctrine that all are saved in Jesus Christ. And how does He treat those facts which doubting critics have disputed, upon no grounds except that they involve a miracle? He treats them as true, some of them so true that they are types of His own history. The story of Jonah, the story of the flood, the giving of the law, the deliverance from Egypt, the manna of the wilderness. He speaks of all these as true, and as parts of a true history.

I may say—for the Gospels warrant the assertion—that He stakes His own veracity and credibility upon the truth of the Old Testament in whole or in part. The Apostles treat the Jewish Scriptures in the same spirit and in the same way. The speaking of Balaam's ass; the story of the fall; the flood; the history of all the patriarchs; the Exodus; the history of Joshua and the Judges, are dealt with, I will not only say as true, but as so true, so indisputable, so engraven as it were with a pen of iron in the rock of authentic history, and so blended with the science of theology and with the record of God's doings upon earth that they are shown to abound with moral and spiritual lessons, and are historic symbols of the truth. And it cannot be said that they are dealt with as though they were parables, because they are expressly spoken of as facts. Take from them their historic character, and all the lessons and doctrines which are built upon them fall to the loss of the foundation. In fact, just as the facts of our Lord's life, His birth, death, resurrection, being facts first become doctrines, and become doctrines because they are facts, so the facts of Scripture history are, as it were, the womb of Christian theology and teem with symbols, hopes, and prophecies of a coming Christ. With all this before us—and the case has not been fully stated (for what becomes of all the doctrine of the great Epistle to the Hebrews if the history and divine interposition which is blended with it be not true)—can it be argued that Scripture may be in error, and yet may be inspired by God? If this is possible then a doctrine in the New Testament may be built upon a legend in the Old, then a truth can be established upon a base of unreality, then fictions can be the ground of faith. My Lords, it seems to me that mere common sense repudiates such notions as these. That true reason which, when it knows its place, so admirably guides us in the concerns of life, asks for facts and truth as the ground of moral teaching and all living faith. To base lessons upon legends or uncertainties is to build upon the air. And I believe that Archimedes might as well have been content with air for the fixed point on which to rest his lever, as that anything but actual true historic fact can be the ground from which our Lord could move the world. If God can be untrue, then the book which is the Word of God can be untrue; but not otherwise. A book which has error mingled in it, a book which, rightly understood, and judged according to those true laws of criticism which apply to its several kinds of literature, fails to stand the test of perfection, cannot have absolute authority, cannot speak to man as if it was the voice of God.

It is admitted of course that the Bible does not speak in scientific language. It passes science by. Science is not a thing with which it claims to deal. But with most of the objections of this kind which are sometimes made it will be time to deal when our almanacks have grown pedantic, and with a prudery of science which all will pronounce ridiculous, decline to say that the sun rises, and object to admit that the sun sets.

There may be infirmity, no doubt, in Scripture, weakness such as belongs of necessity to human nature, limits which the Spirit of God accepts as binding on Himself, when He comes into contact with earth and the contracted powers of humanity. But these are only like those restraints which our Lord saw fit to recognize when He assumed our nature. He was hungry. He was thirsty. He suffered pain and many other evils. These, however, were quite consistent with the possession of that Godhead which voluntarily submitted to them, and which added to its glory by the bonds which it wore. There was infirmity in Christ, limitation, submission to human power and authority, but there was no error, no fallibility, no ignorance, no deception, no sin. And so, in like manner, Scripture may have its human imperfections, its seeming though not real inconsistencies, its difficulties which try faith, its liability to alteration and corruption in the hands of copyists and translators, but I cannot admit that error can find entrance into that which holy men wrote when they were borne along like a ship with sails outspread by a divine afflatus, and spoke, not indeed without their own particular intelligence, but by the Holy Ghost. I do not intend to delay your Lordships by quoting largely upon this subject. Passages already quoted or referred to on the general subject of the Bible abundantly confirm the view which has been taken. But I must refer your Lordships to an extract from Dr. Wordsworth's Preface to the New Testament, which, as expressing the sentiments of St. Augustine and St. Jerome, is of great weight on this point.*

At any rate, whether the course of this argument has been true or not, and whether such men as St. Augustine and St. Jerome are right or not, a book filled with error, such as the Bishop of Natal has called the Bible, is not, cannot be inspired at all. The inspiration which the Bishop concedes is not worth having. It is simply a delusion. If the Bible is but a common book, and the Pentateuch a romance of history,

*Wordsworth's Greek Testament, Preface to Vol. i, page 20.

coloured by a religious purpose, which in his eyes can be religious still; if at any point we may meet with error, and where we feel most sure of fact may only be dealing with a fiction, the Bible is of little or of no use. At best it is a book of mere opinions. We had better follow the light of reason. We had better go back to ancient times and grope in the darkness of philosophic systems than follow an authority which in its claims is false. What we want is an authority, something of which we can be sure. We do not want opinions. Opinions are to be had easily, and are not worth much when they are got. We want a ground of faith, and that ground the Church must give us. But the Church cannot give it unless it can fall back on something certain. The Church must go for its authority to something which can no more err than God can err. It must go to the Word of God. And, in fact, the Bishop is quite aware of this. For, having shown, as he considers, that the Bible has no special inspiration, he tells us plainly that conscience and reason in each individual man is a better and higher light than either Church or Bible. We are ourselves our own most perfect light, and need no other luminary.

The Bishop's view of the Bible is, in fact, as I have had occasion to show already, a debased Nestorianism, applied with all the rashness of modern scepticism, to that Written Word which stands in the most intimate connection with the Incarnate Son of God. We do not meet in ancient times with well developed heresy upon those subjects which are the battle ground of error in modern times; but, as we have seen before in a page which was quoted from the Aids to Faith, the heresies which touched our Lord's Persons involved and implied others which time and thought brought out. How true this is with respect to the atonement has been shown already. I believe it to be no less true with reference to the Word of God. The substance of the Nestorian heresy is this. It makes the relation of our Lord's manhood to His Godhead a merely outward relation; the manhood co-exists with the Godhead, but it is not leavened by it, it is not penetrated through and through with God. The predicates therefore are not convertible, and you cannot speak of those acts in which the man was prominent as God's acts, nor can you speak of what is essentially divine as done by the Son of Man. By denying the oneness of personality it separates between the man and God. Now that is the substance of the Bishop's opinion on the subject, and

the opinion is adopted in the barest and most offensive form. The human element of the Bible exists, according to him, externally to the divine. The figure of a husk or shell, which I have used before, both in its worthlessness and in its separation from the kernel, exactly describes that complete independence and separation which characterizes the connection between the human and divine elements in the one book. There they are together, the one fit only to be broken and rejected, the other worthy to be eaten and received as good. The letter, that is human; the spirit, that is divine; and the divine is contained within the human, but may be severed from it and live and exist still. He holds this opinion in a form as offensive as can well be imagined; he breaks the shell, he flings it to the ground, he crushes it beneath his feet with scorn and indignation, he grinds it into powder and then throws it to the wind. Such, too, though less aggressively, has been the form which Nestorianism took in other ages when it proceeded to speculate upon God's Word. Antioch was the chief nursery of Nestorian opinions, and also of that school of interpreters who, reacting against that allegorizing tendency which was based on high reverence for Scripture, looked chiefly to the grammatical meaning of the language, and sometimes forgot that the book, though human, was divine. Among these interpreters, whose opponents were chiefly found at Alexandria, was Theodore of Mopsuestia, a great commentator, especially on the minor Prophets. And Theodore, after death, was condemned by a council for Nestorian doctrine, which, no doubt, was fairly laid to his charge. His commentaries, I may add, till quite lately were hid from light in the Nestorian Church. Later, in the 12th century, Abelard, to whom I have referred already, put forth opinions upon Holy Scripture which were essentially those of modern Rationalists, and in a form so undisguised and unmistakable, that even Mosheim, who contrasts him favourably with St. Bernard, in some particulars, and who was no enemy to free thought, condemns them as injudicious lucubrations. Abelard too, was charged, and justly charged, with being a Nestorian. Abelard, as St. Bernard says, was guilty of almost all heresy. "*Cum de Trinitate loquitur sapit Arium; cum de gratiâ sapit Pelagium; cum de personâ Christi sapit Nestorium.*" These are specimens of an internal correspondence between the humanizing views of Scripture and the error of Nestorius, which throw some light upon the question which we are considering, and indicate,

as I believe, the exact nature of the error which is involved in it. The Bishop of Natal despises the letter because he divides it from the spirit. The Bishop of Natal calls it a merely human book. It has become to him human, because, in the blindness of a self-wise spirit, he has lost the sight of that divine light which transfigures the human for those who believe in the divine. While he cries we see, his sin remains. While he boasts of his skill, he is given up to a delusion. It becomes to him that which he makes it. By confidence in his own wisdom he has lost the clue which would lead him through its difficulties, and now he wanders in the labyrinth with nothing which can guide his footsteps or show his way.

I have only to say further, upon this subject, that I believe it impossible to suffer such opinions to pass without a condemnation. I shall not trouble your Lordships with any reference to the Articles and Formularies of the Church, because I simply ask you to consider that all which has been said by me upon the former head has been repeated, and repeated, too, with greater emphasis, on this head of the same. If our Articles, and Liturgy, and Prayer Book generally condemn that broad distinction between the letter and the spirit which might perhaps admit of some kind of attempt at explanation, and forbid a Bishop of the Church to preach and teach that the Bible is not the Word of God, it cannot tolerate the same Bishop when, with reckless and unsparing pen, he writes the book historically worthless, and pronounces the Pentateuch a string of legends and lying wonders compiled by an imaginative Prophet for a good and pious end. I have carefully considered the Bishop's theory of authorship, and while I confess that it is somewhat vague, I can only come to the conclusion that he has taken some such view as this. He talks sometimes of a history, sometimes of a narrative, sometimes of an historical experiment; but he certainly appears to hold that it was published as a history, if not as a matter-of-fact, veracious history, still as a history of some kind or other. And, in fact, if it was not published as a history, the case as against the Bishop would be even worse. To say that he dealt with matters of the highest sanctity in any other way than as facts and actual occurrences, is to make him even less alive to the ordinary principles of reverence and truth. Now what are we to say of such a theory as this?

I will end this portion of the case by reminding

your Lordships that this opinion of the Bishop has been condemned by the Lower House of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury, and by reading that portion of the report of the committee which bears on this point. You are aware that the Upper House, by a very large majority, approved of the report of the Lower, so that you have in it a formal expression of the mind of the Province of Canterbury from both orders in the Church. I will also read an extract from Farrer's Bampton Lectures, which shows that this low view of inspiration has never been recognized within the English Church. The Dean then read the extract in question.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: You have contended, Mr. Dean, that the Bishop of Natal denies a special inspiration to the Bible. Have you noticed his language in one of the passages cited, as well as in other parts of his book? Does he not speak of a special inspiration in the passage in page 383?

The Dean said he had carefully examined the Bishop's words. In the passage particularly referred to by his Lordship, the gift of inspiration, whatever it might be, enjoyed by the Israelites, was made exactly parallel with the gifts of the Greeks and Romans—this, and nothing more.

The Bishop of Cape Town would remind the Dean of explanatory passages in the preface to the third part of the work on the Pentateuch, to which the Bishop of Natal had asked them to refer.

The Dean said that if the preface to the third part were put in as a defence, it would be proper to examine it in the reply. He then proceeded with his argument.

VII.

Upon the passages contained in the 7th schedule it is not needful to say much. They stand or they fall according to the view which may be taken of those which have already been considered. If Scripture be true, and if by Scripture we mean all the canonical books described in the 6th Article, to treat the whole Pentateuch, the Books of Judges, Joshua, and Chronicles, as the Bishop of Natal has treated them, is to deny the truth of Scripture, and to hold opinions which are contrary to the vows and professions which are implied in his office, and without which he could not hold the position which he now fills.

I will state to your Lordships what it is that he has published respecting these books. With regard to parts of the

Pentateuch and the Pentateuch as a whole, he denies, in terms as clear and forcible as the English tongue is able to supply, that they are historically true. That is to say, claiming as they certainly do to be history, they are not what they pretend to be; they are false. The story of the Exodus is not to be called a fiction, because the writer is not consciously dishonest. The only interpretation which I can put on this is that the writer is dishonest, but he does not know it, and the Bishop will not call him so. To say that a man of such an order of intellect as the writer of these books must have been, could publish such things as these without being aware that he had no right to publish them at all, unless they were veritable fact, and could be proved on evidence to be so, is simply absurd. Either he published them knowing that they were not true, in which case he was dishonest, or he published them without having proved their truth, in which case he was profane. In the Bishop's view he was certainly dishonest. But the Bishop will not call him a dishonest man. Coming to particulars, he says that the Pentateuch is full of absolute palpable self-contradictions, of impossibilities as to matters of fact, and also of exaggerations. The story of the flood is incredible for geological reasons. And the Bishop, aware that he is the first Bishop who has stated such opinions, can only express his wonder that this should be a fact, and that the clergy generally should still regard as a paramount duty, and as necessary to salvation, and as part of the orthodox faith, to believe that the Exodus is an historical narrative. This last statement is important, because it amounts to a distinct admission that his opinions are not in agreement with the faith.

Joshua, that eminent type of our Redeemer, by name, by office as leader of the chosen people into the land of promise, that mighty conqueror whose sword drunk deeply of the blood of Canaan, was not a real man. He was a myth, a legendary personage. So that the book of Joshua is relegated along with the Pentateuch into the shadowy regions of mythology. What an outrage upon common sense is this!

The stories of the Judges are treated in the same style, and the song of Deborah, to suit his Jehovistic theory, is "a lay of ancient Israel," composed at a later period of Jewish history, much in the same way as an author of great celebrity put forth in modern times his lays of ancient Rome.

The Chronicles are written at a late period. They contradict the Kings and Samuel, and the chronicler's statements are not at all to be relied on.

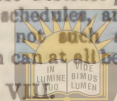
Opinions such as these are at variance with the Articles. The Bishop, denying their truth and genuineness, damages, or attempts to damage, the authority of nine of the canonical books. In so doing he contradicts Article vi, which treats these books as canonical, and their authority as being never doubted in the Church. The Bishop contradicts Article vii, which treats the New Testament as not contrary to the Old. If he is right, the New Testament is contrary to the Old. The New Testament speaks of the Mosaic account of creation and marriage, of the institution of the Sabbath, of the story of Cain and Abel, of the flood and Noah's history, of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha, of Abraham as the father of the faithful, of the institution of circumcision, of the covenant with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, of the appearance of God to Moses, of the events of Exodus generally, of the manna, of the rock in the desert, and of many other things, of Balaam of Perath, of the law in general, of Moses as a divinely appointed law-giver, of Joshua and the Judges; and yet if the Bishop's interpretation and view of the Pentateuch and the other books is true, the New Testament contradicts the Old. According to the Bishop, these books are *written in* historic grounds of doctrine. According to the New Testament they are true. Moreover, this Article vii treat the old Fathers as real historic personages, and the promises which were made to them as part of a history which was true. As to Article xx, not to refer to the error of interpreting Scripture in such a way that one part shall contradict another—for to this we have referred already—the Article treats it as the duty of the Church (and the Ordination Service, as we have seen, delegates that duty to the Bishop in particular) to keep Holy Writ inviolate. Certainly, that Bishop does not keep it inviolate who dares to assail nine of its canonical books as legendary and mythological, full of palpable exaggerations, contradictions, improbabilities.

Further, these opinions of the Bishop are special examples of opposition to that declaration which the deacon makes in ordination.

The prayer in the Baptismal Service assumes the reality of the flood, and of the passage of the Red Sea. The prayer for fair weather likewise supposes that story of the flood is true. The prayer for times of sickness is based on the historic credibility of the story of the plague in the wilderness.

The Communion Service and the Catechism accept the Mosaic history as respects the giving of the law

from Sinai. The Exhortation in the Communion Service treats those who hinder or slander God's Word as unfit to come to the Lord's Table. I am afraid that the Bishop of Natal has done as much to hinder God's Word as any living man, or any man in modern times. As he himself allows, this scandal is without a precedent. His book, if the work of a mere literary man, would have fallen harmless, for its critical importance is not great to those who are able to appreciate its real value. But coming, as it does, from a Bishop, and from a Bishop of the Church of England, its publication is a scandal, and has given great occasion to the enemies of God to blaspheme. But on this schedule I do not dwell. I regard it chiefly as an evidence in a concrete form of those abstract principles which are contained in the former schedules, and which I have endeavoured to show are not such as the Formularies and Articles of the Church can at all be supposed to tolerate.



I proceed to the eighth point. The opinions of the Bishop of Natal on Holy Scripture are, of course, liable to the objection that they expressly contradict our Lord's authority. This being the case, it is evident that one or other of two things must happen. Either the Bishop must re-examine his opinions, and, having discovered that they were adopted hastily, and without taking into account the overwhelming evidence of an opposing kind, acknowledge that he must be mistaken; or he must boldly dispute our Lord's authority, and claim for himself a wisdom which is higher, and a knowledge which is greater than that of the Master who gave him his commission, and placed the mitre upon his head. The Christian Church has witnessed, to its own shame and sorrow, that he chose the last of these alternatives. He did not bow before the wisdom of his Divine Master, suspecting his own judgment and raising his own view of the Bible to the level of his Master, but he brought down his opinion of his Master to the level of that low view of the Bible which he had rashly and hastily assumed. And thus, whereas his Master had spoken of Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, and of the history which the Bishop treats as worthless, with that respect which is due to real history, and with that reverence which is only due to history that in its Author is divine, the Bishop says—not indeed in express words, but in substantial meaning—"my Master spoke but as a man when He said these things, and He was wrong in"

His opinion. He spoke as a Jew might speak, and the Jews of that day were not acquainted with things which critics have discovered now." Your Lordships will please to observe that our Lord is charged by His servant, His chosen commissioned servant, not only with ignorance, but with error. Our Lord spoke upon these subjects; committed Himself to a certain view regarding them; took, in fact, the Mosaic history beneath His protecting wings; and He spoke of Moses as the author of those writings which were usually ascribed to him by the Jewish people. I think it quite needless to enter into little questions as to the actual share which our Lord must necessarily ascribe to Moses in these writings. He certainly makes Moses responsible for them; more than this His words need not, I think, involve. But, passing these little matters by, our Lord commits Himself clearly to a certain view, and the Bishop holds that He was mistaken. He was ignorant and yet He spoke. He took a view which greater and more advanced knowledge would have hindered Him from taking. In fact, He was in error respecting the truth of the Pentateuch, and respecting the man who wrote and was the author of the Pentateuch. In answer to this opinion of the Bishop, I shall maintain (1) that our Lord had no actual ignorance, and (2) *à fortiori* that He could by no possibility be *wrong*. The Bishop teaches that our Lord, as God, knew everything, and knew the truth respecting the Pentateuch, but that as man His knowledge was limited, and as man He knew not that which as God He knew. Against this I shall maintain that this distinction is false and heretical, because the God-man was ignorant of nothing and knew all things. The Bishop further teaches that, knowing everything as God, our Lord could yet be in error as man. I shall maintain that as He could not even be ignorant, so much more was it impossible that He could be in error. He knew everything of which He spoke not. And that which He spoke was truth.

I begin with the admission that the assumption of human nature involved also the assumption of all those limitations which essentially belong to human nature, and, as a consequence, that absence of knowledge in some respects must of necessity be predicated of that human mind which our Lord took. To deny this would be to deny that He was very man. At the same time, while I admit that absence of knowledge must be predicated of our Lord's humanity, I deny that it can be predicated of Himself. His humanity was limited by the conditions

which define humanity, but He Himself had no limit. His nature as man was finite, but in person He was infinite God. To put it more plainly, and in the exact terms of theology: in the abstract, that is, in reference to his *humanity*, we must acknowledge ignorance. In the concrete, that is, in reference to *the man*, we must claim omniscience. My Lords, I believe that the truth in this matter turns upon this distinction, and I shall endeavour to show that in the confusion of these two distinct points consists the essence of Nestorianism, as on the recognition of them depends the faith of the Church.

The faith of the Church, from the days of St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus, has been that in our Lord there are two natures, but one Christ. Nestorius and those who followed him were ready to admit a conjunction of natures, but they would not admit an union. If the two natures are only conjoined without being united, we have two Christs—Christ the man and Christ the God; and then, to the one Christ belong all the properties of man, as to the other all the properties of God. However close the conjunction, they are two, and not one. And in that case, our Lord, as man, becomes a mere man, the manhood being external to and independent of the Godhead, as the Godhead becomes separate from the manhood; not penetrating the whole of the manhood, and filling every part of it with Godhead, but only dwelling in it as the Spirit of God inhabits other men. Our Lord, as man, is thus made a mere partaker of the divine nature. He is the man who bears God within Him (*theophoros anthropos*). He is not the God man. If on the other hand the two natures are absolutely united, one single personality entering in into both natures, and without confusing them together, making them indissoluble and indis severable, then that which may be said of each nature may be said also of the other, and therefore the omniscience of the God is the property of the man. It was for this reason that St. Cyril objected to Theodoret when he said that our Lord's "humanity, in that point of time, knew only so much as the indwelling Deity referred to it." To say this, St. Cyril said, and said truly, was to make of Christ a mere prophet. And yet St. Cyril held also that when our Lord "subjected Himself to the *mass* of human nature, which is limited in its knowledge, He appropriated *this part* of it also by a special economy, although still He had no bounds to His knowledge, but was, with the Father, omniscient." I regard this as St. Cyril's mode of stating the distinction between the abstract huma-

nity and the concrete man. The man includes the person; the humanity does not. St. Cyril maintained, that is, that limitation of knowledge and omniscience are both predicable of our Lord; limitation of His human nature regarded merely as human nature; omniscience of the same nature regarded in its union with the Son of God. The truth can only be expressed by that which seems a contradiction. These feeble faculties of ours, speaking by human language, cannot in any single proposition utter this divine mystery. In this as in the case of other mysteries it is by seeming contradictions that we utter to ourselves the truth of God.

Bearing this in mind we have at once the clue to the objections which are raised against the orthodox opinion by those who quote St. Athanasius and other great names in support of their objections. St. Athanasius, writing at a time when Nestorianism had not as yet arisen, and having Arius alone in view, being required, too, to account for the difficulty raised by Arius on the ground that our Lord in professing ignorance on some points admitted His inferiority to God the Father, threw upon the human nature that weight of ignorance which Arius desired to throw upon the God. He said therefore, referring to the text about "that day and that hour,"—"this is not the Word's deficiency, but of that human nature whose property it is to be ignorant." He said also: "It is plain that He knows the hour of the end of all things, as the Word, though as man he is ignorant of it, for ignorance is proper to man, and especially ignorance of these things." He said again: "As, on becoming man, He hungers and thirsts and suffers with men, so with men, as man, He knows not, though divinely, being in the Father Word and Wisdom, He knows, and there is nothing which He knows not." But there are other passages forming part of the same discussion, which seem certainly to show that this ascription of ignorance to our Lord in His human nature was not an ascription of actual ignorance to it, but of economical ignorance, i.e., of ignorance in relation to His work as man. He knew absolutely, but not in reference to men. Athanasius supposes our Lord saying: "I know, but it is not for you to know." Again he says: "Why it was that, though He knew, He did not tell His disciples at that time, no one may be curious when He has been silent." In reality he seems very near what came afterwards to be regarded as the true meaning of the passage, which seems clearly spoken of the Son of God as God. The true meaning in all probability is, that our Lord, as sent from the Father on a mis-

slon, was not to reveal all things, and was as a revealer to be ignorant on those points which it was not good for His brethren to know. The ignorance would then be in accordance with such sayings as that in John xii, 5: "I have not *spoken of myself*, but the Father which sent me; He gave me commandment what I should *say* and what I should *speak*. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, *so* I speak." Our Lord, whose words were the words of the Father, had no authority from the Father to make known this fact. I admit that the words of St. Athanasius, and of other eminent writers,—chiefly, I believe, or wholly in ancient times, those who lived before the errors of Nestorians had put men on their guard—are of such a kind as to give some colour to the opinion that ignorance was attributed by them to our Lord in His personality, and not only to His human nature as distinct from His personality. I admit, also, that among modern divines of some considerable weight and authority, there may be clear indications of a leaning, or more than a leaning, in the same way. But I contend that unguarded expressions are not to be pressed as if they had been used with a knowledge of an error, which they seem to favour, more especially upon a point of delicacy like this, it being absolutely true that the humanity was capable of ignorance, and yet no less true that the person who had that humanity was not. I contend, moreover, that it is just on points like these that the decisions of the Church are necessary, and when once made become for ever afterwards the light by which individuals are guided, and the authority by which minds are ruled. I need scarce remind your Lordships that the greatest controversy of the Church turned upon a letter. Between "like" and "same" there is a world-wide difference; and I believe that vital principles essential to the settlement of controversies now raging in England and on the Continent may turn upon the distinction between the ignorance of the humanity and the ignorance of that man who was the Christ. We may not so believe in the Godhead as to swallow up the manhood, losing the man in the God. If we do, we confound the two natures and follow Eutyches. Nor, on the other hand, may we so believe in the manhood as to separate it from the Godhead. If we do, we divide the natures and follow Nestorius. At any rate, my Lords, I believe there is no doubt but that this is the rule by which your Lordships' judgment must be decided. Sitting as you do in this Court to interpret the laws of the Church of England, you need not be perplexed with the statements

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of divines, most of them made in ancient times before Nestorius, or in modern times without that guardedness and accuracy of thought which the presence of heresy necessitates, because you have for your guidance the dictates of two at least out of four Councils which the Christian world has agreed to recognize as worthy of the highest reverence, and which are distinctly recognized by law in England as having authority in the English Church. You have also the guidance of two out of the three Creeds, the one of which distinctly and emphatically declares our Lord's perfect divinity; the other, besides asserting this, affirms that the Godhead and the manhood are united in one Christ; and the question which I would put before your Lordship is this,—Does the opinion that our Lord was ignorant agree with the Creeds of Nice and Athanasius?—is this opinion in accordance with the Councils held at Ephesus and at Chalcedon? I maintain that it does not agree.

Before, however, the question thus put can be applied as a test to the Bishop of Natal's doctrine we must see exactly what it is that he affirms. He affirms, then, this. He asks: "At what period ^{in the} ~~of~~ His life ^{on} ~~in~~ earth is it to be supposed that He had granted to Him as the Son of Man, supernaturally, full and accurate information on these points," &c. Again he says: "It is not to be supposed that in His human nature He was acquainted," &c. Now it is clear that in these passages ignorance is ascribed to the man,—not to the humanity, but to the humanity united with the personality. I say, then, if our Lord, the Christ was ignorant He was not omniscient, and if he was not omniscient He was not God. There is no escape from this conclusion. If it be said His manhood was ignorant but His Godhead was not—and it is this which the Bishop of Natal alleges,—then the Godhead is separated from the manhood, the manhood as it existed in Christ (the concrete manhood) is said to possess properties (*idiomata*) which cannot be shared by the Godhead, and things are said to be predicable of our Lord the man which are not predicable of our Lord the God. The properties of our Lord's person belong to Him as man. As man, therefore, He knows everything, because He is omniscient as God. When, therefore, the Bishop of Natal attributes to our Lord ignorance as man, he contradicts the substance of two Creeds as bearing upon this particular, saying "that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person, whereof is one Christ, very God and

very man;” he contradicts also the decree of the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius for holding that the two natures were divided, so making two persons in one Christ; and also the decree of that great Council of Chalcedon, which was attended by six hundred and thirty Bishops, and which determined that our Lord was born, according to His humanity, of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and that He is made known as one and the same Jesus Christ, the Son, Lord, and only begotten, in two natures, without confusion, conversion, division, or separation; and, thus, he contradicts the second Article of our Church. It is worth while, perhaps, to add, as a confirmation of the view that this tenet is Nestorian, that the Agnoeta, whose principles are somewhat differently described by different authors, but who, according to Mosheim, held substantially the same opinion as the Bishop, were condemned by St. Gregory the Great as Nestorians, and that Fellows of the University of Oxford, who taught Agnoetic doctrines, is said by Mosheim to have held Nestorian opinions, as he was also condemned for his theory of adoption by a Synod and two Councils of the Church. I will end what I have to say on this question of ignorance by reading what I regard as a true exposition of the doctrine of the Church in the Library of the Fathers.* I believe this to be the true mode of statement. Our Lord was liable to ignorance in some matters, “but, in fact, He was not ignorant even in human nature, according to its capacity, since it was from the first taken out of its original and natural condition, and ‘deified’ by union with God.” In other words, His knowledge was limited in the abstract, but not in the concrete; in the humanity, but not in the man.

For further information upon this point, I would refer your Lordships to the notes on this 26th chapter of St. Athanasius generally, and for a general exposition to such works as Beveridge on the Articles and the 5th Book of Hooker. I may mention, before proceeding farther, that the Athanasian Creed in the part quoted is generally considered to condemn Nestorian opinions, though not aimed against Nestorianism.†

It has been shown, I believe, that to ascribe to our Lord ignorance in fact as man is to adopt the error of Nestorius by separating the manhood from God. But the Bishop of Natal has done a great deal more than this. He has ascribed to our Lord *error*. I desire to call particular attention to

* Select Treatises of St. Athanasius, page 461, Note.

† See Waterland on the Athanasian Creed.

this specific charge. The Bishop argues that our Lord was ignorant. But on what was He ignorant? Not as the Agnoetæ held, not as St. Athanasius is supposed—but as I believe wrongly supposed—to have held, that, as man, He was ignorant upon a subject on which He avowed ignorance, “of that day and that hour knoweth no man . . . neither the Son;”—but upon subjects on which He professed to have knowledge. Our Lord ascribed to Moses the authorship of the Pentateuch, and generally referred to the Mosaic writings as authentic history. If, therefore, ignorance on these points is ascribed to Him, ignorance on points with which He professed acquaintance, such ignorance is error. Suppose, then, that all my former argument is worthless. Suppose that to attribute ignorance to Christ the man is not to divide Christ. Suppose that all this is refuted,—a supposition which, however, I contend is not to be made, for I believe my argument to be upon the whole convincing, though I speak with confidence upon so difficult a point;—but suppose this, and what shall we say of the new charge which now is brought against his Lordship? Will his Lordship consent that any writer worthy of the name divine,—I had almost said that any heretic—has ever held that Christ spoke in error? My Lords, this is the charge to which the Bishop is driven unless he will give up his theory and confess that criticism such as his is blind. He must say plainly, as implicitly and in meaning he does say, that his Lord is wrong. Now when things come to this they get far beyond Nestorius; and I shall not insult Nestorius by naming him any longer in connection with so bold a heresy as this. But I will ask, who is this erring person? It is He of whom the Baptist testified “He speaketh the words of God.” It is He who said Himself, and in substance said it often, “The words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself.” . . . “And the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father’s which sent me.” It is He who when He stood as a prisoner at the bar, and stood on his defence before a world which accused Him, declared solemnly that He was born and came into the world to bear witness to the truth. And this person, this man whose words, whose every word is the Word of God the Father, this person speaks in error, talks of things which he does not know! My Lords, to say this, if Christ be God, is to charge God with error. Either the faith of the Church in the godhead of Christ is a delusion, or the charge of the Bishop substantially amounts to this. For this, at least, the Bishop will not

presume to quote authority, and argument is thrown away upon it. I pray God—with all my heart I pray it,—lay not this sin to his charge.

And this, my Lords, is the real question now before you. Our Lord's ignorance is not the question. It is ignorance of this particular kind. It is not the limitation of knowledge, the absence of knowledge. That is not the point in the Bishop's language. He says that our Lord was wrong,—wrong upon a matter of which He spoke continually,—wrong, too, upon things pertaining to His own book. Your Lordships will perceive from this how deep is his denial that the Bible has God for its author. The Bishop teaches that He whom we believe to be the author of the Bible was ignorant both of the substance and the sources of the book. And if our Lord was wrong in this, where was He right? What are His words worth? When can we trust Him? Where shall we follow Him? Is it for such an one as this that Apostles forsook all, that saints lived, that martyrs died? Has this mistaken person changed the world, revived society, restored humanity? No, we cannot allow such things as these. Men who teach thus destroy the faith of others. Can we believe that they have any faith themselves?

IX.

Upon the last point I have only a few remarks to offer. It speaks for itself. The Bishop being bound by his office not only to respect the Liturgy, but see that others respect it, teaches others not to use it. Again and again he has committed himself to promises and obligations which ought to make the Liturgy a sacred thing in his esteem. If his opinions are changed, if he cannot use it, and leaves the Church because he cannot, the change may be deplored, but the man may be respected. But no; he changes his faith, and yet he does not renounce his position. He abandons the Bible and the Prayer-book, and yet he stays in the office which makes him their guardian, and requires him to be faithful to his trust. And this is not all. St. Paul refers to those who look on with applause at evil-doers as being worse than those who do wrong. There is some excuse for the doer of evil, because passion hurries him along, and he loses self-mastery; but the man who coolly gazes on the evil, and without excuse of passion rejoices in the deed of shame is far worse; not only does he do the evil,—he does worse; he takes pleasure in those who do it.

But the Bishop of Natal outstrips the worst of these. He takes pleasure in those who mutilate the Book of Prayer. But he goes further. From his throne in the Church he urges them to do the work of mutilation. My Lords, it almost seems as if the further we advance in the case, the worse the case grew. If the Bishop had said, "I leave the Church; I shake off the dust of my feet against a body which I despise," he might be forgiven. But to stand in the Church itself, and with his own hands to tear pages from the book which he is pledged to use and to defend,—my Lords, the offence is one which in England might be punished with fine and imprisonment. I need only plead that here it is the act of one who is a Bishop of the Church. More I need not say. If such is the act of the shepherd, what will be the conduct of the sheep? These things which we believe, and which we weave into our solemn prayers, what are they? Fictions! "transparent fictions!" The Bishop almost says, "Is there a fool on earth who can believe them?" Be it so. But then the Bishop's office is a fiction; all the institutions of the Church are fictions; the cathedrals which our fathers built are fictions; the history of Christendom is a fiction. I might say the Christian world is one grand fiction. But, certainly, if these things are fictions, the Bishop of Natal is part of this system of imposition, and if he loves truth as he professes to love it,—vainly I must believe, for I look upon his talkings about truth as the mere boastings of that subtle pride of intellect which is idolatry of self and hatred of all that is indeed true; but if he loves truth, as he professes, he should have left this state of fictions, and taken up his place among true and living things. He will do, however, as Cranmer and the Reformers did! They stayed by the Church and reformed it. And he will do the same. But what did they do? Acting as a whole Church, they went back to that which was old and primitive. They rejected novel practices and doctrines, keeping the old, but throwing away the new. They returned to the true idea of the Church. The Bishop of Natal, in quite another spirit, brings with him a bundle of novel notions, a crude and undigested mass of jarring criticisms, and rejecting all that is old and venerable, all the faith of ages, preaches a new Gospel, makes a new Bible, revolutionizes, but not reforms the Church. Spirits of the English Reformation! ye who died for your faith; ye who cast from you the fables and the legends and the novel practices which had grown like an excrescence upon your old Church;

will you acknowledge this Bishop as your brother? Will you greet him with affection from the abodes of peace in which you now rest? or will you say that he is your most unworthy son? And will you tell him that of all your children no single man has done one half so much to bring contempt upon your dearest principles, and to injure that reformed faith for which you shed your blood? I can only protest against this argument. I call it but a libel upon history. I must ask your Lordships to pronounce it false.

And now, my Lords, I have but few words to say more. Upon nine subjects it has been my difficult and painful duty to set before your Lordships the way in which I think that we must understand the Bishop of Natal's teaching; and I believe, while fully conscious of my own deficiencies, that the case has been so clear on each of all these subjects, that I have not failed to prove him wrong. If I have failed, or even if I have not, let me still say that the case against him is not contained so much in my arguments, or in those arguments which are yet to be addressed to your Lordships, as in the faith of our English Church. If we had done no more than send to you the passages objected, and the Prayer-book and Homilies of our Church, the contrast is so glaring that your Lordships, I believe, must have pronounced the charges just. Of the Atonement he draws a fair and mystic picture, which plays with the fancy, and sometimes seems to glance in the sunlight, and touch the surface of the heart; but he paints upon a vacuum, and the bright colours are only in the air; for he takes from it the most essential element, and what he leaves is but the shadow of love. When from the Atonement we pass to the reception of our Lord's atoning sacrifice, he sweeps away that faith which is the instrument of its reception, removing it wholly as no element or part of Christianity, and he substitutes for faith the peace which is its consequence, and which cannot even exist within us unless faith, going before, has done its own work. Then with a fair and open field before him, with every condition gone, and with election banished from the sphere of Christianity, like a rider who expatiates over a level plain, he preaches universal salvation, and, dogmatizing far beyond the limits of revelation, tells us that every son of Adam is born again in Christ, and receives with the Body and Blood of Christ the full benefits of our Lord's sacrifice. After this we could only expect that he would mysticize upon the dreadful penalties of evil, and deny the realities of hell. And this he tells us is the Gospel. My Lords, if Holy Scripture be true; if the Church in all

ages, basing its faith on Scripture, has thought and taught truly ; if our articles, symbols, and liturgy are to be taken in the plain sense of theologic language, a gospel such as this is the subversion of Christianity, and as in its essence it must be paralleled with some of the vagaries of Gnosticism or with the follies of Anabaptistical fanaticism,—so in its consequences, if allowed to work its consequences out, it can only undermine religion and destroy morality. My Lords, the Bishop seems to think that he is sent to reform the Church and lighten the darkness of our English society. I maintain rather that he is striving to uproot religion, and that he lights his little candle as a substitute for sunlike truth. Upon the Bible he is only a little less dangerous, and no less dogmatic. With a recklessness unparalleled in any member of our English universities, which have hitherto been nurseries of calm reflection and sober thought, he has assailed the Bible with a zeal which I must call fanatical, and has found a strange satisfaction in proving, as he vainly fancies, that this venerable book is largely fallacious, and that at the root it is unsound and untrue. Going far beyond all known opinions in the English Church, and connecting himself in an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Spinoza and the rationalizing Jew Maimonides, going on, too, in front even of these most daring speculators, he tells us that the Bible is not God's word, that its letter is of no value, that it is a human book, that its early parts are worthless as those Roman legends which make a wolf the nurse of Romulus, and he criticizes this worthless letter with all the coolness of an anatomist who operates upon a dead corpse from which the life and sense are fled. But life has not fled from the Bible, and the Bible takes vengeance on its anatomizer by making him display his blindness before an indignant and astonished world. And this, my Lords, alas! this is not all. He ascribes to his Lord ignorance. He ascribes to his Lord error. Having so separated between the human and divine elements of Holy Scripture as to count the human worthless, he so divides our Lord's human and divine natures as to declare that our Lord was wrong. I cannot trust myself to speak on this subject; for to assert this, and again, and yet again, to defend the assertion, amounts to something more than error. Your Lordships, no doubt, will weigh its full import in the scales of justice, and give it the sentence which is due. More I need not say. I will but ask this venerable Court to tell us what the law of Christ demands. Speaking on behalf of my brother clergy,

who with one mind and one mouth, repudiate and reject these novel doctrines, these strange contradictions of revealed and unalterable truth, I ask you, without fear or favour, without regard to man and man's opinion, with an eye singly fixed on that Divine Person who, as He reigns upon His throne above, watches with eyes of fire the work which is now proceeding, and the judgment which this Court will pronounce,—before Him our God, I ask you to put in force those sacred laws which you are pledged and commissioned to administer, and, though the person accused is a bishop and your brother, to award that sentence which is right and just.

At the close of the Dean's address the Court adjourned for half an hour.

When the Court resumed the Archdeacon of Graham's Town commenced his argument, which was not concluded at four o'clock when the Court adjourned until eleven o'clock on the following morning.

Thursday, Nov 19.

University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

The Court resumed at eleven o'clock

Archdeacon Merriman (who spoke from notes) continued his address, which commenced as follows: It is with very great regret that I find myself compelled, at the very outset of the part I am now taking (in advancing arguments at this grave and painful trial) to put in a plea to your Lordships for a somewhat extensive indulgence. My entire unacquaintance with the forms of proceedings of this nature has led me into a serious mistake which is now too late for effectual correction. It was not till within a few hours of our yesterday's sitting that I became aware of the necessity we were under while maintaining these charges, that each of us argue them out from end to end without interruption. I had supposed that each single schedule would receive its discussion separately and by itself, before passing on to the next. This I was prepared to do; and I unexpectedly find myself with the whole array together in my hands, and I must plead apology for an unpreparedness which this will necessarily seem to invest what I have now to say. And I plead it not only in apology to your Lordships for the defects of manner, but also lest I should by any possibility seem to be less heartily identified than I really am with the more accurate labours of my coadjutors, or less heartily concurrent (which I am to the fullest extent) with all the leading points of the arguments, which they severally

bring forward in a more full and orderly array than I could possibly do when suddenly confronted at once with the whole of so large a subject. Any man's mind may well reel and stagger under the vast extent of a subject so widely spread and so portentous as this. I specially name the vast extent because I am anxious to press on the attention of the Court, in the way of argument, the fact that, never since the foundation of Christendom, as I firmly believe, was any individual heretic or false teacher cited to appear on a charge so extensively diffused, so multifarious, and covering so wide a field of erroneous doctrine as that with which we have felt constrained to charge the Bishop of Natal; and I do so, because however much of uncertainty there may be in attempting to fix the meaning of certain theological phrases which the Bishop of Natal makes use of in an inconsistent or erroneous way, however much we may misunderstand him or be baffled in our attempts to explain his meaning, still the cumulative weight of argument to be drawn from so great and multifarious a mass of false teaching is really irresistible. The points which were severally argued yesterday and to-day treat upon nearly all the great heresies condemned in ancient times, and considered in the first four general councils. I do not say that they directly involve them all. But a denial, by implication, of our Lord's divine nature, or of the perfection of His human nature, seems necessarily to lie at the root of a great portion of the false teaching of which we complain. And the free handling of the Holy Scriptures, after the manner of Socinus and his followers, culminates at length in the Bishop of Natal's writings, in such fearful statements regarding our Blessed Lord that we hardly know under what class to reckon such heresy, even when running over the names of the copious brood of them which sprang up in the sixth century. Truly, the tongue shrinks from uttering and the ear tingles at hearing these strange and portentous statements which it is our painful duty thus to bring into formal light, for the purpose of seeking your Lordships' judgment upon them. I cannot but account it as a marvellous instance of forbearance existing in the Church of England that proceedings for the purpose of bringing this matter to trial have not been taken before. And now, in taking successively (as far as I am able), first, the schedules from I to IV, relating to the Commentary on the Romans, I wish to limit my argument on the points in question within as narrow a compass as I may. The ground has been already amply, and I think convin-

cingly, covered by a discussion of all the essential features of these great doctrines contravened; specially the doctrine of the atonement of our Blessed Lord, which relieves me from the burden of saying much on that head. But on this and on the other points (inasmuch as the language of our Formularies has been vindicated, and their compliance with the ancient modes of faith abundantly demonstrated from liturgical and patristic sources), I shall only endeavour to exhibit the certainty of their meaning by a reference to the writings of contemporary or closely succeeding times. But, first, I would remark that in the extracts in Schedule 1, we have one of the most unquestionable denials of the plain words of our Articles of all that the whole extent of the combined charges furnishes us. I believe in that lies the key to the whole scheme of false doctrine that is evolved from it. The second Article of our Church says "who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile His Father to us." Dr. Colenso expressly states that there is no need for God to be reconciled to us—all that is required is for us to be reconciled to God. I wish to refer to this contradiction presently in the way of proof, but I cite it now as appearing to me to form the cardinal error from which the rest of the false teaching in this Commentary seems to flow. Others besides the Bishop of Natal may have incautiously used or accepted like words to these, without intending to impugn any portion of the revealed truth, but simply as not seeing the conclusions to which such a statement leads. Those who may have done so may well be warned now of the consequences. For let us see how the Bishop of Natal proceeds to draw out from this denial of the plain words of Article II—"who truly suffered to reconcile His Father to us,"—the remainder of his scheme. In attempting thus to invest God with the character of pure and simple benevolence, which Bishop Butler so well says may be the way in which to some other order of beings He has revealed Himself, but cannot be the way in which He is made known to us, the Bishop feels himself constrained to lower or get rid of the doctrine of the Atoning Sacrifice, which was made, though in infinite love, yet to pacify the wrath of God. He is then obliged to find a mode by which the whole human family may be placed on one common level. He cannot do this without getting rid of the necessity of a justifying faith, and of the sacraments ordained by Christ for the faithful; and then to embrace the idea of everlasting punishment at all, is naturally most abhorrent to the mind of one who had set out with this object in view of explaining away everything but what was in his own idea

consistent with the notion of pure, simple, unmixed benevolence in the Creator.

The Archdeacon then proceeded to argue at considerable length that the Bishop of Natal was altogether in error in his denial that our Lord died in man's stead. To the passages quoted by the Dean he added several others, both from Holy Scripture and from classic authors, to show that certain words were commonly used with exactly the opposite meaning to that which Bishop Colenso assigned to them, and upon which his whole case depended. For the use of the preposition "*hyper*," he referred to 1st Cor. xv, 3, where it is said "Christ died *for* our sins, according to the Scripture." To establish the Church's doctrine of the Atonement, and illustrate the meaning of the words used in her Formularies, he first called the attention of their Lordships to the Homily which seemed to have an authority superior to the rest,—the Homily entitled the "Homily on Salvation," and which was unquestionably referred to in Article *xi* as being explanatory in more popular language of those difficult theological terms which were used on the great subjects of Justification and Redemption. He first read from Part I of the Homily on Salvation: "For the more full understanding hereof it is our part and duty ever to remember the great mercy of God, how that all the world being wrapped in sin by the breaking of the law, God sent His only Son our Saviour Christ into this world, to fulfil the law for us by shedding of His most precious blood, to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or as it may be called *amends*, to His Father for our sin to assuage His wrath and indignation against us for the same." Now he specially called attention to this explanation in the homely, popular speech of England, at the time when the Formularies were composed, of the difficult words "Sacrifice" and "Satisfaction." Mean what it may in the Bishop of Natal's terminology, with our reformers it means "*making amends* to His Father for our sin, assuaging His wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same." He further read from the same Homily: "It pleased our Heavenly Father of His infinite mercy, without any one desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's Body and Blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, His justice fully satisfied." And then: "God the Father of all mercy wrought this high benefit unto us, and not by His own person, but by a mean, and no *less* mean than His only beloved Son, whom He spared not from any pain and travail that might do us good. For upon Him he put our sins, upon Him He made

our ransom, Him He made the mean betwixt us and Himself, whose mediation was so acceptable to God the Father through His profound and perfect obedience, that He took His act for a full satisfaction of our disobedience and rebellion, whose righteousness He took to weigh against our sins, whose redemption he would have to stand against our damnation." (Homily of Rogation Week, part III.) It was well known of what great authority as exponents of the meaning of the words of our Formularies were Dean Noell and Bishop Jewell, the one in his Catechism, the other in his famous Apology. Welchman, speaking of the authorities which he cites in the Articles from our old divines, says: "Among a thousand others you will find few equal to these, none superior to them, especially Noell and Jewell, to whom, as far as the Articles are concerned, next to the Homilies and the Liturgy, the first place must be assigned, since not only were they the greatest divines, but they formed also an important part of the very Convocation in which the Articles were put forth and confirmed, the one being a Bishop the other the Prolocutor." The Archdeacon then read an extract from Noell's Catechism: "Solutus enim Christus per passionem dolorum et mortem suam quam ponam scelerum nostrorum dependit ac persolvit Deo satisfacit, per solum ergo Christum receptum ad Dei gratiam habemus" (Noell's Cat. Remissio Peccatorum, p. 109); and another of like import from Jewell's Apology. He would then ask their Lordships whether any explanation given by the Bishop of Natal of his view of the words "perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world" could be brought into an accordance with this exposition of the meaning of the words used in our Articles and Liturgy? With regard to the use of the Scripture word "reconcile," he wished only to cite a passage from Bishop Pearson's work on the Creed, not, of course, as an independent authority, or equal to those cited before, but still as being the most generally accepted exposition by all schools of theology in the Church of the doctrine contained in the Apostles' Creed. Indeed, it had now passed into a current saying in the Church, "Bishop Pearson, the very dust of whose writings was gold." The Archdeacon then read: "In vain it is objected that the Scriptures saith our Saviour reconciled men to God, but nowhere teacheth that He reconciled God to man; that is, to cause Him who before was angry and offended with him, to be gracious and propitious to him. As the princes of the Philistines spake of David, 'Wherewith should he reconcile himself to his master; should it not be with the heads of

these men? Wherewith shall he reconcile Saul, who is so highly offended with him? wherewith shall he render him gracious and favourable, but by betraying these men unto him? As our Saviour adviseth, 'If thou bring thy gift before the altar, and there remembereth that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother,' *i.e.*, reconcile thy brother to thyself whom thou hast injured, render him by thy submission favourable unto him who hath something against thee, and is offended with thee. As the Apostle adviseth the wife 'that departeth from her husband, to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband,'—that is, to appease and get the favour of her husband,—in the like manner we are said to be reconciled unto God when God is reconciled, appeased, and become gracious and favourable unto us; and Christ is said to reconcile us unto God when He hath moved and obtained of God to be reconciled unto us; when He hath appeased Him and restored us unto His favour. Thus, when we were enemies we were reconciled unto God; that is, notwithstanding He was offended with us for our sins, we were restored unto His favour by the death of His Son. Whence appeareth the weakness of the Socinian exception, that in the Scriptures we are said to be reconciled unto God, but God is never said to be reconciled unto us. Now, by that very expression it is to be understood that he which is reconciled, in the language of the Scriptures, is restored unto the favour of him who was formerly offended with that person which is now said to be reconciled. As when David was to be reconciled unto Saul, it was not that David should lay down his enmity against Saul, but that Saul should become propitious and favourable unto David, and, therefore, where the language is that David should be reconciled unto Saul, the sense is that Saul, who was exasperated and angry, should be appeased, and so reconciled unto David" (Pearson on Creed, Art. 10. p. 430, Forgiveness of Sins. He would further illustrate the use of the word "reconcile" (which he must allow, in common phraseology, meant usually what the Bishop of Natal would fain restrict it to, *viz.*, the offending party being placed once more on good terms with the party injured) by reference to a writer contemporaneous with the publication of our Articles, and one who more than any other, next to the translators of our Bible, had aided in fixing the present form of the English tongue. He meant the dramatic writer Shakspeare. He uses the word distinctly

as implying also the offended person forgiving the offender. So that it is not a merely theological use, the one for which we contend. In the drama of Richard III, Act 1, Scene 4, Clarence answers thus to his murderers, one of whom says: "Offended us you have not, but the King." "I shall be reconciled to him again." Now, we know here which was the offended party,—it is a case just answering to that of Saul and David.

And to establish the Church's doctrine on the Atonement, he quoted copiously from the first and second parts of the Homily on Salvation, and from the third part of the Homily on Rogation Week, while the point was further illustrated from Noel's Catechism and Jewel's Apology.

II and III.

He then passed on to the 2nd and 3rd schedules, which he considered together. He called attention especially to what he considered the extraordinary use by the Bishop of Natal of the word "faith," which the Bishop applied to something that a heathen man found written on his heart by the finger of God,—a sense of his at-one-ment with the right and the true,—his admiration of the beauties of nature,—or what not. This, at all events, was an entirely different use of the word "faith" to that in our own Formularies; and such a loose employment of the word by the Bishop entirely bore out the charges in Schedules II and III. As the Bishop was indebted for the error cited under the former schedule to Socinus and his followers, so this one on faith seemed borrowed from the Quakers; this body of Christians deriving their view from a perversion of the text in St. John about the "true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," talked much of "the Christ in the heart," applying it to heathens and Mohammedans, as well as Christians; and the Bishop of Natal's views seemed in this quite to coincide with theirs. The speaker had many excellent and much-esteemed friends in that body; but his esteem and regard for them was founded on their *not* having signed our Thirty-nine Articles, or professed to give adherence to our Formularies. If they did so, and remained Quakers still, he should renounce them at once. The Bishop's view on this subject could not be reconciled with Article XI, nor with passages which were cited from the first and second parts of the Homily on Salvation, the first part of that on Faith, and the first part of the one on Good Works. He also quoted Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Article ix, and Hooker, Book v, cap. 60.

He then passed on to the 4th schedule, and with reference to this he spoke as follows: There is no reason to repeat the Bishop of Natal's words on this subject. It is a subject which, doubtless, we all naturally shrink from, and were the Bishop's views only couched in the more modest language which one extract employs, wherein he speaks of "laying his hand upon his mouth," and simply "hoping that it might be so," and the like, we too might lay our hands upon our mouths, and suffer a weak and wavering brother to pass unmolested. But in truth, just because he is so plainly contradicting the express declarations of Holy Scripture and our Formularies, he is led on to revile the Athanasian Creed, and waxes so bold as to say, though one thousand texts of Scripture should seem to assert it, he would not believe the doctrine of eternal punishment therein stated, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY we are firmly assured it is. This shows unmistakably the state of mind into which the unhappy author has fallen in reference to Holy Scripture. UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY TOGETHER WITH EXCELLENCE He reasons with one so headstrong as this, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY TOGETHER WITH EXCELLENCE We can merely show how opposed his view is to the truth. The Archdeacon then, after referring to the passages included in the citation, quoted from the first and third parts of the Homily on Salvation, and the third part of that on Prayer, while he mentioned the fact also, that the doctrine was specially condemned in "*Reformatio Legum, De Heresibus*," chapter ii, which he then read as follows: "*Nec minor est illorum amentia qui periculosam Origenis haeresim in hac aetate nostra rursus excitant nimirum omnes homines (quantumcunque sceleribus se contaminaverint) salutem ad extremum consecuturos cum definito tempore a justitia divina poenas de admissis flagitiis luerint. Sed Sacra Scriptura damnatos saepe pronunciat in perpetuos cruciatus et deterios flammis precipitari.*" In concluding this part of his argument, the Archdeacon contended that the reception of the Bishop of Natal's doctrine would not only be the removal of the wholesome stimulus of fear, in deterring the wicked from their evil courses by dread of punishment, but would inflict what was, perhaps, a greater wound on the faith and feelings of Christian men by stripping the righteous of all comfort in the certainty of everlasting life, for the Bishop, as a natural and necessary consequence of his doctrine, admitted in so many words that the righteous *may* forfeit their inheritance and suffer a diminution (at least) of their happiness.

in heaven. He then alluded to St. Augustine's declaration on that head, when speaking of Origen in the treatise "*De Civitate Dei*," who says, "*tanto invenitur errare deformius et contra recia Dei verba perversius quanto sibi videtur sentire clementius.*" (Lib. 21, c. 17.) He then proceeded: In concluding this part of the case, there remains nothing but that I should, in the name of my colleagues and myself, in the name of the diocese to which we each belong, in the name of the flock of Natal—that unhappy flock, whose only earthly consolation in this matter is the continued absence from among them of the chief pastor who has taught them these things, and has left them thus for the time as sheep without a shepherd—in the name of the whole Church, claim, my Lords, such a judgment as shall, by God's good blessing, stop the frightful evil that impends over us if this large mass of false teaching is suffered to go on unchecked. Our children are to be saved from the ravages of Socinianism, or its real ally, doctrinal Quakerism—if our children's children are to grow up in the faith which we have received from those before us, and which we hope to transmit as their dearest inheritance to those who come after us, we claim it at your Lordships' hands that you should step in and ward off the ravages of this consuming fire of heresy and unbelief. None are more likely to suffer than the young, who seem caught by the seeming amiability of this doctrine, and, I have no doubt, by the real amiability of the Bishop's personal character. The very painful fact has been quite recently brought to our notice, that the other day, at one of our largest public schools, where the Bishop had been once a master, the boys, on his appearing among them on their great speech-day, hailed him with a general and public acclamation of joy. No doubt these poor boys thought that the Bishop was what he tries to represent himself as being in the third part of his book on the Pentateuch, i. e., a great reformer, like Ridley and Latimer of old. And could not the united voices of the English Bishops warn them? It must then be left to the sentence pronounced by your Lordships to assure them that he whom they have confounded with those great and wise master-builders in our Zion is in truth but an arch-destroyer of the common faith. It will be all too late when the poison has entered into the very bones and marrow of the Church to attempt to purge out the sickly taint. The calm threat which the Bishop puts forth in his Preface to Part III is in truth most appalling. He says, page xi. "But it is said the same spirit of inquiry will be carried into the

writings of the New Testament. I answer undoubtedly it will, and must be; and if there is any part of the Church's teaching depending on the New Testament which will not bear the test of truth, we shall of course, as servants of the God of Truth, be bound to reject that also." In one word, then, to your Lordships is committed the high trust of putting, as far as in you lies, effectual check to these appalling errors. That the Bishop has had your prayers, we are sure; that he may soon have your outspoken judgment, we earnestly hope. My own earnest prayer is, that from all false doctrine, from heresy, and schism, from contempt of His holy word and commandments, the good Lord may deliver us.—The Archdeacon then proceeded with the remaining portion of the charge, which referred to the Bishop's views contained in his Commentaries on the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua.



Here, he was happy to say, he should not detain their Lordships long, because the case was so much plainer, and because also the various points had been so ably and convincingly, and in some cases so exhaustively argued. Hence there would be the less necessity to travel over the same ground at any length. He should, however, claim the same indulgence of which he stood in need at the beginning, and still required, and would attempt only to pursue a similar course of argument to that which he had principally adhered to on the previous day, not travelling for authorities far beyond the sphere of recognized and authorized documents of the Church. He then continued as follows: We charge the Bishop with treating Holy Scripture as a merely human book, not inspired by God, or, at least, inspired only in a lower sense, a sense which, we believe, the Formularies of the Church do not allow him to apply to what, at their hands, we receive and regard under the name of "God's Word." I will not recite again what has been so well summarized from the wording of the Articles and Liturgy, bearing on the terms, everywhere occurring, such as Holy Scripture, Word of God, Law given from God by Moses. The Latin copies of the Articles, whether they be called the original or not, have the equivalent for these expressions in words no less strong, as in Article vi, *Divina Scriptura*, Article xx, *Divinorum Librorum*. Now, I understand the Bishop of Natal to affirm that he does not deny the inspiration of Holy Scripture. My Lords, what is that affirmation worth? We have

already learned what mere counters in the Bishop's hands are the solemn words which we have been accustomed to use as true coins. We find that, however powerful and clear a writer is he on common ground, we must begin the study of the English language afresh when we have to deal with his use of theological terms. With him "eternal" means something lasting for a time; "endless" something which, I protest, in his phraseology I cannot understand; and "everlasting" seems to have no meaning at all. "Faith"—that faith by which we hope to be justified and saved—means a heathen's admiration of the good, the beautiful, and the true. The "peace of God which passeth all understanding" is frittered down into a heathen man's "sense of gladness and freedom;" and the Bishop's favourite preposition *hyper*, upon the most solemn occasion, when used concerning the death of our Lord as effecting the redemption of our race, becomes simply "in respect of our sins." After this, my Lords, what meaning can you extract from the Bishop of Natal's repudiation of his denial of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures? Far be it from me to attempt to dogmatize in the presence of your Lordships upon that which the Formularies of the Church are supposed to have left as vague, as to the exact meaning of what we call Holy Scripture "inspired." I will not discuss a point which English divines are yet earnestly engaged in investigating, or affect to settle the words "plenary," "literal," and all the other terms in use which are applied to this subject. I know one who has never been exceeded in this or any other generation in his knowledge of the Word of God, one to whom we all (those who never heard his name, and who need not now hear it from me if they do not recognize him under the title of the Great Father of the Western Church)—to whom, I say, we all owe so much,—one who is thought, in spite of all his reverence, to have given a very free handling sometimes to portions of the Word of God, and he, when on his knees before his Maker, ejaculates, "*Arripui venerabilem stylium Spiritus Sancti tui et præ ceteris Apostolum Paulum*" (Aug. Conf. 7, 21). He calls the Scriptures, and St. Paul's writings especially, the *august pen of the Holy Ghost*. But, my Lords, I go on to an authority which, if not better in itself, is, I am sure, of more weight with your Lordships, and more in accordance with the line of argument to which I intended chiefly to confine myself. What do our Homilies say in illustration of the meaning of those numerous titles by which in our other formulas the Holy Scriptures are called? See, for instance, in the First Homily, the exhortation to the reading of Holy Scripture. Towards the end are these words, after

many pages of exhortation to the people to read their Bibles: "Let us pray to God, the only author of these heavenly studies, that we may think, speak, believe, live, and depart hence according to the wholesome doctrine and verities of them." I call especial attention to the phrase "God, the only author of these heavenly studies," *i.e.*, the Bible, and I ask whether the language here employed is in accordance with the views of the Bishop of Natal? Our reformers, who built all they did upon Holy Scripture, were anxious to send the people to search diligently the same source. But in what kind of spirit did they send them? In one widely different from that of our new reformer, who sends people to use their critical faculties to find out all the discrepancies they can discover, and to make themselves the judges,—what part of the Bible is divine, what human, what part is genuine history, and what a skilfully-concocted lie. [The Archdeacon next quoted at some length from the Homily for them which take offence at certain ^{IN VIDE} ^{LUMEN} ^{TUE} ^{CRUCIS} ^{ALUMINUM} of the Holy Scriptures. The following is a part of what he read: "Thus if ye will be profitable hearers and readers of the Holy Scriptures, ye must first deny yourselves and keep under your carnal senses, taken by the outward words, and search the inward meaning; reason must give place to God's Holy Spirit. You must submit your worldly wisdom and judgment unto His divine wisdom and judgment; consider, the Scriptures, in what strange form soever it be pronounced, is the word of the living God." And again: "Let us earnestly take heed that we make no jesting stock of the books of Holy Scriptures; the more obscure and dark the sayings be to our understanding, the further let us think ourselves to be from God and His Holy Spirit, who was the author of them." (2nd part of the Information of certain Places of the Scriptures.) He then proceeded: And now I come but a stage lower in authority, and possibly go back a stage in point of chronology; for the second part of the Homilies, it is most probable, was not published before the principal part of *Reformatio Legum* was composed; and I think I am quoting words which Cranmer himself probably penned, and certainly did with his fellow-commissioners assent to. I feel assured I am adducing the full, concentrated, authoritative weight of the chief reformers, and the compilers and publishers of these Articles which we charge the Bishop of Natal with contravening, when I read (Cap 10, *De Heresibus*): "*Divina Scriptura tanta credatur auctoritas ut nulla creatura cujusvis excellentia ipsi vel anteposenda sit vel aquanda.*" [The Archdeacon also quoted from *Reformatio Legum*, Cap. iii., and from Jewell's Apology]. I

would ask you to judge, my Lords, whether any possible view of inspiration held by the Bishop of Natal, if we take the passages articulated in these schedules, can be thought consistent with these most clear statements from our Formularies, and the works which I have cited as the best, the distinctest, and most authoritative exposition of their meaning?

VII.

I now come to Schedule VII. And here I must ask your Lordships not to consider us as attaching any legal and technical meaning to the words "authenticity and genuineness." We mean, substantially, he depraves the Scriptures, *i.e.*, he denies their authority and he denies their truthfulness. The word "canonicity" I would not willingly give up. If your Lordships should think fit to expunge it in your judgment, the responsibility I should at least not like to rest with us. Let the Bishop of Natal talk what fine words he may about "canonical books," I should be sorry to accept his use of this or of other important theological terms, or adopt it in any way. As to what I mean by "canonicity," I shall be content with Welehan's definition, that the canonical books are those which are inspired by God, and given for a rule of faith and manners. And now I will not pain your ears or shock your reason by going over again what was so ably exposed and denounced yesterday as to the Bishop of Natal's treatment of sacred history. I have adopted the Bishop of Natal's prescribed method,—I have endeavoured to read the passages cited in connection with the whole context, but I found the task so painful,—I was obliged to copy out in writing page after page before I could force my mind to give its due attention to this most revolting subject. Had I, instead, spent my time in writing down a series of observations and arguments upon it (which happily, however, my coadjutors have done instead of me), I should not feel, as I now do, afraid to trust myself before your Lordships, with the freedom and latitude of speech, into which an irrepressible indignation might betray me. But I would simply ask, can we suppose, do the Bishop of Natal's friends suppose, that he himself would like to be associated in what I must call the dishonest, the fraudulent, not to say dirty work that he ascribes to the Prophets Samuel and Jeremiah? My Lords, we all remember how, before half that memorable "ten weeks" was over when his Lordship first landed on these shores, he too was anxious to improve the, so to say, "Rabbinistic" nomenclature, and, I suppose, doctrine of the missionaries who had gone before him. First, he had his

Umkulunkulu for their *U-Tixo*. Now, I understand, he has "*Um Dio*." Well! let us suppose he had taken the same means, by figures, by legends, by imagination—in a word, by lies—to enforce his new Jehovistic phraseology upon the Church and people of Natal. In what estimate would he now stand with the people of that colony? How would he look them in the face? Indeed, it is hard to say what amount of toleration men will concede to those imposters and forgers who only exercise their craft upon religious subjects. But were such things done such as the Bishop imputes to those holy men, I say were such things done by himself in the mercantile world, I am afraid he would, ere this, have exchanged his comfortable house for a convict's cell, and instead of the pen he now wields with such fatal ability, he would have found a mattock thrust rudely into his hands by the overseer. But I quit the painful subject, and go for a moment only to Schedule VIII.



Had not the contents of this schedule been already argued out very ably I should have felt constrained to go into it, though unquestionably the most painful part of all our work. I would simply remark further upon it in reference to the defence set up by the Bishop himself, and through Mr. Houghton, in the preface to Volume III, that he appears entirely to overlook the distinction between ignorance and, I will not say, error, but mistake and self-deceit. The able theological reviewer in the *Guardian* has called attention to this point in words which I should like to quote, with your Lordships' permission: "But it is the latter, not the former—actual blundering, not mere deficiency of information—which Bishop Colenso does not fear to charge in effect on our Saviour. For anything we can see, simple privation of knowledge is compatible with absolute innocence, and with the perfection of a finite creature; but surely palpable error and blind self-delusion are not so, but manifestly 'have the nature of sin.' We abstain from pursuing the Bishop's positions into their legitimate and most awful consequences. He strikes, as with a two-edged sword, both at the Lord as a Teacher—for if He could err so grievously in one thing how shall we trust to Him for guidance as to the rest?—and at the Lord as the Atoner, for how shall one fallen and blemished being make satisfaction for others? If anything could deter Bishop Colenso from these random and shocking speculations, surely the solemn reflection should do so that he is implicitly, yet we are sure undesignedly, denying Him who is

'the Lamb without spot,' and also 'the Way, the Truth, and the Life.'" I now pass on to the last schedule.

IX.

We here charge the Bishop with depraving and impugning and otherwise bringing into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer, particularly portions of the Ordinal and Baptismal Service, and in so doing, with violating the law of the Church of England and Ireland. The reading of the single extract in page xxii, Preface to Part II, is enough to substantiate this charge. But the more terrible cruelty of the Bishop's speculations is, that even in times of distress we must not come in common prayer to God without being told that we are coming with a palpable lie in our mouth. Who that has pleaded for a renewal of fair weather by a remembrance of God's combined wrath and mercy in the flood—who that in the time of common plague and sickness has addressed God as "the God who in Thy wrath didst send a plague upon Thine own people in the wilderness for their rebellion" and goes on—"like as Thou didst then accept an atonement, so may it please Thee now to withdraw from us this plague and grievous sickness;" and so on throughout these touching invocations in time of distress, alluding to the events of the Old Testament, which have been written for our example,—who, I say, would choose to be lightly robbed of an inheritance such as this? But we are told the Bishop can defend all this. We are referred to Part III of his work, recently published; be it so. I accept the appeal gladly. I turn to page xxvi. He says, answering what appears to be a question of the Bishops, which is as follows:

"We understand you further to intimate that those who think with you are precluded from using the Baptismal Service, and, consequently (as we must infer), other offices of the Prayer Book, unless they omit all such passages as assume the truth of the Mosaic history?"

Ans.—"This assumption again is contradicted by my own language already referred to, Part II, page xxii, where I have said that many clergymen, who do not believe in the historical truth of the Noachian Deluge, will yet be able to justify themselves in one of two ways in using still such a form of prayer. . . . I consider, however, that such passages ought no longer to be retained, as of absolute obligation, in our Prayer-book; and I hold it to be my duty as a Bishop of the National Church to labour for their removal, or, at least, for the liberty being granted of omitting

them as soon as possible." After reading this, I shut the book, and close my case, saying *Habemus confitentem reum.*

I shall not again venture to plead with your Lordships for a judgment in condemnation of this farrago of most merciless, but happily also most palpable, breach of what we have been used to consider the obligations of conscience and of law. We commit the judgment calmly, confidently, and prayerfully into your Lordships' hands, and say only, May God defend the right.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of George then rose and said: My Lords, I will detain the Court with as few preliminary remarks as possible; but before proceeding to discharge my own share of the responsibility common to myself and those with whom I am associated in respect of these accusations, there are one or two matters bearing on the case on which it seems to me important that I should first ask to be heard. In the first place, it is both my interest and duty to say that I appear here not on my own behalf alone, but as the representative of every clergyman in the Archdeaconry of George. I do not mean, in saying this, to throw off responsibility from my own shoulders; for if I had stood alone, I scarcely think that I should have doubted of my course. But it seems only right that the Court should know that by the unanimous choice of the clergy of the archdeaconry, I am now acting as their Proctor; and it is no small comfort to me personally to be able publicly to say this. In the next place, I may be allowed, I trust, to express for myself something of the deep reluctance with which I, for one, have engaged in these proceedings. Shortly after my arrival in the colony at the beginning of the year, I made a proposition to some of the leading clergy of the Province—and I pressed the province should, if possible, unite in a requisition to the Bishop of Natal, respectfully but firmly calling upon his Lordship not to take shelter under any merely legal and technical defences, but to act on the convictions expressed in the Preface to Part I. of his work on the Pentateuch (pp. xi—xiii.), and honestly retire from a position which I believed he might yet be brought to feel he could no longer honestly occupy. And I accordingly drafted a requisition to that effect, and submitted it to some of the more prominent of the clergy. But they were wiser, I am willing to believe, than I was. They certainly estimated more exactly than I had done the probable futility of such a course. It will be fresh within your Lordships' recollection that when the Bench of English Bishops, and some of the Irish Bishops, united in offering to the Bishop of Natal a similar

suggestion, it was not received by him with much deference; and on the part of some of the Bishop's supporters, was met with a storm of ridicule. Similar treatment was extended to the Episcopal "inhibition." The line of argument adopted was that it was unjust to condemn a man before he had been legally proved guilty; and that to call upon an accused person to save trouble by condemning himself was in the highest degree absurd. How far the same parties were sincere in the implied wish that the dispute should be brought to a fair legal issue, is hardly matter of conjecture. But, be this as it may, my object now is to show that we had recourse to these proceedings only when it appeared morally certain—what has since been reduced to absolute certainty—that no alternative remained to this Province but either to do what we are doing now, or else submit without a struggle to recognize the Bishop of Natal as still one of its lawful and accredited rulers and chief pastors. Speaking for myself, I could truly say that I should have been thankful to be spared this unhappy necessity. But, supported and encouraged by a certain amount of public opinion, the Bishop of Natal would appear to have entirely conquered the moral convictions which once impelled him to contemplate and almost promise resignation, and has finally taken refuge under cover of the law. It is his doing so that has forced us into Court, and obliged us, however unwilling, thus publicly to accuse him. But upon proceeding to the charges upon which the Bishop of Natal has been cited before this Court, there is yet one other point upon which I am anxious, both on my own account and on behalf of those whom I represent, to say a few words. I apprehend that the strict object of the present inquiry is to try certain doctrines promulgated by the Bishop of Natal, and alleged by us to be false doctrines, by the measure of the Creeds, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Formularies, generally, of the English Church. In saying this, I am not presuming to limit in any way the jurisdiction of your Lordships' Court. I cannot believe this to be the lawful Ecclesiastical Court of a properly-constituted Province of the Church of Christ, and not suppose that it has power—for all I know, without appeal—to try questions of doctrine arising within the Province by reference to the Holy Scriptures, or in any manner which the canons and customs of the Church Catholic, and particularly our own branch of it, would fairly justify. I am not, then, presuming to put any limit on the jurisdiction of this Court, or on the pleadings admissible before it. But this is what I mean,—that we, the Bishop of Natal's accusers, have by the terms of our accusation put

a limit upon ourselves. We have charged the Bishop of Natal with holding and promulgating not error simply,—not doctrines contrary to the Holy Scriptures, as such,—but “opinions which contravene and subvert the Catholic Faith as defined and expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Formularies of the Book of Common Prayer.” And accordingly this charge, so limited and defined, it will be my endeavour still more completely, if possible, to substantiate. But at the same time I cannot forget the old maxim, *summum jus summa injuria*. No doubt, in civil courts, it is often difficult to avoid pressing the letter of the law beyond the limit of what is wise, and sound, and equitable. And although I am quite clear, all things considered, that there was no other course open to us in this instance than to make our charges in the form in which we have made them, it would imply no extraordinary conscientiousness in us if we were more solicitous, after all, for doctrinal truth than for any merely legal success. And to apply this,—if any of the language now objected to by us as used by the Bishop of Natal should appear to the Court excusable on any fair and intelligible ground; if, after the full and anxious attention which your Lordships cannot fail to bestow upon this case, we should appear to have been in any respect over-zealous, or over-sensitive on behalf of what we have believed to be the true tradition of Christ’s Church as embodied in our Articles and Formularies, I do most heartily declare that the satisfaction with which I should hear such an announcement from the Court would only be exceeded, if at all, by the satisfaction which I am persuaded your Lordships would feel in making it. It is true that we press for sentence against the Bishop of Natal on the ground of literal infringements of the Articles and Formularies. But we do so only because we are confident at present that our case against him really rests on far broader grounds. And it is my hearty prayer and desire that wherever it does not rest on broader grounds, we may fail to establish the infringement of the bare letter. As to the charges themselves, the first four schedules are based upon extracts from a work which has excited scarcely any public attention in England, but which is better known in this colony, and which I myself have heard spoken of—and not by thoughtless or incompetent judges—as probably the most mischievous of all the three books against which our charges lie, on the ground that a secret enemy, who treads delicately, is always more to be dreaded than an open aggressor. Assuredly if anyone, after reading the first few pages of

Part I, throws his sympathies into Bishop Colenso's books on the Pentateuch, he must be said to do so with his eyes open. And also I believe that any well-instructed Christian, who had been accustomed to apply to his own heart and secret life the Catholic doctrine of our Blessed Lord's Divinity, and to regard the truth of His atonement as bound up inextricably with that doctrine,—even though he might possess very little knowledge of theology as a science, and might have no independent knowledge whatever of Socinianism as a system—could not read far into this book on the Romans without hitting the clue to almost all the false teaching—"false," as we contend—contained in it. But the peculiarity of this book, as compared with Parts I and II on the Pentateuch, consists in this,—that instead of being an avowed attack upon certain portions of the Bible, and a scarcely disguised attack upon the whole of it, it is a professed commentary on one of St. Paul's Epistles. Thus it inevitably contains a great deal of matter that might very well have been tacked on to a very different context, and in point of phraseology is often eminently Christian and orthodox; in which fact, by itself, there is nothing to surprise anyone who knows anything of the history of heresy. But it is not the less worth mentioning, as accounting for the offence which this Commentary on the Romans has, as we consider, most justly and properly given; and for the part which we have thought it right to take in not passing the book over, in the face of the whole South African Church, in a suit for heresy against the Bishop of Natal. For we are convinced, and we have undertaken to prove, that it contradicts the authoritative teaching of the Church on vital and fundamental points, although often insidiously; and we consider that it would be a great misfortune if it escaped authoritative censure merely because it fails to discover the latest developments of the Bishop's views on the subjects treated of, or because to a considerable extent its errors *sub divinae legis umbraculis latitant*.

I.

This schedule relates to the all-important subject of our blessed Lord's atonement. An "atonement" for the sins of the world is again and again ascribed in this book to our Redeemer; and avowedly underlies almost every page, and every sentence of it. What we assert is that the doctrine of the Atonement taught, and intended to be taught, by the Bishop of Natal

conflicts directly with that doctrine of the Atonement to which the Articles and Prayer-book bind us; and that the one doctrine cannot by any fair process be reconciled with the other. [The Archdeacon here read the passages articulated.] Now, what do these passages amount to? It may be said, *in limine*, "let them mean what they may, they cannot fairly be regarded as opinions for which the Bishop of Natal is to be held responsible. They are an honest exposition of the thoughts and teaching of another man; and that man, moreover, one by whom we have all alike consented to be bound. If the Prayer-book and Articles are at variance with St. Paul, so much the worse for them. But do not blame the Bishop of Natal for that!" But this is obviously a line of defence which will not bear a moment's steady thought. Every sermon is pinned on to some text. Cannot a man contravene the Articles in a sermon? And, wherein, I would ask, does the spoken or written sermon differ from the printed and published commentary, except that the commentary is a book, and, being printed and published, is clearer and more decisive evidence than the ordinary sermon of the effect on the minds of others which the writer has intended to produce?

I return, then, to the main point, and ask what do these passages just quoted amount to?

They declare distinctly that our blessed Lord did not "die instead of us"—"in our place"—or "bear the punishment or penalty of our sins." That He did indeed die "for us"—"on our behalf." But how? Why, as any man on earth may die for his country, or his friend. As every soldier does die for his country, who dies fighting in battle against his country's enemies. As thousands of parents have died for their children, through stinting themselves of necessary food, and over-working themselves, in order that their little ones might have enough. "He died to help us," says the Bishop, "in respect of our sins."

So far the argument rests on the alleged sense of a Greek preposition (*hyper*), coupled with an implied assertion of the non-use in the New Testament of another preposition (*anti*) in relation to Christ's redemptive work. The Bishop also quotes a passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, by way of illustrating his meaning;—the point of it all being that our Lord did not die in our stead; that He did die for us, but that the notion of substitution, which is admitted to be the common dogma, is as baseless as it is common, and is traceable to inattention to the Greek original.

Now, no one can read this, and pretend not to see

that the writer is very much in earnest with his subject. It would be idle to try to lay the dispute by saying, what, indeed, it is always easy to say, that it is all a strife about words, and so forth. What makes the Bishop of Natal so eager on the point? Is he fighting a ghost all the time? Is the distinction for which he so zealously battles, after all immaterial? Evidently he does not think so. What is really the point at issue? Suppose our Redeemer not to have died instead of us; to have died for us in a sense excluding the notion of substitution; to have "died to help us in respect of our sins,"—what follows? It would not follow that His death was unnecessary; that we should have been secure of salvation without His help. The Bishop of Natal would deny that inference; and, I think, he would be logically justified in denying it. But this surely would follow, that Christ's death in that case was not the efficient cause of our redemption. His death may have been a condition of our reconciliation to God; and so far, in loose, popular language may be said to be a cause of it. For we all know how causes and conditions are confounded in popular talk. But any longer to speak of the Blood of Christ as that which itself by its own direct and proper virtue, washes out sin, and by its infinite preciousness has purchased our forgiveness,—that thenceforth would be impossible. And the Bishop's aim is clear. It would be clear even if we knew less than we do concerning the source whence his teaching is derived. His aim is to eliminate from the doctrine of Redemption its chief mystery;—that, namely, as having been done for us which is the true and proper correlative of the perfect Godhead of Him who wrought it. In vain does the Bishop of Natal argue that our Lord "could not have died in our stead, inasmuch as, if physical death be meant, we still die physically as much as ever; but if spiritual death be meant, our Lord could not have died spiritually at all." In the first place there is a fallacy in the way in which physical and spiritual death are here separated from each other. We know only of death, that death which is the fulfilment of the curse, "Thou shalt surely die." And that death is a complex thing, a most profound, an infinite, and a most dreadful mystery, of which we believe the natural death of the living man, or as much of it as our bodily senses enable us to observe, to be only one part, or one stage. In dying physically, we believe that our Redeemer died even as all men die. But because we also allow that He did not die spiritually in the sense in which, without Him, we must all have died in

spirit as well as in soul and body, we do not attempt or affect to define the entire range and value of the penalty which He paid; or say in all particulars what His death was, and what it was not, and wherein its almighty efficacy consisted. In the first place, then, we demur to the Bishop's way of stating his alternative, as fallacious. But, in the second place, we say that no one ever supposed our Lord to have died in our stead in the mode which the Bishop of Natal states, only to dismiss it as absurd. And yet the expression has a real, substantive meaning for all that, as the Bishop of Natal is evidently fully aware. And the meaning is this, not simply that if Christ had not died, we must have remained unreconciled to God—that is to say, as he explains it, unconscious or unconvinced of God's fatherly yearnings over us—but that Christ's death, mysteriously operating as an efficient cause, reconciled God to us, not in the sense of appeasing in Him anything like corrupt human anger, but in the sense of satisfying His eternal and unspotted justice, and so destroyed that complicated death which else we must have died. In other words, Christ's precious death had the direct and wholly peculiar effect of taking the sting out of death," not simply by destroying the natural fear of the phenomenal part of it, and infusing into the prospect of it an indestructible element of confidence and hope; but by doing away with the penalty of sin, and by insuring the resurrection of the decomposed and ruined body in a glorified form, and its reunion with the perfected soul and spirit for a blessed immortality. And in this sense—a most distinct and intelligible sense—we say that Christ died, not to help us in respect of our sins, but literally in our stead. And to clear our position still more effectually, if possible, from all ambiguity, let me add that I am not now relying on the mere word "redemption," or the mere word "remission," or any other word, even although it be a Scriptural one, having more or less of a metaphorical signification. I am contending for the thing, the fact, against which the Bishop of Natal so earnestly opposes himself; and I maintain that it is necessarily involved in every Article and Formulary, which I shall presently cite.

But before I refer to the Articles and Formularies, I have yet to call the attention of the Court more closely to paragraphs 156 and 158 of the Commentary on the Romans. In the first and last portions of paragraph 156, the Bishop of Natal, commenting on Romans v, 10, dwells very

emphatically on the wide distinction—a distinction so wide that he pronounces it to be “infinite”—between the saying that God is reconciled to us by the death of Christ, and the saying that we are reconciled to God. No one, I think, can doubt the Bishop’s meaning to be this—that we are reconciled to God by the death of His Son in some sense, whatever that sense may be, which makes it infinitely untrue to speak of God being thereby reconciled to us. “The difference in the meaning of these two expressions,” says the Bishop of Natal, “is infinite,” words which cannot have been intended to signify less than that the one proposition has not the very remotest connexion with the other; and which, taken with the context, must, I submit, be understood to mean that ~~the one is~~ according to St. Paul, and is true; and that ~~the other is~~ untrue;—that God was not reconciled to us, and that there was never any occasion for His being so. At the end of paragraph 158, the same doctrine is again insisted on.

Here, again, as on the former point, the question arises: Why should the Bishop have so keen an appreciation of this distinction? And why should he urge it with such vigour and with such evident interest? The truth is that the Bishop of Natal is only consistent with himself in doing so. In the Racovian Catechism, the principal formulary of the original Socinians (cap. 6), occurs this question: “Ad hæc vero quod nos Deo reconciliarit quid affert?” *But what do you adduce for this, that He has reconciled us to God?* To which this answer is given: “Primum, nusquam Scripturam asserere, Deum nobis a Christo reconciliatum, verum id tantum quod nos per Christum aut mortem ejus simus reconciliati, vel Deo reconciliati.” *First, that Scripture nowhere asserts that God has been reconciled to us by Christ, but only this, that we, through Christ, or through His death, have been reconciled (simply), or reconciled to God.* And with reference to the same subject, Socinus (*De Christo Servatore*, p. i, cap. viii), has this remark: “Ita communis consuetudo loquendi fert; ut scilicet is reconciliatus fuisse dicatur, per quem stabat ne amicitia aut denuo existeret aut conservaretur.” *The word “reconciled,” as it is commonly used, implies that that party is said to have been reconciled whose fault it was that the good understanding continued to be suspended, or did not remain unbroken from the first.* These places are adduced by Bishop Pearson in the Notes to his Dissertation on the 10th Article of the Apostles’ Creed, where he is treating of the sacrifice of the death of Christ; and, it scarcely needs

to be added, the weakness of them is thoroughly exposed by him. I have adduced Bishop Pearson now for the sake of the light which he throws on the true parentage of the teaching against which we are now contending, and on the secret of the earnestness with which the point in question is so repeatedly pressed on the reader's attention in the extracts cited. [The Archdeacon here drew attention also to the fact that, although the Bishop of Natal nowhere acknowledges it, his argument is identical with that of Dr. Priestly, combated by Archbishop Magee in Note xxx of that prelate's work on the Atonement.]

But the all-important question remains: does the teaching of the Bishop of Natal impugn and contradict, not Bishop Pearson, but the Articles and Formularies? I will cite those which we believe it certainly does contradict. [The Archdeacon here read Articles II and XXXI, and Prayer of Consecration in Communion Office]. As to the direct, flat, verbal disagreement between the Bishop and one prominent clause towards the end of Article II, I will not detain the Court by adding one word about it, except just this—*that, if that be not accepted as an irreconcilable contradiction between the Bishop's teaching and the Articles, I confess I am at a loss to understand how it should ever be possible to contradict an Article of Religion; or what can be meant by our being required to subscribe and adhere to them in their plain, literal, and grammatical sense. But other words and expressions which occur in these quotations, such as the expression in Article II, that "Christ truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried . . . to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men;" again in the title of Article XXXI—"Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross;" and in the Article itself, the words "perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction;" and lastly, in the Prayer of Consecration—"Who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world;" words and expressions such as these, inasmuch as they do not formally or exclusively express the notion of substitution, require, perhaps, to be briefly defended against any attempt that might possibly be made to show that they do not comprehend it. Let it be assumed that every one of these are, in some sort, figurative or metaphorical expressions—that is to say, that the notion which they properly represent is only cognate to the notion which it is sought*

to convey by means of them; and that the eternal verity which they thus imperfectly shadow forth, transcends inevitably every effort of reason and intellect, imagination and language combined, to grasp it. What then? Is there, therefore, no essential fitness in these terms? This inquiry carries us back into the history of them; and their history would appear to settle the question. For there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that every one of these terms is a derivation from the sacred *cultus* of the Jews, as prescribed by the Levitical law. And if it is not certain that the notion of substitution entered into the Levitical doctrine of sacrifice—nay, that the whole Levitical law was pervaded with that notion, then I should indeed despair of ever being at liberty to assume anything as certain within the whole range of divine revelation. I am irresistibly reminded, it is too true, at this stage of my argument, that the author of this Commentary on the Romans is also the author of another work, in which the composition of the Book of Leviticus is virtually stigmatized as an impudent forgery, by being assigned to probably post-Davidic times. I cannot, however, understand what Foundation to be one of the most unanswerable of all arguments for the truth and reality of our Lord's atonement as a propitiatory and vicarious offering for sin, merely because it remotely rests on the assumed veracity of the Old Testament. "For the commonwealth of Israel," says Bishop Pearson, on the Creed (vol. i, p. 118--119), "was totally ordered and disposed, both in the constitution and administration of it, for and with respect unto the Messias. The constitution of that people was made by a sejunction and separation of them from all other nations on the earth; and this began in Abraham, with a peculiar promise of a seed in whom all the nations should be blessed, and be united into one religion. That promised seed was the Messias, the type of whom was Isaac. This separation was continued by the administration of that commonwealth, which was a royal priesthood; and that administration of the people did consist in three functions, prophetic, regal, sacerdotal, all which had respect unto the Messias, as the scope of all the prophets, and the complement of their prophecies; as the lord of the temple, and the end of all the sacrifices for which the temple was erected; as the heir of an eternal priesthood, after the order of Melchizedec, and of the throne of David, or an everlasting kingdom." Would we know what sacrifice and offering, propitiation and satisfaction mean, as applied to the blood-shedding of the Lamb of God? We

have only to track these words to their source, having regard not to etymological niceties so much as to those broad characteristics of the Levitical law which survive imperishably in every most familiar recollection of it, and it would seem impossible any longer to doubt. The forgiveness of sins, in which we trust, is proved by its ceremonial foreshadowings to contain in it "a reconciliation of an offended God," as Bishop Pearson says again, "and a satisfaction unto a just God; it containeth a reconciliation, as without which God cannot be conceived to remit; it comprehendeth a satisfaction, as without which God was resolved not to be reconciled." (Pearson, vol. i, p. 429).

I have not so far troubled the Court with any references expository of the XXXIX Articles; for, in the first place, I have felt that the true intention of the expressions cited from the Articles II and XXXI is really so evident that, although ingenuity may be wanted to obscure the plain and obvious sense of them, it can hardly be needed to elucidate it. Only let it be granted that Christianity, and Christian phraseology, have a history and a source, and only let that history be fairly consulted, and for the rest I, for one, should have no anxiety. But if more is needed, I am content to fall back on what the Dean of Cape Town and the Archdeacon of Graham's Town have already said, as supplying it. The Dean has, I contend, proved that the doctrine of the Atonement, as involving the notion of substitution in the fullest and strictest sense, is not a novel dogma, but has been part and parcel of Christianity from the beginning. And I am abundantly satisfied with Archdeacon Merriman's argument on the preposition *hyper*; as well as with his citations from the Homilies, Bishop Jewell, and Dean Noell. I will, therefore, refrain from taking up the time of the Court by adducing further authorities, with only two exceptions—one a very high authority indeed, Bishop Pearson's *Vindiciæ Ignatiæ*—on the word *anti-psychos*. [The Archdeacon then read a long passage from the *Vindiciæ Ignatiæ*—(*Cotelerii Patres Apostol*, vol. ii, pp. 421—423),—and commented on it at some length.] The other passage is from a very different source—Robertson's *Sermons*; which, I need hardly say I adduce, not as an authority for doctrine, but simply as confirming what I have said before as to the source of the Bishop's teaching. For no one will doubt Robertson's tendencies to have been of the freest sort, or suppose him to have had strong orthodox prejudices. (Lectures on the Epistles to the Corinthians by the late F. W. Robertson, Lecture xiv,

page 410.) "Now atonement or reconciliation consists of two things: 1. The reconciliation of God to the world; 2. The reconciliation of the world to God. We say that God needed a reconciliation. On the other hand, the Unitarian view is that God requires nothing to reconcile Him to us, that He is reconciled already; that the only thing requisite is to reconcile man to God." It only remains that I should add a few words on just one other topic. If your Lordships will be at the trouble to turn to the Bishop's comments on Romans iii, 24, par. 114, and again on vi, 2, par. 176 (there are other similar places scattered through the book, but I refer to these as being, to the best of my belief, most favourable to the Bishop), it will be found that a certain propitiatory virtue is ascribed to our Lord's death; and that other language is used which, apart from the context, sounds like an unsaying of some things that have been said before against the vicariousness of our Redeemer's sacrifice. In justice to myself, as well as to the Bishop of Natal, I would respectfully urge the Court to bestow—what I am sure it will be every way inclined to bestow,—the fullest consideration on these seemingly counter passages. My own conviction is that the Bishop of Natal, like others of his school, begins to be inconsistent the moment he attempts to be constructive. There is not much doubt,—a moderately well-instructed theologian, at least, cannot have serious doubts,—as to what the Bishop of Natal would take away. But as soon as he attempts to comfort us by showing that he does not mean to take away everything, it sometimes becomes all but impossible to follow him. Such a word, for instance, as "propitiation" cannot be got rid of in a Commentary on the Romans, simply because St. Paul himself uses it (chapter iii, v. 25). In like manner it were hopeless to try to follow St. Paul's language through the glorious 6th chapter of Romans, and not fall more or less, in spite of oneself, into the Church's traditional phraseology on the subject of the Atonement, and the divine mysterious efficacy of our Redeemer's death and resurrection. But when the Bishop of Natal happens to be pushed into using this language, it is generally so as to produce chiefly this feeling, that he is doing violence to language, and that he is himself ill at ease. This may be our fault more than his, and we should bow to the Court if the fault were judicially pronounced to be ours. But at present, my Lords, I am persuaded that the Bishop of Natal nowhere *unteaches* what I must plainly call the Socialism of those other portions of his book which we have alleged

against him as distinctly contradictory to the Articles and Communion Office. If he did, I should press for a retraction of the passages objected to. But I contend that his denial of the fact that God is reconciled to us by the death of His Son, is a fundamental denial, and drags with it every true notion of propitiatory sacrifice. The denial of God's reconciliation to mankind in Christ is really a pregnant formula of a certain mode of unbelief, which, if admitted, evacuates the Catholic doctrine of the Atonement of all its deepest and most precious meaning. And for that reason we could not have allowed it to pass unchallenged; and we urge it now as a denial, both in letter and spirit, of the Articles and Formularies now cited by us.



Now, knowing—as all men conversant with theology do know—what fine-drawn and almost impalpable questions have arisen in the later ages of the Church out of the grave subject of justification, it may be supposed, perhaps, that we are in danger under this schedule of entangling ourselves in a mere topography, which can never admit of being determined judicially. We have no such design. We believe there is no such danger. The ground which we here take up against the Bishop of Natal lies for the most part, if not altogether, outside the extremest limits of every recognized controversy on justification. The question now at stake is not whether the believer is justified before God, by grace infused and inherent, or only by his faith; or, supposing him to be justified by faith only, whether the “justifying faith” is to be understood in this sense or that. We come before the Court with no dispute turning on distinctions between *fides informis* and *fides formata*; or between *meritum de congruo* and *meritum de condigno*; or between *attrition* and *contrition*. We do not say that these are trivial questions, or that they are to be regarded as other than akin to one of the most important topics that ever occupied the Church. But we say that the question now at stake lies outside all these, and is briefly this,—whether a man may be pronounced to be “justified” who is in no sense a Christian; who is still in every sense of the word a heathen—say a Brahmin, or some Fetich worshipper on the banks of the Niger; or some such miserable Bushman as we have read descriptions of, and for whose humanity one can hardly be said to have any pledge left beyond the uncouth speech and the human form erect. The Bishop of Natal declares that all these, and all others,

are "recipients of God's grace in the Gospel;" are "partakers of the blessings of righteousness, as they are of the rain from heaven and fruitful seasons" (par. 112); "are counted as righteous creatures, though they may not know it, through the grace of God, bestowed upon the whole human race in His own dear Son, whom He has given to be their Head, and whose members they are" (par. 120); are "embraced in a yet more gracious covenant" (than was vouchsafed, that is to say, to the Jews—namely, the Christian covenant) "as children of God in Christ Jesus" (par. 171); "and have all died unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness, in [their] very birth-hour, through the gracious gift of God, by that mysterious union with Christ our Head, which we all enjoy through the grace of our Heavenly Father, as members of the great human family, and by virtue of which we are partakers of the death which He died, and of the life which He now lives" (par. 180). We do not undertake to define all that these words may mean; but this we aver, that if the terms Gift of righteousness—God's grace in the Gospel—death unto sin—new birth unto righteousness—mysterious union with Christ—partakers in Christ's death, and sharers in His life—are still to be received as having anything like a settled and intelligible meaning, or as retaining any historical connection with the Christendom that has been—nay, I will say more, if they are not to be productive of the most utter moral confusion, ultimately fatal to all Christian truth, then, surely, the Bishop of Natal's use of them must be condemned as a violent perversion of theological language. And particularly we maintain that his language is wholly at variance with Articles XI, XVIII, and XIX, and other Formularies of the English Church.

But before I enter on proofs, there are two points which I should wish to treat as preliminary. First—this is not properly and formally any question of the salvability of the heathen, or of insane persons, or of infants dying before baptism. It must be acknowledged that these questions have often been unwisely intermingled with the discussion and exposition of the doctrine of Justification—by no writer more, perhaps, than by the great Augustine. But God's probable methods of dealing with insane persons, or with the heathen, or with that large portion of the unbaptized, generally, whose non-reception of the sacrament clearly involves no refusal of it, form no part of the Catholic faith; and, therefore, nothing that St. Augustine, or anybody else, may have said about them can be held to bind

any Christian as a Christian. Such, valued at their highest, are merely human opinions—well-founded or ill-founded, wise or unwise, as it may be—on possibly lawful, but not always safe, matters of opinion; on which, accordingly, different minds have speculated, as they will continue to speculate, with various degrees of freedom. Our whole present contention is concerning the things which we believe to have been revealed, not the things which God has, we doubt not, purposely, and therefore wisely, hidden from us. Briefly be it said, once for all, we stand here not as daring to condemn any man, or any state or condition of men; but as we dare not condemn whom we do not know God to have condemned, neither dare we justify whom we have reason to believe God has not justified. And this takes us back to the point of our accusation, which is, not that the Bishop of Natal refuses to pronounce sentence on those who have never heard the Gospel, or to settle beforehand the eternal condition of all infants dying unbaptized, or of all lunatics and persons anyhow incapable of comprehending the Gospel—for in all this we have no quarrel with him at all; but this is the substance of our accusation—that he deliberately and intentionally revises, and so revises as fundamentally to alter, the terms on which alone salvation through Christ can, as we believe, be truly offered to mankind; and represents justification, or the justifying grace of God, not as conditional on our humble and believing acceptance of the Gospel, but as ensuing necessarily and universally on the fact of our having been born into a redeemed world.

My second preliminary topic is the following. The Bishop of Natal, if he were present, would certainly defend himself by asserting that his teaching does not overstep the Catechism where it puts into the mouth of all members of the Church a profession of their faith in the Saviour as the "Redeemer of all mankind." If he believes in universal redemption, so do we, in the most literal sense. And if the Bishop of Natal had confined himself to the use of such language on that subject as might fairly have appeared to mean nothing more than the doctrine of universal redemption, and not to be destructive of other doctrines equally necessary and divine, and set forth in the Church's Articles and Formularies with equal prominence, then we should have found no fault, not even though his language had been unwise and unbalanced. But we are convinced, and we think we can convince the Court, that the Bishop of Natal has not written as he has written on this subject of justifi-

cation in a merely inexact or ignorant manner; that his teaching exceeds any doctrine of universal redemption recognized by the Formularies of the English Church; and that the extracts now charged against him under this second schedule distinctly inculcate, and are meant to inculcate, a doctrine, not of universal redemption, but of universal justification, such as the Articles and Formularies which I am going to cite must be held to contradict and preclude. [The Archdeacon here read Article XI.]

The immediate scope of this Article is to establish—first, the grounds, and second, the means or conditions, of justification. It declares the meritorious ground of our justification to be only the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Only for His “merit” are we “accounted righteous” before God. From this flows a sequel,—that the means whereby we are justified is faith, and **faith only**. The exact sense that ought to be attached to the expression “by faith only” has been to some extent matter of controversy. It is well known that Luther now and then used language on the subject of justification which may not have been so intended, but which, to say the least, certainly savours of hostility to the doctrine of the necessity of good works. And more than that, he occasionally expresses himself, under the swing of his intense antagonism to certain opposite extremes of opinion, as though the faith of the believer had a certain justifying virtue or efficacy of its own, as though it were a man’s own faith that justified him. It is equally well known that the moderate Lutherans, headed by Bucer and Melancthon, disapproved this vehemence and onesidedness of expression, and held strongly and clearly that a man’s faith, as distinguished from his works, could not possibly in itself have any more virtue than works might have; and that the sole meritorious cause of justification was the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, to which the faith of the person justified stood simply as a living “trust, or fiduciary apprehension.” In exact harmony with these opinions is the teaching of our Homily on “the salvation of mankind by only Christ our Saviour,” which is without doubt, I suppose—all three parts of it—that portion of the 1st Book of Homilies to which Article XI expressly refers. Calvin, and the bulk of his followers, may be said generally to have concurred in this language; occasional differences in the mode in which these different reformers expressed themselves at different times being probably referable much more to the particular phase of error which

they happened at the moment to be combating, and their own varying circumstances and position, than to any radical variation of belief among themselves. But the point to be noticed is this,—that, with the fullest allowance for all these differences, it is made perfectly certain by the Homilies, and by all that we know besides of the writings of the Reformation period, that the “faith” which the reformed doctrine so prominently connected with justification is never employed as a bare synonym for our Lord’s redemptive work. No doubt, Article XI, interpreted by the Homilies, does bring out into the very fullest objectivity possible the reality and the perfectness of our Redeemer’s work, especially as constituting the sole source and ground of all merit. No doubt, too, it negatives, as far as possible, all notion of meritoriousness in man, as derived not only from his works, but from anything that man can do, think, or feel,—all acts and states of belief included—but still—and equally without doubt—the term “faith” in that Article has a subjective significance. What Christ did, that it makes the sole groundwork of justification. Our simple, honest, believing acceptance of what Christ did, be it never so unworthy in itself, that it makes the condition upon which Christ’s work is applied to us to our justification. Article XI, and the Homily quoted by it, may not go directly to the point in dispute; because no such teaching as the Bishop of Natal’s was then in our Reformers’ front. But unless the expression “by faith only” be construed to exclude all exercise of faith, or trust, or fiduciary grasp of the redemption wrought by Christ as a necessary condition of our being justified,—and such a construction is forbidden by the rest of the Prayer-book, by the Homilies, and by everything we know of the external history of doctrine,—then it would seem undeniable that Article XI contradicts and shuts out the doctrine of the Bishop of Natal. [Dean Noell’s Catechism, page 57, was here quoted for a definition of faith. *Fides est certa cognitio, &c.*]

But when to Article XI are added Articles XVIII and XIX, what was certain before seems made more certain. In the first place, what is the scope of Article XVIII? Its title is, “Of obtaining eternal salvation only by the name of Christ.” Its Latin title is slightly different, but certainly not less expressive—“*De speranda aeternâ salute tantum in nomine Christi.*” When we come to the matter of it, we find that, as Bishop Beveridge observes, of all the XXXIX Articles—unless Article XVI be also a partial exception—it is the one solitary Article which contains an

express anathema. "They also are to be had accursed that presume to say," &c. "*Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent,*" &c. This peculiarity, whatever may be thought of it in other respects, assuredly would not seem to imply that Article XVIII is the assertion of mere truisms; or that its doctrine appeared to those who framed it to be of secondary importance. But what are the doctrinal positions to which this anathema is prefixed? First, it is denied that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature; secondly, in the way of a reason for what has just been laid down, it is asserted that only the name of Jesus Christ is set out to us in Holy Scripture whereby men must be saved. Now against what erroneous opinion do we suppose this Article to be levelled? Two distinct opinions—and two only—are conceivable, either of which it would directly hit. One of them, the opinion that the Brahmin may be saved by his Brahminism, the Buddhist by his Buddhism, the Mahometan by his Mahometanism—nay, the Devil-worshipper of Southern India by his Devil-worship, anybody in the world by any belief or misbelief whatsoever,—always supposing the discipleship to be genuine and consistent,—without any reference to, or dependence on, Christ. This opinion obviously make Christianity not one whit more effectual to salvation than Mahometanism, or Confucianism, or any other religious belief; or than sincere, hearty infidelity, so far as infidelity can be hearty and sincere. We may, therefore, dismiss it from consideration as one that could not have been present to the minds of men engaged in framing Articles of Religion, the basis of which is the Holy Scriptures and the Creeds, and the object of which is to prevent "diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion,"—in other words, to prevent "diversities of opinions" among men, and those chiefly clergymen, who already on the main fact and claims of Christianity must be presumed to be agreed. The only other false opinion against which Article XVIII can be conceived to have been directed is the following: That the consistent Brahmin, the consistent Buddhist, the consistent Mahometan,—and why not go on?—the consistent Devil-worshipper, and even the consistent infidel, may each rely on obtaining salvation on the ground that his strict adhesion to, and diligent observance of, what he believes, or even, in the case of the infidel, his rejection of what he disbelieves, to be necessary to salva-

tion, will be sufficient to secure it. This opinion is compatible with a certain sort of belief that salvation is ultimately attainable only through the merits of Christ, by a supposed extension of the principle upon which the legal sacrifices of the Jews all derived their efficacy from the great expiation then future; but your Lordships will observe it makes the conscious acceptance and profession of Christianity to be unnecessary. If Article XVIII hits this last opinion,—as it certainly seems to hit it full and fair,—then it condemns the doctrine of the Bishop of Natal. It may, it is true, be argued in reply that all the Articles, Article XVIII included, are to be received as defining the belief that should bind Christians in reference to themselves, after the knowledge of the truth has been received; that Article XVIII, for instance, is not meant to encourage Christians to condemn everlastingly the whole heathen world, past and present; but merely helps to the limits of that “narrow way” which can alone conduct to everlasting life those to whom the Gospel has been fully presented. And I, for one, should be distressed to think that there was no truth in that argument; although in the face of the Redeemer’s urgent command to proclaim Him to all nations, it would be marvellous if the intention of Article XVIII was absolutely confined to those who are already Christians; if it supplied no reason for continuing to go forth still, as the Apostles, we know, went forth of old time, to preach Christ to those who know Him not, even though the renunciation of father and mother, and brothers and sisters, and all that as belonging to this life we hold to be sweetest, were unavoidably involved in our doing so. But let it be granted that Article XVIII implies no sentence of condemnation on any to whom Christ has never been revealed; and, in short, was not directly meant to invite any positive opinion about them. What is the inference? Is it to be inferred that we may, therefore, consider the whole heathen world to be already “justified?” Suppose we take the Gospel message to any heathen people for the first time in their history, with this Article to guide us, how should we address them in the very act of publishing the Gospel to them? We must, if we would follow this Article, declare to them that their salvation, from beginning to end, is contingent on their acceptance of the Gospel; that the offer of the Gospel is an offer of justification—of forgiveness of sins past, and of favour and acceptance with God,—made to them on condition of repentance and faith on their part, from which it certainly

follows that they are not already in a state of favour and acceptance; or, in other words, that they are not already justified,—what the Bishop of Natal says they already are, in virtue of their very birth into the world. [Here reference was made to Bishop Pearson's *Minor Theological Works*, volume i, page 418, &c.]

In his treatment of Article XVIII, Professor Browne makes frequent reference to the Church, inasmuch as union with the Church, participation in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and saving faith in Christ, are ordinarily, according to the original terms of divine revelation, in some sort of the nature of equivalents, involving and depending upon one another. For redemption and sanctification are constantly exhibited in the Christian system as practically inseparable, and, as Neander truly reminds us (*History of Christian Dogmas*, page 216), have been ever held to be so. But the Holy Ghost is the pure effuser, and the Church of Christ, including the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and all that we commonly understand by the means of grace, is the divine instrumentality whereby the Holy Ghost sanctifies. In this sense it is plain that the early Fathers must be understood, when they speak—as they often do—of salvation not being obtainable otherwise than through the Church. Take, for instance, Origen's words, as quoted by Professor Browne,—*Nemo seipsum decipiat; extra hanc domum, id est extra ecclesiam, nemo salvatur*,—where Origen does not speak exclusively of the "African obedience," still less of the "Roman obedience," but of the whole collective visible Church of Christ, so far as it may correspond to the original institution of its Heavenly Founder, as the one divine economy and instrument whereby it is God's will that the benefits of Christ's redemptive work should be applied to mankind, and the members of Christ be nourished and built up unto everlasting life. For this reason, besides Article XVIII, we have quoted Article XIX, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the *Te Deum Laudamus*, the 3rd Collect for Good Friday, the Collect for All Saints' Day, the three Baptismal Offices, the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, and the Catechism. For, as Hooker says (*Book v, lxxviii—6*), "The privilege of the visible Church of God . . . is to be herein like the Ark of Noah, that, for anything we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep." Or as Bishop Pearson, in his exposition of the 9th Article of the Apostles' Creed—"The necessity of believing the Holy Catholic Church, appeareth first in this, that Christ hath appointed

it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first, that the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved; and what was then daily done hath been done since continually. Christ never appointed two ways to Heaven, nor did He build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation. There is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus, and that name is no otherwise given under Heaven than in the Church. As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the Ark of Noah, framed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations, whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood by the appointment of God for their preservation; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire or sword, but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made: so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God which belong not to the Church of God" (an expression, it may be observed by the way, which needs not be understood as extending one hair's breadth beyond the true sense of Article XVIII, whatever that sense may be). "This is the congregation of those persons here on earth which shall hereafter meet in heaven. These are the vessels of the tabernacle carried up and down, at last to be translated into and fixed in the temple" (Vol. i, pp. 410-11). I make these quotations not as directly against the Bishop of Natal, for, of course, he is not legally bound by Hooker, or Pearson, or by the mere fame and repute of any writer; but in order to present in as concise and weighty a form as I could the sum total of the argument furnished by the various Formularies, &c., which I have already mentioned, and which I will now proceed to read. [The Archdeacon then commented briefly on—1. The Creeds, with especial regard to the structure and sequence of Articles. 2. The *Te Deum Laudamus*, and Collects, 3rd for Good Friday and All Saints. 3. The Baptismal Offices. 4. Order of Administration. 5. The Catechism.]

He then proceeded: To recapitulate—What is it that we allege against the Bishop of Natal under this schedule? I will first repeat what we do not charge against him. We make no complaint of the doctrine of universal redemption, for, as far as I know, we all hold it as firmly and unqualifiedly as it is possible to hold it. The strongest opinion which I know of on the subject of universal redemption,—I do not except the Bishop of Natal's opinion, because,

though it includes a doctrine of universal redemption, our argument is that it exceeds the limits of any doctrine of universal redemption fairly entitled to the name, and necessarily invades other doctrines which are second in importance to none—the very strongest opinion, then, that I know of as held by any writer of mark on the subject of universal redemption is to be found in Dr. Barrow's four sermons, expressly on that subject, from 1 Timothy iv, 10. But the gist of those four sermons, unless I much mistake them, is quite unequivocal in all its bearings, and, if carefully considered, will be found to afford no sanction to the language used by the Bishop of Natal. The object of those sermons is clearly set forth in the following passage from the earlier part of the first of the four (Sermon xxxix): "That our Lord Jesus is the Saviour of all men; or that the most signal of His saving performances do in their nature and their design respect all men as meant for, as conducing and tending to all men's salvation, yea, and as in their own nature (supposing men's due and possible concurrence with them) effectually productive of their salvation; that I say this is our Catholic point of doctrine (the which we profess to believe, when, with the Church, we say in the Nicene Creed—'who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from Heaven,' and the which particularly our Church in its Catechism, in the ministration of baptism, and in the communion, doth most evidently and expressly declare itself to embrace) is very true, many full and clear testimonies of Scripture do shew, many reasons grounded on Scripture do prove; the which we shall first touch, and then farther both illustrate and enforce the truth by declaring upon what accounts, or in what respects, our Lord is the Saviour of all men, as also by an application to practice, declarative of its usefulness and subserviency to the purposes of piety." Nor does this systematic writer, so far as I know, ever deviate throughout these sermons from the object which he here proposes to himself, namely, to elucidate and prove that, as respects our Saviour's work for "us men," all men without distinction have an equal right in Him; and again and again he reminds us as he proceeds, by the strong sentences which he every now and then inserts concerning the conditionality of our actual salvation, that nothing was further from his thoughts than to teach that the conscious acceptance of the salvation freely offered in Christ was not required for justification, forgiveness of sins, and incorporation into Christ. At the beginning of the second sermon (xl.) we

have this passage: "In general, we may say that our Lord is the Saviour of all men, for that He hath rendered all men *salvabiles*, capable of salvation; and *salvandos*, designed to salvation. For that He hath removed all obstacles peremptorily debarring men from access to salvation, and hath procured competent furtherances to their attainment of it. For that he hath rescued mankind out of that dead and desperate condition wherein it lay involved; being the Bread of God, who hath descended from heaven, that He might give life to the world, as He saith of Himself. For that He hath performed whatever on His part is necessary or fit in order to salvation, antecedently to the acceptance and compliance with those reasonable conditions, which by God's wisdom are required towards the instating men into a full and immediate right to salvation, or to a complete and actual fruition thereof." Some single sentences may be found in these sermons, which, viewed apart from their connection with the rest, may seem at first sight to exceed the measured statement which I have just read; but I contend that that passage is a perfectly fair and universal digest of all the four sermons in question; and that the passage objected to by us from the Bishop of Natal's book were intended to teach. Even if Dr. Barrow had taught what the Bishop of Natal teaches,—he would never then, my Lords, have been the Dr. Barrow who is so well known to fame!—but even if a perfect coincidence of opinion between him and the Bishop of Natal could be proved, even then, I submit, the Bishop might not therefore be excused a direct infringement of the Articles, supposing such infringement to be independently established. But what we maintain is this, that the Bishop of Natal exceeds any doctrine of universal redemption in Christ as fairly deducible from the formularies and symbols of the Church; and that he distinctly impugns Article xi, and other Articles which uniformly and consistently represent the appropriation of God's mercy in Jesus Christ, reception into the Christian covenant, and the gift of the Holy Spirit, to be conditional, so far as God has revealed His will, and so far as we know, on repentance and faith; and which connect the remission of sins, not with our natural birth into the world, but with our reception into Christ's household, the Church, by holy baptism, and a life of Christian obedience as consequent thereupon. How God of His boundless mercy in His Son may be dealing with the heathen, the Articles and Formularies nowhere expressly say; although all are free to

speculate in humble submission to what has been revealed and do well to foster large and longing hopes. The sentence of Divine condemnation is already recorded against none but such as refuse the Gospel, whoever these may be, baptised or unbaptised. But neither can justification unto everlasting life, according to our Formularies, be said to be bestowed on any but such as accept the Gospel, as we hold that all do who so receive duly administered baptism as not, by their own active impenitence and unbelief, to put a fatal bar in the way of the efficacy of that sacrament. All others we are taught fervently to pray for, in order that being already *salvabiles* and *salvandi*, they may, through being "added to the Church," be saved, *salvi fiant*; may be thereby placed in the way of salvation, and may therein abide.

To sum this argument up, we deny that Christ is the covenanted Head of the whole human race in such a sense as that all men alike, unconditionally, in virtue of their birth into the world, without any concurrence of the human subject, ought to be spoken of, or, consistently with our Formularies, can be ^{University of} ^{Form} ^{united} ^{to} ^{the} ^{Christian} ^{covenant}, as ^{members} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Church} ^{together} ^{with} ^{the} ^{children} ^{of} ^{God} ⁱⁿ ^{Christ} ^{Jesus}; and that the difference between the Christian man and the heathen consists in nothing else than this—that the one has been made conscious, but that the other still remains unconscious, of one common and identical relationship in which they both alike already stand. We maintain that Christ is the covenanted Head over all things to *His Church*, to "the very members incorporate of His mystical Body," who have been ingrafted into Him, not by natural generation, but by regeneration, and by grace, being "born of water and of the Spirit," on condition of true repentance and lively faith; and growing into Him day by day through the heavenly nourishment supernaturally ministered unto them as God's elect. We contend for these as being the original, and, we say, the unchangeable, terms of the Christian covenant, as our Church has accepted them through all the intervening ages from the Church of the Apostles; and we protest against all human alteration and revision of them. The ubiquity of God's presence is a most necessary doctrine. But there is a mode of asserting the Divine ubiquity which is Pantheism, and makes God, as faithful Jews and Christians have ever believed in God, to be nowhere. And most true it is that all mankind have a most real interest in our Lord's ascended and glorified humanity. But there is a method of contending for that our common interest in our Saviour

through His finished work of redemption, which practically turns Christ out of His own Church; which degrades grace back again into nature; and which, affecting to sublimate and supernaturalize everything, reduces the glorious doctrine of our Lord's presence with His faithful people by His Spirit and in His ordinances, to a thin, vapid, worthless sentimentalism, with just dash enough of orthodoxy in it to deceive the ignorant and unwary. This, we think, the Bishop of Natal certainly does by the teaching now objected to, contradicting, while he does so, the Articles and Formularies which we have quoted against him.

III.

But the peculiarity of the Bishop of Natal's general teaching on the subject of the universal incorporation of mankind into Christ is brought into still fuller relief by his doctrine on the sacraments, which forms the subject of our charge under the 3rd schedule. [Parts of section 180 were then read.]

This is very unequivocal teaching. At first glance, we are struck with the importance seemingly given to objective truth. But when we examine the Bishop's assertions, what do they amount to? The "inward and spiritual grace given unto us," according to the Catechism, in holy baptism, is announced to be an inward and spiritual grace really given to us in our birth hour, and only for the first time formally declared to be ours when we were baptized. In other words, "the inward and spiritual grace" of the sacrament of holy baptism, viz., "a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness," is said to be already shared—not yet in all cases fully enjoyed, but really and truly shared—by every member of the whole human family, as being a member of the human family. The Bishop proceeds to illustrate what he says of baptism by some equally remarkable teaching on the Lord's Supper. "The inward part" of the Lord's Supper, "or thing signified" under the elements of bread and wine, is said to be the Body and Blood of Christ. But the Body and Blood of Christ how partaken of? We arrive at the answer to this question by asking another. Who are the partakers? "All the human race, at all times, and everywhere, whether they feed upon it by living faith or not, whether they know the precious gift of God's grace or not, whether they heed or disregard it."

But the teaching of the Church on this subject is quite

as explicit as the teaching of the Bishop of Natal. And we undertake to show that it is as follows :

1. That the sacraments, *i.e.*, the Sacraments actually received and partaken of, are "generally necessary to salvation."

2. That the outward and visible sign in both sacraments is a pledge to assure us, not merely "of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us," but of an inward and spiritual grace so given to us as that the sacrament is the ordinary means whereby that same inward and spiritual grace is conveyed.

3. That there is no true and profitable reception of sacramental grace without faith ; for that the remission of sins bestowed through holy baptism on infants may be, and surely will be, cancelled by subsequent persistent refusal on the part of the baptized to repent and believe. And contending that this is the plain teaching of the Church, we cannot but contend that it is impugned by the Bishop of Natal.

1. The sacraments are generally necessary to salvation. This, I contend, is proved, first of all indirectly, by the effects attributed to the sacraments. Ordinalances which "be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace and God's good-will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us" (Article xxv), must be generally necessary to salvation. Articles xxvii and xxviii ; the Nicene Creed expressly, and Article x of the Apostles' Creed impliedly ; the Baptismal Offices again and again, as in the opening Collects ; the Communion Office, and the Church Catechism ; all re-echo the language of Article xxv, attributing to both the sacraments certain effects, which, if believed to be properly and rightly attributed to them, can leave no doubt on any fair mind that the framers and compilers of these Articles and Formularies must have judged the sacraments to be generally necessary to salvation. But the exhortation in the Office of Adult Baptism distinctly recognizes the "great necessity of the sacrament, where it may be had ;" and the Church Catechism in terms distinguishes Baptism and the Lord's Supper from all other ordinalances or sacramental rites, as being, what these are not, "generally necessary to salvation." I suppose I need not detain the Court by going into any argument to prove what the word "generally" there means ; that it means not "mostly," or "for the most part," but "necessary for all persons alike, without distinction of sex, or state of life, or any personal considerations, or peculiarities of circum-

stances;" always supposing the one allowance already quoted from one of the Baptismal Offices, viz., "where it" (the sacrament, be it Baptism, or the Supper of the Lord) "may be had." On this head, if any reference were needed, I should refer to Bishop Beveridge, vol. viii, p. 110; and Dr. Mill's Catechetical Lectures, xlvii. Now the Bishop of Natal must be held to deny the necessity to salvation of the sacraments, whole and entire as Christ instituted them, inasmuch as he teaches that every human being becomes beforehand a partaker of the "inward and spiritual grace" of both sacraments by being born into the world; that every word which our Articles and Formularies would warrant us in using of any one who had duly partaken of the sacraments is equally applicable to every human being that ever was born, or ever shall be born, into the world, without exception, so far as concerns the reality of his participation in the inward grace. No one would presume to say that God is bound down by the institution of the sacraments never to impart otherwise than by means of the sacraments the grace which those sacraments were specially ordained to convey. I know of no writer who has ever maintained any such proposition. But assuredly the sacrament of Baptism, deprived of the outward and visible sign, is the sacrament of Baptism no longer. Take away the bread and wine, and the words of institution from the Eucharist, and then what the Articles and Catechism mean by the "sacrament of the Lord's Supper" has in like manner ceased to be. It is concerning the sacraments, not concerning parts of them, that the Catechism, in perfect harmony with the Articles, the Creeds, and the Baptismal and Communion Offices, declares that they are "generally necessary to salvation." No sophistry can get rid of this awkward simplicity of teaching. There are scarcely any limits to the clever tricks that may be played with language. But it would seem impossible to deny that here the Bishop of Natal intends to teach one thing and the Church another.

2. But the Bishop of Natal and the Church of England are not less at variance with each other as to the nature of a sacrament. Article xxv declares of the sacraments that, besides being "certain sure witnesses," they are also "effectual signs of grace" (*efficacia signa gratiæ*). The word *efficacia* is further explained by the words immediately following, *per quæ invisibiliter Ipse (Deus) in nos operatur*. In Article xxvii, I would draw particular attention to the words, "whereby, as by an instrument"—

per quod, tanquam per instrumentum. Clearly the sacrament is here spoken of as of the nature of an instrument; but "instrumental" to what? The Article does not leave us in doubt; the grafting us into the Church, the visibly signing and sealing to us the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption, &c., &c. Article xxviii defines the Lord's Supper to be "not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another, but rather a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and, likewise, the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." Next after the Articles, I cite the Nicene Creed: "I believe in one baptism for the remission of sins." And here I would direct your Lordships' attention particularly to Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the 10th Article of the Apostles' Creed,—both the Exposition itself, and the Exposition upon it. In vol. ii, p. 304, your Lordships will find a quotation from Socinus de Baptismo, cap. 7, beginning *Vel Baptismo illi*, and ending with *quandam intelligentiam*. The Latin is here crabbed; but I think the following is a correct translation of it: "Either Peter attributed the remission of sins not at all to mere baptism, that is to say, a sol moly-performed ablution, but the whole of it (remission of sins) to penitence: or else, if he made any account of baptism in respect of the remission of sins, he either regarded it only so far as it involves a public profession of the name of Jesus Christ; or if he meant to put any value on the outward washing in addition, in respect of what nominally belongs to it as connected with the remission of sins, he understood not the remission of sins itself, but a declaration, and a certain signing and sealing (*obsignationem quandam*) of remission."

Thus did Socinus, "doubting and fluctuating Socinus," as Bishop Pearson calls him, trifle with the great subject of baptism. And Bishop Pearson's treatment of Article x includes a masterly and complete answer to him, proving that "remission of sins" is promised at first by—*i.e.*, by means of—the laver of regeneration (vol. i, p. 436). And, indeed, the very position of Article x, following, as it does, the profession of our faith in the Holy Catholic Church, itself witnesses to everyone who has attended to the structure of the Creeds, that the Church, to which holy baptism belongs as the initiatory rite of Christianity, is the sole divinely-ordained instrumentality whereby the effec-

tual application of our Lord's redemptive work to each individual believer is to be secured; and that baptism, although incontestably an *obsignatio quædam*, is not a signing and sealing of actual forgiveness of sins already fully bestowed as a consequence of penitence, or of anything else, and going before baptism, but is the *instrumentum per quod* the remission of sins is ordinarily conveyed.

[The Archdeacon then commented on the Office for Holy Communion, on the Baptismal Offices, the Catechism, and the Collect immediately preceding Confirmation in the Confirmation Service, and contended that they were in perfect harmony with the Articles and the Creeds, being all based on the same doctrine of the Sacraments, and all repenting it more or less directly. He then went on.]

It would seem quite undeniable, then, that our Church has a doctrine on the nature of the sacraments. That this doctrine leaves room for what are called open questions, none need dispute. But because the Church has not anticipated every question that might ever arise about the sacraments, none will allege that nothing has been defined; or that what it has been intended to define has been expressed so very intelligently as not to be intelligible to most that may choose to understand. But the truth is that the doctrine of the Church of England on the sacraments is in some leading particulars as clearly defined, perhaps, as it was possible that by means of human language any doctrine involving a spiritual and transcendent mystery should be defined. What are these particulars? The parts of our Articles and other Formularies just quoted would appear decisive on the following points: 1. Not that all communication of divine grace and spiritual life and sustenance is tied to the sacraments; no such thing: but that each of the sacraments consists of a certain divinely instituted outward and visible sign, so tied up by Christ's express appointment with a certain special inward grace necessary for all men, that by means of the one, the other is ordinarily conveyed, and that the sacrament consists in this divine conjunction. 2. That the special grace of holy baptism duly received is remission of all sins past, and actual incorporation into Christ, the covenanted head of the Church, by true and living union with Him. That the spiritual benefit of the Lord's Supper is the strengthening and refreshing of the souls of the faithful unto eternal life by the Body and Blood of Christ, partaken of after a heavenly and spiritual manner, but still most really partaken of, in and by means of the holy sacrament. Does the

Church mean this, or does it not? There really would seem no doubt about the answer, and there would seem to be as little doubt that herein the Church and the Bishop of Natal are irreconcilable.

[The above arguments were then enforced by quotations from the Homilies (pp. 276, 291, and 446; 1850, Cambridge edition); Noell's Catechism (p. 159 et seq.; Oxford edition); Jewell's Apology (pp. 17—19; Christian Knowledge edition); Ridley's Remains (pp. 239, 240, 241; Parker Society's edition); and Hooker, v. c. lvii.]

III. Our third position is, that "faith is the means whereby the Body and Blood of Christ is received and eaten, and faith is necessary in order that the grace bestowed by God in sacraments may have a wholesome effect and operation," all which the Bishop of Natal, as it appears to us, flatly denies. But on this point I need not detain your Lordships, partly because much of the matter cited by me touching the nature of the sacraments obviously includes this point, and what more I might have wished to say has been anticipated either by my colleagues in this argument or by myself in what I had occasion to say under Schedule II. I cannot conceive a more entire disagreement than exists between the teaching of the Bishop and the authorized doctrine of the Church on this grave subject, and I submit that we have proved the disagreement.

IV.

The next and last charge which we bring against the Bishop of Natal, in connection with his book on the Romans, relates to the tremendous subject of eternal punishment. Possibly, if the Bishop were here, he would plead that he makes no positive assertions on the subject; that he expressly declines to "dogmatize" upon it; that he contents himself with saying that he "can no longer maintain or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments," but that he in terms denies nothing; that he "lays his hand upon his mouth, and leaves it (the whole subject of everlasting punishment) in the hands of the righteous and merciful Judge." Supposing the Bishop to have said no more than this, I cannot allow that he does not there say enough to justify a charge of false doctrine; that is to say, supposing the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments to be undeniably an article of the Christian creed. For, surely, as clergymen, we are all bound not only not to deny what we have declared we believe, but not to withhold from our flocks what we have

pledged ourselves to teach. The Bishop of Natal's phraseology just quoted might deserve the praise of moderation, if he were perfectly free from all distinct doctrinal engagements; if he were a layman who had espoused Socinian tenets, and, being legally free to say just what he liked, had chosen, out of pure respect to the awfulness and mysteriousness of the subject, to express himself with reserve. But the author of this Commentary on the Romans is not a layman. He is a Bishop, to whose office appertains in the highest sense the administration of discipline, and the correction of false doctrine in others. Admitting the doctrine of eternal punishment to form part of our formal confessions of faith; and also admitting that, if the doctrine be true, it must needs be one of the most tremendous mistakes that man can fall into to disbelieve it; then, assuredly, it cannot be a light offence for a Bishop of our Church to publish to the world that he can maintain it no longer.

But, perhaps, this is, after all, wasting words. If we look fairly at the substance of all that the Bishop says about endless punishment, it must, I think, be admitted that he does deny the doctrine. And it is this estimate of his teaching that really lies at the root of our charge against him. We maintain that he writes as an-out-and-out Universalist in the interest of an out-and-out Universalism. It is not true that "he lays his hand upon his mouth." The truth rather is that there is no part of the Commentary which is written with more evident zest, or with a plainer determination, if possible, to persuade and convince, than the part which treats of eternal punishment. The subject occupies more pages consecutively—I believe I am correct in saying so—than any other one subject handled in the whole book. And I think it must be allowed that the strain of the argument throughout points steadily to the conclusion as expressed in the note on section 262, where the writer drops all reserve, and, under cover of a sort of commentary on the Athanasian Creed, proclaims his Universalist theory, as the only possible theory that can "accord with what we feel to be the general teaching of the Bible, and the spirit of the Gospel." I contend, therefore, that the Bishop is entitled to no credit for the moderation with which he opens his subject; for that, having said one thing, he straightway does another; and has no sooner put his hand upon his mouth than he takes it down again, and inculcates naked Universalism, not without considerable persuasiveness and skill, but certainly with all his power.

With the strength of his arguments I am not concerned,

taking them as arguments. It is his teaching, as teaching, that we complain of; and we insist that it is utterly inconsistent with the Formularies which we cite against him, and which throughout recognize expressly or by implication an everlasting fire as real, and for those to whom in God's just judgment it may be due as certain, as everlasting life is a reality and a certainty for all that love God and keep His commandments. And here I might very well dismiss this subject if it were not that the Bishop, following the lead of his school, has attempted to construct a defence out of the meaning of the words "everlasting" and "eternal;" and however feeble the argument may be, yet since it has been used, and since the whole question, as far as the Formularies are concerned, turns on it, we are not at liberty to despise it.

The Universalist argument, then, would appear to be briefly this: The terms "eternal" and "everlasting," as applied to God, are said to mean more than "endless;" inasmuch as "endless" is a mere negative, and cannot convey an adequate or worthy conception of the Divine Entity. Therefore, it is further argued, the same words "eternal" and "everlasting," as applied to life and death hereafter, must mean more than endless. Therefore, finally, as applied to future punishment, they mean not endless at all, but the very opposite of it, viz., temporary! This, to the best of my belief, is the substance of the Bishop of Natal's argument, so far as his case rests on the terms "eternal" and "everlasting;" and if I have not misunderstood him, the Court will bear me out in saying that a less consequent argument was never dignified with the name of argument since first theology was reckoned to be a science. As your Lordships are well aware, the two words used in the New Testament, as equivalents of "eternal" and "everlasting" are *aidios* and *aiionios* — the first of these being used very seldom, not oftener than twice, according to Greenfield's Greek Concordance (Romans i, 20, and Jude 6); the word *aiionios* very frequently. Now, it is impossible to deny that both these words as applied to God, and to the life in God, and to the death out of God, mean a great deal more than endless. No Christian, I suppose, would raise any contention on that point. But if it be admitted that—mean what else they may—they certainly, in any such connection, mean endless in addition to their other meanings, and that they are so used in the Church's Formularies, then I do not see how it can be doubted that those Formularies are directly impugned by the teaching of the Bishop of Natal.

I do not build exclusively on the etymology of either *aidios* or *aionios*. I would no more attempt to build the doctrine of the eternity of punishment on the bare word *aionios* than I would undertake to evolve the doctrine of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed relating to the Person and Office of the Holy Spirit out of the bare word *Pneuma*; or the true character, in all its fulness, of our Lord's messiahship out of the bare term *Christos*. All these words have an ecclesiastical history, and a theological import; and apart from the traditional meaning that has thus accrued to them, it would be impossible to explain them. And in this there is nothing strange or peculiar to theological terminology. It is simply that theology is not independent of the common laws of language, and that many theological terms demand attention to their theological use, if they are to be rightly understood, just as astronomical terms require to be interpreted in the special sense affixed to them by astronomers. The same word, too, may be used in different senses, without any necessity for confusion in the use of it: as God is used variously in Holy Scripture, of the Father of the True God, but sometimes of idols, or of created beings, when the sense is explained by the context, or by an adjective, or by the use of the plural. And many similar instances might be given. I apply all this thus: It is conceded that the word *aionios* is not always employed in one and the same sense. The noun *aion*, from which it is derived, most certainly is sometimes applied, even to this present life (Luke xvi. 8), and both in the singular and plural denotes oftentimes some one age, period, or series of periods, sometimes definite, sometimes indefinite, but by no means necessarily endless. Our words "ever," "never," and "always," represent very nearly the same sort of undetermined meaning, and seem to illustrate the indeterminateness of the noun *aion*, as used in the New Testament, as exactly, perhaps, as it is possible for words of another language to illustrate it. And the meaning of the adjective *aionios*, in like manner, must be sought, not in its etymology merely, but in the use made of it; in the actual historic sense which the word, as employed in connection with divine things, was originally intended, and has been generally understood, to express. Thus it is morally certain that Schleusner is right in giving to this word, in all passages in the New Testament referring to the future lot of the wicked as well as the good, the sense of without end. For, let the word mean what it may, it cannot mean two entirely different things when applied in the same sen-

tence to life and to death, as *e. g.*, in St. Matthew, chap. xxv. And no one in his sober senses would venture to assert that in that passage *aionios*, as applied to life, means temporary; a life into which death may again one day enter. That life which is to be perfect union with Christ Who Himself "dieth no more," and of which mortality is to be swallowed up, cannot be again "in bondage to the fear of death." And the doctrine of this endless life is not more certainly the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures and the Church, than it is certain that *aionios* in Matt. xxv, expresses this endlessness, and has ever been understood by all Christians to express it. My whole argument then turns on this word, and its equivalents, not considered in their naked etymological meaning alone, and severed from all consideration of the purpose to which our Lord first, and Christendom ever since, has applied them; but, taken fairly and honestly in connection with their historical and recognized use in Christian terminology. They have ever been received as importing endlessness when applied to life. By what authority are they to be understood as signifying something infinitely different when applied to the punishment of the second death?

Together in Excellence

I need not detain the Court by citing at length the various passages from the Church's Formularies now before your Lordships, which we consider the Bishop's teaching to impugne, and commenting on them *seriatim*. The Bishop of Natal himself appears to admit the natural and obvious construction of the Athanasian Creed to be against him. And the Athanasian Creed, it will not be forgotten, is at least as strong for the purpose of a doctrinal test as Article VIII, which supports and affirms it. Moreover all that we know of the controversies that have from time to time arisen on this subject, from Origen downwards, converges to show that the doctrine of a final *apocatastasis*, when all evil shall have been swallowed up, and all punishment shall have ceased, has ever been treated by the Church as a dangerous novelty. (See Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. xxi, chap. 11 and 12). The *onus probandi* is really with the Universalist. It is historically certain that Christians have ever believed in a life to be lived hereafter in the blissful presence of God, which, in addition to its other properties, has also this property, that it shall be endless. Let Bishop Pearson, or any other commentator of approved name, say whether this is not the only sense that can be reasonably put upon upon the word everlasting in the Apostles' Creed. Assuredly it is for the Bishop of Natal to show

cause why the words "eternal" and "everlasting," when used of future punishment, in the Athanasian Creed, the Communion Service, the Catechism, and elsewhere, are to be understood in a sense wholly different; are to be emptied of a chief part of the historic meaning that has hitherto belonged to them; and for that meaning another substituted, grounded in etymology alone. (Pearson on Apostles' Creed, Article xii.) We contend that the Bishop has not done what it was really impossible that he should do. We say that he has not shown the words "eternal" and "everlasting" to mean something exclusive of endless; and that, in denying them to mean endless in respect of future punishment, he contradicts the Formularies. If any would deprecate a judicial decision on this subject on the ground of its mystery and awfulness, let me distinctly say that that is precisely the ground on which we press for judgment; because it is a doctrine tremendous and awful beyond anything that the human mind can conceive or imagination anticipate, and therefore can only rest, as an absolute verity, on the express words of revelation, the authority of which cannot be more directly deprived than by a denial of this kind. It may be said again, as it has been often said before, that in maintaining the doctrine of the endlessness of punishment, we are cruelly and bigotedly limiting that mercy which is God's crowning attribute, and which must be infinite as God Himself is infinite. But your Lordships are not likely to be perplexed by the confusion of thought which is really the strength of this objection. In maintaining, as our Creeds and Formularies bind us to maintain, the truth and certainty of eternal punishment, we are not saying who they are that shall incur it, further than as Holy Scripture puts the general warning into our lips, which, accordingly, we dare not suppress. The doctrine of eternal punishment withdraws no man from the embrace of infinite mercy. It simply witnesses that infinite mercy is not the same thing with that infinite benevolence into which justice does not enter. If God were a being incapable of infinite justice, He would also be a being incapable of infinite mercy; for mercy implies justice, although there may be justice without mercy. The doctrine, then, which we now charge the Bishop of Natal with impugning puts no limit on God's mercy, if only the term mercy be properly understood. But it is a distinct revelation of the certainty and awfulness of that justice which is inseparably bound up with the conception of God's holiness, and which we are compelled to proclaim by the very same authority that binds us to

publish the glad tidings of free forgiveness to the uttermost to all that truly turn and repent. As we would anchor our souls upon the sure conviction of God's unchanging faithfulness as the rewarder of all that diligently seek Him, so would we accept and publish as infallibly true every iota of His threatenings against unrepented sin. We are secure of the one solely in virtue of the same revealed Word that ought to make all men afraid of the other. And again I must remind your Lordships how evidently the Bishop of Natal perceives this, and how the giddy vortex of his error has drawn him in even to dare to throw a doubt on what the Church of Christ has ever unwaveringly believed of the certainties and the permanence of heaven. But your Lordships must have observed that he is perfectly logical in doing so; and you will acknowledge that we are logical also if we ask you to deal with this heretical teaching on the subject of eternal punishment, as remembering that every solid hope we have of heaven is concerned in it. It is but one of the Bishop of Natal's many inaccuracies, that he claims the authorized teaching of the Church of Rome to be in this matter on his side. The fact is that the Church of Rome holds the doctrine of endless punishments as distinctly as we ourselves hold it; and that the tremendousness of the punishment of hell is constantly pleaded by Roman divines as a sort of plea for the reasonableness and necessity of a middle purgatorial state. But the Bishop's favourite court of appeal on this, and on all questions, is the moral instinct of the multitude,—the utterances of our human hearts. Does the Bible indeed say so and so? "Yea—hath God said?" 'But if our human hearts say differently, then God hath not said it—the alleged revelation is either no revelation at all, or it is revelation—as the Bishop of Natal believes in revelation—misinterpreted.' As if it were morally possible for any evil-doer, in the very act of transgression, to have all the consequences of his transgression full before his eyes; as if sin were not in its own proper nature spiritual blindness; or as if the mere absence of fearful anticipations had anything whatever to do with the actual consequences of persistent and unrepented transgression! No, my Lords, when the moral instincts of the multitude shall have taught them to love God with heart and mind, and soul and strength, and every man his neighbour as himself; when the utterances of our human hearts shall have persuaded us all into the ways of honesty, and purity, and gentleness, and truth; when covetousness, and evil-speaking, and fraud, and all

malice shall have died away from off the earth, then it will be time enough to apply to those same moral instincts, rather than to the Bible, for our knowledge of what is to be hereafter. But I will not detain the Court by prolonging my remarks on this part of my subject. Nor will I here add anything on the general character of the errors which we charge against the Commentary on the Romans, further than by saying that I believe them all to hang together in close and necessary connection; that what the Bishop beyond all doubt denies, or extrudes from Christianity, seems to me to take away all virtue from that which he professes to retain; and that I know not under which of these four schedules your Lordships could possibly excuse the Bishop of Natal without inflicting such a wound on this branch of the Anglican Church as, perhaps, never in all time would be effectually healed.



Friday, November 20.

Archdeacon Badnall resumed his argument this morning by considering the alleged errors of the Bishop of Natal as respects the Holy Scriptures, and spoke as follows:

V.

We next come to a series of charges on account of false teaching, which essentially, perhaps, is not more false than that which has last occupied the Court; for it may have been morally impossible for a Christian Bishop consciously holding the doctrines taught in the Bishop of Natal's Commentary on the Romans not to be holding at the same time, even though it may have been unconsciously, most of the opinions expressed in the later books on the Pentateuch; but looking to its formal character, the teaching which I have next to object against the Bishop of Natal, or certainly some of it, is such as, I believe, has never been objected against a Bishop of the Church of Christ before, since the Church was founded.

Our first extract is section 184 of Part I, page 152. This passage contains nothing of the offensive character which belongs to other parts of the same work; but we have in it the germ, and that not doubtfully expressed,—for I am addressing myself now, not to remote or possible inferences from the Bishop's words, but to the words themselves, and the sense in which it is plain he meant them to be understood,—in this passage, I repeat, we have the germ

of almost all the false teaching which this work on the Pentateuch conveys. No other construction can be put upon it than this,—that in reading the Bible men ought to be taught to accept as the voice of God's Holy Spirit just so much as their own hearts and consciences approve, and no more; just so much as may answer to the voice of truth within, saying "These words are God's." And, by necessary implication, that if the next page contain a passage which the same "voice of truth within" is instinctively impelled to pronounce not to be God's words, then the authority of Holy Scripture, as addressed to that person, must so far be considered to have been annihilated by that inward verdict. Truth and error, we know, are everywhere intermingled in the world, and run into one another sometimes all but indistinguishably in all the transactions of mankind. We know, particularly, that they together form the contents of every merely human book that ever was composed, except so far (and, of course, should say) as such book was an avowed and indisputable reproduction of divine truths. But speaking of ordinary literature, we may safely affirm that the worst and most misleading productions of men's pens contain some elements of truth; and that the best and every way the noblest literary monuments that human genius has ever reared, are disfigured and weakened to some undefinable extent with error, and prejudice, and passion. And consequently it becomes one of our chief and least intermittent trials, as we pass through life, and particularly as we attempt to gather lasting good from the literary labours of our fellow-men, to be obliged to be constantly exercising our moral discernment, and every mental faculty and attainment we may possess, in order to separate the true from the false, the right from the wrong, the veritable beacon from the will-o'-the-wisp, in order that we may assimilate or be guided by the one and reject the other. Now, the Bishop of Natal insists that in like manner men ought to be taught to read the Bible, not simply with fully-awakened moral faculties,—with a heart and conscience all alive,—but with an entirely free, critical distrust of the truth of its contents. Men ought to know that just so much of Holy Scripture as their reason and conscience approve—pronounce favourably of—thus much, and no more, is God's Holy Word to them. A few verses, scattered here and there up and down the Pentateuch; here and there a saying of David or Solomon; some certain portions of some twenty or thirty of the Psalms; some broken fragments of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos; and—

why stop here?—certain selections from the New Testament, may be all that this or that student of Holy Scripture may find it consistent with his moral instincts to accept; and, if so, he is justified, according to the Bishop of Natal, in rejecting the remainder. In short, it is the Bible no more that is to be God's Holy Word; it is to be merely so many biblical *excerpta*, which every man ought to know that he is qualified to select and arrange for himself, being furnished in his reason and conscience with the light which is to enable him for the task. There is nothing here, I think, that can be fairly said to be an overstraining, in the slightest particular, of the obvious purport of the Bishop's words in the passage just quoted. How abundantly this is proved to be the right construction of them will appear as we proceed.

The next extract is from Part II, p. 383, section 513. This passage is noticeable for the condensed categorical statement contained in it, "The Bible is not itself 'God's Word.'"

The third extract is from Part I, pp. 13-14, section 14. This passage occurs in the "Introductory Remarks" prefixed to Part I. The full extent of its meaning is, therefore, to be determined by all the matter to which it stands related as part of the prelude. I now content myself with pointing out that, according to the writer of that passage, taken by itself, the Bible contains the true word of God in such a sense as that "some of the chief portions" of the first five books—which must be confessed by everybody to be the substratum of the whole—"cannot be regarded as historically true;" and that that whole collection of sacred books, of which the Pentateuch is here admitted to be an "integral portion," includes an undefined intermixture of *these* "human elements," viz., "error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance;" by which is meant, it must be observed, not such instances of error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance as are recorded in avowedly historical books, and undisguisedly to the disadvantage of those against whom they are recorded, and for the warning of all others: as when the 11th chapter of the Second Book of Samuel relates the history of David's great transgressions; or, as when the 13th chapter of the First Book of Kings records the disobedience of the prophet sent by God to pronounce sentence on the idolatries instituted by Jeroboam at Bethel. Nothing of this sort is meant; for all this would continue to speak for itself, as it has spoken for itself, to learned and unlearned alike, these thousands of years. No; the liability to all sorts of human infirmity here spoken of is with the sacred

penmen; not with those of whom they write. The meaning is that, open the Bible where you will, the "error" may be anywhere; the "infirmity" anywhere; the "passion" anywhere; the "ignorance" anywhere. Any of these, or all of them, may lurk under the most solemn words which Holy Scripture contains; words following, perhaps, directly upon the accustomed prophetic formula, "The Lord spake unto me," or, "The Lord saith." Nay; the formula itself may be, every syllable of it, an untruth; no more a signal divinely authorized, and demanding the obedient ear as having been divinely authorized; but, instead, the unwarranted utterance of the dreamy, religious enthusiast, urged on—God alone knows by what motives—as such enthusiasts have been in every age of the world, to mistake his one soul-absorbing but perhaps utterly un-sanctified, his purely human and possibly wholly sinful, prepossession for the voice of God Himself speaking to him. But, in truth, the Bishop of Natal has himself more than established all that I now contend for; for he has charged the Christ Himself with error; so that all that I have hitherto said of the plain purport of this extract is a long way within the facts.

Our last passage articulated under this Schedule is the paragraph on page xii of Part I. This is important, as being an outspoken declaration of the Bishop of Natal, that he no longer wholly believes in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. This avowal stands in the text as the premiss to a conclusion, on which if the Bishop had acted, these proceedings would never have been taken. The conclusion, we are told in a foot-note on the same page, was "materially affected" by Dr. Lushington's judgment in the case of the Bishop of Salisbury v. Williams. But the premiss, taken as a declaration of the Bishop's state of mind, is proved, by his marked recal of the conclusion only, to have been intended by him to stand good along with the other contents of the book. It is with the premiss, not the necessity of the conclusion, that we are now concerned,—the Bishop of Natal's avowal that it was impossible for him, with the evidence before him in 1861,—which evidence he is at pains to let us know had been thickening on him to the period of the publication of Part I, in 1862,—wholly to believe in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

To this teaching we oppose—

- I. Articles VI, XVII, XX, XXII, XXIV, and XXXIV.
- II. Preface to Book of Common Prayer, and Exhortation at beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer.

III. Nicene Creed.

IV. Ordinal (Ordering of Deacons and Priests).

Of these, the most important is Article VI, inasmuch as it is our Church's formal and most express declaration concerning "God's Word written," both the contents of the Book and the authority due to it.

And I would begin by begging the attention of the Court to the plain, literal sense of the Article as it stands, without external aid or gloss of any kind beyond what we really cannot help importing into it, as derived from our general knowledge of Christianity. First of all, it makes Holy Scripture to be the one only ultimate standard of divine truth,—those truths of divine revelation, the direct purpose of which is the salvation of the human race. This cannot be denied. And, this being conceded, it cannot be allowed in the same breath that an indefinite portion of the Bible is not true and trustworthy. The framers of Article VI may have been—for argument's sake let it be granted that they were—uncritical men, the blind inheritors of an untenable opinion of the value of the Bible. But with their ignorance or incompetence we are not now concerned. The simple question is—what did they mean by Article VI? They clearly meant that what cannot be proved out of the Bible is not necessary to be believed as a part of saving truth. And they also clearly meant by this more than a mere negation. They assumed the knowledge of some certain points of faith and duty to be necessary to man's salvation; and they meant that the Holy Scriptures were to be resorted to as the sole ultimate measure of this knowledge. They meant that the Scriptures were to be actually applied—as later, in the same Article, we are told the Apocrypha may not be applied—to "establish doctrine" (*"ad dogmata confirmanda"*). But how could the framers of Article VI, as honest men, have meant all this, if they had thought a considerable but unknown portion of the Bible to be historically untrue, or otherwise unworthy of credit; every man being at liberty to determine for himself to the best of his ability, and according to the measure of light within him, how much of it was true, and how much false; and perhaps to vary his determination from month to month? Admitting the Bible to be partly true and partly false, it is all of it—every sentence—every word of it—from the first chapter of Genesis to the last of the Revelation—utterly worthless as a final standard of appeal, until we are absolutely certified how much of it and exactly what parts are true, and how much of it and exactly what parts are false. If a man is

put into the witness-box of a human court of justice we want from him, and we claim from him, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Anything of the nature of direct falsehood, or of suppression of the truth, or in excess of the truth, if it were intentionally included in evidence given upon oath, would be perjury. And if God's witness to the truths of salvation, as afforded by His "Word written," is less perfect, it is, for every practical purpose, no witness at all. Nor is this position weakened by the fact—made much of by the ingenious counsel who pleaded Dr. Williams's case in the Court of Arches, but most readily acknowledged by us—that the Bible is a composite book, rather a collection of separate books, embracing a very wide range, and a very large variety of matter, some of which has been altered and reduced, by the coming in of a more perfect dispensation, from its original status as positive law and a typical ceremonial, into the position of a monumental witness, whose outlines and tracery, still clear and sharp as ever, would appear to have been preserved to us chiefly to enable us the better to connect the present with the past, and comprehend the more perfectly our own more glorious inheritance. There have been those who have used the Bible as they might have used a fortune-teller's wheel—opening it at random, and supposing that God was specially guiding them at some crisis of their lives, perhaps by the topmost text on the right hand page, or by the last text to the extreme left hand, according to the arbitrary election which they had happened to make in their own mind beforehand. Article VI was not framed in this spirit. Sound knowledge of the Bible must, of course, be understood to imply knowledge of the relation in which the different parts stand to one another, and to the whole. And in order to the unfolding of this and other departments of biblical learning, there is scope, without any doubt, for all the knowledge and wisdom that Christendom shall ever bring to bear upon the Bible. But because true religion, no less than sound learning, forbids our making a mechanical use of the Bible, paying no regard to its structure, its varieties of subject-matter, and the direct bearing of the different parts of it, the Bishop of Natal is not, therefore, free to speak of it as containing an unlimited amount of "human error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance." And my present point is simply to show this,—that the plain, common-sense meaning of the first paragraph of the Article is utterly inconsistent with any such teaching; for that

nothing could ever be said to be proved out of Holy Scripture, in respect either of faith or duty, so long as some considerable, but wholly undefined, and undefinable, portion of it was believed to be on any ground not trustworthy. But when we pass on from the first paragraph to the end of the Article, the justice of this interpretation of the whole Article would appear to be placed beyond the reach of cavil. For what is the intention of an exact division of all the books that have ever been reputed in the Church to be Holy Scripture into two classes, the one comprising certain books said to be canonical—which is further explained to mean books of whose authority there was never any doubt in the Church—and the other class comprising books of high esteem, and appointed accordingly to be read publicly for example of life and instruction of manners; but books differing from the rest of the Scriptures in this one all-important particular, that the Church doth not apply them to establish any doctrine? Judging Article vi by the rules of common sense and common honesty, it would seem quite impossible for any one to suppose that those thoughtful and learned men who drew it up, or that the Church in first accepting it, could have believed a large but unknown quantity of those canonical books to be “historically untrue,” and otherwise intermixed, I must again repeat, to an extent which is quite undefinable, and even variable according to the mind of the individual reader, with “error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance.” The title of Article vi is, “Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation.” Or still more distinctly in the Latin, “*De Divinis Scripturis, quod sufficient ad salutem.*” Any one who could rest content with such an account of these “Divine Scriptures” as is given us in the extracts cited against the Bishop of Natal under this Schedule, and still believe them to suffice as repositories of the knowledge needed for salvation, must, one would think, have somewhat degraded notions of what salvation involves. But this is a corollary. I sum up my argument so far thus: We contend that the teaching here objected against the Bishop of Natal is contrary to, and inconsistent with, the plain gist of Article vi from first to last, and with anything like a fair and unprejudiced construction of its terms, the title included, taken in their obvious, literal, grammatical sense; and we pray for judgment accordingly.

But that we may not seem to ignore any counter-argument on which it is in the least likely that the Bishop of Natal may be relying, I now come to a more exact examina-

tion of several of the more prominent terms used in this Article. In the first place, much stress has been laid on the word "containeth," at the beginning of the Article: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation," &c. "*Scriptura Sacra continet omnia quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria*," &c. The continental neologians have long been accustomed to use this word "contain" very freely, as a sort of catch. And men holding the opinions of the Bishop of Natal, in this as in other things, have followed the continental lead with very little, apparently, of that "honest thought" which they are so fond of claiming as exclusively their grand characteristic. "The Bible contains the word of God." "Yes," they say, in effect, "but as a needle may be contained in a hay-stack." And this satisfies the sense of truth of some who have subscribed Article VI. I hope to show your Lordships that it does not satisfy the terms of the Article itself.

My first argument unavoidably takes the form, in some sort, of a challenge. The word under dispute occurs in Article VI of the original Forty-two of the year 1552, as well as in the Thirty-nine of 1562. It is well known who were chiefly concerned in the framing of these Articles in both periods. If in other works of the same writers, or in the works of contemporaries who are known to have assisted them or to have sympathized with them, any expression of opinion can be discovered to justify such language as this, "The Bible is not itself 'God's word;' but assuredly 'God's word' will be heard in the Bible by all who will humbly and devoutly listen for it" (Section 513, page 383, Part II), by all means let it be produced. The first of the two Homilies on the reading and knowledge of Holy Scripture speaks of Holy Scripture once as "containing God's true word, setting forth His glory, and also man's duty;" once, as "fully containing what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love, and what to look for at God's hands at length;" and once, quoting St. Chrysostom, as "fully containing whatsoever is required to salvation of man." Both these Homilies were most probably the work of Cranmer himself. But neither Homily has in it a hint that Holy Scripture is not synonymous and coincident with "God's Word." They inculcate not only a diligent but a THOROUGH study of the Bible. They recognize a variety in the contents. "The Scripture is full," they say, "as well of low valleys, plain ways, and easy for every man to use and to walk in; as also of high hills and mountains, which few men can climb unto." And therefore, having regard to the more rugged and intricate parts, the writer

lays marked stress on the danger to "presumptuous and arrogant" readers of the Bible of falling into error. But as to the existence of "error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance" in the Bible itself, or the opinion that "God's Word" is an *undetermined portion* of Holy Scripture, we find nothing of that sort in the Homilies. On the contrary, we are admonished that "*the reading of the whole [Bible] ought not to be set apart;*" and we are finally encouraged to this thorough and constant study of the Sacred Scriptures in these terms: "Let us thank God heartily for this His great and special gift, beneficial favour, and fatherly providence; let us be glad to receive this precious gift of our Heavenly Father; . . . let us stay, quiet, and certify our consciences with the most *infallible certainty, truth, and perpetual assurance of them;* let us pray to God (the ONLY author of these heavenly studies) that we may speak, believe, live, and depart hence, according to the wholesome doctrine and *verities* of them." Language such as this could not have been used by men who in their hearts believed Holy Scripture to embody an unlimited amount of "error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance," permeating particularly the first five books, which books themselves again permeate the whole Bible, and extending to the words of Christ Himself, except they had intended to deceive. And I am bold to say that nothing at variance with this teaching of the Homilies will be found in any contemporaneous writings which can reasonably be quoted as throwing light on the sense of the Articles.

But in the next place, it is quite certain that the word "containeth" used in Article vi, and its Latin equivalent, are not synonymous with our word "contain" in its modern popular use. The

"Parum locuples continente ripa"

of Horace (Odes ii, 18—22) might suffice to give us the clue to the more common sense of the Latin word "*continere.*" And the English equivalent, as used in Article vi, evidently means the same thing. We have an apposite instance of the use of this same word, in the exact sense for which I am now contending, in the Royal Declaration prefixed to the Articles in 1628, the first paragraph of which begins thus: "That the Articles of the Church of England . . . do *contain* the true doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to God's Word, which we do therefore ratify and confirm." The Declaration goes on to say: "Requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and *prohibiting the least difference* from the said Articles."

This exhaustive prohibition shows plainly the sense in which the word "contain" is employed just before. Clearly every part of the Articles, and every sentence of them, is a part of the contents involved in the verb "contain." And this is according to the stricter and more proper use of the Latin word, which has a kind of exclusive force, and glances at what it shuts out as a whole, whilst it expresses what it shuts in as a whole. Our colloquial use of the word—as if one were to speak of a book "containing here and there an amusing or instructive incident"—is a secondary and less exact use of the word, which, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, there is no reason to suppose even occurred to the framers of the Articles.

But it would be easy to multiply instances of the same use of the word "*continere*" as that now contended for. Cardinal Bellarmine "*De Verbo Dei non Scripto*," lib. 4, cap. iii, quoted by Professor Browne on the Articles, p. 124, evidently so employs "*contineri*." "The Holy Scriptures are there imagined to be circumscribed with a certain boundary line, within which boundary the "heretics" are said to allege that all necessary doctrines are contained expressly (*contineri expressè*); but beyond which (proterea) the Church of Rome is represented as declaring a certain unwritten word to be also needed. And this would seem to be without any doubt the whole of the meaning intended by the "*continet*" of Article vi. St. Augustine, "*Contra Donatistas*," lib. ii, cap. 3 (tom. ix, col. 98), almost defines for us that this is the meaning attached by him to "*contineri*:" "*Quis nesciat Sanctam Scripturam Canonicam, tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus literis ita præponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, ulrum verum vel rectum sit, quicquid in ea Scriptum esse constiterit.*" And the Tridentine Canon concerning Holy Scripture and the unwritten word will be clearly perceived by any one who will consider the peculiar nature of the controversy which gave rise to the Canon, to employ *contineri* just as Augustine employs it in the passage last quoted.

But if these arguments are not convincing, I pass next to such as are irrefragable, and in the face of which any man might well be ashamed to pretend that the Holy Scriptures are meant by the Article to "contain God's word," only as the Bishop of Natal declares them to contain it. I suppose that, perhaps, the highest authorities which can be quoted for the meaning of Article vi, beyond the language of the Article itself, are Bishop Jewell and Dean Noell. As is well known, Bishop Jewell was one of Archbishop Parker's principal assistants in

remodelling the Articles in the reign of Elizabeth. This would make Bishop Jewell's independent opinion, even when it bore only on Articles allowed by him, especially valuable. But when we come to such an Article as the 6th, which was considerably altered in Elizabeth's time from the original form in which it had stood in the reign of Edward, anything that can be elicited from one who helped to make the alteration, and determine the shape which the Article finally acquired in the way of independent testimony to the sense in which the whole Article was intended, cannot fail to be in a high degree important. But with respect to the "Apology,"—the treatise I am going to quote,—it should be further noted, as Carwithen points out (vol. i, p. 462), that "the Apology is not to be considered as the unauthorized work of an eminent prelate; but as an authentic exposition of the doctrines of that Church whose name it bears. It was published at the express command of the Queen, and at the royal expense; and is expressed with such fidelity and force the sentiments of the English Hierarchy, that Parker designed it as an accompaniment to the Articles." In short, no work of that period, not being itself one of the Church's Formularies, can stand in closer connection with the Thirty-nine Articles than does the famous Apology of Bishop Jewell. The question is, how does Bishop Jewell speak of the Holy Scriptures? In the early part of the Apology Bishop Jewell is meeting the taunt of the Church of Rome that all the reformed churches were heretical, "which is so grave a charge," he says, "that except there be clear evidence of it, unless it be palpable, unless you can positively lay your finger on it, it ought not easily to be believed of a Christian man; for heresy is *destitutio salutis; abjectio Gratiae Dei; discessio a corpore et Spiritu Christi.*" He proceeds thus: "But it is cheap work calling names. Christ was called a Samaritan for no other reason *quam quod ad novam quandam religionem et ad hæresim defecisse putaretur.* The same with St. Paul. *Brevitur universa ista religio, quam hodie profitentur homines Christiani, primis temporibus ab ethnicis hominibus Secta dicta, et hæresis.*" And then he passes on to the position, that, whereas for some time the *dicta* of the Pope had been made the groundwork of religion, the groundwork of the Reformation was the Holy Scriptures. "*Extant hodie Sacrae Literæ delirantis*" (pp. 9-11). But after this we have a still more formal declaration of the writer's faith on the same subject: "*Recipimus et amplectimur omnes Canonicas Scripturas et secus doceat*" (pp. 16-17). I am persuaded, my Lords, that if it be possible for one man to contradict the teach-

ing of another, without having had distinctly in his mind's eye the teaching contradicted, Bishop Jewell must be acknowledged to contradict in these extracts the doctrine of the Bishop of Natal, that the Bible contains for each separate reader only as much of "God's word" as he may choose to discover there. Bishop Jewell would not have contended that every sentence in Holy Scripture admits of an equally direct application to the Christian. It is idle for our so-called critics first to charge us with using the Bible as no moderately instructed Christian, provided he was free from fanaticism, ever used it; and then to expend themselves on laying the phantom of absurdity, which they, and they alone, have conjured up. But this is certain that Jewell, in common with the other reformers, invariably speaks of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament as constituting collectively the sure "Word of God written," the one infallible ground of appeal from human opinion; the sole ultimate measure of the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles; and, therefore, of the doctrine of the English Church. It is difficult, perhaps, to determine whether of the two in the cleaver, the Article by itself, or Bishop Jewell. But assuredly the Article, illustrated by Bishop Jewell, would appear to be as decisive against the extracts cited under this schedule against the Bishop of Natal as it is possible for any rule of faith to be decisive against teaching contravening it otherwise than by a direct categorical denial. And almost as much may be said of the authority of Noell, who was Prolocutor of the Lower House at the critical period when the Articles were undergoing their final revision, and whose Catechism is well known to have been intended, and to have been received, as a *quasi* Formulary of the Church, rather than as one man's private lucubration. [The Archdeacon then read various extracts from Noell's Catechism on the authority of Holy Scripture, including all the contents, as God's Holy Word, beginning at p. 12.]

There is yet one other important word in this Article on which it is necessary for me to say something more,—I mean the word "canonical." Here I will first read to the Court the introductory remarks of Professor Browne, whose treatise on the Thirty-nine Articles, as is well known to the Court, is a very valuable and careful work, and, indeed, the most complete book on the Articles that we possess. [Professor Browne was here quoted down to "written Word of God" (pp. 123-5).]

I have quoted Professor Browne thus far as giving a clear

and succinct account of the external history and controversial bearings of this Article, both which are highly important to the argument, and as indisputable, happily, as they are important. With the soundness of the Article, and the demonstrableness of its positions, which are Professor Browne's main topic, we are not now immediately concerned.

But I have yet one other work to quote, which goes directly into the question of the canonicity of Holy Scripture, and in such a manner as to shed quite superabundant light on the matter now in course of being argued,—I refer to Bishop Cosin's "Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures," written in the days of the Commonwealth, when its learned author was an exile in France, and first published in London A.D., 1657, about eighty-five years after the Thirty-nine Articles were set forth after the last revision. The immediate object of this remarkable book is to make good, against the Church of Rome, the position of the Church of England in retaining the Apocryphal Books, as we reckon them, in the rank which they had held before the Council of Trent, and in refusing in deference to that Council, to receive them for the first time into the Canon. Accordingly, prefixed to the book stands the 6th of the Thirty-nine Articles of 1562, as the text or thesis of the whole of it; and over against it, by way of contrast, what Bishop Cosin styles "The New Canon of Scripture first set forth by the Council of Trent." I am, therefore, now quoting a work as truly intended to elucidate and affirm Article VI as Professor Browne's book was intended to explain and maintain all the Articles alike. [Bishop Cosin's Preface was then read—Sections i and ii, vi, xiii, and xiv.]

The learned Bishop then goes *seriatim* through every century of Church history, from the 1st to the 16th inclusive, and by an exhaustive process of argument demonstrates, 1st—and this is the direct or formal purpose of the work—That in maintaining the broad distinction which we do maintain between the Canonical and Apocryphal Books, we have the voice of the Church with us, Fathers and Councils, down to the date of the Council of Trent, when the Church of Rome in this matter innovated. And 2ndly—and this is shown incidentally to the main current of the argument—That whereas the Apocryphal Books, and even some other books which have never in certain particulars ranked as high even as the Apocrypha, have been

occasionally styled prophetic and divine writings, and have been often used "for example of life and instruction of manners" above all ordinary books; yet between these and the Canonical Books there has always been recognized this ground of distinction, that the last have been alone accounted of "infallible verity and unquestioned authority" (p. 125), "and been used for the establishing and determining of any matter of faith or controversy in religion" (p. 10), as if "*omnium rerum trutina et regula.*" The attempt has been made latterly to show that the word "canon," as applied to the Holy Scriptures, means simply catalogue; and that "canonical" means included in such catalogue. And truly, men may say anything about anything, or about anybody. But mere talk cannot undo the fact that Christianity has a history, or prevent those who are so inclined from consulting it. And if historical testimony such as is condensed into Bishop Cosin's "*Scholastical History of the Sacred Canon,*" is not to be entirely set aside for the sake of bare assertions, about which the most charitable thing that we can say is that they are made in wonderful ignorance of the facts; if, in these inquiries, historical truth is to be at all considered, or history itself, as a science, at all allowed for, I cannot conceive a more decisive and satisfactory corroboration of the true gist and meaning of our 6th Article, or of all that we have maintained as to the utter disagreement between that Article and the teaching of the Bishop of Natal, according to the extracts now before the Court, than is supplied by the book last quoted by me. And wherever the word "canonical," in reference to Holy Scripture, is found in our Formularies—as, for instance, in the Ordinal—the same historical account of it must, we contend, in common truth and justice, be admitted.

But Articles XVII, XX, XXII, XXIV, and XXXIV, or certainly several of them, exceed in our favour even the express terms of Article VI, unequivocal as Article VI may be by itself. The concluding paragraph of Article XVII, of course, refers primarily to the doctrine which is the subject of the main body of the Article. And with that doctrine we have now no concern. But why commend us to "Holy Scripture" as the repository of "God's promises," if the promises there delivered as from God do not, after all, rest in any true sense upon God's authority? And how should the "Will of God" be said to be "expressly declared unto us" (*disertè revelatam*) in the "Word of God," if "God's Word" is only contained in the sense of *somewhere*

included in the Holy Scriptures; the actual proportion borne by that "Word" to those "Scriptures" being an unknown and variable quantity?

Article xx is also very plain. It denies to the Church, and *à fortiori* to individual Doctors of the Church, licence in anything to contravene God's Word written (*Verbo Dei Scripto*). So that here is supplied, exactly and in terms, the merely verbal, but by no means substantial, defect of Article vi; all that that Article necessarily implies being here most fully expressed. The Church is a *witness* and *keeper* of Holy Writ (*Divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix*), but not *mistress* of the Bible. She is therefore restrained, in loyalty to Christ, from attempting to do either of two things,—either to teach, directly or in effect, anything contrariant to what is written,—not to God's hidden, unknown word, but to the Scriptures,—or to enforce as a necessary Article of Belief anything besides these Scriptures. How, with this Article before it, should any Ecclesiastical Court within our communion decide it to be "lawful" for a Bishop to teach that these Scriptures are intermixed with an unknown quantity of "error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance?"

I adduce Articles xxii, xxiv, and xxxiv as instances of the application of the foregoing principles.

As to the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer and the opening Exhortation, as well as the Nicene Creed, I shall content myself with referring your Lordships to what was said by the Dean, and to which I have nothing to add.

With respect to our citation from the Ordinal (Ordering of Deacons and Priests), I would observe that we do not now charge the Bishop with depraving and impugning the Ordinal. We charge him under that head later in the proceedings. But we adduce the Ordinal, as we have adduced the Articles, &c., as conclusive evidence of the esteem in which the Church of England holds the Scriptures. And we contend that the language now cited from the Ordinal is irreconcilable with the teaching of the Bishop of Natal.

I am too sensible of the patience with which the Court has heard me on this Article to wish to add one unnecessary word. I will simply say that if the Bishop of Natal be not adjudged to have contravened the Articles and Formularies quoted against him under this 5th Schedule, I cannot see how henceforth it should be possible for anyone to contravene the authoritative voice of the Church except only by a direct confession of unbelief, expressed in a cate-

gorical form. But the Bishop of Natal has done even that; for he has said flatly that "the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament it is impossible for him wholly to believe in." I cannot conceive how our case against him could be more complete.

VL

Our first extract (part of section 183, Part I) would appear to relate exclusively to the historical parts of the Bible; not the books commonly distinguished as "historical," but all parts of the Bible, the Old and New Testaments inclusive, which treat of "matters of common history." What the writer says of these parts of the Bible is, that, as we "value our children's innocence and love for the Sacred Book," we must "teach them at once to know that they are not to look for the inspiration of the Holy One, which breathes through the pages of the Bible in respect of any such matters as these." He then adds the reason. For these parts "the writers wrote as men, with the same liability to error, from any cause, as other men," and consequently they must be judged as men in respect of what they so wrote, "as all other writings would be, by the just laws of criticism."

The next passage (section 224, of Part II) refers exclusively to the Pentateuch. The writer impliedly avows that in pursuing such investigations, he at least is unrestrained, and would have all others unrestrained, by any fear of trespassing upon divine and holy ground. It is to be noticed that he italicizes the word "*infallible*," as though he meant it to be inferred that the writers of the Pentateuch were under some sort or degree of supernatural guidance. But it is obvious that he does not really suppose them to have been "supernaturally" guided otherwise than as any man, with a generally wise and laudable aim before him, might be pronounced to have been supernaturally guided in composing any book on any subject whatsoever. For his immediate inference is that, for every purpose of criticism, they stand on the same footing with "any other ancient writings" that may have been put together with "pious intentions."

On the third extract I reserve my remarks; but the fourth (section 512, pp. 362—3, Part II) requires special notice. For there we have the earlier portions of the Bible, and the "story of the Exodus" in particular, adduced as a sample of the whole book, with the view of helping the answer to the question, "whether or not the Bible is to be

read like any other common book?" "In one sense, yes," he replies; "it is to be read like any other book, with the 'understanding' as well as with the 'heart.'" As if the writer had not been conscious of the equivocal contained in the word "understanding!" As if any man in his senses would have the Bible read otherwise than with the "understanding!" As if Chrysostom, and Augustine, and Wicliff, and Cranmer, and Jewell, and Hooker, and such men, had not read the Bible with their understandings! But as if they would have struggled and suffered for the Bible, as some of them did, if they had judged of it as the Bishop of Natal judges of it! As if it had ever even occurred to them to treat it "*like any other common book!*" But then he goes on, and partly explains himself. To read the Bible with our "understanding" is "not blindly to shut our eyes to the real history (?) of the composition of it; to the legendary character of its earlier portions, and to the manifest contradictions and impossibilities which rise up at once, in every part of the Exodus, if we persist in maintaining that it is a simple record of historical facts;" i.e., as he explains elsewhere, if we refuse to accept it as mainly a work of imagination. And then follows a very curious passage,—curious, I mean, for the way in which *truisms* and neology are blended in it. Its real meaning is forced into daylight by the context just preceding it; and is plainly this, that the Bible is "the work of men, of fellow-men like ourselves," not in the sense that it contains a true human element, but in the sense that it is a simply human book; a sincere book, and written on the side of God and His truth, but open to be suspected and criticized just as we should suspect and criticize any other book which might contain original and radical misstatements of facts in every page; and a book, moreover, which does, in fact, contain so many radical misstatements of facts, that not to criticize and doubt it at every step, and recognize its self-contradictions and inconsistencies, is the height of folly. In short, the drift of the whole passage, stripped of the imposing words towards the end, is past all doubt just this,—that to read the Bible with the "understanding" is to read it as a human book, written with a good average aim; but as differing from most other such human books, if at all, in being more than commonly full of mistakes and absurdities.

In the next passage article the Bishop pronounces the Bible NOT to be God's Word.

The next extract (Section 508, pp. 380—1) is also important. Like that quoted last but two (511), it is shown

by such extracts as I read last but one (512) to mean just what it says, when the Bible is said to be "the work of living men like ourselves." I mean that, however difficult it may be for us not to import into words like these our own reverential prepossessions concerning Holy Scripture, and not to believe now and then that possibly no more may be intended than that the sacred penmen were not for the time being unhumanized automata, it becomes quite clear from other extracts,—what it is impossible not to suspect when one reads such a passage as this now before us, taken by itself,—that the Bishop intends so to assert the human origin of the Bible as to deny of it that it is properly attributable in any way to the extraordinary direction or dictation of the Holy Spirit. Why the Bible should be called "the best of books" does not appear. We must indeed be dull to accept a phrase of that sort as any set-off to all that is said here and elsewhere about the purely human origin, and the worse than imperfect character of its contents.

Hitherto, I have remarked on the passages articleed as I have gone along. They may all be summed up in three propositions; that the Bible is a purely human book; that, like any other human book, it is quite open to human criticism; and that large and important portions of it invite criticism in no common degree, as being eminently self-contradictory, inconsistent, and, let the solution be what it may, untrue. I will next endeavour to throw together into a series of distinct propositions the statements to which the Bishop of Natal commits himself in the last six extracts: 1. He asserts that what he calls "the Elohistic story" forms the groundwork of the so-called Five Books of Moses. 2. That this "Elohistic story" comprises "little besides about half of the Book of Genesis and a small part of Exodus." 3. That this Elohistic portion was most probably the composition of Samuel. 4. That the other portions are certainly of posterior date, and therefore, if possible, of inferior authority, having been added by other prophetic or priestly writers to what Samuel, perhaps, "left in a very unfinished state." 5. That the Samuelistic portion, the original of the whole, "may have had a real historical foundation,"—which is no more, it will be observed, than may be said for nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand falsehoods which obtain circulation,—and has somehow a "high religious tone and spiritual character" pervading it—which, to my mind, is the most astounding fact of all, considering the history of its growth; but as to historical worth, trustworthiness, veracity, that

not even Samuel himself, probably, ever dreamed of imparting to it such qualities! That it consists substantially of "the floating legends and traditions" current in Samuel's days, and picked up by him in journeying from place to place on circuit, the blanks being filled up, "perhaps to a large extent," from his own imagination, and the whole thrown together "into the form of a history," with the patriotic view of strengthening the hands of his favourite David, and generally promoting the civil and religious welfare of—may we say the Jews? One begins to doubt if there ever was such a people. 6. That the Pentateuch, or rather the best part of it, is, on the whole, probably less respectable, on the score of historical merit, than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. 7. That the "Jehovistic story" contained in Exodus iii. and vi. is probably false from beginning to end; that assuredly "there is no reason for believing it to be true." And 8. That most likely Samuel himself formed and introduced the name Jehovah, perhaps in imitation of some Egyptian name of the Deity that may have reached his ears.

I do not attempt to characterize this teaching as I think it deserves to be characterized. My present point is to prove that so to speak of Holy Scripture, thereby reducing it—I will not say to a level with other books, but below the level of hundreds of books that might be named, and utterly denying its divine inspiration in any and every intelligible sense, is to impugn and contradict the Articles and Formularies which I am about to cite.

But before I adduce my proofs, there is one very important subject which it is necessary to touch upon under this schedule, and which, in order to save time, I will introduce here. An attempt was made some short time ago in one of the courts in England, in an argument of precisely the same character with that which I am now conducting, to fasten down counsel to a definition of "inspiration," and of the mode in which it operated on the sacred penmen. Now it may or it may not be possible to frame a perfect definition of "inspiration," in reference to Holy Scripture. Hereafter the Church may perhaps frame, or accept and adopt, a dogmatic confession of her faith on this point; and present events may be tending towards some such defensive dogma, quite apart from all explanation of the mystery, which cannot be less truly a mystery, and yet needs not on that account to be less certainly a fact, than the ordinary action of the human soul and spirit on the human body. But

meantime it is unnecessary to attempt to press upon this Court any more strict conception of inspiration than we already possess.

There is, it is true, one subordinate or branch topic, which, if the Bishop of Natal were present, it might be difficult to avoid, because he would most likely urge it in his defence; and to which for that reason I will now refer, but not in any way as proposing to this Court, in support of our charges, a theory of my own on the subject of inspiration. If the Bishop were here, his Lordship would no doubt contend that the structure and composition of the Bible clearly evince the presence of a human element. And to this we should, of course, assent, fully allowing that the Holy Scriptures were penned by men of like minds and passions with ourselves, and that they were not supernaturally reduced to the condition of mere machines in order that they might be thereby qualified to write under Divine dictation. "But, this being conceded," the Bishop would probably argue, "you also concede the fallibility of the book so written; for no man can have perfect knowledge upon any subject; and all men are liable to make mistakes in communicating even what they know best." The fallacy here lies in confounding human nature, as human nature, —human nature in its essentials— with what is purely accidental to it. If it be asserted that the action of the Holy Spirit, specially exerted for a special purpose, could not preserve men from error in recording facts or in delivering doctrine, that, I contend, is to beg the whole question. My argument is, that because the inspired penmen were living men like ourselves, what they wrote does not, therefore, contain errors; for that human nature, although it does imply limitedness, does not properly imply either sinfulness or actual error; and that the influences of the Holy Spirit, being specially directed to that end, might without any interference with the proper humanity of the person influenced, preserve him effectually from error to the fullest extent to which we claim infallibility for God's Word written. Obviously, the proof of all others which I should prefer to adduce in support of this argument is the perfect humanity of our Redeemer. For in His Divine Person we behold human nature, in all its naturalness, in perfect union with the Godhead. And if human nature, without any sort of mutilation or transmutation, may co-exist with the infinite wisdom and holiness of God, much more, one would suppose, may human nature be specially and divinely influenced in the degree needful to keep the

agents employed by God to record and transmit His revelation from introducing into it their own mistakes, from lapse of memory, or any other cause. But of the full benefit of this argument I feel that I am deprived by the fact that the whole subject of our Lord's personal subsistence is involved in the charge preferred by us against the Bishop of Natal in Schedule VIII; and that it yet remains to be seen whether it may not be maintained, consistently with the formularies and symbols of the English Church, that even our Lord Himself, as the Son of Man, was actually in error on what we esteem to be grand and vital points. But even so, the argument does not fall to the ground. What, do we suppose, will be the condition of just men made perfect hereafter? It is not difficult to conceive that they will at least be perfected in the measure necessary to secure them from error as well as from transgression. But they will not any the less on that account be still men. Nay, is it not an essential part of the doctrine of the Resurrection that we shall be as truly men hereafter—as truly human beings—as we are human beings now? And what does this involve? No man may presume to say beforehand what ~~is to be~~ ^{is to be} all the conditions of man's glorified existence hereafter. But this at least seems certain that not only the bodily form shall remain, but the whole man, the whole human being; with this principal difference, that the effects of sin shall have been done away, and that both our sorrows and all the causes of them shall have been removed. And on precisely the same ground, we contend that the presence of the human element in Holy Scripture is not incompatible with the infallibility of its contents. I will not pursue this point. I content myself with indicating the line of argument. And I would refer to the famous hyperbole at the end of St. John's Gospel as the best illustration of the general subject that occurs to me. For to employ hyperbole is human; and if St. John had been precluded by the action of the Holy Spirit from using it, he would, so far, have been reduced to the condition, perhaps, of an automaton. But error is a different thing; and from this, we contend, he was preserved.

But to return to the main tenor of my argument. The term "inspiration," as applied to the Bible, is commonly used to denote a certain divine effect produced by the Holy Spirit upon the human agents by whom Scripture was written, and thence transmitted to what they wrote; the result of which is sufficiently expressed by Articles VI, XX, and

others, where they together constitute Holy Scripture the ultimate standard of appeal in all matters affecting man's salvation, and so exalt it above all human opinion in such matters, as distinguished from the departments of secular knowledge, of which the Bible in no way affects to treat. This is the common accepted sense of the term "inspiration," in reference to the Bible. We often use the abstract term; but the concrete is all that we contend for, that the Bible is inspired, by which we mean certainly not less than the word "canonical" means, or than Articles VI, XX, and others, above referred to, most clearly express. Or the argument may be stated thus: Article VI and the Ordinal draw a broad line between the Canonical Books of Holy Scripture and all other books that ever were written. It is absolutely certain, from ecclesiastical history, that the term "canonical," so used, means books which may be relied on as infallibly true. And Article VI recognizes this sense of the word, and affirms that the word "inspired" simply denotes the source from which that effect is derived, in virtue of which we pronounce the Canonical Books of Holy Scripture to be inspired, and excludes the idea of their having been composed of extraordinary books are composed, to which no character of infallibility can reasonably be supposed to belong. Beyond this we do not travel, nor, as it seems to me, is there any necessity to do so. Again and again, in language the most offensive, the Bishop of Natal, in the extracts just cited, dares to assign to the historical parts of Holy Scripture a rank immensely below Herodotus, or Thucydides, or Tacitus, or even Gibbon; and all the Scriptures he ascribes to men simply,—good, well-intentioned, but fallible men, on whose bare authority nothing can be taken for granted, and whose productions must, for that reason, be unsparingly criticized. I do not mean that he in terms, and in every sense, denies the presence of God's Holy Spirit with the writers of the Scriptures. I only mean that, according to the Bishop of Natal, the effect, the main result, was not so influenced by that spiritual presence as that we can in the least degree trust any fact, or anything else, so far as I can understand, contained in the Bible, simply because we find it there. [The Archdeacon then commented on Articles VI, VII, XVII, XX, and XXII, as well as on the Nicene Creed, and the Ordinal, and showed that they attribute certain effects to Holy Scripture, which, if admitted, can only be accounted for on the principle of direct and supernatural assistance supplied to the writers by God Himself.] He then proceeded: Once more, then, this is our

argument. The Nicene Creed says expressly that God the Holy Spirit "spake by the prophets." Taking ecclesiastical history into account, and allowing for the historic sense of our symbolic terms, we should say that these words are plain enough as they stand. But suppose a contention to arise on the meaning of this Article. Articles VI, VII, XVII, XX, and XXII of the Thirty-nine, as well as the Ordinal, all speak of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments as being the measure of every thing which it is necessary to salvation to believe; it being historically certain that the very word "canonical" includes a very exact conception of inspiration so far as relates to the effect produced by it, and the divine source whence that effect was derived. Article VII declares the old and new covenants alike, as expressed in the Scriptures, to be God's offer of everlasting life—for it may be presumed that God alone can offer what God alone can bestow—to mankind by Christ; and specifies the divine origin of the law, in the act of pronouncing it to be no longer binding on us. Article XX speaks of the whole Bible as "God's Word written." The University of Exeter teach, that whatever is contrary to God's Word, as delivered expressly in those Scriptures, is erroneous. All this is undeniable; and it separates the Holy Scriptures from all other books whatsoever in respect of two things: 1, The general subject-matter of those Scriptures, as being an "offer of eternal life;" and 2, In respect of the absolute fidelity, the entire trustworthiness with which this offer of eternal life, and its attendant conditions, are there expressed. Now, it is matter of indifference whether we say that such a book could not have originated with man, and cannot rest, as other good books do, on a foundation of human wisdom and authority, or whether we pass from negations to affirmations, and say that holy men of old wrote the Scriptures, being specially and supernaturally moved thereto by the Holy Ghost. The effect being granted, nothing else than the special interposition and guidance of God's Holy Spirit can be allowed to be an adequate cause. We maintain that the Bishop of Natal, by the language cited against him, utterly destroys the only basis on which the pre-eminence claimed for Holy Scripture in the Articles can reasonably be supposed to rest, and takes away all real ground for calling it "God's Word written." And this is our charge against him under this schedule. Only let all that the Bishop of Natal here insists on be conceded, and the Articles and Formularies now said to be contradicted by him must fall.

We ask that the Bishop of Natal may be judged by the Articles and Formularies; not these by him.

VII.

I will again set down in a series of distinct propositions the teaching and opinions advanced by the Bishop of Natal in the extracts articulated under this schedule, and now before your Lordships. 1. That the Pentateuch is wholly unworthy of credit as a collection of historical documents; that it is not "historically true;" and that, probably, no part of it was written earlier than the reign of David. 2. That the compilers of these ancient stories, at the time they compiled them, never for a moment supposed themselves to be writing history, but introduced the narrative of the Fall, the Flood, the Exodus, the Wanderings in the Wilderness, and such like, just as Homer sings of Chryses appealing to Apollo, or as Livy tells the tale of Romulus and Remus. (In contradiction to the above)—That these writers did suppose themselves to be writing history,—did "profess" to "describe" "facts" (p. 8, part of Section I, Part I) UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY Only Haret they wrote like Orientals, making the common Oriental "mistake" of exaggerating, perhaps, a hundred-fold. 4. That the story of the Flood is "utterly incredible," and that what our Lord is admitted to have believed and taught on that subject, every clergyman who will "inquire" and "think" must, before long, disbelieve. 5. That the central character of the Book of Joshua—the personage on whose doings and personality the bulk of the narrative depends, quite as much as the History of the Peninsular War depends on the personality of the Duke of Wellington—was only a mythical, or perhaps legendary, personage. 6. That the specific fact related (Numbers xiii, 16) of the son of Nun's change of name from Oshea to Jehoshua is a specific falsehood. 7. That the "stories" in the Book of Judges are at best exaggerations of facts, where they rest on facts at all—what, however, is by no means certain. 8. That the Books of Chronicles are never to be trusted on their own evidence. 9. That the Pentateuch is not a genuine, but a spurious production; that is to say, was produced under circumstances and in a manner which, if proved, would determine any other book to be spurious. I mean this,—and the Bishop of Natal himself admits it,—that they came to be believed in as divine under a mistake; that they derived their credit and importance from an entirely false opinion as to their external history, general character, and worth;

and, in short, that having been esteemed, from time immemorial, sacred books, they were really composed under circumstances which, if generally known, must inevitably have shut them out from every pretension to sacredness. This teaching, we maintain, is in direct contravention of the doctrine of the English Church, as expressed in the Formularies and Articles which I will now cite.

I will first take the point of *authenticity*, so far as it may be separated from the question of *genuineness*; and coupling it rather with the word *truth*, will under this head contrast the language of the Bishop of Natal concerning the utterly untrustworthy character of the facts narrated in the Old Testament, with the terms in which our Articles and Formularies speak of or refer to them. [The speaker then adverted, *seriatim*, to: 1. Articles VI, VII, and XX; 2. Ordering of Deacons; 3. Public Baptism, 1st prayer; 4. Prayer for Fair Weather and ~~Prayer~~ in time of any Plague; 5. Order of Administration ~~of the~~ Lord's Supper; 6. Catechism; 7. Exhortation for giving warning in the Communion Office; and argued that these all proceed on the assumption that every fact indubitably related in the Bible may be relied on as indubitably true.]

He then went on: The question of *genuineness* is perhaps made somewhat more difficult by Dr. Lushington's judgment touching this point in the case of the Bishop of Salisbury *versus* Rowland Williams. I understand it to have been laid down in that judgment that it is legally permissible for a clergyman to deny the genuineness of any book in the Bible, in the sense of denying its reputed authorship; even although such denial, in the case of a book of the New Testament, should involve an affirmation that the book in question was composed in post-apostolic times; or, I suppose, in the case of a book of the Old Testament, that it was composed at any time not subsequent to the beginning of the Saviour's, or perhaps it would be allowed, the Baptist's, ministry.

Now, first of all, though great deference is, no doubt, due to any judgment delivered in the Court of Arches, I know of no reason why this Court should be bound by such a judgment. One Provincial Council of the Church, however weighty, certainly cannot overrule another. Why should the decisions of one Provincial Court become law to the church of another Province? But, secondly, I further believe that this particular portion of Dr. Lushington's judgment is an instance in which the learned judge's great and transparent anxiety to render rigid justice, and to look

neither to the right hand nor the left of the bare groove of the law, has betrayed him into too narrow an estimate of his subject-matter. There can be no real doubt that to assign the Book of Daniel to the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus would be, in effect, to deny its canonicity as truly as to say of it in terms that it was not canonical; and that to say of the Epistles to the Corinthians, or the Epistles of St. John, or the Acts of the Apostles, or even the Epistle to the Hebrews, that these, or any of them, were productions of the second century, would amount to a substantial denial of their canonicity. It is absurd to suppose that the canonicity of Holy Scripture has not always been understood to involve considerations both of date and authorship. This is not more a question of theology than of history and fact.

[Bishop Cosin on the Canon, pp. 4—5, iii, iv, v; and also p. 31, xlii, was here quoted.]

These extracts from Bishop Cosin are beyond all question a fair abstract of the whole truth of the case, historically considered. And if the sentences of our Ecclesiastical Courts at home are University of Toronto historical considerations of this kind, it is not difficult to see what must be the end of it. I do not mean to assert that there are not hundreds of open chronological questions connected with the legitimate criticism of the New Testament,—both the facts related in it and the date of its component parts. Nor, again, if a clergyman chooses to maintain that St. Mark's Gospel ought rather to be called St. Peter's, or that St. Luke's Gospel is substantially St. Paul's, or to discuss with even greater freedom the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, do I mean to say that he would necessarily expose himself to censure. There is always a way, too, of discussing such subjects, which is sufficient to show that the author of the criticism did not at any rate intend to shake the credit of the book. And where a writer's *animus* is clearly good, and it is plain that he is *bona-fide* pursuing his critical researches as a believer in the inspiration and divine authority of Holy Scripture, it is everybody's interest, I venture to think, that even grave errors of judgment, should he commit them, should still be very leniently and generously treated. But if any one should assert that St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians were not St. Paul's, could it for a moment be maintained that such an assertion did not involve a denial, strictly speaking, not, of course, of the fact that the Church has always accepted those Epistles as canonical, but of the

right of those books to the rank which they have always held? And suppose it were further maintained that those Epistles were not only not St. Paul's genuine productions, but were not even the work of an Apostle at all—and, more than that, were a production of the middle of the second century—will any one say that this would not amount to a denial of their canonicity? It would, I contend, be an implicit but still an unquestionable denial of their canonicity; for it would be saying most unambiguously that they had somehow crept into the Canon under false pretences, and under an entirely wrong opinion of their origin and claims. It would appear, then, quite impossible to dis sever, in a wholesale way, the question of date and authorship from the question of canonicity. And I contend that any clergyman who so challenges the date and authorship of any book, of either the Old or New Testament, as evidently to intend, by doing so, to shake or destroy its credit, and produce the impression that it is not a part of the Canon by mistake, as much offends against the laws of the Church, as if, in a more straightforward way, he had denied its canonicity outright. I do not say that any clergyman is barred from pronouncing all the Bible to be uncanonical the very moment he thinks it to be so. What I contend is, that in order to say so *lawfully*, he must first resign all *office* in the Church. But thirdly, Dr. Lushington, in the instance quoted, was dealing with a case in which a clergyman had distinctly pronounced a certain book "not genuine," and Dr. Lushington proceeds from this point: 'I am not sure,' he says, 'exactly what he means by *'not genuine,'* he may mean no more than such a denial of authorship as he is by law entitled to utter; and I must give him the benefit of any doubt.' The question of date arose on another book; and then Dr. Lushington ruled—and a strange decision it seems—that questions of date and canonicity are not necessarily connected. But it would not follow that *nothing* that a clergyman might say concerning the date and authorship of a canonical book could amount, in Dr. Lushington's judgment, to a legal denial of canonicity. Suppose a canonical book, such as the Acts, to carry with it clear internal evidence that it was intended by the author to convey the idea that it was written by an actual contemporary and companion of St. Paul. Suppose this intention to be beyond all doubt; and also suppose the book to be canonical. And further, suppose this book, or a book of this sort, to be deliberately assigned by one of our modern critics to a date subsequent by 100 years to the

latest conceivable date of St. Paul's martyrdom, and to be ascribed, moreover, to an imaginative heathen. Would not Dr. Lushington allow that here was a denial of canonicity? I am not sure; but, looking to the terms of his judgment, I think he might. And if so—then not every idle and profane word that any of our modern experimental "critics" so called, might choose to launch against the date and authorship of the Old Testament would be allowed even by Dr. Lushington.

I contend then, my Lords, that, take the matter as we will, the Bishop of Natal so vilifies the Pentateuch in respect of date and authorship, and the whole alleged history of its origin and composition, that to say that his hypotheses are consistent with its *canonicity*, and with its being esteemed "God's Word written," would be simple nonsense. I am here taking the question first on general grounds. If it be possible to stamp books as *spurious* without actually attaching the word "*spurious*" to them,—if it be possible so to deal with the question of a book's authorship and external history, as, without saying so in black and white, to convey the impression that it is a forgery and a lie, this, I maintain, the Bishop of Natal does in the case of the Pentateuch. At any rate, if books which are admitted to have originated as the Bishop of Natal says the Pentateuch originated, are still to be received as *canonical*, I cannot conceive what the term *uncanonical* may mean; unless it may mean Books, which, being like all books, of purely human origin, have escaped the infamy of having ever pretended to be anything else.

But we allege more than that the Bishop of Natal, by the general account which he gives of its origin, charges the Pentateuch with spuriousness in a sense wholly inconsistent with its being reputed canonical and divine; we also say that, in denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, he denies the letter of Article VII; and on this additional ground we crave judgment against him.

VIII.

The Bishop of Natal, in framing and propounding his theory of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, could not but bethink himself from time to time that his conclusions impugned not only the Formularies, but also the teaching of our Blessed Lord. The language of the New Testament is generally based upon, and is a reproduction of, the language of the Old Testament, to an extent that is undefinable. But distinct quotations from the Old Testament

are found in the New, to the number of not many short of 300. And of these quotations a considerable proportion are recorded to have been made by our Lord Himself. The Redeemer not only refers to particular facts narrated in the Pentateuch, as *e.g.*, the Deluge (St. Matt. xxiv, 37-39), thereby binding up the truth of that, as an event past, with the reality and truth of His own second coming as an event future; he not only cites particular books, as Genesis (Matt. xxiii, 35, xxiv. 37-39); Exodus (Matt. xxii, 31-32); Leviticus (Mark i, 44); Numbers (John iii, 14); Deuteronomy (Matt. xxii, 37); the 1st Book of Samuel (Luke vi. 34); the 1st Book of Kings (Luke xi, 31); or the 2nd Book of Chronicles (2 Chron. ix), or both; the 2nd Book of Kings (Luke iv, 27); the Psalms (Matt. xxli, 41-45); Isaiah (Luke iv, 18-21); Daniel (Matt. xxiv, 15); and Jonah (Luke xi, 29, 30, and 32);—sometimes, as in Matt. xix, 4-5, and Matt. xxii, 31-32, asserting the divine origin of Holy Scripture in the most clear and most unambiguous manner, but at other times introducing the quotation merely with the customary and well-understood formula, "It is written;"—but, moreover, He many times cites or refers to the Old Testament Scriptures, including the Pentateuch, as a whole, as in St. Luke xxiv., and adduces them as in themselves sufficient evidence of the truth of His Messiahship, supposing only the agreement between the facts of His ministry and the words of Holy Scripture to be made out. How was the Bishop of Natal, as a destroyer of the credibility of Scripture, to square his theories with the teaching of Him who said of Himself that as He was "The Way" and "The Life," so also was He "The Truth;" and who yet grounded His own claims all along, not exclusively, but largely, on the veracity and divine origin of the Old Testament? Both the Saviour of the World and the Bishop of Natal could not be right. And the Bishop has not hesitated to say that the truth is with him, and that the error is with our Lord. It is this imputation to our Blessed Lord of positive error that forms the substantial ground of our charge under this schedule.

There are two hypotheses according to either of which our Saviour may be held to have promulgated false doctrine—*i.e.*, doctrine on which we cannot rely—and which, admitting Him to have taught it, we may not quote as true because He taught it. According to one hypothesis, He rather connived at error. 'The Jews,' we are told, 'were bigotedly devoted to the Old Testament, and could only be approached on sacred subjects along the platform of their

own inveterate prejudices. It, therefore, seemed good to Him who came to save not the Jews only, but all the world, and to deliver us all from the subtleties of him who was "a liar from the beginning," to lay the foundations of His world-wide work as our Redeemer, and particularly as the Prince of Prophets, upon,—what? Upon the solid Truth? No; but upon self-contradictions, and inconsistencies, and impossibilities, and untruths, then concealed from all but Christ, but in themselves so gross that hardly any words are strong enough to express the Bishop's sense of the utter mental enslavement of all who do not at once contemptuously shake them off; and in relation to which the only marvel is, not that the Bishop of Natal should at last have laid them bare to Englishmen, but that he should have been the first, at least among Bishops, to do so! According to this hypothesis, cur Lord's public teaching was one continuous *argumentum ad hominem* of the ignoblest kind; a deliberate accommodation of Himself to what He knew to be untruth for the sake of an immediate success, of which success, nevertheless, the prime condition, as even the University of Oxford allow, was that He should lay down His life, and in exchange be crucified! The Bishop of Natal seems willing enough in the Preface to Part I (page xxxi—ii), to avail himself of this hypothesis, as one of three, and so far as it may happen in any way to help him. But afterwards, when hard pressed on another point, he abandons it, and represents his distaste for it as in part his apology for the other hypothesis which he retains. One or the other, he intimates, is inevitable. He finally rejects the first as "the less reverent and becoming" of the two. I will read the one on which he takes his stand, and which is the ground of this charge. [The Archdeacon then read the extract articulated.]

Now, after this extract, it is needful that I should distinctly repeat what it is that we here charge against the Bishop of Natal. It is that he imputes to our Blessed Lord, not ignorance in some one clearly defined and restricted sense, but error. There are senses, as scarcely needs to be remarked, in which no Catholic Christian has ever ventured to impute to the Redeemer even ignorance. Ignorance, as we constantly use the word, represents a complex notion, into which not mere human limitdness, but human frailty, largely enters; as when we pray in the last supplication in the Litany to be forgiven "our sins, negligences, and ignorances;" where, manifestly, the notion of faultiness is included even under the head of our ignorances. For upon

what other supposition could our ignorances need mercy? And it is obvious at once that to a large extent, defensible only by the unerring wisdom of God, mankind are responsible for their ignorance; that it is an "ignorance that is in us," as the Apostle says, "because of the blindness of our hearts;" and, however excusable as between man and man, is at bottom faulty, and blameworthy, and sinful, and therefore needs mercy. Nor is this moral ignorance only; it is intellectual ignorance. It is ignorance moral and intellectual. It runs through the whole man. It is a complex thing, answering to the complexity of man's nature; and it is sinful and needs mercy, because man is sinful and needs mercy. But ignorance in this sense has never been charged against the Saviour by any one whose name it would be of the slightest service to the Bishop of Natal to adduce in this or in any other Court. And I have now so far defined it only that for the present I may the more completely separate it from that other ignorance of which I am going to speak next. For no doubt there is a sense—and that a perfectly distinct and intelligible one—in which not "ignorance," as we commonly use the English word, but *agnosia*, the privation of knowledge, has by many eminent theologians been ascribed to the Redeemer as the Son of Man, and has been reverently believed to be one of the necessary consequences of His perfect humanity. This point of doctrine may be thus stated: It is clear from Holy Scripture, and has ever been the faith of the Church, that our Blessed Saviour, in becoming man, vouchsafed to take upon Himself human nature whole, perfect, and entire, sin only excepted. In that He did so, He may well be believed to have voluntarily submitted Himself to all the necessary limitations of human nature. For instance, it was strictly in accordance with the reality and integrity of His true and proper manhood, that He hungered and thirsted, and was wearied and sad; that in order to move from place to place, He journeyed step by step as others journeyed; that He was liable to temptation, and was tempted; that He was bound by the superior will of God, as all men are bound by it, although He alone of all men perfectly fulfilled it; that He was made of a woman, and was born, and grew, as all other human beings, since Adam, have been born of woman, and have grown; and, to instance one particular included under this general truth, that His human mind grew as His human body grew; and was, when grown, a finite mind still, because it was a human mind. And it is quite true—at least so it seems to

me—that our Lord has said that this limitedness of His human nature, and the subordination of this limited human nature to the sovereign, all-wise will of God, is to extend to the determining of the exact moment of His Second Advent, and the close of His Mediatorial Kingdom. But what then? Does it follow that our Lord was ever upon any point in error? No more than that He was sinful. No doubt, it is inconceivable by us how, as man, He should in anything be subject or “inferior” (Athanasian Creed) to that infinite nature wherein He had subsisted from all eternity as God. No doubt, it is utterly inconceivable how, being God, He should in anything be *agnoon*; just as it is inconceivable how, being God, He should ever have been hungry; or how, being the author of all being, He should ever have died. But let this difficulty be what it may, it is none other than the old hopeless difficulty that must ever stand in the way of our comprehending how in one and the self-same person a finite or limited nature such as ours could be united with a nature that must be limitless. It is not a similar difficulty. It is the same difficulty. Because our Lord was God, He knew all things. In so far as He was man, it may be as proper to say of Him that He was subject to limitations of knowledge, as to limitations of power. But to these limitations, whatever they were, our Lord was subjected, because He had chosen to be subject to them, in choosing to be made man. Finiteness is proper to human nature; the conception of human nature necessarily including the conception of finiteness. But the conception of finiteness does not necessarily include the conceptions of error or of sin. Nor does the conception of human nature, therefore, regarded in respect of its finiteness, include necessarily the conceptions of sin or error in anywise. The point really at issue, then, is very simple. Our Lord, in being made man, submitted to limitations because human nature implies limitations, and in ceasing to be limited would cease to be human nature. But our Lord, in being made man, did not thereby take error, any more than He took sin, into union with His Godhead; inasmuch as human nature does not, as such, necessarily imply either sin or error. Else sin and error were surely blameless in His sight who made human nature, and any hope we have of “the life of the world to come” would turn upon the prospect of our being enabled to exchange the nature we now have for some other nature as an indispensable condition of our abiding in Heaven, as we hope to abide, in sinlessness and truth.

And to this must be added a distinct and full apprehension of the nature of Him who thus vouchsafed to be made man for us; that He is very and eternal God; that although He became very man for us, He remained truly and unchangeably God notwithstanding; He, the Almighty Lord of the assumed finite nature, not the finite nature Lord of Him; but, on the contrary, every attribute of the Godhead continuing to be as truly predicable of Him after His assumption of humanity as it ever had been before He was born into the world.

In saying all this, I am aware that I have been partly anticipating what properly belongs to a later stage of the argument. But my object has been to place before the Court in the first instance as comprehensive and yet as distinct a statement as I was able of the sense in which some of our greatest divines, ancient, mediæval, and modern, have predicated *agnos* of our Blessed Lord, and of the grounds on which they have done so, and to show at the same time that their *having done so* has not involved any imputation of error more than of sin. And I would further beg that this part of my argument may be understood as my reply to Mr. Houghton's letter, adopted by the Bishop of Natal as his defence in his *Excellence* to Part III.

If I have made myself understood, I am now better able to state clearly our charge against the Bishop of Natal. We say, in the first place, that he imputes to the Lord of Life and Glory not that voluntary limitation of his human faculties in respect of knowledge, which may be necessarily involved in His having chosen to become for our sakes a true and real man, but ignorance, ignorance discovering itself by positive error,—involuntary ignorance,—ignorance in the sense that He believed what was not true because he knew no better; and that, too, ignorance not on scientific subjects; not ignorance about the courses of the stars and the stratifications of the earth, all which we believe He made, but ignorance about things most intimately connected with the direct purpose of His coming down from Heaven; ignorance concerning the sacred Scriptures;—Scriptures, rather, which He committed the popular mistake of supposing to be sacred when they were not, and out of which He thought He was proving His own divine claims, when He was really quoting fiction for fact, legend for history, a document even less trustworthy than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for "God's Word written." And hereupon we found our charge, which is this: That this teaching amounts to a plain denial of the conjunction of our Lord's

Divine and Human Natures in one and the same Person; that it contradicts the unity of His Person, and thereby contradicts a fundamental verity of the Catholic Faith, as expressed in the 2nd Article and the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds.

We establish our charge thus:—The Bishop of Natal has promulgated the doctrine that, in common with the rest of the Jewish people of that age, our Blessed Lord was “ignorant and in error upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch.” But is He not God,—God of God; Light of Light; Very God of Very God; of one substance with the Father? As the Father is Uncreate, Infinite, Eternal, Almighty, God, so is not the Son also Uncreate, Infinite, Eternal, Almighty, God? The Catholic Faith answers these questions with an unwavering “Yea;” and hitherto the Church of England has held and professed the Catholic Faith. How, then, should a Bishop of the Church attribute to this Uncreated, Infinite, Eternal, Almighty Son of God, positive and involuntary error even as regards the Holy Scriptures? The Bishop of Natal replies that he predicates error, not of the Son of God, but of the Son of Man. ‘You hold,’ he says to us, ‘that our Lord, as Son of Man, voluntarily entered into all the conditions of humanity, and I assert that to mean that he voluntarily became involuntarily ignorant even about holy things, and was, in fact, no wiser about the Pentateuch than any other devout Jew of that day may be thought to have been.’

Now, in the first place, we do not hold, nor has the Church ever held, that our Lord voluntarily entered into all the conditions of humanity, as humanity now is:—its accidental or separable, as well as necessary conditions. We deny it to have been possible for our Lord so to have entered into our sinfulness as to have become, in respect of His human nature, personally sinful. And for precisely the same reason we deny it to have been possible for our Lord to have subjected Himself to misleading and mischievous error. But why? This brings us to our proofs.

Article 11 lays down various distinct propositions:

1st. That the Son is the word of the Father; was begotten from everlasting of the Father; is the very and eternal God; is of one substance with the Father. Here we have four separate propositions, all reducible under one head,—the assertion of our Redeemer’s true and proper divinity.

2nd. That this Son of God took man’s nature in the womb

of the blessed Virgin of her substance. That is to say, as Hooker (book v., lii., 3) explains it, "The Word," as saith St. John, "was made flesh, and dwelt in us." The Evangelist useth the plural number, men for manhood, us for the nature whereof we consist, even as the Apostle, denying the assumption of angelical nature, saith, likewise in the plural number, "He took not *angels*. but the seed of Abraham." It pleased not the Word or wisdom of God to take to itself some one person amongst men, for then should that one have been advanced which was assumed, and no more; but wisdom, to the end she might save many, built her house of that nature which is common unto all,—she made not this or that man her habitation, but dwelt in us. The seeds of herbes and plants at the first are not in act, but in possibility, that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to Himself a man now made and already perfected, it would of necessity follow that there are in Christ two persons, the one assumed and the other assumed; whereas the Son of God did not assume a man's person unto His own, but a man's nature to His own Person, and therefore took ^{University of Fort Abraham} the very first original element of our nature, before it was come to have any personal human subsistence. The flesh, and the conjunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant; His making and taking to Himself our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personal subsistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking only the nature of man He still continueth one Person, and changeth but the manner of His subsisting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh."

But, 3rd, the Article itself proceeds to lay down the doctrine of the unity of our Lord's Person in the following terms: "So that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, Very God and Very Man."

And then, 4th and lastly, it is asserted that it is this one Christ, and none other, who wrought out our redemption; "who truly suffered . . . all actual sins of men."

It is important, first, to perceive clearly what does not follow from the doctrine declared in this Article. [Hooker, v. liii., p. 227—231. Keble's edition, was then read.] In one expressive word, such *participation* there cannot be between our Lord's divine and human natures as that the "properties of the one should ever be infused into the other."

But, in the next place, it does follow from this doctrine that although our Lord's two natures may not always *co-operate*, yet *associated* they must ever be. Whatever is predicable of our Lord's human nature, is truly and properly predicable of Christ. And whatever is predicable of our Lord's divine nature, is truly and properly predicable of Christ. And Christ, according to Article II, is one Christ, not two Christs. How does this bear upon the Bishop of Natal? Thus. He predicates of the human nature of Christ that which, if granted, forbids faith in Christ Himself, except only upon one supposition, that there is one Person of Christ which was in error, but another Person which is infallible. It is conceivable that the infinite Son of God should have taken into His Divine nature another nature which has no other more distinctive property than that it is finite; although it is inconceivable how the mystery of this union was effected. And the doctrine that our Lord's incarnation involved His union of the infinite with the finite is the *ess*, the marrow, the very innermost life of the whole Catholic creed. But it is "impossible for God to lie." And if Christ is one Christ, having no personal subsistence except as the Son of God; and if He chose to make the divine authority of His office as the Christ subservient to the propagation of statements which now the voice of "truth and honesty" cries aloud to us to abandon, what else did He than that which we have before allowed it to be "impossible" that He ever should do? We conclude then, that the opinion that Christ taught error, which the Bishop of Natal was afterwards to expose, is—not blasphemy; we only do not say that because there is no Article of our Church which in terms condemns blasphemy; but we say, that it is substantially Nestorianism; that, admitting the integrity of our Lord's Divinity, it necessitates the conclusion that there was one Christ who was infallible, and another Christ who erred, which is substantially the heresy of Nestorius; and is in direct contradiction to the words of the Article, that Christ is not two Persons, but one.

Perhaps hardly anything in this extraordinary case is more astonishing than the Bishop of Natal's apparent incapacity, as evinced by the passage on which the charge of this 8th Schedule is founded, to apprehend a logical distinction. In one place he is "utterly amazed" that the Archbishop of Canterbury should have spoken of his works "as derogatory to the person, the attributes, and the work of our Divine Redeemer," and should have charged him

with ignorance and imposture; and that the Archbishop of York should have "reproached him with imputing to the Lord of Glory ignorance of holy things, and with describing our Lord as a blind guide, quoting for the very Word of Life the baseless fables of men." And then, from their opinion, he appeals to the opinion of such Doctors of the Church, ancient and modern, as have imputed to our Redeemer that *agnosia* of which so much was said some short time ago, as if not to know a thing was the same as to be in error about it!—as if, in virtue of our Saviour's mysterious subordination as the Son of Man, not to know, as man, the day and hour of His second coming, were one and the same thing with believing and teaching that His second advent would take place at a time when it would not take place, and so making a positive and direct misstatement on the subject,—uttering a false prophecy! The truth, however, probably is that if the Bishop of Natal had paid more attention to elementary theological distinctions, he would never have written his work either on the Romans or the Pentateuch.

But the precise character of the Bishop of Natal's heresy is made more apparent still by a comparison of the Nicene Creed with the peculiar form of the heresy of Nestorius. The form of Nestorius's heresy was this; He denied the blessed Virgin to be the *Theotokos*; that is to say, he, in effect, denied the Son of God to have been born of the Virgin Mary. "He imagined in Christ as well a personal human subsistence as a divine;" herein differing from the Church, which "acknowledgeth a substance both divine and human, but no other personal subsistence than divine, because the Son of God took not to Himself a man's person, but the nature only of a man" (Hooker, p. 225). For maintaining this opinion Nestorius was condemned, A.D. 431, by the Council of Ephesus, a Council which has been heavily censured, and not without reason, for some of its proceedings; but which has been accepted by the subsequent consent of the Western Church as having lawfully maintained a vital Article of the faith against a most real, but an uncommonly insidious, attempt to corrupt it. Here, then, we have both the form and substance of the error of Nestorius;—the form negative, and very plausible, inasmuch as it wore the semblance of zeal for Christ's Divinity; but the substance such as the Church could not, in faithfulness to her trust, tolerate. The Bishop of Natal's error is different from that of Nestorius in form; for it consists in ascribing to our Lord, as Son of Man, that which it is

impossible to predicate of the Son of God, and so interposes a fatal bar in the way of that "mutual commutation," as Hooker calls it (v. liii, 4), or *metathesis*, of all terms applicable to the Redeemer, which it was the ostensible fault of Nestorius to deny directly. But this shows the two errors to be substantially one, without any other material difference between them than this, that whereas Nestorius's heresy was better in form than in substance, the Bishop of Natal's, being no better in substance than Nestorius's, is in form worse, as charging Christ once again with something very like casting out devils through Beelzebub, viz., with having chosen to take untruth into the Godhead, and upon that untruth to found His kingdom. And thus the Nicene Creed, neglecting particular forms of heresy, and witnessing only against the underlying substance of all heresies affecting our Lord's Person, convicts both Nestorius and the Bishop of Natal simply by asserting that He "who for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man," was none other than "the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made." For although Nestorius tried hard to turn the Creed against itself by insisting that the Nicene Council placed the names Jesus, Christ, and the Only-begotten Son first, and then on those names built the doctrine of the Incarnation; yet, as Bishop Pearson (vol. ii, pp. 126—7), following St. Cyril, shows, the term "Only-begotten," even if it were a term common to the humanity and divinity, is clearly proved to have been expounded by the council of the Eternal Generation, by the words following, "Begotten of His Father before all worlds;" and by the fact that between that exposition and the *Incarnation*, not one word is introduced but such as speaks wholly of Christ as God. And as this Creed is clear and express against Nestorius, no less clear and express is it against the Bishop of Natal.

The Athanasian Creed needs only to be recited, as being a somewhat more detailed exposition of the same points that have already been fully discussed. It is impossible, my Lords, to handle such a subject as this, and not in some sort shrink from it under a sense of personal unworthiness and insufficiency. But I am pleading now before those to whom these deep subjects are not new, and who know well what unspeakable interests they involve. If, therefore, our

argument is valid in the main, I do indeed fervently hope that no laxness or infirmity of mine may be allowed to obstruct that righteous judgment which I am persuaded was never more due to heresy, since first the Church was invaded by heresy, than it is due now to the impious doctrine which under this schedule we have been endeavouring to expose.

IX.

I now come to the ninth and last schedule, under which we charge the Bishop of Natal with "depraving and impugning, and otherwise bringing into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer, particularly portions of the Ordinal, and the Baptismal Services." This is a painful subject, on which I am glad to think it will not be necessary to say much; for our argument here is put into our hands by the Bishop himself, and is the strongest that can be used,—namely, that the Bishop of Natal does, in effect, plead guilty. That is to say, he disavows all blameworthiness, and deprecates all interference in the matter; but he more than acknowledges all that we allege against him. It is for this Court to determine how far that which we allege is an offence against our ecclesiastical laws.

It may possibly be thought that this subject opens up the whole question of clerical subscription,—a question which has of late been discussed with unusual, and, perhaps, unprecedented, interest in England. And the Bishop of Natal probably had that subject in his mind when he referred to the example of other clergymen, many of whom, he intimates are in the habit of omitting the Athanasian Creed; and that, too, with the tacit connivance of their Bishops. But, my Lords, these points are all beside the present mark. It may, or may not, be true that a considerable number of clergymen habitually omit the Athanasian Creed, and omit or alter other portions of the Prayer-book. And it may, or may not, be true that their Bishops, knowing these things, omit to correct them, and so lay themselves open to the charge of conniving at what they know to be really a breach of law and order. If any so act they of course incur a grave responsibility, and cannot, perhaps, be acquitted of a certain complicity with the very same fault that we now charge against the Bishop of Natal. But, again I repeat, that we have nothing to do now with clergymen in general. And I maintain that the Bishop of Natal's depravation of the Prayer-book is of such a character that it is impossible for your Lordships to overlook it.

I will not detain the Court by going over the same

ground that has been already so well travelled by my two coadjutors in this case; but I will rather direct your Lordships to those passages in which, as I believe, the Bishop in effect pleads guilty to the charge now made against him. In the course of the second of the passages articulated, these words occur: "It is of no avail to say, 'There was a deluge of some kind or other, and this is only a legendary reminiscence of it.' The Church Prayer-book does not mean this. When those formularies were laid down, and clergymen were bound by a solemn subscription to declare their 'unfeigned assent and consent to all things written in the Book of Common Prayer,' it was assuredly meant to bind them to express an unfeigned belief in the story of the deluge, as it is told in these chapters of Genesis, and not to some imaginary flood of any kind, which any one may choose at his pleasure to substitute for it; otherwise it would be very easy to explain away in like manner every single statement of the Scriptures, old and new, which we cannot believe. But the fact is, that by the present law of subscription, each clergyman is bound by law to believe in the history of Noah's flood, as recorded in the Bible. ~~To which the Church~~ believed in some centuries; and he will be so bound till the legislature of the realm shall release the painful obligation, and relieve him from the duty to which he now stands pledged, of using a form of prayer which involves such a statement as this." The Bishop has pleaded in his defence that he has been guilty of no offence against the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland by the publication of any of the passages articulated against him. I wish his Lordship were here to explain how he reconciles this line of defence with the extract just read. But in his absence, I must contend that that passage involves a full admission of his offence; for he there acknowledges that he is under express and stringent obligation to believe that which, together with other matter, it is the one object of his books to show his reasons for disbelieving.

But the Bishop, in the next paragraph but one, proceeds: "But what shall be said to those who cannot conscientiously adopt either of the above methods of relieving themselves from the burden of the present difficulty, and yet feel it to be impossible to continue any longer to use such words in a solemn address to the Almighty? I see no remedy for these hut to omit such words, to disobey the law of the Church on this point, and take the consequences of the act, should any over-zealous brother clerk or layman

drag them before a court, and enforce a penalty in the face of an indignant nation." And again: "At the time when we were admitted into her ministry, we heartily believed what we then professed to believe, and we gave our assent and consent to every part of her Liturgy. But we did not bind ourselves to believe thus always to the end of our lives. God forbid that it should be supposed by any that the Church of England had committed so great a sin as to bind in this way, for all future time, the very consciences of her clergy. But we engaged in her service, it is true, upon certain conditions, in virtue of which we were subject to her laws, and amenable to her courts in case of disobedience. If, therefore, in obedience to a higher law than that of the National Church,—if in obedience to the law of truth, which is the law of God,—if, in dearest love to our spiritual mother, and truest sense of duty towards her, we now feel it necessary to disobey, deliberately, any one of her directions, we must be prepared, of course, for the consequences of such an act, which, in her present state of ignorance as to the real facts of the case, and the perilous dangers which threaten her, she may choose to inflict upon us. In the end, we know, we shall be justified for the very acts which may now be condemned.

The Bishop of Natal in these extracts most distinctly acknowledges that the position to which his opinions have reduced him is incompatible with obedience to the law. Either the position must be abandoned, or the law must be broken. The Bishop does not leave us in doubt as to the course which he himself will pursue. And he prescribes the same remedy for all others who are, or ever may be, in the same difficulty. There is absolutely no limit to the principle of disobedience which is here recommended. How far such language can be reconciled not only with the formal engagements into which the Bishop entered when he was first 'admitted into the ministry of the Church,' but with his comparatively recent obligations as a Bishop, it is for your Lordships to determine. I simply contend that he here fully admits all that we charge against him; and stands convicted out of his own mouth, or rather by the witness of his own pen, of a violation of his ordination and consecration vows and engagements, such as cannot be passed over.

I do not attempt on a point so patent to construct any argument. But there is one plea which the Bishop urges in his defence which I would beg your Lordships to notice. It is contained in the following

passage: "But will they be condemned by the great body of intelligent laity? Is not this the way by which, in England, all laws become disused and practically abrogated, long before they are formally and legally annulled? At this moment, how many are there of the clergy who never read the Athanasian Creed? And do their Bishops compel them to do so! Should, however, a prosecution be set on foot in such a case, and a clergyman be suspended or expelled from the Church of England, because he could not bear to approach the holy presence of God by addressing Him as the Being, who of His great mercy did save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water, then may we sooner attain the freedom which is needed to make the Church of England what it professes to be—the National Church—and to realize the principle which, however lost sight of and practically ignored in these days, is yet involved in the very fact that our Bishops are seated in Parliament, not surely as the heads of a mere sect, but as the representatives of the whole community, in its religious capacity, and, therefore, in these days, of every form of earnest religious thought within the realm."

I omit to dwell upon the teaching of the first two sentences,—the implied recommendation that they shall be abrogated. It is the last sentence to which I would call attention, where the presence of the Home Bishops in the Imperial Parliament is interpreted to mean that they are "the representatives of the whole community in its religious capacity, and, therefore, in these days, of every form of earnest religious thought within the realm;" this doctrine being employed to cover the practical conclusion that the National Church ought to be turned into something in which every form of modern religious thought may have a place. Whether or not this is a correct explanation of the political *status* of our English Bishops in England, it is not for me to say; but admitting the explanation, for the sake of argument, to be just, it is important to notice that the Bishop of Natal is not the Bishop of a see in England. He can, therefore, derive no advantage from that argument. The Bishops of our Church in South Africa, however closely we may be connected with the Church at home in many respects, are certainly not the representatives of the religious life and thought of the community. We exist here as a religious body on precisely the same terms on which all other religious bodies round about us exist, as bound together by

doctrines, and confessions, and formularies which those who belong to us must recognize as the prime condition of belonging to us at all. Let these be obliterated, and, as a distinct Christian body, we cease to be. And the Bishop of Natal, as Bishop of a Church so circumstanced, must be considered to be bound by the faith and rules of the particular society of which he is a bishop, quite irrespectively of the community at large. I argue, then, that this plea cannot avail him. I contend that the teaching inculcated in these extracts would work disastrously anywhere; but that to allow it here would be to shut our eyes to the facts of our position, and would speedily be fatal to our very being as a Church.

And here closes our case against the Bishop of Natal. We have not affected to argue it as lawyers. We have regarded it as a case strictly within the precincts of that branch of the Church of Christ to which the Bishop of Natal and ourselves belong. The inquiry throughout has been a comparison of the published teaching of the Bishop of Natal with the doctrinal standards of the English Church. This comparison has involved at every step the discussion of most grave theological questions, which have demanded chiefly an acquaintance with theology; and although a grievous want of books—to say nothing of my own deficiencies—has prevented me from affording to the Court as much assistance as I could have wished, our utter inexperience of merely legal contentions is the best pledge that we have all endeavoured to take the case on its substantial merits. We can now only hope, under God, that substantial justice may prevail.

To state the matter concisely, it appears to stand thus: The Bishop of Natal has published a commentary on the Romans, which teaches that the preaching and acceptance of the Gospel have no necessary connection with the salvation of mankind; and also two volumes on the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua (Parts I and II), which profess to be legitimate criticism on the Holy Scriptures, but which maintain opinions concerning the Bible generally, and the earlier books in particular, for which the writer himself can make room only by supposing that our Lord taught error. And, accordingly, our Lord is represented in these books to have taught error; to have accepted ignorantly, as a part of His Jewish education, certain radical misconceptions and delusions on the subject of the true character and authority of the Old Testament, to have ignorantly propagated those delusions and misconceptions, and necessarily,

in some large measure, to have founded Christianity upon them.

With respect to the Commentary on the Romans, the necessity which the writer was under to employ Scriptural language, and affix some probable meaning to that language, has had the effect of disguising to a considerable extent the elements of positive error which pervade it. But it would seem quite impossible for any one versed in theological matters to read that book, and not perceive that it is from first to last a somewhat self-willed expansion of the distinctive tenets of Socinus. It starts from the supposition that redemption consists in the discovery by Jesus Christ to the human race of the fundamental fact, that no Redemption, in the sense of a true propitiatory offering for sin, was needed; and that the reconciliation of man to God, the alleged formal end of Christ's coming, is to be effected mainly by convincing man that his deep, inborn craving after something which should ^{begeth} ~~lead~~ him that God is now reconciled to him is all resolvable into human ignorance of the true nature of God's fatherly love. The book proceeds to teach that the Christian has not a partaker of any grace which is ^{not already} ~~not already~~ truly shared by every human being, as a human being; and that the purpose and benefit of the sacraments, and of the publication of the Gospel, is to make men fully conscious of the spiritual life which they have all equally partaken of from the moment of their natural birth, although they have not all equally enjoyed it. And, finally, this edifice of doctrine is crowned—so far logically enough—with the distinguishing tenet of Universalism,—that all suffering hereafter is to be remedial and purgatorial simply. That such opinions contravene the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England, no one can seriously doubt. The only point needing proof, one would suppose, is whether or not the Bishop of Natal does really maintain the opinions which we impute to him. If he does, justice surely requires that he should not continue to disseminate them in the name of the English Church, and with the authority belonging to the high and weighty office of one of her Bishops.

The two books on the Pentateuch have been already characterized as demanding, as a primary condition of assent to them, a more or less express denial of the veracity and trustworthiness of Christ. That this is a perfectly correct and fair description of those two books, no one, I think, who may have read them, will deny. Surely, books

founded on such a postulate cannot maintain the claim that they are consistent with the doctrine of the English Church. Nay, my Lords, I will be bold to say that even if our judges were every one of them unbelievers, instead of being—what, thank God, they are—Christian Bishops, they could not, if they were educated Englishmen, help knowing that such opinions are simply abhorrent to all our standards of doctrine. And knowing this, even though they themselves personally sympathised with the Bishop of Natal's opinions, they could not, as just judges, help confessing the substantial injustice and wrong of retaining as chief ruler over any portion of our communion, and particularly over any portion of the clergy, one who had taught and proclaimed those opinions;—they must, I submit, as just judges, allow the justice of our charges, and give judgment in our favour.

My Lords, it has been pleaded on the Bishop of Natal's behalf, that admitting him to have here and there infringed the Articles and Formularies, the infringement has been unavoidably incidental to a great literary and critical work for which the University of Fort Hare is deeply indebted to him that it is in the last degree ungenerous to molest him. This is the view which the Bishop himself takes of his own case. He pictures himself to himself as the leader of a great second reformation, or even as the apostle of what he seems to regard as almost a new religious dispensation (Part II, p. 371); and foreseeing, as a probable consequence of his labours, a revival of the same blind spirit of persecution that brought Cranmer and his brother martyrs to the stake, he has warned us of the odium with which "an indignant nation" may be expected to visit all who meddle with him. In the same spirit, the Bishop is for ever—*usque ad nauseam*—reminding us of his consuming zeal for truth; and appealing to the "intelligent laity" to take doctrinal revision into their own hands, and prevent our professional narrowness and stupidity from ruining the glorious cause of Christendom's intellectual emancipation. And another cry is for some reply to the book which shall satisfy, of course, not your Lordships, or the Church generally, but the Bishop of Natal, and those who, with him, are calling for "a complete revision of our religious views;" and if we, clergymen, cannot by our united efforts produce such an answer, why do we prosecute, and persecute?

Now, clearly, if our Lord's own words may not be relied on as infallible,—if involuntary and gross error as to

matters of fact runs through our Saviour's teaching,—and if it be reserved to critics yet unborn to dispose of ninety-nine hundredths of His sayings as the Bishop of Natal has already disposed of His citations from the Old Testament; then, I grant, proceedings of this kind are time wasted; for no truth would be left which I, for one, should care to spend one moment in defending. Then, all truth is gone. Then we, and the generations of Christians before us, are as men who have been dreaming; and now the Bishop of Natal has awakened us out of our dream, leaving us nothing to fear and nothing to hope for;—nothing really to believe or disbelieve.

But, my Lords, we are persuaded that not our Lord's teaching only, but that the teaching of all who have spoken by His Spirit, from Moses to St. John, is the sure and unerring Word of God; and that in claiming judgment against the Bishop of Natal, ~~we are~~ ^{we are} defending, in the only way practically open to us, ~~that~~ ^{that} which not to defend would have been a burning and a lasting reproach to us. The honest fact—as everybody knows perfectly well—is this, that this province ~~is not~~ ^{is not} a free province, that the Bishop of Natal, ~~or~~ ^{or} his immediate predecessors against the should return to his diocese, ~~or~~ ^{or} else must have endured that he should return to his diocese to brandish his heresies unchallenged in the faces of the faithful clergy and laity there; and at once in the name of the Church, and in defiance of her plainest teaching, and his own solemn vows, to make his high and heaven-derived commission subservient to the propagation of a mode of belief, so-called, the fundamental article of which is that Christ Himself is not to be believed.

And this suggests to us the true answer to the Bishop of Natal's pretence to be regarded by us as occupying the same moral level with Wicliff, and Cranmer, and the other Fathers of the Reformation. The two sets of facts and circumstances are in nothing alike, except only in this, that the Reformers *were* spokesmen of God's truth; and the Bishop of Natal—in common with every apostle of error that has ever opened his lips—*claims to be* one. But the differences between the moral position of the Reformers and the moral position of the Bishop of Natal are so wide and so evident, that one really marvels at the assurance that has attempted to confound them. For what was the fundamental maxim of the Reformation? Hear Bishop Jewell (Apol., p. 44): *Nihil aut a Christo, aut ab Apostolis fecimus alienum! Neque enim ea est Ecclesia Dei, he* proceeds to say, *qua infuscari labe aliquâ non possit, aut non*

interdum eget instauratione. Their watchword was *instauratio.* *Si nos sumus hæretici cur nos e sacris Scripturis non convincant? Cur nos ad illarum examen non revocant? Cur nos non (isti) ostendant a Christo, a Prophetis, ab Apostolis, a Sanctis Patribus discessisse?* The Holy Scriptures, and primitive tradition in submission to and as illustrative of, those Scriptures, were the one unvarying measure by which every stroke of work was done, by which every single stone was laid in the gradual uprearing of the Reformed Churches, by the hands of those really truth loving men. And the one grand opponent of their work was a foreign dominion—an Italian Prince-Bishop! If France were to subjugate England for a few years, and England were then, with God's help, to break the yoke from off her neck, must such Englishmen as chanced to be fulfilling any civil office at the time, resign their office in order to have their consciences clear for the work of asserting their own rightful freedom against a foreign tyranny? And should English Bishops, deriving their emoluments from English soil, have held themselves bound to resign their possessions into the hands of the stranger who had so long troubled them, and thereby acknowledge the right of the stranger, as the first step towards casting that stranger out? No; the very *causa belli* with Rome was that an Italian Bishop had no right to lord it over Englishmen; and that the happiness and spiritual health and freedom of England required that she should cast off, not Christianity, but a foreign *corruption* of it, enforced by a foreign tyranny. There is no ground for a comparison between the English Church and nation wrestling for freedom against an alien power on the unchanging principles of revealed truth, as the primitive Church accepted it, and the attempt of the Bishop of Natal to force himself back into his diocese that, in the name of this same Reformed English Church, he may inaugurate a dispensation subversive of Christianity itself.

But it has been argued in effect by the Bishop of Natal, and by others for him, that it is unfair to charge on him as a disqualification for office, or as personally discreditable to him, what is properly a result of nothing else than fearless, but lawful criticism. If the earth we tread on, being honestly and closely questioned, yields facts which contradict the Mosaic history of the deluge, it is not the critic, but the truth, that ought to be held responsible and punished. If the Pentateuch contains clear internal evidence that our Saviour's words concerning it cannot be

true, the discrepance must be explained somehow.' And in supposing the error to have proceeded from the defectiveness of our Lord's knowledge, the Bishop of Natal denies that he is traducing Him; for 'on the contrary,' he says, 'he confesses Him to be Divine; but' he intimates that 'he is merely making the best of a bad case; that he is suggesting the best apology that occurs to him for Christianity as a whole, and for Christ our Lord, as the Founder and Centre of it. Why trouble him for this?' My Lords, I do not pretend to understand the Bishop of Natal's state of mind, nor am I the keeper or the judge of his conscience. But we may judge in some degree of what he has actually written; and we may also form some judgment of his more obvious and important suppressions. I will instance a case of suppression first. The Bishop of Natal may be presumed to know that the leading facts recorded in the Pentateuch pervade the whole Bible; that they supply the framework upon which all the rest is clothed; that the historical parts are so intertwined with the Old Testament ritual, and with the didactic and prophetic portions, and these in turn, it pleases the Hebrews as one prominent ^{University of Fort Hare} ^{Together in Excellence} ~~and~~ themselves with and melt away into the one grand central object of the New Dispensation, the death and passion of our Lord, and the doctrines and ordinances therein rooted, that it is a utterly vain to try to imagine to oneself a true and life-giving Gospel severed from the Old Testament, as to conceive a river still continuing to flow after all the higher waters, up to the very source, have been dried up. The Bishop of Natal must know enough of the Bible to be quite alive to all this. He must foresee that to disgrace the Pentateuch is to invalidate the New Testament. This may not be equally obvious to all. For the multitude of men, however "intelligent" and generally well-informed, have not any exact acquaintance with the contents of the Holy Scriptures, or with the connection of the various portions of those contents with one another. But none who have any accurate knowledge of the Bible can help knowing that the case is really as I state it;—that, if the Bishop's premises be granted, *Christianity itself must fall*. Why, then, does the Bishop flatter the multitude with vague suggestions that he is working on the side of Christianity? Why engender the impression that he desires nothing more than to weed Christianity of some popular and generally acknowledged errors, but to leave the great fabric of revealed truth itself intact? The Bishop of

Natal would have appeared in my eyes a far more respectable man if he had faced more courageously those conclusions from all that he has advanced, which he must know to be inevitable, and had besprinkled his book somewhat less with the phraseology of ordinary believers. He must know that he is working for the utter destruction of Christianity in any accepted or intelligible sense. Why does he not—this fearless and truth-loving man—why does he not plainly say so?

But there is another feature of the Bishop's books—and these are not cases of suppression—which must, one would suppose, have created some uneasiness even in the minds of many who have been otherwise disposed to sympathise with him. I will cite one prominent example. The Bishop of Natal, in accounting for the Pentateuch, sketches in the figure of the Prophet Samuel, and places him, not too distinctly, but very prominently in the foreground. Now and then this Samuel, by a *celeriter* dash of the pencil, is represented as a man for all future generations to admire; he is a grand, disinterested patriot; and all that he does is a "noble effort" for the best and truest interests of his people. But, after all, what is the deeper and more fixed impression of Samuel's character that we derive from the Bishop's account of his actual proceedings? We are given to understand that the composition of Exodus iii. and vi. was on this wise. Samuel drew for the name Jehovah, not as he did for many other portions of the "Elohistic Story," on his imagination; but—God help us!—on the idolatrous *cultus* of Egypt! Having thence derived the sacred *tetragrammaton*, the appropriation of which by the [Redeemer has ever been accepted both by Jew and Christian as the most positive assertion that it was possible for Him to make of His true and incommunicable Godhead, Samuel's next proceeding is deliberately to persuade the Jews that the name was supernaturally derived from Heaven, and he frames, or adapts, the story of the Burning Bush to convey the delusion. And the Bishop of Natal, who is evermore suggesting comparisons between his own devotion to truth and most other clergymen's comparative indifference to it, not only does not blame this feat of Samuel's, but even tries to kindle something like enthusiastic admiration of it! My Lords, I have no means of knowing what the majority of those laymen who have read these books may think of Samuel's morality, as the Bishop here paints it, or of the amount of love of truth and honesty manifested by the writer who can commend such morality. Speaking for

myself,—my own sense of truth may not be so keen as that of many better men, but it is at least strong enough to constrain me to say that I shrink from such teaching as absolutely shocking;—as disgraceful to him from whom it proceeds, and demoralizing to all, be they clergymen or laymen, who do not condemn it. And this is what the Bishop of Natal offers us for the Christianity which he takes away! Truly, this is to give men a stone when they ask an egg, and when they ask a fish, a serpent! But my object in touching on these topics is to illustrate the probable worth of the Bishop of Natal's repeated intimations of his extraordinary love of truth. And with such matter before us as I have just adduced, I must, my Lords, maintain that we certainly find nothing there which we can accept as any apology for the imputation of untruth to **our Lord**. If the Bishop of Natal were present, I should, in the name of liberty, perhaps, to speak even more strongly. In his absence, I will merely add that the approval given by him to the lying forgery which he ascribes to Samuel, and which he has dared to treat as the foundation of our religion, seems to me the completest answer that can possibly have been devised to any claim to unusual indulgence on the score of unusual devotion on his part to the cause of truth and honesty.



University of Fort Hare
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But it may still be urged that, whether the Bishop of Natal loves truth or not, he has nevertheless told us the truth; and that we are persecuting him because he has told it to us. 'It is not I,' he persists, 'who say this or that; it is sound biblical criticism that says so.' The Bishop of Natal is an algebraist. He knows what one radical error will effect in the course of a long and complex calculation. And the fact is, that the principal mass of the Bishop's so-called criticisms are a superstructure upon the radically vicious assumption that external testimony is good for nothing. The Bishop again and again taunts the clergy at large with not looking facts in the face. 'He and his school are the men who think. We do not think. Either we are too lazy, or we have not the faculty.' But let the Bishop of Natal take the fundamental fact of our Lord's resurrection from the dead, if he still accepts it, and think over it carefully. The same human Body that hung upon the cross died, and was buried. And on the third day that Body rose from the dead, an indestructible Body, but still the same Body, bearing on it the scars of the wounds that had been made in it. On what testimony is this fact believed? Internal or external? The Bishop knows the

answer. And on similar testimony the Christian accepts the whole body of revelation. Our faith is built on the thing testified, in conjunction with all that we know of the external history of the testimony on which it reaches us. A given story may be in itself highly probable. But the character of the relater may be such that it becomes improbable purely from the circumstance that it was this or that particular person who related it. Another story may be intrinsically most improbable. But once let it be known that it rests on such and such authority, and its intrinsic unlikelihood, although it may suggest questions that may wait years to be answered, goes practically for nothing. And so of the Bible. It has come down to us assured by the authority of a complex external testimony, such that, if its internal witness to its heavenly derivation were many degrees less wonderful and convincing than it is, it would still be the duty and wisdom of all men to give heed to it and accept it as from God, as no other book is from God, or ever has been, or ever shall be. So commended, the most massive and the most aspiring intellects of the most advanced portions of mankind have bowed before it in all these centuries past, not as "idolators," but as devout and humble learners. And intellects not less strong and free will still continue to submit themselves to it, and suck life out of it, as long as the world shall stand. Difficulties, doubtless, are involved in the Bible; and many seeming inconsistencies. Of these, some may yet be quite cleared up, wholly or in part, by a really learned, patient, and reverent criticism. But others are certain to remain—the kingdom of grace being in this respect, as in many others, a counterpart of the kingdom of nature—to exercise devout meditation, to constitute a discipline of intellectual humility, and at the same time to attract us onward, in adoring and wondering faith, ever nearer and nearer towards that one central and living Well and Fountain of all Truth, out of which all may be eternally satisfied, but which none, through all eternity, may fathom.

But, my Lords, this is not the opportunity for answering the Bishop. We are convinced in the depths of our hearts that all his books are in the main not only superficial and inaccurate, but untrue. In one word, we are quite satisfied that the error is not with our Redeemer, but with the Bishop of Natal. And although he may think his books unanswerable, we presume to think of them very differently. We only feel at the same time that what really calls for answers is more men's state of heart than anything in the

Bishop's arguments; and that until some machinery shall be devised which shall make it compulsory on mankind to accept as conclusive every argument on all subjects which may really be so, no answer to the Bishop's false teaching, however decisive and complete, could reasonably be expected to effect for the Church in South Africa what now, as a last resort, we hope to effect by these proceedings. Meantime, the Bishop is scattering his unbelief in the name of the English Church, and with the authority of an English Bishop so far in undisturbed possession of his see. This state of things is quite intolerable;—one to which no faithful Christian can possibly consent. My Lords, we have no alternative but to seek through this, the Provincial Court of our branch of Christ's Church in South Africa, the deprivation and deposition of him by whom this shameful scandal has been caused. Our formal ground is this: the Bishop of Natal at his ordination as deacon and priest, and at his consecration as Bishop, bound himself to all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as his rule of faith and practice, and accepted our Articles and Formularies as the Church's principal interpretative measure of the doctrines which the Scriptures contain. Since his consecration, he has impugned and contravened those Articles and Formularies in some grave particulars, and has openly renounced his faith in the Scriptures as "God's Word written." Farther, the diocese of Natal was organized on the faith of what the Bishop of Natal at his consecration undertook; and the clergy of Natal successively took their oaths of canonical obedience to him also in faith that he was a true man, and a believer in the doctrines which he had accepted and promised to teach. The Bishop of Natal's sense of truth and justice is such that he is not ashamed to insist on returning to his diocese, and resuming, I cannot say the duties, but at least the active exercise of some of the powers, of the Episcopate. We maintain that he may no longer be permitted to do so; and since he compels us, we do not hesitate to put, if possible, a canonical and legal hindrance in his way. We trust we have convinced your Lordships of the righteousness of our cause. The condemnation of a bishop of the Church for heresy is a grave and solemn thing. But, if deserved, it is surely even more necessary than the condemnation of a priest. And it is my fervent prayer that this Court may be able to come to such a decision in this case as may not preclude every one of your Lordships now before me from ever

hereafter entertaining with a good conscience a charge of false doctrine against a priest or deacon. For if the Bishop of Natal is not to be condemned on the charges now made against him, then, my Lords, false doctrine, as an ecclesiastical offence, must for this province be henceforth impossible.

At the close of the Archdeacon's argument, which lasted upwards of eight hours, and in the course of which he discussed with great minuteness the bearing of the Church formularies upon each of Bishop Colenso's views, as set forth in the passages included in the citation;

The Bishop of Cape Town said: The case for the prosecution having been closed I call upon the Registrar to read a letter of the Bishop of Natal which he has put in in his defence, and to which he ~~has~~ called the special attention of the Court. The letter to which it is a reply is on the table for the use of the prosecuting clergy if they desire to have it.

The Registrar then read the following letter:

Bishopstowe, Aug 7, 1861.

University of Fort Hare

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I thank you sincerely for your letter on the subject of my *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. I cannot be surprised at your writing so earnestly and seriously, holding the views which you do on some of the points which I have discussed. But, as you will have learned from my last letter, it is too late now to stop the publication of the book, even if I desired to do so. Whatever you may think it right to say or do in the matter, I am quite sure that you will only act from a sense of duty to what you believe to be the truth, which compels you to set aside all personal feelings, in obedience to a higher law. In writing what I have written, and publishing it, I, too, have done the same, though conscious that I should thereby cause pain to yourself, and others, whom I entirely esteem and love. It is true that you have mistaken some of my expressions; others (forgive me for saying it) you seem to me to have misjudged. But in respect of others, I am well aware that my views differ strongly from yours; though I believe that I have said nothing in my book which is not in accordance with the teaching of the Bible, or which transcends the limits so liberally allowed by the Church of England for freedom of thought on such subjects. I will now touch, one by one, on the several points to which you have drawn my attention.

1. I have no doubt whatever that the Canonical Books of Scripture do contain errors, and some very grave ones, in *matters of fact*, and that the historical narratives are not to be depended on as true in all their details. I have never stated

this publicly; but surely, in this age of critical inquiry, every intelligent student of the Scriptures must be aware of the truth of what I say. It is vain to deny what is patent to any careful and conscientious reader, who will set himself to compare one passage of Scripture history with another. And, I must say, I had supposed that there were very few in the present day, except in a very narrow school of theology, who would contest this point.

For instance, Joseph was thirty years old when he "stood before Pharaoh" (Gen. xli, 30), at which time, therefore, Judah was thirty-four; since Jacob married Leah and Rachel after he had been seven years with Laban (xxix, 20, 21), and Judah was his fourth son by Leah, and Joseph was born when he had been fourteen years with Laban (xx, 25, 26; xxxi, 41), and, therefore, Judah could not have been more than four years older than Joseph. Now the time that Joseph "stood before Pharaoh," nine years elapsed, seven of plenty, two of famine, before Jacob went down to Egypt (Gen. xli, 53). Judah, therefore, must have been forty-three years of age when he "stood before Pharaoh" (Gen. xli, 12). But (xvii, 12), we find that Judah's sons, Pharez and Zarah, and the sons of Pharez, Hezron and Hanan, were among the seventy souls who went down to Egypt with Jacob. From this, it appears that Judah grew up to maturity, took a wife, had three sons by her in succession, and each of those grew up to maturity, after which Judah's transaction with Tamar took place, and she had by him these two sons, Pharez and Zarah, and Pharez grew to maturity, and had two children—and all this before Judah was forty-three years old! In that time he might have become twice over a grandfather! I need hardly observe that this unquestionable "error in matter of fact" is the more important, inasmuch as the names of Pharez and Hezron occur in the genealogy of Matt. i.

So again, in the New Testament, it is impossible that Matt. iii, 17, and Mark i, 11, or that Matt. xxvi, 46, and Mark xv, 34, should both be strictly true. In Mark x, 46, the blind man is healed, as our Lord was going out of Jericho; in Luke xviii, 35, as He was entering into Jericho.

Of course, the above are only a few instances, such as occur to me on the moment; of a multitude of others, which may be found in the Scriptures. And they are not mere discrepancies (such as that one blind man is named in one place, and two in another), which may admit of explanation, but absolute contradictions in matters of fact, to deny the existence of which would, for me at all events, be dishonest and immoral, and most unworthy, as it seems to me, of any one who really values the general historical truth of the Scriptures.

But I have nowhere said what you have assumed for me in addition to the above, namely,—that "inspiration apparently is exhibited not in the declaration of the very truth, which God has

revealed to our faith respecting Himself and the way of salvation by Christ, *but* in the spirit and the life which breathes throughout the Holy Book," &c. I say that "the very truth" is "the spirit and the life," and not the mere words in which that truth may be conveyed to us.

With respect to the latter portion of your remarks on this subject, I prefer using the language of the Consecration Service, namely,—that I am persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, which is identical with that of the 6th Article; so that both together express sufficiently the mind of our Church. In this sense, of course, I *do* receive the Holy Scriptures as the "rule of faith." But I object to bind myself to such expressions as yours, which are neither in the Bible nor the Prayer-book, and may easily have a meaning given to them very different from what either you or I intend by them. It would be easy, for instance, for me to say that I believe the Bible to "contain the unerring Word of God's revealed truth." The question, then, would be, *what* is meant by God's revealed truth? Is it "the spirit and the life," or the mere words of the Bible? And if the latter, as I understand you to say, then *university of words* have the Bible part of God's revealed truth, *at for instance* the story of the birth of Pharez and Hezron, above referred to? You once told me, I think, that you held the genealogies in Chronicles to be the "Word of God," and, therefore, I suppose are inspired, "unerring word of God's revealed truth." Now I cannot believe this. I imagine those tables to be mere transcripts of family registers, perhaps not even that: and I *know* them to be full of errors and contradictions, which are not in any way to be accounted for by mistakes in the transcription of manuscripts.

So, too, when you say that the dogmatic teaching of the Bible must be received by all Christians, of course I can assent to this. But then I believe that the dogmatic teaching of St. Paul in the Romans is just what I have set forth in my book; and you judge differently.

I certainly do say, and will maintain, that to the man himself there is but one lawgiver—the law within the heart—to which, in some form or other, he must bring every question of morals or of faith for judgment. One man has fully persuaded himself that the letter of the Bible is the revealed Word of God. When his reason is satisfied of this, his conscience tells him that at all cost of bodily or mental pain he must hold to the letter of the Bible. Another's conscience keeps him, in like manner, subject implicitly to the dicta of his Church, when his reason is once satisfied that the Church has a right to command him. And each of these will test his conduct continually, by bringing it into comparison with the words of the Bible or the Church, before the tribunal of his conscience. If his heart does not condemn

him in this review, he will be satisfied, and "have confidence before God," though all the while his conscience may really be injured by slavery to a defective judgment of his reasoning powers. Another takes a different view of inspiration, as I do myself, and believe that God's Spirit is indeed speaking in the Bible to all who will humbly seek and listen to His teaching, but that, even when we read the different portions of it, we are to "try the spirits, whether they are of God, to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good," to "compare spiritual things with spiritual"—that is a part of our glorious, yet solemn, responsibility to do this,—that, having the Spirit ourselves, "an unction from the Holy One, that we may have all things," having the promise that we shall be "guided into all truth" if we seek daily to have our minds enlightened and our consciences quickened by walking in the Light already vouchsafed to us, we are not at liberty to shake off this responsibility of judging for ourselves whether this or that portion of the Bible has a message from God to our souls or not; God will not relieve us from this responsibility; He will not give us what, in one form or other, men are so prone to desire—an infallible external guide—a voice from without, such as men often wish to substitute for the voice within.

II. On the second point to which you refer, I believe that my language is entirely in accordance with the Second and Ninth Articles of our Church; and I must say that I am surprised that you should have remarked as you have done on this subject, when I have written in my book as follows:

Page 65. "With this knowledge of our sinful state, and without the Gospel, we should indeed be bound down under a weight of woe, under the consciousness of a heavy burden, helplessly aware of our coming doom, and even now feeling it beforehand. Having thus the certainty of the curse upon us, being, indeed, under it already," &c.

Page 67. "Our death is *no longer* a token of the curse lying heavily upon us."

Page 68. "Through that precious bloodshedding the whole race has been redeemed from the curse."

Page 97. "We shall die—*no longer*, as incurring a part of the curse of our fallen nature."

Page 106. "The curse of their sinful nature has been taken away." "By their natural birth they feel at once as fallen, sinful creatures under a condemnation of death."

Page 112. "The cloud of guilty fear has been removed, which must otherwise have hung, by reason of the sin in our nature, between our souls and the blessed face of God."

But, indeed, there are innumerable passages, in which my book distinctly implies and expresses the belief that Christ suffered as a sacrifice for *original* guilt, as well as for actual sins of men.

III. With regard to the Atonement, I believe, of course, that

I have expressed the mind of St. Paul upon this point. I most assuredly do *not* "deny that our Lord was a true propitiatory sacrifice for our sins," as you say; for I have distinctly said (p. 68) that "we are privileged to look at Christ Jesus, through faith in His Blood, and behold in Him the propitiation for our sins, the object which makes us acceptable to God." I have no less distinctly expressed my belief that "we have redemption through His Blood, even the forgiveness of sins;" for I have said (page 69) "through that precious bloodshedding the whole race has been redeemed from the curse." And I am sure that there are other passages where, in other like words, I have said the same.

But I do deny that His was a vicarious sacrifice, in the sense in which I understand you to use the word, namely, that He endured in our stead the weight of God's wrath, He bore the penalty due to our sins. I believe that neither the expression nor the idea is scriptural; nor is it found in the Prayer-book. In the New Testament it is said that our Lord suffered or died *hyper*, on behalf of men—the same expression is used as when the shepherd is said to lay down his life for his sheep, instead of the sheep, or where St. Peter says "he will lay down his life for his Lord, or where St. Paul says "he is ready, not only to be bound, but also to die, for the sake of the Church." There are passages without number where the expression *hyper* is used of our Lord's suffering or dying for us, in several of which some manuscripts read *pro*, on account of, but not one of them reads *anti*, instead of, in place of. Nor is there one single instance in the whole New Testament where the word *substitutum* is used in this connection. The only approach to it is in the use of the expression *anti pollon*, which occurs in Matt. xii, 28, Mark x, 45, where, however, nothing is implied about enduring God's wrath in our stead, as if He ransomed us out of God's hand; and nothing more is said than I have said myself in page 97, "Now that He, our Head, has paid that debt, we are free;" and in page 110, "we have paid this debt to Sin, the tyrant [which was needed that we might be ransomed from his power], because He has paid it;" and on page 111, "He paid a sufficient debt to Sin, the tyrant, to release us from any further necessity of dying." And so St. Paul, having used a similar expression in 1 Tim. ii, 6, *ho dotes hastaton substitutum hyper panton* explains his meaning in Tit. ii, 14, to be—not He ransomed them from the hand of God, but He ransomed them from the possession and power of evil, *ho edotes hastaton hyper hominu hian lutrotetoi hominu apo panyv dnamuon*. I repeat the assertion, there is not a single expression in the whole New Testament which distinctly implies that Christ suffered the weight of His Father's wrath in our stead. If there be, surely it can be produced. The single passage you quote—that He bore our sins in His own body on the tree—does not prove it.



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If, indeed, the doctrine of vicarious suffering of God's wrath in our stead were distinctly taught in other passages of the New Testament, those words of St. Peter might be explained to have this meaning. But in themselves they do not express it. He "bore our sins," not the penalty due to our sins. And in the same chapter of Isaiah to which St. Peter refers, we read "He bore our sorrows, and carried our sicknesses," which words St. Matthew quotes (viii, 17), just after our Lord had healed many sick persons, to express (as I understand it) His sympathizing and sharing in all the sorrows and woes of fallen humanity. In the same sense I understand the words "He bore our sins." For our sakes He took the likeness of sinful flesh, He was made sin, He suffered and died as a sinner. He bore our sins, as He bore our sorrows. His whole life of obedience culminating in the death upon the cross. But there is not a word here of His bearing the weight of God's anger in any world.

When you say that my language is not always consistent with itself, that it is in some places more evangelical than others, I must respectfully contest that. I must respectfully assert that my language is the same throughout, as everywhere in one place as another, though it is not possible on every page to produce all that one would say upon the great subject concerned, especially when the thoughts of the original writer.



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How it is possible to maintain that our Lord came to "release us only from the power and dominion, not from the guilt of our sins," with such passages as I have written, not only on the pages you have quoted (88, 91, 95, 161, 162), but in many others where the subject led to it, I cannot conceive, as e.g., page 65, "With this knowledge of our sinful state, and without the Gospel, we should be bound down under a weight of woe, helplessly aware of our coming doom, having the certainty of the curse upon us," or page 11, "The cloud of guilty fear has been removed, which must otherwise have hung, by reason of the sin in our nature, between our souls and the face of God." You ask me how I can reconcile my teaching with the plain declaration of the 2nd Article, which declares that "Christ truly suffered to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but for the actual sins of men." I answer that, as to the latter portion of this Article, I have repeatedly asserted it in my book; only I see nothing in this Article about a vicarious sacrifice, and I have taught that it was a propitiatory sacrifice—thus He came to offer, in His life and death of perfect obedience, a propitiatory sacrifice on our behalf, well pleasing and acceptable unto God, so that the Father looks upon the Son, is satisfied in Him, and with us in Him. My whole book teaches, in the words of the 31st Article, that "the offering of Christ, once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone."

As to the former portion of the 2nd Article, I am sorry that the expression is there used, "to reconcile the Father to us," because it is not scriptural, and it is liable to be misinterpreted. But these words of our Church cannot be meant to contradict or set aside the Apostle's own words, when he says that "all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ," that "God was in Christ, *reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.*" There is, of course, a sense in which a father displeased requires to be reconciled to his child, though tenderly loving him all the while that he corrects him and manifests his anger towards him. I have thought that our Lord came, at His Father's own command, to reconcile His Father and our Father in this sense to us; and I have used the expression on page 89, "one reconciled or, rather, reconciling Father and Friend."

IV. The Scripture teaches us that "God is love." Being perfect love, He *must be perfectly holy, just, and righteous.* And surely my book in a hundred places speaks as strongly of God's loving correction of the willful and disobedient as of His loving delight in the faithful and true. It cannot, I say it confidently, be justly laid to my charge that I overlook the holiness, and justice, and righteousness of God, though certainly I do not hold the dogma that God cannot forgive sin, even in an infant, without taking vengeance for it, without inflicting on some one pain and bitter anguish as a penalty.

I do hold that *all men are justified before God, using the word in the sense in which St. Paul uses it throughout this epistle, not in that which modern theologians may perhaps assign to it.* I do *not* hold that our justification depends on our faith, because that would make it a matter of works, in direct opposition to St. Paul's teaching. Our *salvation* is a totally different thing from our justification. Being justified, we are to "work out our salvation," and, therefore, for this we must have faith.

But with St. Paul the word "salvation" means something very different from the miserable notion commonly attached to the word, of mere deliverance from the pit of woe. He means by it the being saved from that divine displeasure which is declared against all wilful unfaithfulness, and which will be manifested upon us Christians, above all others, if we do not live according to the light vouchsafed to us, and answer to the gracious end to which we have been called. To "work out our salvation," means, with St. Paul, to live faithfully as becomes the children of God, who are privileged to know that they are justified and brought near to their Father's footstool, and being prepared here on earth for His glory. It is to be labouring daily with the grace already given to cast off the works of darkness, and put on more and more of the armour of light, and so not incur the displeasure of our Lord, as slothful or unfaithful servants, and require His angry chastisements.

This is what he means by "working out our salvation," and being "saved from wrath," that wrath which is declared, not against the guilt of our fallen nature, or the sins of impurity and ignorance, in respect of all which "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself," but against all who sin wilfully, whether by actual transgressions or slothful negligence, who "keep back the truth," which they know, "in unrighteousness."

I do not agree with your statement of my ideas about faith, viz.: that "what faith does for us is to make known to us, to give us a conscious assurance of what would be equally true, whether we have it or not, that God looks upon us as righteous in His Son." I do not think that faith *does* this for us: it is the "conscious assurance" of something which in itself is true, whether we believe it or not, the realizing of things hoped for, the conviction of things unseen. The words, however, which you have quoted from page 12, I entirely abide by: I am certain that this is what St. Paul intends to teach in this epistle.

I think you have not *quite* read what I have said on page 74. I have not *quite* as you appear to think, that "justification *consists* in being justified in one's own conscience." Quite the contrary. I hold that we are justified in God's sight, whether we know or believe it, or not. But I said that in the particular passage then under consideration, and in some other places, both here and elsewhere, "not generally, everywhere. St. Paul is using the word justified with reference especially to those who, like Abraham, were privileged to *know* that they were justified—had had brought home to them consciously this gift of righteousness, though really justified already in God's sight, as he was.

But when, after quoting this and other passages, you go on to say, "If these views are true I cannot see why we need to preach the Gospel to the heathen, it seems to me that you take away the great motive for doing so; they are, without our teaching, accepted, righteous, justified, *saved*." I really hardly know how to reply to this—not because I cannot reply to it, but (pardon me for saying so) because I am amazed that it should be necessary to make a reply to it.

In the first place, I have taught that neither they nor we shall be "saved," if we die in impenitence, each according to the light he has received. But it is plain that you are speaking only of *endless* horror in the pit of woe, whereas I am thinking of that Divine displeasure which every human being will incur who lives unfaithfully in proportion to the light he has received, and dies in impenitence. I have said accordingly (page 95), "We shall be saved from that wrath by having our faults freely pardoned for His sake *when confessed and repented of*. In what way that anger will take effect on the impenitent in the eternal world, God only knows; but we have the figures of it in the eternal doom and fire, and the outer darkness.

But have we no motive to preach such a Gospel as St. Paul's, according to my views of it, to the heathen? To tell them that God loves them, that He, after whom they have been groping in the darkness, has been caring for them all along, and now calls them near to Himself, that they may know Him more fully and the rich treasures of His love? Why, this is the very life and soul of missionary work. It has been my joy for seven years past thus to publish the Gospel of the grace of God; and, if you could witness the effect upon those who heard the message you would not doubt that it was at least as effective as that Gospel, "which is not a Gospel," which is so often preached to them. Is the Gospel, then, only a means for "saving" men's souls from endless misery? And because they, who are faithful with their fraction of a talent without it, may be as safe as, that is, not more or less safe than, Christians with their ten thousand talents, is there **no work** to be done among the heathen that the hearts of our fellow-men may be gladdened and their eyes enlightened, and their spirits filled with life, and, above all, that God's gracious will may be obeyed, and His Name be glorified?

I do believe that my teaching on this subject in this book is "in full accordance with the plain teaching of the Church which I am pleased to call my own," as laid down in her Articles, and above all, with the **Evangelical** vow.

V. You have been long aware that I do not agree with those who hold what is called the "Sacramental System," and that I regard their views as unsound and unscriptural. But I have not spoken of the sacraments as *only* signs, and not also "means of grace," when duly received. Here, also, I cannot admit that my language is at all inconsistent with itself. It is perfectly consistent from my own point of view. Of course, we have a right—every human being has, if he only knew it, and even a heathen may know it in a measure, and exercise it—to call upon the "Faithful Creator" as our Father and Friend. (Does not St. Paul allow this, when he quotes a heathen poet's words as true "We are His offspring?") But in baptism we have that right declared and assured to us in the most gracious manner; we are then taken formally into the family of God; we are made children in a higher sense of the word.

I have said that the "inward and spiritual grace," or free gift in baptism, is "something that is given us in Christ [viz.: our dying to sin and rising to new life, by virtue of our union with Him in His death and resurrection-life], which is set forth to us in the sacrament,—of which we are partakers, which is bestowed freely upon us and upon all mankind, and depends not in any way on the spirit in which we come or are brought to the sacrament." And you remark "Surely, this is to speak of it as a bare sign, not as the means of conveying any gift or blessing to us." But this inference is

quite unnecessary. The free gift of God is set forth to us in either sacrament: it is for us to embrace it, as far as we are able, by a true living faith.

It is true that, as to the "free gift" of God, which is set forth to us in the sacrament of baptism, I have taught that we all share, through God's goodness, from our very birth-hour; without our own co-operation, in the benefit of having "died to Sin," as a tyrant that has any right to hold us in his grasp, and being made "alive unto God" by virtue of our union with the Great Head of our race. To *infants*, then, the sacrament, as the 27th Article teaches, is but the instrument by which they are grafted into God's inner family, the Church, and by which His promises and their adoption to be His children are visibly signed and sealed to them. Whereas to *adults*, coming in the right spirit, it is a means of "confirming faith," already existing, and "increasing grace," of which they are already partaking, not by virtue of any mysterious efficacy of the sacrament itself, as such, but "by virtue of prayer to God."

With respect also to the Lord's Supper, I have taught in this book, and more fully in my "Sermons on the Eucharist," that we are all partakers in like manner, from our birth-hour, of the benefits flowing from the body and blood of Christ; which is the "free gift" of God, set forth to us in that sacrament. But this sacrament, as the Church's ancient teaching, is ordained for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby; and, coming to it faithfully, we shall be privileged to draw continually by it, as a means of grace, more and more life from the Fountain of Life.

Having my book on the Romans before you, and having so recently had occasion to read with some attention my "Sermons on the Eucharist," I cannot conceive how you can find any just reason for quoting against me the words of Articles xiv, xviii, and xxix, the Communion Service, Homilies and Catechism, with which, as I believe, the views which I have expressed in these publications as to the nature of the two sacraments are in entire accordance. I cannot say the same of the "Sacramental System," which I believe to be opposed to the Prayer-book. You say that these Articles, &c., "include my saying that all men are partaking everywhere, at all times, of Christ's body and blood, whether in the sacraments or out of them, whether they feed upon them by living faith or not." I have shown more fully in my "Sermons on the Eucharist" my grounds for making this assertion, viz., that all men have life, spiritual as well as bodily, that they could have no life (as our Lord tells us) without "eating His flesh and drinking His blood,"—that, consequently, they do partake of His body and blood, and so (as Waterland says), "our Lord's general doctrine in John vi, seems to abstract from all particulars, and to resolve into this, that whether with faith or without, whether in the sacraments or out of the sacra-

ments, whether before Christ or since, whether in covenant or out of the covenant, whether here or hereafter, no man ever was, is, or will be accepted, but in and through the grand propitiation made by the blood of Christ." I know that you do not agree in this view, but I am at least not singular in holding it.

VI. I must confess that it does appear to me that you are finding grounds of objection in my book which do not really exist, when you say that my language on the judgment "leaves you in doubt whether I believe that God has appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness:" and this, notwithstanding that I have written thus: Page 48, "Whenever Christ shall appear, to visit and judge in His Father's Name, now amidst the affairs of daily life, as well as on the great day of future account." "The gift of righteousness is being continually renewed to such as these, by the free forgiveness of sin in this life, as well as finally declared on the great day of account."

"They often had occasion, as the Apostle had here, to recal the thoughts of men to the fact, that . . . the day would surely come when a righteous Governor would judge the secrets of men." "The new message of the Gospel is that this judgment shall be conducted by Jesus Christ."

Page 75. "All will be judged alike by the same righteous rule, according to their works, and according to the light vouchsafed to them. In that day when God shall judge the secrets of men by the Lord Jesus Christ."

I dare say that there are other passages of a like nature. But I must say, with all deference, that this is not the only suggestion made without the shadow of a ground for it, except it would seem a presentiment, or prejudgment, that so it must be, which has surprised me in your letter.

VII.—With regard to the eternal world, I have expressly refused to carry out any scheme to its full and logical conclusions. I have maintained no points at all upon the subject, but that He whose Name is Love will deal according to His Name with His creatures. I have said that I entertain "hidden hope"—and I say not even that—for all; and I am very far indeed from saying that the great majority of mankind will be "saved" from God's wrath, because they are all "justified;" though I dare not assert that such wrath will certainly take effect in inflicting endless, unutterable woe; and I have shown abundant reason, as I think, for checking the utterance of that fearful dogma, which so many profess to hold (though they never boldly teach it, and follow it to its consequences), without any authority from the Bible or the Church for holding it—I mean, that the wicked shall not only go into everlasting fire (as I have taught), but shall remain there in helpless torment for ever and ever. You would have stated my views upon this subject more correctly if you had written thus: "You maintain these points—that the doctrine of endless (not eternal) punishment

of the wicked is not found in the Bible or the Prayer-book—that all punishment is an act of love, and *may* be remedial—that our training and discipline *may* not end here, but may extend to the next world, and, for aught we know, to infinite other worlds beyond it—that our chastisement *may* be purifying, that sin may be purged out from God's universe in some way of God's wisdom—that, however, there is no *purgatory*, where penalties are *measured by time and intensity*, and can be remitted by favour or importunity. [What wise and loving earthly parent would remit a punishment, until he had reason to believe that it had done its work upon his child?] I am sorry that you do not yourself see an essential difference between my view and the Romish doctrine of purgatory. Such a difference, however, there is, as I have shown above, and in page 244 of my book.

I do not believe that my doctrine contradicts at all the language of Holy Scripture, or the formularies of our Church, including the Athanasian Creed, when perfectly interpreted. Further, in that Creed, the *damnatory* clauses are not set forth as any portion of the Catholic Faith. And I understand the language of the 8th Article, namely, that the Creeds can be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, to apply that *faith* to the doctrine which is to be *believed* about the Divine nature, rather than to the sanction with which such a belief is enforced.

I am sorry that you have so much misjudged what I have written about the Athanasian Creed as to suggest that I did not hold the essential parts of it, more especially the doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord, than which, from the first moment of my ministry up to the present hour, in all my preaching and teaching (as any one who knows them well must witness), no doctrine of the Church has been maintained by me more strenuously, though I have taught also the doctrine of His perfect humanity more fully and prominently than many, and not lost sight of it practically to a great extent as some do. I say this to you, as a dear friend and brother, though, after all that I have written, even in this book on the Romans, I feel that I should be justified in declining to say it to you as Metropolitan. Nor do I think that you had any just ground from anything that I have said, or omitted to say, in my Commentary, for the remarks which you have made on this point, as on some others.

As to the Athanasian Creed, it is notoriously a stumbling-block to thousands of pious souls, not in the least degree because of the doctrines set forth in the statement of the "Catholic Faith," but because of the harsh language of the damnatory clauses. It is very noticeable that in the oldest manuscript of the oldest commentary (by Fortunatus) on this Creed (preserved at Oxford) the particular clause which you have quoted, the second verse, is left out altogether in Waterland. Do you yourself really believe in the sentence of sweeping condemnation contained in this

rejects such message must at least suffer the *loss of that benefit*; but he may, moreover, have positive punishment inflicted upon him, because of his rejecting what God gave him sufficient opportunity to accept."

Page 49.—"Being saved, and being damned or condemned, do not imply any one fixed degree of happiness or misery; but admit of various degrees without limit. . . . Nor is any great degree necessarily implied in the word 'everlasting,' taken singly. Indeed, every *sine* [that is, as the former quotation shows, every loss of blessing], however small, is an everlasting punishment." (Comp. my book, page 184. "As we certainly do," &c.)

Page 50.—"It may possibly happen that a man may disbelieve and reject the truth itself, and yet not be condemned to any great positive evil, if God knows that his disbelief is owing to some extraordinary want of means of information."

Page 52. "The word 'punish' admits of degrees, as well as 'saved' and 'damned.' [If so, Dr. Hey admits all that I have said; for there can be no degree of the horror of utter, irremediable loss of all hope of ever seeing one ray of the glory and goodness of God.] It is probably used either as an equivalent to damned, or as being somewhat *less harsh*."

Page 53. "Though any man may say I reject *truth*, because *I shall suffer*; though any minister has authority to say, you must be very careful how you reject *truth*: yet no man ought to make himself unhappy, as if he must, of course, be damned for disbelieving the tenets of a certain *creed*."

I hope I may now conclude that a mind not tinctured with superstition or religious fear will be able to supply such *rational limitations* to the *general threatenings* of our Creed, as to judge them harmless in all situations and useful in many—that their tendency is, when terror does not discompose the judgment, to make men *prove* all things, "and *not to accept even the doctrines of the Creed itself implicitly*, lest, in accepting anything erroneous, they should eventually reject the truth."

As regards the atonement, Dr. Hey sums up his statement of the doctrine in one short proposition, namely (page 187), "God will make sincere Christians eternally happy, notwithstanding some imperfections of theirs, on account of the *merits*, the sufferings, and the death of Christ."

From page 188, taken in connection with the above, it is clear that he does not hold the suffering of our Lord as *vicarious*, in your sense of the word.

"A person may prevent the punishment of another, even by suffering, and yet that suffering not be vicarious. Suppose that a deserter's brother had, by getting maimed and receiving wounds, never perfectly curable, saved a citadel or the life of a commander, and was so solicit for a remission of the deserter's punishment, urging that he wanted no gold or silver for his

past services, but only that his brother should that once escape pain. If his petition was granted, he would relieve another, and in a good measure by his sufferings, but yet he could not be said to suffer vicarious evil or punishment; his brother's escape might be conceived as owing to his *merita*, or to be given to him as a reward.'

Page 184. "A term much in use in discussions about the Atonement is *satisfaction*. It seems sometimes to mislead. . . . The doctrine of satisfaction implies that God *must* execute justice, so we call inflicting punishment. . . . Justice is a good quality, therefore a perfect Deity has it for an attribute; therefore, the offender *must* be punished. No resource? Why, yes, a corporal punishment may be changed into a *fine*, or A may bear the fine which B has incurred. Why not even a personal punishment? Whichever is punished, the heinousness of the crime is published, and the terrors of justice displayed. In short, a man may be punished by *substitute*, and then justice will be satisfied; satisfaction will be made: there will be an 'attonement' to the divine wrath. Thus are some men's thoughts apt to be misled, and thus is the doctrine of *satisfaction* established. But I think some expressions in the train are taken as meaning more than they do mean." &c.

Page 186. "The notion of satisfaction, the notion of satisfying divine justice, conceived to be under the necessity of punishing vigorously the sins of mankind, brings in what appears to me a still more difficult doctrine,—I mean that of imputation of sin to Christ. . . . It is a something wholly inconceivable, and only spoken of in order to keep the *theory of satisfying divine justice* entire and compact; though, as far as I can judge, that theory which cannot be supported without terms out of which all meaning must be thrown, should answer some *useful purpose*." He adds in a note, "If all this is to support our popular notion of *satisfaction*, it might as well be set aside."

Page 187. "The Christian is always to consider God not as acting arbitrarily, but as the rewarder of virtue and the punisher of evil, in which character it pleases His infinite Wisdom and Goodness to give the inestimable privilege to Christians in a manner perfectly *gratuitous*, with some view to the sufferings, the conduct, the merits of His Son."

The letter having been read,

The Bishop of Cape Town said: Dr. Bleek, I see, is still present, and has been so during the whole of these proceedings. He has heard all the arguments that have been adduced in support of the charges brought against the Bishop of Natal on this occasion, and I would ask, once more, whether he desires to say anything on behalf of the Bishop.

Dr. Bleek: I do not, my Lord. But may I make one personal remark? I came here for a threefold purpose. First, for the purpose of protesting, and secondly,—in the event of your Lordships, notwithstanding that protest, assuming jurisdiction,—to read a letter, and thirdly, to give notice of appeal. I have no instructions to do anything further. But I see it has been stated by the Registrar that some of these papers have been inspected by me. The Registrar, it is true, showed me some papers, but I stated to him at the time that this must not be construed into my having allowed, in any way, on behalf of the Bishop of Natal, the admissibility of these papers. I could not do so, as I had no authority, and I must protest against its being supposed that I did.

The Bishop of Cape Town: If there are any papers from which extracts have been made, which, for your own satisfaction, or the satisfaction of the Bishop of Natal, you would like to see, they are at your service.

Dr. Bleek: I have no instructions, my Lord, to do anything but protest and read a letter.

The Bishop of University of Fort Hare: Dr. Bleek is instructed to read a certain letter on the part of the Bishop of Natal; and I consider Dr. Bleek bound to protest if that has not been done which the Bishop of Natal has requested to have done.

Dr. Bleek: I am bound only to read this letter.

The Bishop of Graham's Town: Nothing more?

Dr. Bleek: Nothing more. I cannot exceed my instructions.

The Very Rev. the Dean then rose and said: It is probably due to the Bishop of Natal, as that letter has been put in in some degree as his defence, that we should not pass it by without some distinct notice. At the same time, your Lordships will observe, that letter is carefully written, and is now put in after some years' consideration, as his precise defence. Therefore, inasmuch as it contains definite and precise expressions, explanatory of the Bishop's views, as contained in the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans chiefly, and as, I think, we ought to weigh carefully the explanation which he himself puts upon his own words as contained in the commentary, it is both respectful to him and fair to ourselves that we should ask for time to consider these expressions, and, perhaps, to reply to them. I would, therefore, request that we may have until to-morrow to consider that letter, and that in answer to it we may be allowed to make such remarks as we may think fit.

The Bishop of Cape Town: I can allow only one to speak in reply. You must take into consideration that the Bishop of Natal adds the preface to Part III of his work on the Pentateuch as a portion of his defence. The two documents he produces in his defence. Perhaps it will be convenient if we meet a little later to-morrow, and we will, therefore, adjourn until twelve.

Saturday, November 21.

The Court resumed at twelve o'clock.

The Very Rev. the Dean addressed the Court as follows: In rising to address your Lordships upon the letter of the Bishop of Natal, which was put in as his defence yesterday, I desire to express the regret which we all feel at the Bishop's absence. It has been our duty in bringing certain grave charges against him to use those strong expressions with regard to his opinions which the nature of the case appeared to justify; and of course it would have been a very great satisfaction to us if his Lordship could have been present to point out what he considered the weak features and characteristics of our arguments, and to say what he could in his own defence. Had he been present, I have no doubt he would have said a great deal; but at the same time I think we must regard this document which I have now printed before me as being in reality the substance of all that he could have said. It has evidently been written with care. The expressions are well weighed: it enters with great particularity into some of the very points of the question which we have raised; but I must say that, to my own mind, and, I believe, also to the minds of those who are associated with me, instead of in any degree weakening our case, or refuting or setting aside our arguments, it has, upon very many of the main and important points, confirmed and strengthened them. The Bishop's letter relates to seven points, which appear to have been raised in a letter from his Lordship the Bishop of Cape Town to him. Two or three of those points are in no degree touched upon in our articles of accusation, and upon them I need not at all enter. With regard to the first point upon which he has touched, I may say that in this portion of his letter we have in fact the seed of his later writings upon the Pentateuch. So that in dealing as we have dealt with that book we have dealt with that portion of the letter. There is but one passage to which I would wish to refer in that portion of the

letter, and that not because it has not been already touched upon, for it has been fully answered, but simply because I think we overlooked an important distinction which ought to be drawn. The Bishop here and elsewhere says he is "persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation, which is identical with that of the sixth Article; so that both together sufficiently express the mind of our Church. In this sense, of course, I do receive the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith." All I wish to point out in regard to that particular expression is, that the Bishop evidently seems to consider—as we infer from this letter, and also from his book upon the Pentateuch—that that expression is synonymous with his doctrine or opinion that the Bible is not the Word of God, but contains the Word of God. I think it will be quite sufficient simply to point out that to say that the Bible contains the Word of God is not the same thing as to say that the Bible "contains sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation." The two expressions are in no degree synonymous, and therefore, to claim support for his opinion upon the ground that the two expressions are synonymous, is so clearly unjustifiable that it only needs to be pointed out. Accordingly, without dwelling any further upon that point, except, perhaps, simply to say that it is quite evident from the expression "inspiration," &c., that he really does put forth a theory of inspiration both here and in his book upon the Pentateuch, I now proceed to the subject of the Atonement. I think I shall be able to show to your Lordships that the expressions contained in this letter do really, so far from invalidating any remarks that have been made upon that subject, only show that the view which we have taken is exactly the view that the Bishop intends that we should take. I am unwilling to dwell upon the critical and grammatical questions that grow out of this discussion; but inasmuch as the Bishop of Natal happens to refer to some points which were alluded to in course of the argument, and quotes texts which were then adduced as clearly going against him, I am warranted, perhaps, in calling attention to one passage of his own book from which I think a strong argument may be drawn against him on the subject of the use of the preposition *hyper*. In the 9th chapter we have a passage which he thus translates: "I do wish to be myself accursed," &c. Now the most important point of this passage is this: The preposition used here by St. Paul is this preposition *hyper*,

with the genitive. The Bishop refers to the thirty-second chapter of Exodus, which is always supposed to throw great light upon this passage. Moses, upon the occasion thus referred to, wished his name to be blotted out of the Book of Life, in order that his people might be saved; that he might draw upon himself the curse which they deserved, and they be saved. Now the parallel between that and our Lord's sacrifice and sufferings for the sins of the world is so obvious that I need not dwell upon it. But here we have the preposition *hyper* used by St. Paul in a passage in which, in all probability, comparing himself with Moses, he wishes that the curse might come upon him, in order that, by drawing upon himself that curse, it might be averted from his people. The meaning of that passage is quite obvious; but in order to show the force of the argument, I would call your attention to the comment of Maximus in the *Patena Patrum*. Maximus, who is at least an authority in a question which is connected with the true sense of the Scripture Greek, interprets this passage as meaning that St. Paul desired to draw upon himself the curse due to his people, in order to save his people, just as our Lord took upon Himself the curse which had fallen upon man, that He might save the world. Here then we have the comment of a Greek, who certainly knew the Greek language, and the use and force of Hellenistic Greek terms. And he says that this prayer of St. Paul's, that he might be himself accursed, is a representation and image, as it were, of our Lord's bearing Himself the curse, *hyper hemon*, for, or instead of us. The only other remark I would wish to make upon the grammatical side of the question is just this,—that it really seems to be almost impossible to deal with the Bishop of Natal's arguments when he takes up questions of language. He says the word used is *hyper*, and that *hyper* is not the same as *anti*, *anti* being the word for *instead*. Then a passage is brought forward against him in which *anti* is used in connection with the sacrificial death of Christ; and the word *lutron*, an expression derived from classic Greek, and from *lao*, which is used in classic Greek in connection with the expiation of sin. Then, he immediately says that though *anti* is used, there is nothing about enduring God's wrath in our stead. The fact is, that if language is to be dealt with in this way—if, as soon as you lay hold upon a passage which exactly meets the requirements which he himself puts forth, he refuses to recognize its force, and declines to

be bound by the conditions which he has himself made—if arguments are to be carried on in this way, it is impossible that anything can result from them. Without, therefore, dwelling any further upon this branch of the argument, I should wish to call your Lordships' particular attention to the Bishop of Natal's own explanation of his views upon the subject of the Atonement. He says: "I do deny that His was a *vicarious* sacrifice, in the sense in which I understand you to use the word, namely, that He endured in our stead the weight of God's wrath, He bore the penalty due to our sins." That is as much as to say, "I do deny that our Lord's sacrifice was a sacrifice in our stead;" and he adds, later in the same letter, "I repeat the assertion, there is not a single expression in the whole New Testament which distinctly implies that Christ suffered the weight of His Father's wrath in our stead." I call attention particularly to the words "in our stead." Objection may be taken to the word *vicarious*;" it may be said that this is not a technical word in theology, and that it does not occur in our formularies. But the expression "in our stead" is one respecting which there can be no mistake whatever. There, then, we have his negative opinion upon the subject. And going on a little further to the end of the second paragraph of this part of the letter, we have his positive opinion. It confirms most strongly the view which has been taken, and puts the whole case into a nut-shell. He says, "He bore our sins as He bore our sorrows; His whole life of obedience culminating in His death upon the cross. But there is not a word here about His bearing the weight of God's anger in our stead." I maintain that that view of the case thus put forth distinctly amounts to this: It is as much as to say, "Our Lord came to be a sympathizer with man, to share his lot, to be his true friend and brother, but I will not allow anything approaching to a notion of substitution, or anything which involves the expression 'in our stead,' to be brought into my idea of sacrifice." That sentence appears to me to be quite conclusive upon the subject. I did intend just to recapitulate some of the arguments which have been used, and to recal the attention of your Lordships to those very strong statements opposed to this view, which are found throughout the whole history of the Christian Church, distinctly appropriating this term "in our stead" to Christian theology, as the expression which truly represents the doctrine. But when I come to look at it, and when I see that the Bishop of Natal dis-

tinctly asserts in a passage intended to be explanatory of his views, that our Lord "bore our sins as He bore our sorrows; His whole life of obedience culminating in the death upon the cross. But there is not a word of His bearing the weight of God's anger in our stead,"—thus carefully excluding from his view anything implying substitution; I think that with these expressions before us, forming part of a carefully written comment upon a criticism of his book, further argument is needless. I would only say further that we must, on this question, take theologic words in their proper theologic sense. It is known to everybody who is at all acquainted with the Socinian controversy that the expression to which the Socinians specially and emphatically object is this expression "in our stead." It is known also that the Socinians object to any teaching which affirms that our Lord bore the weight of God's anger, and appeased the wrath of God. Here are certain expressions which are thoroughly understood. The Socinian view is as much bound up with the rejection of these expressions as the true, orthodox view is bound up with the acceptance of these expressions. Now, if the Bishop of Natal takes up the Socinian ground, and thus identifies himself with the Socinian objections, unless he will withdraw these objections, and allow the true view which the Church puts upon these terms—satisfaction, propitiation, sacrifice—to be his view, he must be regarded as identifying himself with the Socinian view, and must take the consequences. I would, therefore, finish my remarks upon this point by saying that the whole case may at once be settled in this simple way: Will the Bishop of Natal withdraw his objection to the expression "in our stead?" Will the Bishop adopt those expressions in the Homily on the Salvation of Mankind, pages 19 and 20, which were quoted by the Archdeacon of Graham's Town in his address to your lordships? Will the Bishop of Natal withdraw his objection to the phrase "in our stead," which is a Socinian objection? Will he accept the statements contained in the Homily? And will he further withdraw his objection to the expression in Article 11, which is really directed, in substance—I do not say in intention—against the Socinian view? I would here refer to the Racovian Catechism, which has already been quoted by one of my brethren in an early portion of the case. [Pearson, vol. ii, page 303.] You will see, my Lords, that in this passage we have the Socinian view upon the subject of reconciliation. We must, therefore, regard

the remarks of the Bishop of Natal in objecting to the opposite view to be virtually a backing of the Socinian opinion. Will he withdraw that objection, and say that he does not take the Socinian view? If he does, we shall feel that he holds the orthodox doctrine on the subject of the Atonement; and that having withdrawn these expressions, which are objectionable, he may be regarded as being himself orthodox upon that point. But as long as he adheres to that unorthodox objection, and refuses to use the orthodox term which embodies the doctrine of the Church, all his use of the words "propitiation," "satisfaction," "sacrifice," must be regarded as worthless, because he accepts those words in a sense which is exclusive of an essential part of the thought which the Church regards as contained within them. I have no further remark to make upon this subject except upon the Bishop's quotations from Professor Hey. We have had no opportunity of consulting the book in order to test the value of the quotations. Some of them, if correctly given, are liable to objection; and the Professor, as it seems to us, has used expressions which cannot be borne out—if these quotations fairly represent his view. But I must say from what we have seen of the apparent misquotations of the Bishop of Natal from the same author upon another subject, that these quotations from Dr. Hey cannot be at once accepted as a real exposition of Dr. Hey's views. I pass now to the subject of justification. I should just wish to point out that in the first clause of his letter the Bishop of Natal admits the reality of justice in so far as correction is concerned, but denies the reality of justice in so far as punishment is concerned. The real defect in his opinion is, that he has not a sufficiently clear estimation of the exceeding guiltiness of sin. That is, no doubt, the flaw which runs through his whole system of opinions upon the doctrine of redemption. This great mistake lies at the foundation of all his other errors. I point this out at the outset—although it has not any very important bearing upon what has now to be said. What I have chiefly now to show is this—that the views which we have taken respecting the opinions of the Bishop of Natal on justification are most strongly confirmed by this letter. If I had wished arguments to be put into my mouth I could not have been more indebted to any one than I am to the Bishop himself for the arguments supplied in his letter. There are three important words used in the passage—justification, faith, and salvation. First of all, we have what he does not hold about justifica-

tion. If your Lordships will look to the second clause of this part of the letter, you will see—first, what he does not believe, and, secondly, what he does believe. He says: “I do not hold that our justification depends upon our faith.” Observe the italics. Then what does he hold? “I do hold that all men are justified before God.” These are the very points which we have maintained throughout our argument upon the case. “I do hold that all men are justified before God, using the term in the sense in which St. Paul uses it throughout this epistle, not in that which modern theologians may, perhaps, assign to it.” See, then, what it is that he maintains. He says in effect, “I will not use the word ‘justification’ in the sense of theology; I will not use the word in the proper, ordinary sense of the term.” It is quite clear that this is the substantial import of his own comment. Now, my Lords, what does he say about faith? First of all, he holds that our justification does not depend upon our faith; therefore, he excludes faith from having anything to do with justification. But he says afterwards, “Being justified, we are to ‘work out our salvation,’ and, therefore, for this we must have faith.” We are not to have faith in justification, but we are to have faith for salvation. Further on, your Lordships will see his definition of faith. He says faith “is a ‘conscious assurance’ of something which in itself is true, whether we believe it or not, the realizing of things hoped for, the conviction of things unscen.” His definition, however, is not so important as the place which he assigns to faith. Faith, then, is something which follows upon what he calls justification. But now, I desire to call your Lordships’ attention to the meaning which he puts upon the term “salvation.” I maintain that salvation, in his view, is nearly or precisely that which we properly call sanctification. He says that “to work out our salvation” means, with St. Paul, to live faithfully as becomes the children of God, who are privileged to know that they are justified and brought nearer their Father’s footstool, and being prepared here on earth for His glory. It is to be labouring daily with the grace already given to cast off the works of darkness, and put on more and more of the armour of light, and so not incur the displeasure of our Lord, as slothful or unfaithful servants, and require His angry chastisement.” I maintain that this is precisely sanctification. We have now, then, to determine the meaning of these three words in their exact relations. What is the relation of faith to justification upon the one hand, and to sanctification upon the other? Faith comes

in between the two, following from justification, and leading on to sanctification. That is precisely the point which we have maintained throughout. The Bishop puts faith after justification, and excludes it from going before justification. Let me point out what justification is in this view. First of all, it is something out of us. "I hold that we are justified in *God's sight*." Again, we must mark the italics. He does not say we are justified by faith in us, but that God regards us as justified; God looking at us, from without us, in His sight we are justified. Then how would he preach it? He says: "But have we no motive to preach such a Gospel as St. Paul's, according to my views of it, to the heathen? To tell them that God loves them, that He, after whom they have been groping in the darkness, has been caring for them all along, and now calls them near to Himself, that they may know Him more fully and the rich treasure of His love? Why, this is the very life and soul of missionary work. It has been my joy for seven years past thus to publish the Gospel of the grace of God." That is just exactly preaching the doctrine of universal redemption. Then he speaks afterwards, still with the same view before him, and he says that all are safe, that is, as we should say, are in a state of safety, not saved, for salvation follows in those who have faith; but safe, heathen and Christians being in precisely the same condition. Putting all these things together, it is quite clear that justification in his scheme is what we properly call redemption; and therefore "universal redemption" becomes in his hands universal justification. So that here, from his Lordship's own explanation, we get the most clear and convincing arguments for the view which we have maintained throughout the case,—the view, I mean, that he confounds justification with redemption, and then preaches universal justification. I contend, then, that the Bishop distinctly asserts that every man is not only redeemed through Christ, but that every man has applied to him the work of Christ—that every man is justified; and that, of course, not by faith or through a knowledge of the name of Christ. Accordingly, Article XI, which says that men are justified by faith, is swept out of existence; and Article XVIII, which declares that "there is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved," is to him as though it had never been. I look upon this point as clearly proved. I now come to the Bishop's explanation of his views upon the sacraments. He begins by declaring that he does not agree with what he calls the "sacramental

system." The course of my own argument before went to show that it was quite unnecessary to bring in anything like what are called "high" views on the subject of the sacraments, in order to show that his Lordship was in error. I maintain, therefore, that any defence which he puts in as founded upon such supposed high views of the sacraments is entirely valueless. In his opinion the sacraments are bare signs. I therefore simply repeat what we have stated already, that it is impossible to reconcile his view with the Articles, or with the Nicene Creed, or with the baptismal offices, or with the Catechism, especially if you take these several formularies in connection with the words of Jewell, Ridley, Noell, Hooker, Pearson, and others, as quoted chiefly by my brethren in the earlier stage of the case. But there is one expression to which I desire particularly to call your Lordships' attention. The Bishop says most distinctly that we have the death to sin, "without our own cooperation." Now, if words could have been made to supply any link which might possibly be wanting in our argument, the link is supplied by these words. If this does not mean that faith, repentance, or anything that man can do in applying to himself the sacrificial work of Christ is wholly unnecessary, I do not know what language means. Then there is another expression to which I desire to call your Lordships' special attention, because it is a confirmation of the view which has been taken throughout upon this subject. The Bishop speaks of our Lord as "the great head of our race." Now I should wish distinctly to deny that our Lord is to be called the great head of our race. Our Lord is called in Scripture the head of His Church; but the Bishop of Natal, preaching universalism, and wishing to make the whole human race co-extensive with the Church of God, calls Him the great head of our race. Our Lord is the great head of our race, regarded in relation to grace, but not of our race regarded in its relation to nature; and it is in this latter sense that the Bishop uses the expression. He does not take the Scripture phraseology, which would have been dead against him, because it would have brought in the idea of a Church, and of a covenant, and of election, which last doctrine, as I have shown before, is an essential part of Christianity. But he calls our Lord the Great Head of our race. When I before addressed your lordships, I had occasion to show that he substitutes a state of nature for a state of grace. Could I have a stronger confirmation of my argument than the very expression which he

uses, and which, of all others, would clench the force of it, an expression which can be properly applied to no one else upon the earth, but Adam, the great head of all the human race? Then, my Lords, I would just say, further, that there runs through his view of the sacraments the same confusion between the subjective and the objective, which we find in his views upon the subject of justification,—between the objective redemption and the subjective redemption. He confuses continually between the objective gift and the subjective reception of the gift. Summarising what has been already said on the subject, I would say that the faithful use of the sacraments and the effect of the sacraments are inseparable; that in the view of the English Church, the sacraments consist in the conjunction of the outward sign with the inward grace. The Bishop agrees with Socinus in making the outward sign a mere seal and certificate, but goes beyond Socinus in representing the inward and spiritual grace as being partaken of by every man *quâ* man; utterly destroying the very idea of a Christian Church. He distinctly says, they do partake of His body and blood, My only comment upon what he says with regard to Waterland would be simply this: Waterland's opinion is that "All who have life have it from Christ." The Bishop treats Waterland's opinion as if it were "All have life from Christ." He puts a false interpretation upon Waterland's opinion. It is of no use to his argument if he does not. Having stated thus the view which is really maintained by Waterland, I believe that further argument is needless upon this point. I come now, my Lords, lastly, to the Bishop's explanation of his opinions on the subject of everlasting punishment. The Bishop says he has maintained no points at all upon that subject. But it is not substantially true, as it seems to us, that the Bishop of Natal maintains no points at all on the subject of eternal punishment. He certainly does not enter into some details into which it was impossible from the nature of the case that he should enter. But instead of contenting himself with saying that he "entertains hidden hope," we contend that there is no part of his commentary where he enters more elaborately into his subject, or where the teaching is really more distinct, or, if false, more likely to be dangerous. The substance of this part of his defence lies in the distinction, if we understand him aright, between "everlasting fire" on the one hand, and on the other the liability of the wicked to "remain there for ever and ever." He intimates that he accepts the Athanasian Creed as binding us to believe the first, but not the second. This,

however, is but the language of the Origenists, as we have seen in that comment of Waterland which I before quoted. And we consider that we have already answered the Bishop of Natal on this point—that if “everlasting” and “eternal,” as applied to *life*, are to be understood to mean “endless,” all attempts to prove them not to mean endless when applied to the punishment of the second death are utterly futile and vain. Endlessness, we contend, is involved in the meaning of eternal and everlasting as applied to *life*. And unless it could be affirmed, as of course it is impossible to affirm, that they who shall enter into life eternal are to be understood as entering in only to be turned out again, or to be constantly liable to be turned out, we cannot see how it can be allowed that they who in the Athanasian Creed are threatened with everlasting fire can be said to be threatened with it otherwise than as an endless and irreversible doom. As to the argument that Article VIII applies not to the Athanasian Creed, but to the greater part of it only, we simply deny that there is any ground for this assertion. We are aware that a distinction between the damnatory clauses and the rest of the Creed has been attempted to be set up by others than the Bishop of Natal; just because those clauses are not liked. But it is evident that those so-called damnatory clauses are merely the echo of our Lord’s words: “He that believeth not shall be damned;” and we argue that so to dislocate the Creed is in effect to reject it. With regard to the Preface to the third part of the book upon the Pentateuch, which the Bishop has also put in as his defence, I have but a few words to say. The important part of that preface is the letter of Mr. Houghton, and the passages referred to in that letter are many of them answered by the distinction which was drawn between the abstract humanity and the concrete man. The remainder fall to the ground at once, when it is remembered that the charge which the Bishop brings against our Lord is not a charge of ignorance, but of error. And now, my Lords, having completed all that I have to say in reference to the Bishop’s letter, I would end by the expression of a hope that he may yet be led to acknowledge that his theory of Holy Scripture must be mistaken, and to withdraw the statements which he has made. When I remember the manner in which he treated the bench of English Bishops, I cannot but fear that he will not be disposed to respect your Lordships’ judgment, should it be pronounced against him, as we think that it should upon some or all of the points on which



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

we charge him with erroneous teaching. But, at the same time, when he sees the alternative which is before him, that he must either charge his God with error or allow that his theory of the Bible is mistaken; when he sees, in fact, that his criticism is built upon this charge, and must stand or fall with it, I cannot but hope that his theory may be reconsidered, and that he may allow that there must be a mistake somewhere, although he cannot at once perceive where the fault lies. I trust that this *reductio*, I will not say *ad absurdum*, but *ad profanum*, may lead him to discover his error. And I would only add, in hope of this issue, that to err is human, but to confess error is to do what grace alone can teach us, and is, if I may so say, divine.

The Archdeacon of George then said: I do not wish to add one word in the way of reply, but I should be glad to be allowed to say, what your Lordships may accept as rather on the side of the Bishop. You will find in a volume of sermons recently published by Dean Alford a very strong argument upon the headship of Christ. It is in a sermon, I think, upon the text "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." Dean Alford maintains the headship of Christ for the whole human race very strongly; but he afterwards explains this to mean that every man has a true and real title to all the benefits of Christ's death and passion conditionally on his conscious and believing acceptance of the gospel. This, I believe, will be found to be the substance of all that Dean Alford says, and if so there is no disagreement between the Dean of Cape Town and the Dean of Canterbury. I do not think Dean Alford goes further than Dr. Barrow in the main point under discussion, but there are expressions in that sermon to which I would not pledge myself to agree. I contend, however, that there is nothing in that sermon that really conflicts with one word that has fallen from the Dean of Cape Town.

The Bishop of Cape Town: Am I to consider the whole case as being now closed?

The Dean: Yes, my Lord; but, if there is any point upon which your Lordships would like to question us we shall be very happy to answer.

After a short pause, the Bishop of Cape Town said: I, perhaps, need scarcely observe that it would be impossible to give an immediate judgment upon so grave a cause as that submitted for our decision, involving as it does so wide a range of theological subjects. I must, therefore, together with my assessors, take time, it may be considerable time,

to consider the charges which have been alleged against the Bishop of Natal and the arguments by which those charges have been sustained, and also to consider the documents which the Bishop of Natal has put in, in refutation of those charges. Judgment must, therefore, be deferred. All I have now to say is, that whenever we shall be prepared to give the judgment at which we shall arrive, due notice will be given both to the clergy who have presented the Bishop and the representative of the Bishop.

The Court then adjourned.

December 14, 1863.

The Court sat at eleven o'clock to hear the opinions of the assessors.

The Metropolitan: I do not see Dr. Bleek here; I wish to hear whether due notice has been given to him.

The Registrar replied that a written notice that the opinions of the assessors would be delivered this day, and the judgment of the Metropolitan on Wednesday, the 16th instant, was left at Dr. Bleek's residence on the 12th inst., of which the following is a copy:

"Cape Town, 12th December, 1863.

"To Dr. W. H. J. BLEEK, New-street, Cape Town.

"SIR,—I beg to inform you, as agent for the Bishop of Natal, that the Bishops of Graham's Town and the Free State will, as assessors to the Metropolitan, deliver their opinions on the charges preferred against the Bishop of Natal on Monday next, the 14th instant, at 11 o'clock a.m. in St. George's Cathedral, and that the Metropolitan will deliver judgment and pronounce sentence on the said charges on Wednesday next, the 16th instant, at 11 a.m., in St. George's Cathedral.

"I remain, &c.,

"DAVID TENNANT, Registrar of the Diocese."

The Bishop of Graham's Town said: In delivering my opinion, as assessor to the Metropolitan in this very important and painful case, I think it right,—considering the gravity of the questions involved, and being bound, as a Bishop of this Province and a colleague

of the accused Bishop, to bear my full share in the responsibility of this judgment,—to state in detail the grounds on which my own conclusions, on the questions submitted to me, have been formed.

I am called upon to examine and declare, whether the charges of false teaching, brought against the Bishop of Natal, are established by a comparison of certain extracts from his Commentary on the Romans, and from Parts I and II of his work on the Pentateuch, with certain Articles and other portions of the Formularies of the Church of England, also quoted or specified. In reply to these charges, the Bishop has referred to his whole teaching in the books from which these passages are selected, to the Preface to Part III of his work on the Pentateuch, and to a letter written by him to the Metropolitan in 1861, as his explanation and vindication of the passages by which the charges are sustained. I therefore consider it my duty to use these other publications and writings of the Bishop for the purpose of ascertaining his meaning in the extracts cited under the several schedules, and of qualifying or justifying—*if they are found to qualify or justify—expressions in those extracts* which otherwise might be misunderstood. I may sometimes fail in apprehending his meaning; and, therefore, I shall, as much as possible, leave the Bishop to explain himself in quotations from his own writings. If, however, I sometimes attribute a meaning to his words which he himself, if he were present, would disallow, it must not be overlooked that, in theological questions, words are exponents of truths of infinite value to man; and if words are employed improperly, they may be none the less dangerous because the writer himself attaches a sense to these words different from that which they convey to other minds.

In applying to the doctrines under examination the test of those Formularies of our Church which are specified under each schedule, I shall assume that the Creeds and Articles, which have been professedly set forth by the Church as standards of doctrine, are to be interpreted in no strange and new sense, but strictly in the usual and literal sense of the words—that is, according to the meaning in which the terms that are used have been understood in theology, and which may be shown, in case of ambiguity, either by documentary evidence or from the history of the theological controversy, to have been their ordinary and accepted meaning. That an interpretation of this nature alone is admissible I infer, not merely from the Royal Declaration

prefixed to the thirty-nine Articles, but from the nature of the case; since the Articles could not be a standard of doctrine, or fulfil the purpose assigned to them, of "avoiding of diversities of opinions and establishing of consent touching true religion," if the meaning of the terms used were not fixed and definite. This principle must apply with equal, or even greater force, to the Creeds of the Church. A catechism, also, which is intended to explain revealed truth, must be interpreted on the same principle.

To aid in the interpretation of the more exact and scientific definitions of doctrine, I assume that our safest and most certain guide is the language of other Formularies of our Church. Among these I include the Homilies, which, although not set forth as tests of doctrine by the Church, yet being official expositions of those doctrines which the Creeds and Articles define, must be regarded as determining with authority the meaning of the language of those standards. Other documents also, which are of the same period as the Articles, and which have received a quasi-official sanction from the Church,—namely, Jewell's Apology, called in the 36th Canon the Apology of the Church of England, and Nowell's Catechism, to which the 79th Canon appears to refer as "by public authority set forth,"—are at least unexceptionable testimonies to the accepted sense of theological language.

In the arguments, by which these charges against the Bishop of Natal have been sustained, much learning and ability have been employed in elucidating and establishing the doctrines which he is charged with impugning; and the aid thus contributed towards a clear apprehension of the questions has been of the utmost value. The Bishop also, in maintaining and defending his own view; has referred occasionally to some writers of high reputation as theologians. In reference, however, to all arguments of this nature, it is sufficient for me to observe that any use of the writings of theologians, except to ascertain the true nature of the questions at issue, is open to much exception. The maintenance of an opinion, even by many theologians, cannot of itself prove that it forms part of the faith of the Church. The prevalence of an opinion among theologians of high authority may afford a strong presumption,—almost amounting to certainty—that such an opinion does not contradict the faith; but in this case, it would have to be considered whether these opinions were expressed previously to the exact definition of the doctrine which they may seem to impugn; whether they were not accidental

and exceptional variations; and whether they must not have been condemned as departures from sound doctrine, if the test of the authoritative standards of the Church had been applied to them.

It may, perhaps, be unnecessary to observe, but, to avoid all misconception, I do here observe, that, in this judicial investigation, the Holy Scriptures are not applied as a test of the soundness or unsoundness of a doctrine,—not only because the charges do not specify passages from Holy Scripture as impugned by the Bishop's writings, nor merely because the authority of the Scripture itself is one of the questions at issue; but because the interpretation of Holy Scripture cannot be of the same kind as that of doctrinal standards.

The latter declare precisely, by terms of definite meaning, conclusions deduced from Scripture itself. On the other hand, the meaning of the language, which the sacred writers use in revealing doctrine, must be ascertained from many considerations, which cannot enter into an examination such as the present. The object of this examination is simply to determine, whether the Council, of which the Bishop of Natal is an authorized minister, condemns or allows the doctrines which he has set forth and published.

Of the charges brought against the Bishop, those which are included in the first four schedules refer to extracts from his Commentary on the Romans, and they are intimately connected one with another. Some of the doctrines, on which these charges touch, are such as manifestly transcend the sphere of the human understanding, relating, as they do, to the being, mind, and actings of Almighty God, which cannot be represented to finite minds as they are in their own essence. I may remark, however, here—without entering into questions as to the authority of Holy Scripture, which will have to be considered subsequently—that, by the very act of defining doctrines on the profound and mysterious subjects to which I have alluded, the Church assumes, that in Holy Scripture truths are revealed to man on these subjects, which truths, although expressed to us in human language, and by terms which, in their application to an infinite and eternal Being, often present considerable metaphysical difficulties, are yet to be received and believed in the mode and form in which they are revealed, as being the divinely ordained method for conveying to the human mind those mysteries of the Divine Nature to which these doctrines correspond.

I would also notice, as bearing on these four charges, and as indicating the point of divergence of the opinions on each side, that the Bishop is accused of excluding from his teaching the notion of the divine justice; whilst, on the other hand, he replies to this charge—in his letter to the Metropolitan—that justice is the necessary consequence of God being perfect love, and that his “book in a hundred places speaks as strongly of God’s loving correction of the wilful and disobedient as of His loving delight in the faithful and the true.” At the same time he adds: “Certainly, I do not hold the dogma that God cannot forgive sin, even in an infant, without taking vengeance for it, without inflicting on some one pains and bitter anguish as a penalty.” As far as I can ascertain the Bishop’s view from this passage, and from other portions of his writings, he appears to mean that God’s justice does not require Him to punish sin, in the sense of inflicting a penalty as the result of a law which must be observed, but it does require Him to punish as a father corrects his child, with a view to recover that child, if possible, from its disobedience. I need hardly observe that the distinction thus drawn touches on some very important principles of the divine government.

I.

I now proceed to examine the charge which is preferred in the first schedule, and which is founded on the extracts there quoted.

It is asserted that in them the Bishop maintains, that our Blessed Lord did not die in man’s stead, or bear the punishment or penalty of our sins, and that God is not reconciled to us by the death of His Son.

It cannot be doubted that the Bishop does maintain the first of these propositions. He says expressly: “There is not a single passage in the whole of the New Testament which supports the dogma of modern theology, that our Lord died for our sins, in the sense of dying instead of us, dying in our place, or dying so as to bear the punishment or penalty of our sins.” No words can be plainer or more forcible than these. It is unnecessary for me to enter into the critical discussion as to the force of the Greek preposition on which these remarks are founded. Indeed, in the passage immediately following that which is cited (p. 93), the Bishop admits, as it seems to me, almost as

much as is contended for on the other side. He says: "The use of the former preposition (hyper) does not exclude the idea of the latter (anti), but does not necessarily include it." "If, therefore, in any other parts of Scripture, it were laid down distinctly that our Lord died in our stead, the 'for' in such expressions as that now before us would have to be interpreted accordingly. But the fact is that there is no such statement in the whole of Scripture."

It is of more importance to examine what is the doctrine spoken of by the Bishop as a "modern dogma," which he so emphatically denies. From some passages in his Commentary, it might be supposed that he only rejects the notion that our Saviour paid our debt (page 111) "in the way in which we unredeemed should have to pay it." Or in other words (page 94), "If it be spiritual death which is meant as the doom of our sins, we know that he did not die spiritually at all; and, therefore, did not die in our stead. If it be physical death which is meant, He did die that death for our sakes, but not in our stead, for we must all die that death still."

But the argument here is, as I understand it, that there could have been no substitution at all, for if there had been, the punishment would have been of the same kind, our Lord must have paid our debt in the same way. He does not appear to be arguing merely against the notion of an exact equivalent having been paid for the debt of sin, but against the idea that our Saviour's sufferings and death were, in any sense, in our stead, or the penalty for our sins. He says, for instance (page 111), that to Christ "death was, what it is to us now, the necessary painful passage out of this life to another, without any shadow of the curse to darken it." And again (page 87), "No inference can be drawn that our Blessed Lord was delivered for our sins, in the sense of bearing the burden of them, suffering the punishment due to them." In consistency with this view, whilst he uses frequently the expression of Christ paying a debt for us, he is careful to explain that this is merely a figurative expression. He says (page 110), "Of course it is but a figure of speech to say that sin has by nature a claim upon us, that we by nature owe death, as a debt, to sin. Dropping the metaphor, the real truth thus meant to be expressed is, that our death is a consequence of the sinful taint which we inherit in our nature, that we must die because of our sin. But our Lord was under no such necessity of dying unless he willed

to become wholly one with us, with us in our fallen, sorrowful state, with us in all things, except our sin. If He came thus to be made like unto His brethren, it was needful that He should die." I understand the Bishop therefore to mean that the necessity for our Lord's death arose out of the necessity, which He had voluntarily imposed on Himself, of being like us in all things, except sin; and not from any necessity of making a compensation, or satisfaction, for our sins. And thus he says expressly (page 98), "It is very unfortunate that the true meaning of the word 'atonement,' which occurs in the English version, namely, at-one-ment, or reconciliation, should be so commonly lost sight of, and the notion introduced of something paid down to atone (as it is said) or compensate to God, or at least, to reconcile God to us for our sins."

One passage, however, in the letter to which the Bishop refers for explanation seems to place his meaning beyond question (Section III). I repeat the assertion, there is not a single expression in the whole New Testament which distinctly implies that Christ suffered the weight of His Father's wrath in our stead." "He 'bore our sins,' not the penalty due to our sins. And in the same chapter of Isaiah to which St. Peter refers, we read, 'He bore our sorrows and carried our sicknesses,' which words St. Mathew quotes (viii, 17), just after our Lord had healed many sick persons, to express (as I understand it) His sympathizing and sharing in all the sorrows and woes of fallen humanity. In the same sense, I understand the words, 'He bore our sins.' For our sakes He took the likeness of sinful flesh, He was made sin, He suffered and died as a sinner. He bore our sins as He bore our sorrows, His whole life of obedience culminating in the death upon the cross. But there is not a word here of His bearing the weight of God's anger in our stead."

Although, therefore, there are several passages in the Commentary which I gladly recognize as admitting some intrinsic virtue in the death of our Lord Jesus Christ, beyond its effect on the minds of men, as a manifestation of divine love, yet none of these seems to me at all to modify or qualify the assertion that Christ did not "die in man's stead, or bear the punishment or penalty of his sin."

The second portion of the charge refers to the effect of our Lord's death, as the preceding has referred to its character and purpose. But they are so intimately connected that the one passes into the other. The charge is,

that the writer maintains that God is not reconciled to us by the death of His Son."

This is the obvious and necessary conclusion from the passages cited. The Bishop says (p. 95), "It is not He who needs to be reconciled to us, for He loves us all along. It is we, poor, sin-stricken creatures, who need to be reconciled, brought back to Him. And in order to this, as the first step to this, we need to be assured of His love." And again (p. 97), "The Apostle does not say that God is reconciled to us by the death of His Son, but that we are reconciled to God. The difference in the meaning of these two expressions is infinite." The importance of these last words, as proving that the Bishop could not mean what the Church teaches, was urged, with much reason, in the course of the proceedings. But the language of the Bishop in his letter (Sect. III) affords some explanation of his meaning. He says: "As to the former portion of Article II, I am sorry that the expression is there used, 'to reconcile the Father to us,' because it is not scriptural, and it is liable to be misinterpreted. But these words of our Church cannot be meant to contradict the Apostle's own words, when he says that 'all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ; that 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world into Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' There is of course, a sense in which a father displeased requires to be reconciled to his child, though tenderly loving him all the while that he corrects him and manifests his anger towards him. I have taught, that our Lord came, at His Father's own command, to reconcile His Father and our Father in this sense to us; and I have used the expression on page 89, 'our reconciled, or rather reconciling, Father and Friend.'"

From this passage it appears that there is a sense in which the Bishop holds that God is reconciled to us, although he affirms that the expression in the articles of the Church is "not scriptural." Before examining in what sense the Bishop denies that which the II Article asserts,—that God is reconciled to us, by the death of His Son, I must observe that it cannot be admitted, on any sound principles of interpretation, that so great a difference exists,—if indeed any exists at all,—between the two expressions to which the Bishop refers. Besides those passages of Holy Scripture (1 Samuel xxix, 4, and Matthew v. 24) which are quoted by theologians in reference to this question, our Church in her formularies frequently uses the word "reconcile" in the sense of restoring into favour one who has offended, by some compensation being made for

the wrong done. It is thus used in the Exhortation before the Communion: "If ye shall perceive your offences to be such as are not only against God, but also against your neighbours, ye shall reconcile yourselves to them; being ready to make restitution and satisfaction, according to the uttermost of your power, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other."

In the Homilies it often occurs in this sense, and seldom, if ever, in any other.

But it is evident that the Bishop attaches to the word its popular sense, when he speaks of the two expressions as infinitely different in meaning. I understand him to maintain that, by the expression in Holy Scripture, that we are reconciled to God by the death of His Son, is only meant, that by that death the cloud of guilty fear is banished from our minds, and not also that we are restored into the favour of God through restitution being made for our offences. I must infer this, notwithstanding the explanation given in his letter, from the whole tenor of his argument in the Commentary, and in particular from the passage (in p. 98) quoted by me already, in which he objects to the notion being introduced of "something paid down to atone, as it is said, or compensate to God, or (at least) to reconcile God to us for our sins."

On the whole, after comparing the several passages quoted in the first schedule with others in the Commentary, and with the explanation given in the letter to the Metropolitan, I can draw no other conclusion than this;—that the doctrines against which the Bishop's arguments were intended are such as are expressed in the following passages from the Homilies:

"Because death, according to St. Paul, is the just stipend and reward of sin; therefore, to appease the wrath of God and to satisfy His justice, it was expedient that our Mediator should be such an one as might take upon him the sins of mankind, and sustain the due punishment thereof, namely, death."—(The Sermon on the Nativity.)

"And yet, I say, did Christ put Himself between God's deserved wrath and our sin, and rent that obligation wherein we were in danger to God, and paid our debt. Our debt was a great deal too great for us to have paid. And without payment, God the Father could never be at one with us. Neither was it possible to be loosed from this debt by our own ability. It pleased Him, therefore, to be the payer thereof, and to discharge us quite."—(Homily for Good Friday.)

"For Himself He was not punished, for he was pure and

undefiled of all manner of sin. He was wounded, saith Esay, for our wickedness, and striped for our sins; He suffered the penalty of them Himself to deliver us from danger."—(Homily for Good Friday.)

"All the world being wrapped in sin by breaking of the law, God sent His only Son, our Saviour Christ, into this world, to fulfil the law for us, and by shedding of His most precious blood to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends to His Father for our sins, to assuage His wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same."—(Homily of the Salvation of all Mankind, first part.)

"When all hope of righteousness was past on our part, when we had nothing in ourselves, whereby we might quench His burning wrath, and work the salvation of our own souls, and rise out of the miserable estate wherein we lay; then, even then, did Christ the Son of God, by the appointment of His Father, come down from heaven to be wounded for our sakes, to be reputed with the wicked, to be condemned unto death, to take upon Him the reward of our sins, and to give His body to be broken on the cross for our offences."—(2nd Homily on the Death of Christ.)

"God was in Christ when He reconciled the world unto Himself. . . . For upon Him He put our sins, upon Him He made our ransom; Him He made the mean betwixt us and Himself, whose mediation was so acceptable to God the Father, through His absolute and perfect obedience, that he took His act for a full satisfaction of all our disobedience and rebellion, whose righteousness he took to weigh against our sins, whose redemption He would have to stand against our damnation."—(Homily for Rogation Week, third part.)

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the doctrine as to the nature and efficacy of Christ's death which is expounded in these passages, and in others which occur in the Homilies, under the expressions of Christ suffering the penalty, and taking on him the reward of our sins,—making satisfaction, or amends, to the justice of God,—and appeasing the wrath of God,—are those against which the arguments of the Bishop are directed, as a dogma of modern theology. As, however, these passages from the Homilies are not cited, I only use them as aiding me to interpret those standards of the Church which are specified, and not as of themselves sufficient evidence of the doctrine of the Church. This I proceed to ascertain from those standards.

The Bishop is able, though, as he admits, with some difficulty, to use the words of Article II in a sense consistent with his teaching. But the question is, whether that sense is not a new sense, instead of being the usual and literal meaning of the words. It cannot be denied that this is the case. Whether the words "reconcile the Father to us" be equivalent to appeasing the wrath of God, or to making restitution for our sins, it is evident that both these are denied in the Commentary. I am quite unable to conceive any sense in which the expression in the Article can be fairly understood which is not contrary to the Bishop's teaching. And when I consider how this expression is expounded in the Homilies, I cannot escape the conclusion that the arguments of the writer are directed against the very doctrine which the Church asserts.

The other words in the Article—"to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men,"—also appear to me, especially in the connection in which they stand with the work of reconciliation, incapable of any construction consistent with the Bishop's views.

For Christ's death is here declared to be a sacrifice *for sins*, and not merely an offering of Himself, acceptable to God, such as the Bishop describes in page 161 of his Commentary. Such a sacrifice of Himself, as was shown in the arguments on this head, answers to the burnt-offerings under the law; whilst the sacrifices for sin represented ideas of a different nature, including the transference of sin to the sacrifice, which suffered in the stead of those who offered it. In the Article there seems to me to be an allusion to these sacrifices under the Mosaic law; and as it explains the nature and efficacy of the death of Christ by terms, the meaning of which may be determined from their history, I must understand them to mean, that the death of our Blessed Lord was of the same kind as those sacrifices for sin.

The expressions in Article xxxi are of the same character: "The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world." It is unnecessary to enter into the question as to the origin of the word "satisfaction" as a theological term, which was discussed with much learning. It is sufficient to say that whether the doctrine of "satisfaction," as an effect of Christ's death, was first explicitly propounded by Anselm, or may be traced to a much earlier period, our Church in this Article has accepted the term as one suited to convey to the mind those divine

truths which may be deduced from Holy Scripture on this mysterious subject; and we have seen, from the language of the Homilies, that "satisfaction" is there interpreted as a "compensation," or "whole amends," made to satisfy the justice of God, and appease His wrath against our sins. To this the teaching of the Bishop is expressly opposed.

I must conclude, therefore, that the difference between the author of the Commentary and the standards of the Church is not a difference in words only. It touches the nature and the effects of the Redeemer's work and the very foundations of the Church's faith. The Bishop's doctrine affects an Article of the Creed, "The forgiveness of sins." The doctrine of the Church respecting this, as declared in the Articles and expounded in the Homilies, he rejects.

I consider the first charge as proved.



From the passages quoted under the second schedule, I gather that the following doctrines are taught by the Bishop.

That all men, without exception, as members of the great human family, of which Jesus Christ is the head, are in Him justified before God and made righteous, and this not only without faith, but without any knowledge of Christ.

That all die unto sin and rise again unto righteousness in their very birth-hour, by virtue of a mysterious union with Christ.

That by being justified before God is meant being "counted as righteous creatures," being "treated as righteous," "embraced in God's favour, and dealt with as children."

That though justified, they may have little or no enjoyment of their father's love, unless there is a revelation to them of this gift of righteousness; and that this bringing home consciously to men of the gift of righteousness, this justifying in a man's own conscience, is what St. Paul sometimes means when he says that we are justified by faith.

That this inward justification of which St. Paul thus speaks, is conveyed not only through a knowledge of the Gospel, and by living faith in Christ, but whenever any Jew, Christian, or heathen, "feels any measure of the peace of God's children in the faithful discharge of any duty, or in forsaking any path of evil."

In the Bishop's letter to the Metropolitan he appears

to me to admit that his teaching is such as is here represented. "I do hold," he says, "that all men are justified before God." But he distinguishes between "justification" and "salvation," to the latter of which, not to the former, he considers faith to be necessary. He also points out that he regards justification as consisting in being justified in one's own conscience, only in a particular use of the word in the Epistle to the Romans.

The point respecting which I feel the most difficulty, in examining the Bishop's teaching, is to determine what, in his view, is the force of the word "justified." Notwithstanding the equivalents to the word used by himself and quoted above, I am still at a loss to understand what he means. He distinguishes the word very emphatically from salvation. By the latter, he means, in his own words, "being saved from that Divine displeasure which is declared against all wilful unfaithfulness, and which will be manifested upon us Christians, above all others, if we do not live according to the light vouchsafed unto us" (Letter to the Metropolitan). Again he asks: "Is the Gospel, then, only a means for 'saving men of souls from endless misery? And because they, who are faithful with their fraction of a talent without it, may be as safe as—that is, not more or less safe than—Christians with their ten thousand talents, is there no work to be done among the heathen?' &c.

But whatever may be the Bishop's meaning, when he speaks of all men being counted and dealt with as righteous, it cannot be supposed that he is only asserting strongly that God's gift of righteousness is sufficient for all men, and provided for all, and, in the Gospel, offered to all during a day of grace: that is, that he is only affirming, in strong terms, the doctrine of universal redemption. His language means, if it means anything, that the gift is actually imparted and received for the purposes for which it is provided. Thus he says (p. 63), "Whatever may be the Apostle's exact meaning here, he does distinctly, in chapter v, include the whole of mankind as recipients of God's grace in the Gospel;" and (p. 64), "The whole human race are partakers of the gift of righteousness as they are of the rain from Heaven and fruitful seasons."

I now turn to the charge against the Bishop which is founded on the extracts cited in the schedule. It asserts that he maintains therein "that justification is a consciousness of being counted righteous, and that all men, even without such consciousness, are treated by God as righteous, and counted righteous, and that all men, as members of the

great human family, are dead unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness."

This must be accepted as, on the whole, a true statement of the Bishop's teaching, although in the first clause the language is somewhat ambiguous. His teaching, as he has himself explained it in his letter, is, that sometimes justification means a consciousness of being counted righteous, that is, as I understand him, wherever it is spoken of subjectively. Before God, all men are in his opinion justified alike; but when St. Paul speaks of justification as obtained through the exercise of our faith, he means a justification in the conscience, a consciousness of our righteousness before God, which is ours without that faith. With this distinction between the two senses of the word "justified," I must admit the statement in the charge as correct.

It is, however, to the charge as a whole that attention must be directed. It is, that such is the Bishop's teaching as to justification in its subjective sense, he teaches further, that even without this inward consciousness, they are counted righteous; all are justified in God's sight; and this doctrine (it is affirmed in the charge) denies that men are justified by faith, and is contrary to the doctrine of the Church.

I must observe here, as was well stated in the course of the arguments on this head, that the question of the salvability of the heathen, and of others who are incapable of faith, cannot be legitimately introduced into this inquiry. How a just and merciful God shall deal with those whom revelation does not reach, is a question wholly distinct from that now under consideration, viz., whether all men, without faith, are justified.

That portion of our Church Standards cited under this schedule which is of most importance for testing the teaching of the Bishop is Article XI, "Of the Justification of Man," which is as follows: "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings; wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification."

With this Article the Bishop so far agrees that he also teaches (except so far as his views of the atonement might modify this) that we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and not for our own works or deservings.

He also teaches that we are justified by faith only, as distinguished from works; faith, or that which answers to faith in his view, being the method by which the gift of God is consciously enjoyed. That assertion of the Article, which his teaching expressly contradicts is, that we are accounted righteous before God by faith. He, on the contrary, asserts that all in that faith are accounted righteous before God; faith being required not to the possession of the gift, but to the knowledge that it is ours. But if faith is not necessary to any man in order that he may be justified before God, it is evident that we are not justified by faith, in the sense in which our Church teaches this doctrine.

The Homily to which the Article refers, as expressing more largely the wholesome doctrine that we are justified by faith only, is probably that which is entitled a Sermon of the Salvation of Mankind by only Christ our Saviour. It contains the following passages, of which I need only observe that the justification of which the Article speaks, and which the Homily expounds, is justification before God: "The Apostle toucheth specially three things, which must go together in our justification. Upon God's part, is great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, justice, that is, the satisfaction of God's justice; . . . and upon our part true and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ, which yet is not ours but by God's working in us." (First part.) Other Homilies speak to the same effect in other terms. Thus the Second Sermon of the Passion says: "As it profiteth a man nothing to have salve, unless it be well applied to the part infected, so the death of Christ shall stand us in no force, unless we apply it to ourselves in such sort as God has appointed. Almighty God commonly worketh by means, and in this thing hath also ordained a certain mean, whereby we may take fruit and profit to our soul's health. What mean is that? Forsooth it is faith."

But as it is probable that it would be argued by the Bishop in defence of his teaching, that he means by justification something distinct from salvation, and that his teaching, therefore, need not be understood to contradict the Articles, since he is speaking of a different matter, and does not deny that faith is requisite to salvation, I must observe that the question to be considered is, whether the doctrine that all, without faith, are justified in God's sight, can be consistent with the doctrine that we are justified before God by faith. If it had been charged further against the Bishop that he maintains also that

being accounted righteous before God does not save "us from that Divine displeasure which is declared against all wilful unfaithfulness," I should have to examine whether, in this also, he does not contradict the doctrine of the Church.

The teaching of the Bishop that all men are "dead unto sin and risen unto righteousness" is, if I understand him aright, much the same as that all are justified. This "death unto sin, and new birth unto righteousness" is, according to the Church Catechism, the inward and spiritual grace in baptism, for which faith and repentance are required of all persons who are capable, and are promised in the case of infants. But the question of the sacraments falls under the next charge, and I only observe here that so far as this grace is identical with justification, so far the Bishop's teaching contradicts the doctrine of justification taught by the Church.

On the whole, I must conclude that the charge under this schedule, with the explanation given before of the meaning of the first clause, is established, and that the Bishop has deviated from the standard of the Church, as here cited, in regard to an essential part of that doctrine, which is justly called *Articulus stantis, vel cadentis, ecclesie*.

III.

Under the third schedule, the Bishop is charged with maintaining the following doctrine in the extracts which are quoted: "That all men have the new birth unto righteousness in their very birth hour, that is to say, are regenerated, when born into the world, as members of the great human family; and also that all men are partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ."

I cannot discover any difference between this statement, and the teaching of the Bishop in the two extracts which are cited. Although the words "are regenerated" are not used by the Bishop, I understand him to mean this. But the explanations of his meaning in these passages, as elsewhere given by himself, must be examined by me, before the doctrine is compared with that of the Church.

And here the same difficulty meets us as presented itself under the preceding schedule. Does he mean that those blessings which are intended by a "new birth," and the "Body and Blood of Christ," are provided for all in Christ, so that every man has a right to receive them in God's appointed way; or that they are communicated and

received, without any acceptance of them or co-operation on the part of man? His language certainly implies the latter. He uses the word "partakers" in both extracts, and it would be difficult to find a more forcible word. I do not find in the explanations which the Bishop gives any thing materially to affect the meaning of this language. He argues, indeed, in the letter to the Metropolitan as if the question turned on the right which man has in Christ. He says (section 5): "Of course we have a right—every human being has, if only he knew it, and even a heathen may know it and exercise it—to call upon the 'Faithful Creator' as our Father and our Friend. . . . But in baptism we have that right declared and assured to us in the most gracious manner: we are then taken formally into the family of God; we are made children in a higher sense of the word." But he says afterwards: "It is true that, as to the free gift of God, which is set forth to us in the sacrament of baptism, I have taught that we all share, through God's goodness, from our very birth-hour, without our own co-operation, in the benefit of having 'died to sin,' as a tyrant that has any right to hold us in his grasp, and being made 'alive unto God,' by virtue of the union with the Great Head of our race." "Sharing in the benefit of having died to sin," and "being made alive unto God," seem certainly to imply more than the existence of a right to benefits which, through means ordained by God, may be obtained by all.

With regard to that which is the inward and spiritual grace of the other sacrament, the Bishop says more expressly in his letter: "With respect also to the Lord's Supper, I have taught in this book, and more fully in my 'Sermons on the Eucharist,' that we are all partakers in like manner, from our birth-hour, of the benefits flowing from the Body and Blood of Christ, which is the 'free gift' of God, set forth to us in that sacrament." And again: "I have shown more fully in my 'Sermons on the Eucharist' my grounds for making this assertion, viz., that all men have life, spiritual as well as bodily, that they could have no life (as our Lord tells us), without 'eating His flesh and drinking His blood,'—that, consequently, they do partake of His Body and Blood." In the "Sermons on the Eucharist," to which the Bishop refers, and which, therefore, I am bound to consider as a further explanation of his teaching on this subject, I find that his arguments are chiefly directed to a question different from that now under examination, viz., whether Christ's Body

and Blood may not be received under certain circumstances without the Eucharist. This, of course, is not to be confounded with the doctrine that all men are at all times partaking of this inward and spiritual grace. The two opinions seem, however, in the Bishop's view, to be connected. For the purpose of enabling the Bishop to explain his own views, I quote the following passages from these sermons: "You will be an ambassador from Christ to the heathen to tell them these things—to tell them plainly that all men, the whole human race, are receiving even now the blessings of life, of life for the body, and life—spiritual life—for the soul, from Him who is the Life and Light of men,—the 'True Light,' as St. John says, 'who lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.' You are to tell them that all men are sharing, even now, in the blessings of the Great Redemption—are made partakers of Christ's humanity, of His life and of His death—are deriving life and strength from Him, who gave His flesh for the life of the world." (Sermon I, p. 12.) "Not one good thought can stir within the heart of a dark, ignorant heathen without testifying to his relationship to Him who is the Brother of us all, without showing that in some hidden way of God's wisdom that heathen man is drawing virtue from the human nature of the Son of Man, is partaking in the precious benefits which flow to us all from His Body and Blood, is deriving that spark of spiritual life from some participation in the Living Bread which came down from Heaven." (Sermon II, p. 15).

There are two ideas which seem to me to be identified by the Bishop in his sermons and in his letter to the Metropolitan which are, however, very different. One, that if a man has spiritual life, that life is derived from Christ; the other, that there is this spiritual life in every man. But I see nothing in all the explanations given by him to mollify—and much to confirm—the opinion which I should form from the extracts in this schedule, that, according to his teaching, every man, at all times, possesses that spiritual life, which is derived from Christ, which the Bishop calls Christ's "resurrection life."

I would observe here, and I do this simply that the Bishop's views may be understood, and not in any way as prejudicing the comparison of these views with the doctrine of our Church, that it is impossible not to recognize in his teaching the same notions, and sometimes the very same language, as will be found in the standard writings of "the people commonly called Quakers." Barclay, in his

Apology, maintains that in all men there is "a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle," which some call "the spiritual body of Christ, the flesh and blood of Christ which came down from Heaven;" by which "light and seed" "every unrighteous action is witnessed against and reprov'd;" "which subsists in the hearts of wicked men, even while they are in their wickedness;" and which is to be distinguished from natural reason and natural conscience, being the very light of Christ in the conscience. Whether, or not, the views put forth by the Bishop may be traced to this origin, I am sure that I do not misrepresent him when I infer that his meaning is much the same as Barclay's, although the two writers might differ widely in some of their conclusions.

It must be remembered, also, what is the true question at issue here. Not whether there is in man, as man, by nature, a faculty of judging between right and wrong,—a law written on the heart,—a light to show us the way we should walk in, carrying its own authority with it, as is argued by Bishop Butler; but whether this or anything in man, as man, is not only a law, but the spiritual life of which Holy Scripture speaks, as the effect of union with Christ, of a new birth unto righteousness, and of a partaking of His Body and Blood.

I proceed now to examine whether this doctrine of the Bishop does, as asserted in the charge against him, deny "that the holy sacraments are generally necessary to salvation, and that they convey any special grace, and further denies that faith is the means whereby the Body and Blood of Christ is received and eaten, and that faith is necessary in order that the grace bestowed by God in sacraments may have a wholesome effect and operation, and therefore impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles, &c., above set forth and referred to."

1. That Sacraments are "generally necessary to salvation, according to the teaching of our Church, may be inferred from Articles XXV, XXVII, and XXVIII, cited under this schedule, and it is expressly stated in the Church Catechism. The office for "Public Baptism of such as are of Riper Years" speaks of the "great necessity" of that sacrament, where it may be had.

Although the Bishop would, if I understand his view, maintain that the "new birth unto righteousness" and the "partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ" are distinct from salvation, and he might therefore argue that

in his sense of the word "salvation," the sacraments may be regarded as generally necessary to it,—yet I do not consider that this would affect the conclusion to be drawn from his teaching. The Bishop uses the term "salvation," as he uses other theological words, in senses different from their usual meaning. But I must consider simply how our Church uses the language; and since of the two parts of a sacrament, the inward and spiritual grace is that by virtue of which it is necessary to salvation, and since the Bishop teaches that all men, at all times, as members of the human family, already have that grace without the sacraments, therefore, according to his teaching, the sacraments cannot be generally necessary to salvation.

Indeed, that the grace which the Bishop holds to be given to all men is saving,—in the Church's sense of saving—seems evident from his own words in his Commentary (p. 119). He says that the office of our baptism is "not to separate us from our fellow-men, as if we were any better or safer than they." The Church, on the contrary, in the ministration of public baptism, compares that sacrament to the entering of Noah and his family into the Ark, that they might be saved from perishing by water.

2. That the sacraments convey special grace, or as I understand these words, are means whereby we receive an inward and spiritual grace, special to each sacrament, and not received ordinarily without them; and that this grace is, in baptism, a death into sin and a new birth unto righteousness, or regeneration; in the Lord's Supper, the Body and Blood of Christ, is a doctrine plainly declared in the Formularies of our Church, besides the Church Catechism, the language of which is express. Article xxv says, "Sacraments are certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him." Articles xxvii and xxviii define what is the "special grace" of each sacrament. In the words of Nowell's Catechism, "*Altero renascimur, altero sustentamur ad vitam æternam.*"

Does the teaching of the Bishop contradict this? In his letter to the Metropolitan, he denies the justice of the inference, and says, "I have not spoken of the sacraments as *only* signs, and not also 'means of grace,' when duly received." But the question is, whether he admits them to be means of grace in the sense of the Articles and other Formularies,—in other words, to convey *special* grace. I

cannot see, whatever he may teach as to the beneficial effect of a right use of the sacraments,—thus admitting them to be, in some general sense, means of grace,—that his teaching can fail to contradict that of the Church, so long as he maintains that all men, as members of the human family, have already received the grace of each sacrament. If we “have already died unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness, in our very birth-hour,” and if all men are at all times partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, I am quite unable to conceive a sense in which sacraments can be “means whereby we receive the same.” They cannot be, to use the language of Article XXVII respecting baptism, “instruments.”

3. That “faith is the means whereby the Body and Blood of Christ is received and eaten,” is also the doctrine of our Church. Article XXVIII declares of the Lord’s Supper, that “the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.” And the exact meaning of these words is illustrated by the language of Article XXIX, to which I refer for this purpose. That Article affirms that “the wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ.”

The meaning of Article XXVIII, therefore, is, not that faith is necessary merely to partake of Christ in and by the sacrament, but necessary under all circumstances. These who are destitute of faith,—even though they receive the sign and sacrament, yet are in no wise partakers of Christ. The Bishop teaches that all men, with or without faith, are at all times partakers of Christ; the Church teaches,—not even in the sacrament, unless they have faith; and lest it might be said that there is one kind of partaking by the sacrament, another at all times by that which every man, as man, receives,—the words must be observed, “in no wise are they partakers of Christ.”

That, under all circumstances, faith is necessary for the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ might also be inferred from the Rubric after the Communion of the Sick. And to the same effect the Homily on the Sacrament (First Sermon) says, “The unbelievers and faithless cannot feed upon that precious Body. Whereas the faithful have their life, their abiding in Him, their union and incorporation in Him.” Article XXVIII, as explained by these, evidently means, that whether in the sacrament or out of the sacrament, faith is the means by which the Body and Blood can alone be received and eaten.

When, therefore, the Bishop maintains that all men at all times are partaking of that Body and Blood, I cannot but conclude that he contradicts the teaching of our Church. Although there are some expressions in the second extract under the schedule which seem to draw some distinction between the "faithfully partaking," or "feeding upon it by living faith," and that partaking which is common to all men, yet this is a distinction expressly excluded by the doctrine of the Church, and I cannot consider that, even if the Bishop intended to draw such a distinction, it would prevent his other language from contravening the Articles as set forth in the schedule.

4. The last question under the charge is, whether the Bishop's teaching denies "that faith is necessary in order that the grace bestowed by God in sacraments may have a wholesome effect and operation;" that is (as I understand the charge), that the inward and spiritual grace of each sacrament may have some such effect and operation.

This must be concluded to be the doctrine of the Church from Article xvi. which declares that "in such only as worthily receive the same (sacraments) have a wholesome effect or operation." And sacraments consist of two parts, according to the Church's teaching—of the sign and the grace, of which the latter is that which produces this wholesome effect. Does, then, the Bishop deny that a worthy reception—that is, receiving in faith—is necessary, that the inward and spiritual grace may so work in man?

The question seems to me to turn on these words, "a wholesome effect and operation." If the Bishop had only maintained, in strong terms, that these precious gifts of God, "a new birth unto righteousness," and "the Body and Blood of Christ," were provided for all men, so that every man may receive these gifts, as God has ordained that they should be received, I could not consider that he had contradicted the doctrine of the Church under this head. But if words have any force at all, he teaches much more than this in the extracts which are quoted. In the explanations of his doctrine, to which he has himself referred, he speaks of all men partaking "of the benefits flowing from the Body and Blood of Christ," "having life spiritual as well as bodily," "deriving life and strength from Christ." I cannot but consider such expressions as attributing some wholesome effect and operation to that inward and spiritual grace which our Church teaches is bestowed in sacraments, through faith, but which the Bishop

teaches is shared by all men, without the sacraments and without faith.

The Bishop, indeed, in this second extract, speaks of "the effect wrought upon ourselves by coming to the holy sacraments, depending therefore on the spirit in which we come to it." This, however, he expressly distinguishes from the inward and spiritual grace of the sacrament, of which the charge speaks. The Bishop allows, as I have already noticed, that the sacraments are, in a general sense, means of grace, as other religious ordinances are, and that the effect so produced depends on the spirit in which we come. But this is not the question. He does not admit; but on the contrary emphatically denies, that faith is necessary, in order that men may partake of the grace special to sacraments,—the new birth, and the Body and Blood of Christ, and of the benefits which flow from these. I consider, therefore, that the charge against the Bishop under this schedule is proved in all its parts.

I have examined the Bishop's explanations on this subject, and the whole of this charge against him, with the more care, because of the diversity of opinion which exists among members of our own Church, as to the meaning of the Church's teaching respecting sacraments. But it appears that the Bishop contradicts truths in which all schools of theology within our Church agree, and that his opinions are wholly outside the limits of the questions discussed between them.

IV.

Under the fourth schedule the charge is, that "maintaining that he cannot any longer maintain or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments, the Bishop impugns and contradicts" the faith of Christ as expressed in certain Articles and Formularies.

The force of these words of the Bishop, which occur in the extract quoted from p. 177 of the Commentary, must be gathered from the whole argument of the passage of which they form a part. He proceeds to say that he "dare not dogmatize at all on the matter." But he sees that the word "eternal" does not mean "endless," and for reasons, which he discusses at length under nine heads, he entertains "the 'hidden hope' that there are remedial processes when this life is ended, of which at present we know nothing."

In the Bishop's letter to the Metropolitan (Section VII), he says, with reference to the views propounded in the Commentary, that he has maintained no points at all on the subject of the eternal world, except that God will deal with His creatures according to His name, which is Love; that he has said that he entertains "hidden hope;"—and that he says, not even that, for all,—that he maintains only that the doctrine of endless (not eternal) punishment is not found in the Bible or the Prayer-book, that punishments after death may be remedial.

This explanation, however, does not meet the present charge. If the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishment is that of the Church, an argument to prove that the opposite doctrine may be true is not consistent with the teaching of the Church. But, in reality, on some points, the Bishop expresses himself without any doubt or uncertainty, and I do not understand his letter as retracting these passages. He says, *e.g.*, in a passage cited under this schedule (p. 187), "That utter, unspeakable misery should be the portion, for endless ages, for ever and ever, ^{University of Fort Hare} ^{in Excellence} of all who are not admitted at first into the realms of infinite joy, ^{in Excellence} our hearts, taught as they are by God's Spirit, instinctively revolt at such a dogma, as a blasphemy upon the name and character of the High and Holy One, and refuse to believe it, though a thousand texts of Scripture should be produced, which may seem at first sight to assert it."

As far as I can understand the Bishop's views from this and similar passages, he refuses to maintain and give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments, partly because he considers that the punishment of some must be remedial, and partly because he entertains the hope—it is difficult to understand in what sense it is a "hidden hope"—that all punishments may be of this nature.

In the former of these opinions he approaches very closely to the Romish doctrine of purgatory, and although, in his letter to the Metropolitan, he insists on the essential difference between his own teaching and that of the Church of Rome, the difference does not seem to me to affect the doctrine itself, as defined by the best Romish theologians. (Bellarm. De Purgatorio, Lib. 1, Cap. 1.) The language of the Bishop, that for "some of those, who in the main are good and true, there is 'a necessity for stripes' before they are 'admitted into the realms of infinite joy,'" does not differ from the language of the Church of Rome (Cat. Council of Trent, Maynooth, 1829), which

speaks of a purgatorial fire "in which the souls of just men are cleansed by a temporary punishment." The real difference between the Bishop's teaching and that of the Church of Rome arises from the different sense in which he understands the word "punishment." And I am of opinion that our Church, in Article xxii,—the sense of which may be gathered from passages in the Book of Common Prayer, and from the Homily concerning Prayer, Second Part,—does condemn all doctrine which teaches, as the Church of Rome teaches, that there is need for purgatorial punishments after death, before admission into the realms of bliss.

As, however, the Bishop is not charged with holding the doctrine of purgatory, and contradicting by this the doctrine of our Church, I only treat this as subordinate to the main question, whether by maintaining that all punishments may be remedial, he impugns the faith of the Church on this subject.

This is defined in the article from the Athanasian Creed cited in this schedule, viz: "They that have done good shall go into life everlasting, but the wicked into everlasting fire." It is impossible to take this otherwise than as a definite proposition in a standard of faith. I need not, therefore, enter into any discussion as to the force of the word "eternal," because the language of the creed must be determined, not from etymological or philosophical considerations, but according to the usual and accepted meaning of the terms employed. Nor need I consider whether the philosophical arguments from the word "eternal" do not rather indicate, that the future state must be, in the nature of things, fixed and unalterable. Indeed, the Bishop seems to me himself to abandon the argument from the word, since he allows that the "eternal fire is burning for ever and is unquenchable (page 196): "but" he asks, "where are we told that those who are thus committed to the worm and to the fire, shall abide with them for ever and ever?"

An argument against the Bishop's view which was urged in the course of the proceedings, that, as is evident from his own reasonings, the hope of endless life is rendered insecure by questioning the endless punishment of the wicked,—has no doubt great weight, but it does not seem to be admissible here. The question must be reduced to this,—whether the endlessness of punishment is taught by the Church, as a truth which, awful as it is to contemplate, is yet revealed in Holy Scripture.

With reference to this it was argued that the doctrine of Origen, who taught that all punishments after death were remedial, has been accounted a heresy in the Church, and that the clause cited was introduced into the Athanasian Creed for the purpose of condemning his error. If that general council at Constantinople which by one of its canons condemned Origen and his writings generally had specified this error in its authentic records, and had condemned it "by the express and plain words of the canonical Scriptures," I should have considered this sufficient to decide the question as to the faith of the Church. But as this is not the case, I refer to the Formularies of our own Church for information as to the sense in which this portion of the Athanasian Creed must be understood.

The Thirty-nine Articles, beyond confirming the Creed, do not refer to this question. The Forty-two Articles of 1552 had contained one (the forty-second) which condemned the opinion of those who maintain that all shall be saved at last. That Article the Bishop argues (Commentary, p. 244) did not condemn such views as he teaches. It is argued by others that the omission of this Article in the revision in 1562 indicates that this question was intended to be left open in future. But the opinions of Archbishop Parker, and of others who were concerned in that revision, may be gathered from other documents, and do not admit of such an inference being drawn. Other Articles were also omitted, one of which, condemning the opinion that the resurrection is past already, certainly maintained an article of faith. The true explanation of the omission of the last four of the Forty-two Articles is, doubtless, that they referred to certain errors of the Anabaptists, from which, in 1562, the English Church was no longer in danger.

As regards the meaning of the language in the Athanasian Creed, I must observe that the frequent use of the word "everlasting" as equivalent to "eternal" in all our Church Formularies,—and a similar use of the word "endless" in some instances, *e.g.*, in the Visitation Service and in the Homilies,—seems of itself to prove that these words are employed in their usual sense, without reference to any metaphysical considerations. To argue that everlasting life—salvation—felicity—death—fire—perdition (for of all these the term is predicated),—either do not last for ever, or last only with respect to God, and in their own essence, and not in regard to those who are partakers of the punishment or the reward,—appears to me to affix a new sense on such words, and to turn them aside from their plain meaning.

If I refer to the Homilies and other documents of the same period, to ascertain in what sense the words were accepted, their meaning is clear. Thus the Homily on the Fear of Death, says: "This state and condition is called the second death, which unto all such shall ensue after this bodily death. And this is that death which indeed ought to be dreaded and feared, for it is an everlasting loss, without remedy of the grace and favour of God, and of everlasting joy, pleasure, and felicity. And it is not only the loss for ever of all these eternal pleasures, but also it is the condemnation both of body and soul, without either appellation or hope of redemption." (First Part.) Again Nowell's Catechism has the following words, in which the reason, assigned for the eternity of punishment, proves in what sense the terms were employed, and this is the more important, since Nowell was the prolocutor of the Convocation of 1562, and his Catechism, published in 1570, had the special sanction of Archbishops Parker and Grindal. (Nowell's Cat. Oxford, 1835, p. 97.)

"Scelerum suorum conscientia, et sempiterno igne, atque omni summoque supplicio exercuati, æternas poenas dabunt atque dependent. Visitas illorum in Dei immortalis immensam infinitatem. *Peccatum est infinito etiam perpetuaque supplicio dignum est.*"

A similar argument may be drawn from the language of the *Reformatio Legum* (*De Hæresibus*), since it not only condemns those who in that age revived the errors of Origen, but condemned them on this ground, that the expressions in Holy Scripture similar to that in the Athanasian Creed proved that future punishments are endless. "*Sacra Scriptura damnatos sæpe pronunciat in perpetuos cruciatus, et æternas flammæ precipitari.*" That the *Reformatio Legum* never passed into law does not affect the conclusions which are to be drawn from its language.

Although, therefore, our Church contents herself with simply asserting this awful truth, without venturing to speculate on the secrets of the future world, I must conclude that her language on this subject is not ambiguous, that the terms employed are such as leave no doubt of their meaning, and that by accepting the Athanasian Creed, in which the endlessness of future punishment is affirmed, as "proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture," the Church does not leave her ministers at liberty either to deny the doctrine, or to teach that it is doubtful.

V.

The charges which are brought against the Bishop's teaching under the next four schedules are founded on ex-

tracts from Part I and II of his work on the Pentateuch, and are closely connected together.

The charge preferred under Schedule V is, that in the extracts quoted in that schedule, the writer, maintaining that the Holy Scriptures contain the Word of God, but are not the Word of God, impugns and contradicts the Catholic Faith as expressed in the Formularies of the Church as therein cited.

In these extracts the Bishop says expressly, "The Bible is not itself 'God's Word,' but assuredly 'God's Word' will be heard in the Bible by all who will humbly and reverently listen to it." And again, "It" (the Pentateuch) "cannot be regarded as historically true. It does not on that account cease to 'contain the true word of God,' to enjoin things necessary to salvation," &c.

The Bishop has, however, referred to the Preface to Part III of his work on the Pentateuch in explanation of the extracts from Part I and II, quoted in these schedules, and in this preface (page xxviii) the following important passage occurs:

"There is a sense also in which I am quite ready to speak of the Bible as the 'Word of God,' just as we call a Church the 'House of God,' without meaning therefore to say that the plan or material of the building is divine, or that God meets with us there exclusively. But I prefer the language of the First Homily, 'In it (Holy Scripture) is contained the true Word of God;' and I agree with the language of Dean Milman, who says, (Hist. of the Jews, Pref. p. xi.): 'The moral and religious truth, and this alone, I apprehend, is the 'Word of God' contained in the sacred writings. I know no passage in which the term is applied to any sentence or saying, which does not convey or enforce such truth.'"

"On this account (the Bishop continues) I am unwilling to make use of the expression, the Bible is the Word of God,—though, in the sense of the words above explained, I can use it,—because it is so likely to mislead the uneducated, and induce them to attach a superstitious reverence to the mere text of Scripture."

It appears, therefore, that in a certain sense the Bishop allows the Bible to be the Word of God. It remains to be considered whether this sense is that in which the Church holds Scripture to be God's Word, as it is called in Articles XVII, XX, XXII, and elsewhere,—or whether it does, notwithstanding, contradict the doctrine of the Church on this very important subject.

This doctrine may be sufficiently inferred from the Articles and other Formularies specified under this schedule. There is, indeed, in the standards of our Church no exact definition of the nature and extent of the authority of Holy Scripture, for this obvious reason, that its authority is assumed throughout these standards, and that which is assumed as a first principle is affirmed in all the doctrines which are thence derived. No standard of faith defines the truth, justice, and other moral perfections of God, but they are assumed as the foundation of all faith. And though our Church has refrained from assigning, by any definition, limits to this question of the authority of Scripture as God's Word, there are conclusions which may be drawn with certainty from the language of her Formularies.

First of all, in Article vi are the following words: "In the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." By this definition a distinction is drawn between canonical books and other books (apocryphal writings), which "the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine." It is evident, then, that Holy Scripture is that by which doctrine is established. The authority of canonical books, which was never doubted in the Church, for, as history proves, it was the authority of books canonical, and not the exact list of books, that was never doubted, is clearly an authority to establish doctrine. And this appears to have been the meaning of the term "canonical" (Bishop Cosins's Scholastic History of the Canon of Scripture, chap. 1, sec. 1), that these books were acknowledged by the Church "to be the infallible rule of our faith and the perfect square of our actions." So Jewel's Apology for the Church of England says: *Recipimus et amplectimur omnes Canonicas Scripturas*; and this implies, among other things, *eas esse certissimam normam, ad quam (ecclesia) si vacillet aut errat possit exigi; et ad quam omnis doctrina ecclesiastica debeat revocari.*

Indeed, although the first purpose of Article vi is not to define the authority of Holy Scripture, but to assert its sufficiency and to declare that it "containeth all things necessary to salvation,"—whilst the Church of Rome, on the contrary, affirms (Concil. Trid., Sess. iv. *Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis*): "*Hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in Libris Scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus,*—yet this Article expressly assigns to Scripture supreme and

exclusive authority in matters of faith. And that this exclusion of every other source of doctrine to be believed as an article of faith does imply the converse, namely, that that which is read in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby, is to be believed, may not only be concluded from the nature of the case, since otherwise Scripture could be no rule of faith, but also may be certainly proved from Article VIII, which affirms that the three creeds ought "thoroughly to be believed and received," for this reason, because "they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

That the doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture was derived by the Reformers from that of its authority as the Word of God is certain from their writings. This is apparent in the following passage in Nowell's Catechism (page 14):

M. Omnia ergo ad pietatem salutemque necessaria in

verbo Dci Scripto contineri affirmas

A. Certe; esset enim intolerabilis impietatis atque
dementia existimare, vel Deum imperfectum doctrinam re-
liquisse, vel homines, absolvere
potuisse. Itaque Dominus, ^{University of Fort Hare} ^{Together in Excellence} dixit, ne verbo
suo quicquam adderent vel subtraherent, nec ab eo ad dextram
vel sinistram deflecterent.

It must therefore be concluded that our Church holds, as a first principle in all her teaching, that the Holy Scriptures are in this sense the Word of God, namely, that they declare, with authority from God, that which is to be believed by man, and required as necessary to his salvation.

Again, Article xvii declares further that "in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God," which, by the preceding clause of the Article is identified with Holy Scripture. Article xx teaches that "it is not lawful for the Church" (although it has a power to decree rites and ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith) "to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another." The authority of the Church is subordinate to that of Holy Scripture, because the latter is truly the Word of God; and not one part of Scripture only, but every part.

Again, in the Preface to the Prayer-book, the Scriptures are called "the very pure Word of God," and are contrasted with "uncertain stories and legends,"—formerly read in the Church,—whereof some were

"untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious." It is implied, therefore, that the Bible, being the Word of God, is pure from admixture of human error.

Lastly, it is sufficient to notice that before entering on the lowest office of the ministry in the Church, the candidate is required to declare that he unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament,—that is, certainly, that he believes them all, as the Church teaches they are to be received and believed, as the Word of God, speaking with an authority which has been never doubted in the Church.

Does the explanation which the Bishop gives of his own views agree with this teaching of the Church or not? He prefers, he says, the expression that the Bible contains God's Word. He quotes this expression from the first Homily, which, however, uses it in such a sense as to admit also that the Scriptures are God's Word, being expressly and repeatedly so called in this same Homily, which also speaks of the "most infallible certainty, truth, and perpetual assurance" of these "necessary and fruitful lessons;" and declares that God is "the only author of these heavenly studies;" for indeed, the word "contain" may be used in different senses. A book may contain the History of England, and also be that history; or it may contain that history and other subjects besides. The Homily evidently uses the word in the former sense; the Bishop in the latter. He speaks, indeed, of God's Word in the Bible being "clothed with the outward form of a law, or a parable, or proverb, or narrative;" and again, of its being "the inward core and meaning of these Scriptures." If such expressions stood alone, their sense might be, that the letter of the Bible contains God's Word, as the body of man contains his spirit; the Divine and human elements being united together in Holy Scriptures, as the reasonable soul and flesh are one man. But this is clearly not the Bishop's meaning; he teaches that these two elements are separate. Holy Scripture, according to him, contains God's Word in such a sense that it has an intermixture of "human elements, of error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance" (p. 13). It will hardly be argued that God's Word, declaring with authority what man ought to do and believe, can co-exist with elements which are in their nature fatal to such authority. But I must further observe that, in the Bishop's teaching, God's Word itself has a different meaning from that which is assigned to it by our Church. The Church means that in which God

speaks to man with supreme authority; the Bishop means "that which speaks to the witness of God within" men, "to which alone under God Himself, whose voice it utters in the secrets of his inner being, each man is ultimately reponsible, — to the reason and conscience." The construction of this sentence is ambiguous, but by comparison with other passages I understand the sense to be, that each man is ultimately responsible only to this inward witness in himself under God, whose voice this witness utters; and the Word of God in the Bible is that which speaks to this witness, and which it recognizes as God's voice. He says again, that God's Word is "that within the Bible which tells them of what is pure and good, holy and loving, faithful and true, which speaks directly from God's Spirit to their spirit;" "that which they will feel and know in themselves to be righteous and excellent, however they may perversely choose the base and evil."

This view of the Bishop is made more apparent by other passages of his works, which he requests may be considered as a whole, in order that these extracts which are articulated may not be misunderstood. In page 154, he has a continuation of the preceding argument together with Excellence of the spiritual truths in the Bible, "which, however declared, when once perceived by the spirit's eyes are recognized at once as truths, as eternal realities," and which, "being recognized, it would be sinful not to believe and embrace," he adds, "But then, too, they must be taught to recognize the voice of God's Spirit, in whatever way, by whatever ministry, he vouchsafes to speak to the children of men;" and he proceeds to give instances from heathen writers in illustration of this. That is, as I cannot but understand him, these truths ought to be believed and embraced, not because they are declared to us by Scripture, or can be proved from Scripture, — for wherever they are found, they must be recognized as the voice of God's Spirit, but because our spirit recognizes them as truths. The Bishop is careful to explain, that it is not the fact of their being contained in Scripture that gives them authority, but the fact of their being truths, which the witness within us is capable of recognizing as truth, and therefore of distinguishing from that which is not true.

It appears to me, therefore, that in the extract before quoted (pp. 152, 184), the Bishop certainly teaches, that the inward witness in man has an authority; which, though subordinate to God, is not subordinate to the Holy Scripture; which, therefore, he does not teach to be, or even to contain

(as it seemes to me), the Word of God, in the sense in which our Church holds that it is God's Word, *i.e.*, as speaking to man with the authority of God. And that this teaching of the Bishop essentially differs from that of the Church is confirmed by this; that whereas our Church in Article vi distinguishes Holy Scripture *in genere* from human writings, of whatever value, the Bishop draws the legitimate conclusion from his premises, that not only in the Bible, but also in the writings of heathen philosophers, the same voice of God is to be heard.

In order, however, that I may affix no sense to the Bishop's teaching which he does not himself allow, I must point out that in his Commentary on the Romans, and in his letter to the Metropolitan in defence of that Commentary,—to which he has now referred in explanation of some of the passages objected to in his work on the Pentateuch,—the same opinions are affirmed. He had said (Commentary p. 189), "By that light which is within us, the acts of our own lives must be judged, and, when necessity requires it, the acts of others also. By that light, the sayings and doings of good men, the acts of the Church, the writings of Prophets and Apostles, the words recorded to have been uttered by our Blessed Lord Himself, must all be tried." And this opinion he has defended in his letter in the following passage (Section I):

"Another takes a different view of inspiration, as I do myself, and believe that God's Spirit is indeed speaking in the Bible to all who will humbly seek and listen to His teaching; but that even when we read the different portions of it, we are to 'try the spirits, whether they are of God, to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good,' to 'compare spiritual things with spiritual.' That it is a part of our glorious, yet solemn, responsibility to do this. That, having the Spirit ourselves, 'an unction from the Holy One, that we may know all things,' having the promise that we shall be 'guided into all truth' if we seek daily to have our minds enlightened and our conscience quickened, by walking in the light already vouchsafed to us, we are not at liberty to shake off this responsibility of judging for ourselves whether this or that portion of the Bible has a message from God to our souls or not; God will not relieve us from this responsibility; He will not give us what, in one form or other, men are so prone to desire—an infallible external guide—a voice from without, such as men often wish to substitute for the voice within."

I cannot, therefore, but conclude that the Bishop denies

the Holy Scriptures to be the Word of God, in the sense in which the Church holds them to be, namely, as speaking to man with divine authority.

I consider, further, that he denies Scripture to be the Word of God in the sense in which our Church teaches that it is, since he declares it, instead of being pure from error, uncertainty, and superstition, to have intermixtures of "error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance;" and he further says (Preface Part I, page xli), in the last extract quoted in this schedule, "With the evidence now before me, it is impossible wholly to believe in" all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

I conclude, therefore, that the charge under Schedule V is fully established.



In examining the charge under Schedule VI, on the inspiration of Scripture, I will quote a passage from the Preface to Part III, to which preface the Bishop requests that attention may be given. He says (page xviii): "It has been stated that I deny the inspiration of the Bible. I reply that I have not ever denied it, nor have ever considered at all the question of Scripture inspiration. I have left that subject wholly untouched; it is no part of my present plan to discuss it. Doubtless, the plain results of criticism, such as those set forth in these volumes, must indirectly affect the views which have been taken of inspiration, and must certainly, if seen to be true results, conflict entirely with the traditional view of the divine infallibility of the Holy Scripture. But it is no part of my present object to prove even this."

It is evident that this explanation does not meet the present charge. Whatever may be the Bishop's object in these books, if the result of his teaching is, that it denies the inspiration of Scripture, as held by the Church, it amounts to the same. But it appears to me that, far from having left this subject untouched, he has, in the extract given under this schedule, affirmed certain propositions on this mysterious subject.

He affirms (page 152), that we "are not to look for the inspiration of the Holy One which breathes through its pages, in such matters" as those "of common history," "which the writers wrote as men with the same liability to error from any cause as other men." Again (page 186), "The writers of these books, whatever pious intention they

may have had in composing them, cannot now be regarded as having been under such constant, infallible, supernatural guidance as the ordinary doctrine of Scripture inspiration supposes." Again (p. 383), "We must regard it" (the Bible) "then, as the work of men; of fellow-men like ourselves, fighting the same good fight on the side of God and His truth, against all manner of falsehood and evil, though fighting in their own primitive way, and without the light of that Christian teaching which shines upon our warfare of to-day, and makes many things plain and clear to our eyes, which to them were still dark and uncertain." Again (p. 381) the Bishop speaks of the Bible as "the work of living men like ourselves,—of men, I mean, in whose hearts the same human thoughts were stirring, the same hopes and fears were dwelling, the same gracious Spirit was operating, three thousand years ago, as now."

It appears to me that in these and other passages, the Bishop does enunciate in doctrine as to the inspiration under which the writers of Holy Scripture wrote, viz., that it consisted, not in such supernatural guidance, as would preserve them from error, but in an operation of the Holy Spirit on their hearts, and by their human thoughts, hopes, and fears, of the same kind as that of which Christians now partake, though perhaps in a higher degree. I say "perhaps," because the extract from p. 383, with others, to which I shall refer presently, seems to indicate, that the Bishop does not consider the operation of God's Spirit on the minds of the writers of the Old Testament to be equal to that which we now possess. However, he uses the expression, "the special working of His Spirit on the minds of its writers;" and this he explains in the extract (p. 513): "As the Greeks have been endowed by the 'Father of Light' with those special gifts in art and science and literature which have made the works of their great masters, in all ages, the models for the imitation of mankind,—as the Roman has been distinguished in matters of law and government, and other nations have had their own peculiar endowments for the common welfare of the race,—so, too, has the Hebrew mind had its own special gift from God."

This seems to explain the special working of the Spirit on the minds of the writers, as special in degree, but not in kind.

But other extracts show that, when the Bishop speaks of the writers being men like ourselves, "fighting in their own primitive way," without the light which we enjoy,—

he really confines the operation of the Holy Spirit on their minds, within much narrower limits than might have been supposed from the preceding passages. In page 9, he informs us, that his original explanation of a passage in the Pentateuch, which professes to record a command of God—this command appearing to him one that must shock pious minds—was the following,—that “such words as these were written down by Moses, and believed by him to have been divinely given to him, because the thought of them arose in his heart, as he conceived, by the inspiration of God, and that hence to all such laws he prefixed the formula, ‘Jehovah said unto Moses,’ without it being on that account necessary for us to suppose that they were actually spoken by the Almighty.” That is, that Moses was in error, and supposed that a command came from God when the thought arose in his own heart; this error of Moses leading him to record as a law of God that which is, in the Bishop’s opinion, contrary to the principles of justice.

But the Bishop’s present theory is, not that Moses was deceived himself, but that Samuel or others declared a precept contrary to justice to be a command from God to Moses, although they knew that it was not given by God. In p. 352 (and p. 368) Samuel is represented as collecting legends and traditions, “filling up from his own mind; we may conceive, the blanks left in such legendary accounts, and certainly imparting to them their high religious tone and spiritual character.” “The work thus begun” by Samuel, which was, perhaps, left in a very unfinished state, was taken up, as we suppose, and carried on in a similar spirit, by other prophetic or priestly writers.” Again (p. 374), the writers are described as introducing into their narrative “the Divine Being Himself, as conversing with their forefathers, and imparting laws to Moses;” that is, these writers affirmed that God gave promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and made laws, both moral and ceremonial, which yet they knew that He never gave and made. And in particular (p. 339 and elsewhere) the Bishop supposes that “Samuel was the first to form and introduce the name (Jehovah), perhaps in imitation of some Egyptian name of the Deity which may have reached his ears,” although the writer of the Pentateuch represents God Himself as renewing His promises by that name.

It appears, therefore, that this further limitation must be added to the Bishop’s theory of inspiration, that not only were the writers under no infallible guidance

either to history, or even to moral truth, but even as regards those portions of their writings which profess to be direct revelations from God, and commands of God, they drew upon their own imaginations,—some of these pretended revelations containing principles against which (p. 9 § 9) our minds now must revolt. The chief difficulty, as it appears to me, in comprehending this theory of inspiration, is in discovering what operation of the Holy Spirit there could be on the minds of the writers to produce such results, or what could be the “high religious tone and spiritual character” of one, who could attribute to the Almighty laws which He never ordained, and some of these unjust and immoral.

I must now examine—without allowing those feelings which naturally arise on reading such statements, to prejudice my mind—whether such a view of inspiration is consistent with the teaching of the Church of England, as expressed in those portions of her formularies which are cited under this schedule.

I must observe that the word “inspiration,” in reference to Holy Scripture and its writers, is not used in the Articles, Creeds, or Book of Common Prayer. It is, however, a scriptural term, and is used in the Homilies: “Shall we, Christian men, think to learn the knowledge of God and of ourselves in any earthly man’s work or writing, sooner or better than in the Holy Scriptures, written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost?”—(An Information for them which take offence at certain places of the Holy Scripture.) I understand the word to express the fact that, by some operation of the Holy Ghost, the Holy Scriptures proceeded from God as their author, through the instrumentality of the inspired writers. The mode or process by which this was effected our Church has nowhere attempted to define. The Nicene Creed affirms generally, that the Holy Ghost “spoke by the prophets,” and that all the writers of the Old Testament are included in this terms “prophets,” I think, is probable: certainly the writer of the Pentateuch must be. I understand the force of that article of the Creed to be, that there was such an operation of the Holy Ghost, on the writer of the Pentateuch, for example, that God spoke in the words written by him,—they were the Word of God. The nature of that operation is not described, but it must be judged of from the result effected by the operation. In Article VI, and others which I have examined under the preceding schedule, and which are cited again under this schedule, it is affirmed that the result of this, which

is called inspiration, is a writing of divine authority revealing all religious truth with certainty, free from all error. This result of inspiration the Bishop denies, and therefore, though he may use the word of Holy Scripture, he denies that the Scripture is inspired, in the sense in which the Church holds this doctrine.

In addition to the proofs of this given under the preceding schedule, Article VII, also cited under this, refers particularly to the Old Testament, and specially to the Pentateuch. It declares that "in the Old Testament" as well as in the New, "everlasting life was offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man." The Article appears to me to refer (among others) to the promises made to Abraham and his seed, of which St. Paul treats in his Epistle to the Galatians; of the certainty of which promises we have no assurance at all, on the Bishop's theory of inspiration. This Article also affirms that the moral law "given by God to Moses" is binding on Christian men. I do not see how the Article could thus speak of the law, or how it could be binding, if, as the Bishop teaches, God never gave this law. The Bishop's views as to inspiration seem to me utterly at variance with the language of this Article.

The Homily to which I have referred above marks out in a few emphatic words the opposition between the Bishop's views and the teaching of the Church, "Consider that the Scripture, in what strange form soever it be pronounced, is the word of the living God. Let that always come to your remembrance, which is so often repeated by the prophet Esay. *The mouth of the Lord, saith he, hath spoken it. . . .* It cannot therefore be but truth, which proceeded from the God of truth; it cannot be but wisely and prudently commanded, what Almighty God hath devised, how vainly soever, through want of grace, we miserable wretches do imagine and judge of His more Holy Word." (An Information, &c., Second Part.)

I consider that the charge under Schedule VI is fully proved.

VII.

As there is some ambiguity in the use of the words "authenticity" and "genuineness" in the next charge, I will state that I understand that the Bishop is charged under the seventh schedule, with denying that the Bible is a true history of the facts which it professes to describe—that its writers were veracious or trustworthy historians, and that its books, or portions of them, were composed by

those persons, by whom it must be inferred that they were composed, from the testimony of the books themselves.

That this is a correct statement of the Bishop's teaching, in the extracts given in this schedule, I cannot question. He continually repeats the statement, that the narrative in the Pentateuch is not historically true, and that the account of the Exodus was not written by Moses. He "cannot, as a true man, consent any longer to shut his eyes to the absolute, palpable self-contradictions of the narrative." "We have no longer any reason for supposing it to be necessary to believe that the name Jehovah really originated in the way described in Exodus vi." "Joshua was only a mythical, or, perhaps, legendary personage." The song of Deborah was written "two or three centuries after the time of Barak and Deborah, by a writer who, except in the free use of the word 'Jehovah,' has produced an admirable imitation of an ancient song, a 'Lay of Ancient Israel.'" The author of the Book of Chronicles must have been, to all appearance, a priest or Levite who wrote about B.C. 400; and First shall see as we proceed further reason for believing that the chronicler's statements, when not supported by other evidence, are not at all to be relied on."

In the Preface to Part III (pp. xix-xxi) is a passage referring to a charge, somewhat similar to that which I am now examining, from which the Bishop defends himself. He observes: "It has been said that I wish to prove the Pentateuch, and in fact the whole Bible, to be untrue. "Nothing, (the Bishop continues), can be further from my purpose than this. Rather, I desire to know what is true in the Pentateuch history, and in the Bible generally. I wish to know, if possible, in what age, by what persons, under what circumstances, the different portions of the Bible were written, that I may be able to judge for myself, and help others to judge, the amount of credibility to be attached to the different narratives."

On this I would remark, that I have to consider not what the Bishop's purpose may have been, but whether "the authenticity, genuineness, and truth of certain books of Holy Scripture in whole or in part are denied" by him; and then, whether "by this denial the authority and canonicity of these books are called in question, and denied" by him, in contravention of the faith of the Church of England, expressed in the Formularies here specified.

The first of these propositions seems to be fully admitted by the Bishop himself, and to be beyond all question.

Before I proceed to examine the second, I think it right to observe, in order to avoid misapprehension, that there are certain opinions on points touched in this charge—opinions which differ materially from those put forth by the Bishop of Natal—respecting which I am not called to pronounce, whether they are consistent with the doctrine of the Church or not. For instance, it has been supposed by some, both in ancient and modern times, that certain portions of the Old Testament are rather to be regarded as symbolical or emblematic descriptions of events in the history of man than as statements which can be interpreted according to the ordinary rules of history. These views, however, may be consistent with the belief, that there was some actual fact corresponding with the descriptions, and may refer only to a few passages which are supposed to contain internal evidence of their being of this peculiar character, whilst the history generally is accepted in its literal sense. Such a view is essentially different from one, which represents the history as based upon legends and traditions, and filled up out of the imaginations of the writers. Again, the opinion is held by many, that the infallible guidance, given to the writers of Holy Scripture, need not be supposed to extend to such matters as do not affect spiritual truth or the general credibility of the history; and that, therefore, minor inaccuracies will be found, such as may be expected in accounts given by the most truthful and credible historians. Further, the authorship of some books of Holy Scripture is the subject of critical inquiry, when (as in the Epistle to the Hebrews) the book itself does not declare who is its author.

All these questions, as well as those which relate to the text of Holy Scripture, and its versions or translations, are totally distinct from those which are involved in the present charge.

I must now inquire whether, consistently with the teaching of the Church, the Bishop is at liberty to declare that the Pentateuch and other books of the Bible are not historically true. It is evident to me, and, as I shall show, to himself, that he is not at liberty to do so. In the Formularies of our Church, as cited under this schedule, the history of the Bible is evidently accepted as true; that is, as truly describing events which actually took place. Article VII speaks of the fathers, under the Old Testament, as real, not as mythical or legendary, persons. The giving of the law to Moses, both of the ceremonial and of the moral law, is referred to as a fact. Further, that the

authority of the Holy Scriptures, as revealing truths which are to be believed, of which Article VI speaks, extends to historical as well as to moral and spiritual truth, may be proved by comparing that Article, as I have compared it under the fifth schedule, with Article VIII. For in the Creeds historical facts are included, and they are to be believed according to that Article for this reason, that they can be proved from Holy Scripture. Indeed, the faith of the Christian, as set forth by the Church, concerns not spiritual truths merely, but historical facts: it has a historical basis, on which it rests as a revelation from God to man.

But, independently of these considerations, the language which the Church requires her ministers to use, in several of her prayers, is of itself sufficient to prove that no one can deny the historical truth of Holy Scripture without contradicting the doctrine of the Church. It appears to me difficult to conceive a more profane mockery, than the using, as pleas and arguments in prayer to the God of Truth, what the Bishop elsewhere calls, as in his opinion they are, "transparent fictions."

He has, indeed, stated this so clearly, and in his view of the subject, so conclusively, that I prefer using his own words. In the Preface to Part II (p. xxi), speaking of such clergy as disbelieve the scriptural account of the deluge, he says: "Do not these divines, one and all, disbelieve the Church's doctrine on this particular point, whilst yet, in common with their all fellow-clergy, they use habitually that solemn form of address to Almighty God in the Baptismal Service which expressly assumes the reality and historical truthfulness of the story of the Noachian Deluge—'Almighty and everlasting God, who, of Thy great mercy, didst save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water?' It is of no avail to say, 'There was a deluge of some kind or other, and this is only a legendary reminiscence of it.' The Church Prayer-book does not mean this. When those Formularies were laid down, and the clergymen were bound by a solemn subscription to declare their 'unfeigned assent and consent to all things written in the Book of Common Prayer,' it was assuredly meant to bind them to express an unfeigned belief in the story of the Deluge, as it is told in these chapters of Genesis, and not to some imaginary flood of any kind, which any one may choose at his pleasure to substitute for it; otherwise, it would be very easy to explain away in like manner every single statement of the Scriptures, Old and New, which we cannot believe. But the fact is that, by the present law

of subscription, each clergyman is bound by law to believe in the historical truth of Noah's flood, as recorded in the Bible, which the Church believed in some centuries ago; and he will be so bound till the Legislature of the realm shall release the painful obligation, and relieve him from the duty, to which he now stands pledged, of using a form of prayer which involves such a statement as this. Are, then, all these—prelates as well as ordinary clergy—to resign at once their sacred offices, because they disbelieve the Church's doctrine on this point?"

"What," he asks, "are they to do under such circumstances—those, I mean, who have their eyes opened to the true facts of the case, and who cannot bear to utter what they know to be untrue in the face of God and the congregation?"

I would observe that it may also be asked with justice, how those who disbelieve the historical truth of the Pentateuch can use the Psalms of David? Or how can they act as ministers of the Church of England, in solemnizing matrimony according to the appointed form, in which the institution of marriage is traced to the blessing of God on Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca living faithfully together, are recognized in prayer, or in solemn appeal to God, as facts?

Of the portions of the Formularies cited in this schedule, in one, the prayer in the Baptismal Service, the truth of the Deluge and the passage of the Red Sea is assumed; in another, the Prayer for fair weather, the destruction of the world by the flood, and the deliverance of Noah and his family; in a third, the Prayer in the time of any common plague or sickness, the historical truth of the Exodus is recognized. In the Communion Service, the minister declares solemnly to the people, "God spake these words and said, I am the Lord thy God, Thou shalt have no other gods but me." The minister must teach those whom he instructs by the Church Catechism to say, that the Ten Commandments are the same which God spake in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. And the minister who uses all these forms has declared, on one of the most solemn occasions of his life, that he unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; the very fundamental idea of belief or faith being, by the consent of all theologians, "assent to that which is believed, as true." So Nowell's Catechism defines faith; "*Fides in genere est que veritati Verbi Dei fidem habet; id est que omnia in Scripturis de Deo . . . cateraque in Scripturis tradita universa vera esse credit.*" (p. 55).

It seems to me that all the most solemn obligations of human life would be made void, if it were to be admitted that a minister of the Church of England may teach that the Pentateuch is not historically true.

But the Bishop impugns, not only the truth of the narrative, but the veracity of the sacred historians. He teaches, not merely that through imperfect information the writers fell into errors, but that they wrote that which was not true, knowing it to be untrue. He says, indeed (page 347), "The case would have been different if the writer had stated that these divine communications had been made to himself, that God had spoken to him instead of to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and had revealed laws to him instead of to Moses." I confess I am unable to appreciate the distinction drawn by the Bishop, though I presume that he means, that in one case there must be an intention to deceive, in the other, there need not be such an intention. But, at all events, the Pentateuch professes to describe the history of a nation, which history the writers, according to the Bishop, knew to be a fiction. It differs in no wise from the spurious gospels, which professed to describe events interesting to Christians, but which are destitute of value, because they are not true, but the inventions of the writers. It is evident, that, if the Bishop's theory be correct, the Pentateuch must be classed with such writings, and not with the Canonical Scriptures.

To the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch, our Church Formularies do not expressly refer. But it is connected necessarily with those which have preceded, namely, the truth of the history and the veracity of the writers. Those portions of the Pentateuch which the Bishop ascribes to Samuel and later writers, and which he affirms that it was impossible that Moses could have written, the Pentateuch itself asserts were written by Moses (Exodus xxiv, 4; Numbers xxxiii, 2; Deuteronomy xxxi, 9, 24 to 26). The theory of the Bishop, therefore, as to the authorship of the book, or portions of it, denies its truth, and the veracity of the historian, and in consequence, the canonicity and authority of this portion of Holy Scripture.

I conclude, therefore, that the charge under Schedule VII is proved against the Bishop. But I cannot dismiss this question without remarking, that the view, which I am compelled to take of the Bishop's teaching under this and the two preceding schedules, is not only confirmed, but placed in a strong light by one of our Church Formularies,

which is not cited in any of the schedules, but to which I have referred, and now refer, for illustration. One of the Homilies, the title of which, in Article xxxv, is "Of the reverent estimation of God's Word," but in the Book of Homilies, "An Information for them which take offence at certain places of the Holy Scripture," has for its object that of answering objections against the Scripture similar to those which the Bishop has urged against the Pentateuch. It says of the whole Scripture, both of its history and of its precepts, in a passage already quoted, "That cannot be but truth which proceedeth from the God of truth." And again, "They be not idle fables to jest at which God doth seriously pronounce." But it is not merely by a casual expression, —it is by the very subject of which it treats the reverent estimation of God's Word, that this homily condemns the teaching of the Bishop. If to impugn any standard of the Church, and to declare it to contain anything repugnant to God's Word, be an ecclesiastical offence, assuredly to impugn God's Word itself, and treat it as "idle fables," is a much more serious offence. And whilst, in examining these charges, I am bound to adhere closely to the inquiry whether the teaching is or is not contrary to the standard of the Church, I must also, when such charges are established, as in my judgment are established under these schedules, consider the magnitude of such an offence, by which not one doctrine only, but the very foundation of all doctrine is denied and overthrown.

VIII.

The charge against the Bishop under Schedule VIII. is, if possible, even more serious, for it concerns the Person of our Blessed Lord, the Word of God Himself in our nature. It is founded on a passage in the Preface to Part I, in which the Bishop meets the objection against the results of his critical inquiries, which is obviously suggested by the testimony of our Lord to Moses as the author of the Pentateuch. To this objection he gives three replies. The first—that our Lord's testimony would apply only to certain portions of the Pentateuch—is obviously insufficient. The second reply is, that our Lord may have "accommodated" his language to the popular belief of the age. This argument, however, as I understand a passage in the Preface to Part II (pp. xv—xvii), the Bishop abandons. The third is that, which he seems, from that passage, definitely to accept, and which he defends, both there and

at length in the Preface to Part III, which contains a letter on the subject addressed to him by the Rev. W. Houghton.

The substance of the argument is contained in the following words of the extract in this schedule: "It is not supposed that, in His human nature, He was acquainted, more than any educated Jew of the age, with the mysteries of all modern science; nor, with St. Luke's expressions before us, can it be seriously maintained that, as an infant or young child, He possessed a knowledge surpassing that of the most pious and learned adults of His nation, upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch. At what period, then, of His life upon earth is it to be supposed that He had granted to Him, as the Son of Man, supernaturally full and accurate information on these points, so that He should be expected to speak about the Pentateuch in other terms than any other devout Jew of that day would have employed? Why should it be thought that He would speak with certain Divine knowledge on this matter, more than upon other matters of ordinary science or history?"

It must be observed that the Bishop, in this argument, passes from the question of the properties and powers of the human nature of our Blessed Lord to that of the knowledge which He possessed as the Son of Man, speaking and teaching. Having discussed the question of His human knowledge, he asks, "Why should it be thought that He would speak with perfect divine knowledge in this matter?"

The reply to the question is, because He is God and man in one Christ; and it appears to me, I confess, that the Bishop's argument is not consistent with any creed that teaches the divinity of our Blessed Lord, except that which is condemned by the Church as Nestorianism. The question asked implies, that He who spoke did not possess "perfect divine knowledge," and, therefore, was either not perfect God, or else not God and man in one person; that the Son of Man who taught was not also the Son of God. As, however, such a charge might not be admitted against the Bishop on the ground of a casual expression by which he might not mean all that his language seems to mean, I consider it right to examine whether the explanations of this argument which he gives elsewhere at all modify this conclusion.

I observe, then, that in the Preface to Part II (p. xvii) the Bishop defines the view of our Blessed Lord's ministry given in this argument as far more reverent and becoming

than that which he says is "commonly adopted, viz., that knowing how the case really stood, He yet adopted the popular language of the day, and so left his countrymen and disciples in total ignorance of the facts of history and criticism, of which He himself was fully cognizant, and by this silence, at all events—or even by direct statements—confirmed their mistaken notions in so important a question." This certainly confirms the conclusion, which must be drawn from the first passage, that, in the Bishop's judgment, our Lord did not possess perfect divine knowledge, and that even in His ministry He was, in common with those whom He professed to teach, under mistaken notions on a question which the Bishop calls "so important." Indeed, its importance cannot be over estimated. The question of the authorship of the Pentateuch involves its credibility as a history, the veracity of the writer, and its authority as part of the Word of God. In fact, if the Bishop's argument is correct, it must be admitted that our Divine Saviour cited from the Pentateuch both its history as true and its precepts as the Word of God, in distinction from the traditions of men, being ignorant of that which, as the Bishop supposes, is the truth, that it is only a human composition.

I forbear from dwelling on this aspect of this question, but it is the inevitable consequence of the Bishop's argument.

Any discussion of the questions which are raised in the letter in the Preface to Part III is unnecessary. For all admit that the human nature of our Lord was real human nature, and therefore subject to limitations of knowledge, even as to other limitations, implied of necessity in its being a finite nature. It must be also held, that this nature was not, by its union with the Godhead in Christ, altered, so as to become infinite; and how far it was exalted by that union need not be here considered. Nor need I consider whether the language used by some theologians of ancient and modern times, and cited in the letters from Mr. Houghton, is, or is not, theologically exact. The true question is one distinct from all these, viz.: whether Jesus Christ taught as a mere man, or as the God-man, with knowledge merely human, or with perfect divine knowledge; whether he spake the words of God, or those of a fallible man.

Whether I consider the expressions used by the Bishop in the extract quoted under this schedule in the force and meaning of his argument, I cannot think that the explana-

tions which he has afforded of his views do in any way justify his teaching. I cannot but conclude that in maintaining that our Blessed Lord was in ignorance and error upon the subject of the authorship and age of the Pentateuch, he denies the doctrine that He is God and man in one person, and by this denial impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith on this subject, especially as defined in Article IX and in the Athanasian Creed.

IX.

The charge under the ninth schedule requires very brief consideration. In the extracts here cited, the Bishop affirms that any clergyman who begins to inquire will probably, for reasons which common sense will suggest, soon doubt, and before long disbelieve the Church's doctrine as to the truth of the scriptural account of the Deluge. That if he continues to use the Prayer-book, he will utter what he knows to be untrue, and use a form of prayer which is unreal and unmeaning. I consider the Bishop here to affirm, that the Prayer-book contains some things which are untrue, unreal, and unmeaning. In the last passage quoted in this schedule (Preface to Part II, p. xxviii) he seems to me to mean, that by the use of the Prayer-book a clergyman maintains transparent fictions, such as the account of the Deluge.

He further says (Preface to Part II, p. xxii) that for those who cannot conscientiously use the words in the Baptismal Service—which he designates as untrue and unmeaning—in a solemn address to the Almighty, he sees no remedy but to omit such words, to disobey the laws of the Church on this point. I understand this to mean that there are directions given in the Book of Common Prayer which it is probable that a clergyman may not be able, with a safe conscience, to follow; and that if he cannot conscientiously follow them, the Bishop recommends him in such a case to disobey them.

I consider that by such teaching he does deprave, impugn, and bring into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer, as he is charged with doing.

I have now fulfilled the very painful duty imposed upon me of examining all the charges brought against the Bishop of Natal. These charges have included questions from the whole range of theology; they have not referred to a few isolated opinions, which might be held without any wide departure from that faith, which by his office in the

Church the Bishop is pledged to maintain and set forward; they have affected the gravest and most fundamental principles of revealed truth. All these charges are, in my judgment, established against him. Whatever latitude of opinion may be allowed, and ought to be allowed, within the limits marked out by our Church, the Bishop, so far as I can judge, transgressed these limits in regard to every one of these charges. I see no way of escaping this conclusion if the standards of our Church are to have any definite meaning. If the Bishop's is not false and heretical teaching, I know not what teaching could be condemned as such. Sometimes, in express words, and always by the conclusions which follow from his words, he contradicts those standards to which he has bound himself. With regard also to some of the opinions held by the Bishop, I cannot overlook the fact that the offence of promulgating error is aggravated by the spirit, reckless of all consequences to the faith of the young and the unstable, in which opinions, unsound in themselves, are pushed forward to conclusions subversive of all faith in Divine Revelation. The opinions are maintained in full view, as it seems to me, of the results to which they point, and they cannot, therefore, be excused on the plea of any unconsciousness, on the part of the writer, of the tendency of these speculations.

I cannot but conclude, most painful as it is to me to arrive at such a conclusion respecting one whom I would continue to esteem and love, that by the false teaching proved against him, the Bishop has wholly disqualified himself,—unless he shall now openly retract and revoke this his false teaching,—for bearing rule in the Church of God, and for the cure of souls therein; and that he cannot, consistently with the laws of our Church, unless he shall thus retract his errors, retain any longer the office of Bishop of the diocese of Natal.

The Bishop of the Free State said: Since the Bishop of Graham's Town has stated in detail the grounds on which his own conclusions have been formed, it seems well for me, also, though in a more brief and imperfect form, to follow the same course. I shall avoid repetition so far as possible.

The duty imposed upon me as a Suffragan Bishop of this Province has been a most painful one. Had it not been plainly a duty, I would not have taken upon myself so heavy and unwelcome a burden. But since the necessities of the case compelled the Metropolitan to hear and adjudicate upon the charges made against the Bishop of Natal, it became

impossible for me to set at naught the Bishop of Cape Town's summons to appear at the late trial as one of his assessors. I was bound by my oath of canonical obedience to him to be present on this occasion.

In the careful examination of the charges made against the Bishop of Natal, my chief anxiety has been (in common with the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Graham's Town) thoroughly to understand the opinions and doctrines taught in the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans and in the Work on the Pentateuch. My chief fear has been the unintentional misrepresentation in my own mind of any part of his teaching. On all accounts it is to be regretted that the Bishop of Natal has not appeared in person to give his own explanations and to defend himself against the charges of false doctrine. In his absence, it has been necessary to take more than usual care to weigh well the exact language used by him, and specially to give every possible consideration to the line of defence pointed out by himself in his letter to the Metropolitan. The passages extracted in the articles annexed to the citation have been "read" (as the Bishop requests) "in connection with the rest of the works from which they are taken." In judging of this teaching, it has never been forgotten that the Bishop denies, in the plainest language, "that the publication of these passages, or any of them, constitutes any offence against the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland." Every portion of the Bishop of Natal's letter, written in 1861, has been considered in explanation of his opinions set forth in his Commentary on the Romans, and close attention has been given to the Preface to Part III of his work on the Pentateuch.

On the other hand, the very able and learned pleadings in support of the charges preferred against the Bishop have received most careful consideration.

It only rests with me to point out the particular manner in which the conviction is brought home to my own mind that each of the charges made against the Bishop of Natal has been clearly proved. I may here say that I agree, with the general arguments already fully stated by the Bishop of Graham's Town, and shall avoid any needless recapitulation.

I.

The charge preferred in Schedule I is that the Bishop of Natal maintains that Christ "did not die in man's stead, or bear the punishment or penalty of our sins, and that God is not reconciled to us by the death of His Son;" and that

such teaching impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed and taught in the Articles of the Church of England, and other Formularies, as cited in the schedule.

In the first extract from the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, we find the Bishop opposes, as unscriptural, the "dogma of modern theology"—so he terms it—"that Christ died for our sins in the sense of dying instead of us, dying in our place, or dying so as to bear the punishment or penalty of our sins" (p. 93). I compare these words with his own explanation in the letter which forms a part of his defence; and then compare his general teaching on the subject with the language of the Church. In explanation, the Bishop says he does not deny that our Blessed Lord "was a true propitiatory sacrifice for our sins," nor that He is "the object which makes us acceptable to God." But again he reasserts his denial that our Lord "endured in our stead the weight of God's wrath." And in applying the words of St. Peter, the Bishop says: "He bore our sins as He bore our sorrows."

Article II teaches that Christ "was crucified, to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men." Article III states that "The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world."

I believe the Bishop, in his explanation and defence, fails to reconcile his teaching with these Articles. He uses the terms "sacrifice" and "satisfaction," but with a meaning of his own. For sacrifice for sin implies vicarious suffering, and this the Bishop denies to be the character of our Lord's sacrifice. And "satisfaction" implies "a satisfaction unto a just God," . . . "without which God was resolved not to be reconciled." (Bishop Pearson). This is teaching which the Bishop rejects.

In a further examination into the truth of this charge, the Bishop's words cited challenge notice,—"*It is not He [God] who needs to be reconciled to us,*"—as presenting an exactly opposite statement to that in Article II, where it is plainly stated that Christ died "to reconcile His Father to us." The Bishop's expressions in other places in his Commentary make the opposition and contradiction between his teaching and that of the Church more plain. He denies that God the Father was "reconciled" to man by the death of His Son, or that He needed to be reconciled. "It is we who need to be reconciled, brought back to Him." "The difference between these two expressions is infinite." I cannot understand such language in any other way than

this: One expression conveys truth; the other conveys an untruth.

In the Bishop's letter of explanation there is no help to our endeavour to understand his words as not really contradicting the teachings of the Church. He expresses his sorrow that the expression is used in Article II, "To reconcile His Father to us," and says it is not Scriptural, and is liable to be misunderstood. This seems to imply that it is capable of being understood in accordance with his own views, though not a Scriptural expression. But I fail to see in what sense it can be understood which is not contradicted by the Bishop's teaching. The Bishop pleads (and rightly) that "these words of our Church cannot be meant to contradict, or set aside, the Apostle's own words." This is true. But the Church teaches that God is reconciled to man; and that man is reconciled to God. The Bishop denies one of these statements, and says the difference between the two is "infinite." He allows that God may be said to bear the anger of a father correcting his child; but nothing more. It has been well argued that when we use the term "propitiation" we necessarily imply that God is appeased. The Bishop of Natal uses the word, but denies the truth taught by it. He says God was not appeased, and needed no appeasing.

It is well to observe that this is no question of words, but of doctrines, and important doctrines too. One expression of doctrine in Article II is directly rejected by the Bishop, as well as the truth taught by it. Other expressions are received and used by him, but the truths contained in them are denied or impugned. The Bishop must be judged by the "true, usual, and literal meaning" of the Articles and Formularies. He is not allowed to put "his own sense and comment" upon them.

I therefore hold that this first charge has been proved.

II.

The charges made against the Bishop of Natal are, it must be confessed by all, of a very serious character. We do not find in them ordinary matters of theological controversy. We do not recognize opinions held by any of the religious "schools" of thought in the Church of England. The Bishop is charged with teaching, as well as holding, opinions strange to all English Church people, and beyond the wide latitude which seems to be allowed in our Church. The false doctrines with which he is charged touch the most important truths of the Christian religion. As under the first schedule

the Bishop is said to deny the doctrine of the Atonement, so under the second schedule he is accused of teaching in plain contradiction to the doctrine of Justification.

From the extracts quoted in this schedule I find that the Bishop teaches that "being justified" is "being made righteous," and that the gift of righteousness, which comes from God, was not simply "intended for all mankind," but was (the Bishop says) "actually, in fact, bestowed from the first upon them, though as yet they knew it not;" and that this gift "extends to all—to those who have never heard the name of Christ. . . as well as to Christians." In seeking further explanation of the manner and extent of the partaking of all men in this gift, I find the Bishop to say: "The whole human race are partakers of this gift of life in the Gospel, of the blessing of righteousness, as they are of the rain from heaven and fruitful seasons." I understand the Bishop to say here, that the gift of justification is bestowed, as the rain, "upon the just and upon the unjust alike." Again, in p. 108, he says, "All men are redeemed, reconciled, brought back, made righteous, by the love of their Heavenly Father." Again, p. 109, "The whole human race is made righteous." And what connection does the Bishop make faith to have with justification? He says that the Apostle's use of the word "faith" is "not so much that of the believer's subjective activity in laying hold consciously of the promises, as that of the objective existence of these promises, as the free gift of God's grace." After looking carefully into this subject I find, then, that the Bishop's teaching is, that justification is a gift bestowed equally upon all men, whether Christians or heathens, and is wholly unconnected with faith in Christ or admission into the Gospel covenant. The preaching of the Gospel only brings home to the hearts of men "the blessedness of being made righteous;" but they had this blessedness, were made righteous, were justified, before hearing the Word. When a man hears the Gospel preached he hears a "fresh declaration of his righteousness;" when he receives the Gospel by faith he receives the knowledge of his former justification. Then God "justifies men in their own consciences; He brings home to them consciously the gift of justification" (p. 74).

This is the Bishop's teaching, so far as I can understand it. It needs not many words to prove that it is directly contrary to the doctrine of the Church of which he is a Bishop.

Article XI sets forth that we are justified or "accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord and

Saviour Jesus Christ by faith," and "that we are justified by faith" and refers to the Homily on Justification (or "the Salvation of Mankind") in further explanation of the doctrine. The teaching of that homily is plain. Passages have already been quoted. The sum of the Church's doctrine is that we are "justified by faith;" *i.e.*, by men's faith in the Saviour, and through His merits. The Bishop of Natal says in his letter, "I do not hold that our justification depends on our faith."

Justification conferred equally upon all mankind, and altogether independent of faith in Christ, is not the justification of which the Article speaks. But the Bishop seems to attach a right meaning to the term "justification," while, at the same time, he separates it from faith, and teaches that it is bestowed on all men alike. This is to impugn and contradict the Catholic faith as taught in the Articles and Formularies cited against his teaching.

I am of opinion, therefore, that the charge made under the second schedule has been proved.

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The charges made in the third schedule against the teaching of the Bishop of Natal are closely connected with his teaching on justification. We find the Bishop teaches that all men have been justified, and that faith is in no way necessary towards justification. So, it is said, he maintains that all men, everywhere, at all times, are partakers of the inward and spiritual grace of the Sacraments; whether they have faith or not; whether they are partakers of the Sacraments or not.

The Bishop in his letter refers twice to what he terms the "sacramental system," as a system which he regards as "unsound and unscriptural," and "opposed to the Prayer-book." It is not necessary to inquire what that system is which the Bishop thus opposes. But it is well to notice that the charges against the Bishop's teaching on this head do not touch the ordinary controversies concerning either sacrament. He is not charged with denying the "inward part or thing signified" in the sacraments, nor with speaking slightly of the "outward and visible sign." The Bishop acknowledges the inward and spiritual grace of baptism to be "a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness," and speaks of that grace being "given us in baptism" (page 114). And, in a similar way, he acknowledges that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper "the

inward spiritual grace" (or "the inward part or thing signified," as I understand him) is not the effect wrought upon ourselves "by coming to that holy sacrament, but the Body and Blood of Christ which are graciously given to us of God" (page 115). We are bound to give the Bishop the full benefit of such language. But the charge against him is that, by his general teaching in his Commentary, he denies that the two sacraments are "generally necessary to salvation" (as the Church teaches), or that they convey any special grace, or that faith is necessary for them to have "a wholesome effect and operation."

On referring to the Bishop's language, as quoted in this schedule, and illustrated in other parts of his work, and explained in his letters, I find that whilst confessing the inward grace of baptism to be "a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness" (in the words of the Catechism), he teaches that this grace has been given to every man, and has been received by every man in his "very birth hour." "We" (i.e., all mankind—heathens and Christians) "have already died unto sin, and risen unto righteousness." Also, the Bishop says, we all receive "this precious gift of God by that mysterious union with Christ, our Head, which we all enjoy as members of the great human family" (page 114). And in explanation of any special benefit of baptism I find that the Bishop's view of that sacrament is that "we are hereby made, i.e., adopted, avouched, declared, taken formally to be, what in truth we were before, from our very birth-hour, 'the children of God'" (p. 116); and that baptism is "a special outward sign to confirm the mercies of our God to us. In baptism a gracious pledge is given to us." (p. 117). It is like "a formal process of adoption" (p. 117). "He [God] makes us, adopts us, to be His children in baptism" (p. 118). And the Bishop says "our baptism become thus a glorious reality." But it must be observed that in this teaching faith has nothing to do with our being made children of God. We are born children of God. Nor has our admission into the mystical Body of Christ anything to do with securing this blessing. Our admission into the "great human family" admits us also into the family of God. In fact, the two are identical. The Bishop makes the Church and the human race identical, so far that Christ is the head of the human race, and all men, heathens and Christians, are united to Him, and are made partakers of the Gospel blessings. "What He our Head did that we the members of His body share in—we the whole brotherhood of men—we the whole human race, whose

nature He took upon Him" (p. 113). And all mankind are to rejoice "as free and happy creatures, as children of God, and brethren of Jesus Christ" (p. 114). In the Bishop's letter of explanation he says that in baptism "we are made children in a higher sense of the word." But he immediately adds that "the inward and spiritual grace" of baptism—the free gift of God—"depends not in any way on the spirit in which we come or are brought to the sacrament." I infer, then, that the Bishop means by "a higher sense of the word" that baptism is the formal process of adoption" into that family of which we were all indeed members before; and that in this sacrament the love which God had to us before is declared and set forth. The Bishop also says that in the case of adults baptism "is a means of confirming faith already existing, and 'increasing faith' of which they are already partaking, not by virtue of any mysterious efficacy in the sacrament itself, as such, but by virtue of prayer to God."

The Bishop teaches a like doctrine concerning Holy Communion. The "inward and spiritual grace" is (he says) the ^{UBODERSITY OF BLOOD HAR} Body and Blood of Christ, which are graciously given us ^{of the God Excellence} (p. 115). But this grace is given to all men, at all times,—heathen as well as Christian men; "all men are everywhere partaking of the "Body and Blood of Christ;" and this "at all times." The receiving of the blessing is not affected by unworthiness. "Whether" (the Bishop says) "they feed upon it by living faith or not, whether they know the precious gift of God's grace or not, whether they heed it or disregard it," still the spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ is given to all, and is taken by all, at all times. I believe I am fairly representing the Bishop's teaching. Men partake of that spiritual food at the time they receive the sacrament,—or rather they do not cease at that moment to be partakers of the food which every other moment of their lives they are receiving from God. The "inward and spiritual grace," a free gift of favour, is "set forth to us by the bread and wine." "The Body and Blood of Christ are represented to us by the elements" (p. 115). "These things are brought vividly before us by the outward and visible sign of them."

To say that this teaching concerning the sacraments seems, or is, strange, is to little purpose. Is it, or is it not, contrary to the teaching of the Church of England in the Articles and Formularies?

The Church Catechism says that the two sacraments are "generally necessary to salvation." This language must

refer to the "inward and spiritual grace" of the sacraments, as given through the sacraments, to the faithful receiver. But the Bishop's teaching is that all mankind,—heathens as well as Christians—are partakers from their birth hour of this inward and spiritual grace. If spiritual grace and life in Christ are gifts conferred on all mankind, and the sacraments only set forth that grace,—are only "pledges" of grace before received, only means of "increasing grace,"—they cannot be "generally necessary to salvation." The gift of spiritual life,—the new birth—the gift of Christ's Body and Blood—these (the Bishop says) are enjoyed by all, from their very birth-hour. By such teaching he does, in effect, deny the sacraments to be "generally necessary to salvation." It is no question whether some men may by faith, in special circumstances, be made partakers of the grace of the sacraments, without actual reception of them. The Bishop says all men, everywhere, at all times, are made partakers of that grace,—without faith and without the sacraments.

Again, Article xxv says the sacraments are "effectual signs of grace," by the which God "doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him." The Bishop declares the sacraments "signs," and confesses in his letter that they are "effectual signs," saying "that they are means of grace when duly received;" though denying immediately afterwards "the virtue of any mysterious efficacy of the sacrament itself." But he most plainly teaches that no special grace is bestowed in the sacraments, which men usually obtain not save by them. "All men, everywhere, obtain the very same gifts which Christian people are led faithfully to seek in Christ's own ordinances." Article xxvii treats "of baptism" and its blessings. But the Bishop asserts that all men are "new-born in Christ," and made the children of God in their very birth-hour; they are all, in their birth, grafted into the family of Christ. Article xxviii treats of the sacrament "of the Lord's Supper." But the Bishop teaches, in contradiction to that Article, that "the partaking of the Body of Christ" and the "partaking of the Blood of Christ" is a privilege which all men, everywhere, enjoy from the commencement of life. Moreover, Article xxv says that "in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation;" and Article xxviii teaches that "the means whereby the Body and Blood of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith;" and Article xxix "that the wicked, and such as be void of faith, in no wise are partakers of Christ." But the Bishop teaches that the

Body and Blood of Christ is given to all the human race,—at all times,—“whether they feed upon it by living faith or not;”—“all men” (he says) partake of His Body and Blood [letter] and of “life” in Christ,—all men, *i.e.*, whether heathens or Christians.

I might refer to other portions of the Bishop's work in illustration of his teaching, and to the Formularies quoted in this schedule in illustration of the teaching of the Church. But this is sufficient, and more than sufficient, to make it plain how the opposition between the two is brought home to me. I cannot in any way reconcile the Bishop's teaching with that of the Articles. He has a sacramental system of his own, and it is certainly “unsound and unscriptural,” though this is not the exact point I have to deal with now. It is as certainly “opposed to the Prayer-book,” and to the Articles, which he has subscribed.

I am compelled to say, therefore, that I consider this third charge against the Bishop's teaching to be thoroughly proved.

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The fourth schedule deals with a most mysterious and awful truth,—the punishment to be awarded hereafter to the wicked.

I find that the Bishop of Natal rejects plainly the doctrine of “the endlessness of future punishments.” He says, “I can no longer maintain it.” He did once hold the truth of it, but has given it up. His heart revolts at the dogma. He rejects it (as it seems) because it cannot be reconciled in his own mind with the convictions he has within him of the love of God. It is not my duty to support that doctrine by the Holy Scriptures. Nor is it my duty to point out how the statements of God in His Word are always to be reconciled with what He has revealed to us of His Divine Nature, and how justice and mercy equally appertain to Him. But the question is, whether the Bishop of Natal, in thus denying the endlessness of future punishments, is, or is not, maintaining opinions against the teaching of Christ's Church, and more particularly of the Church of England.

The Bishop says: “I do not believe that my doctrine contradicts at all the language of Holy Scripture, or the Formularies of the Church, including the Athanasian Creed, when properly understood.” After careful and anxious examination I am bound to express my own belief that the Bishop's doctrine does plainly contradict Holy Scripture,

and the Formularies, and especially the Athanasian Creed, if this is to be understood, as it always has been understood, in its plain literal meaning.

This Creed declares: "They that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire." No special pleading can change the meaning which has always been attached to these words. The "fire" is everlasting, as the "life" is "everlasting." Nor can the Bishop maintain an opinion that the fire is everlasting, but the torment not. Of the unfaithful man the Creed says again, "without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Nor can he be permitted to accept the rest of the Creed whilst he rejects these passages, or puts a new meaning of his own upon them. Article VIII says, "The three Creeds ought *thoroughly* to be received and believed, for they may be proved by *most certain* warrants of Holy Scripture."

The Bishop says that "Purgants" are in "a small minority" amongst Christians in maintaining this dogma. This is clearly a mistake. No doctrine of Purgatory has ever interfered with the unity or teaching of the Catholic Church, in all ages, according to the literal meaning of the words of the Creed. There has never been a division concerning the effect of our Lord's sentence at the last great day. The Christian Church is, and has always been, one in the declaration of the awful truth that the wicked shall be cast into "everlasting fire," and shall "go away into everlasting punishment."

The Formularies and Homilies only illustrate the meaning of the Creed. They have been fully quoted already. The Creed maintains and sets forth the truths which the Bishop—though he once accepted them—now rejects.

I consider, therefore, that the charge preferred against the Bishop's teaching in this fourth schedule has been proved.

V.

The charges preferred in Schedules V, VI, VII, and VIII are very nearly connected, and concern the truth, sacredness, and authority of the Holy Scriptures.

The special charge made in Schedule V is, that the Bishop maintains that the Holy Scriptures are not the Word of God, although they contain the Word of God; and that, so maintaining, he contradicts the faith. The extracts from the Bishop's writings in this and the following schedules are taken from his work on the "Pentateuch and Book of Joshua."

The Bishop does plainly say that "the Bible is not itself God's Word." He seems to draw this conclusion in consequence of the opinion he has formed that "it is impossible to believe in" the truth of a *l* Canonical Scripture. In the Preface to Part I, he acknowledges that such an opinion is contrary to the declaration made and required by all Bishops of candidates for ordination. "Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?" Answer: "I do believe them." But in the same Preface to Part I, and in Preface to Part II, the Bishop tells us that his "conclusion" from the terms of that "solemn declaration" has been "materially affected" by a late decision in the Court of Arches. He now thinks he is at liberty to hold his opinion that it is "impossible to believe" in the truth of all the Canonical Scriptures, although he is still bound by that "solemn declaration" which he once made,—*I do believe them.*

The exact question raised by the charge preferred under this schedule is, whether the Bishop of Natal contradicts the teaching of the Church in maintaining that the Bible is not the Word of God, although it contains God's Word?

Article VI says: "In the *rule of the Holy Scripture* we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." The names of the Old Testament Books follow. Article XVII speaks of God's promises as "generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture;" and, immediately afterwards, of the "will of God," as "expressly declared unto us in the Word of God." Article XX speaks of "God's Word written." Article XXII of certain doctrines as "grounded upon no warranty of Scriptures but rather repugnant to the Word of God." Article XXIV refers to a particular custom as "repugnant to the Word of God." In these Articles, then, we find the Holy Scriptures, as a whole, gathered into one Book, maintained to be the "Word of God," and referred to as the "Word of God"—"God's Word written."

But the Bishop of Natal says: "There is a sense in which I am quite ready to speak of the Bible as the Word of God,—just as we call a Church the 'House of God,' without meaning, therefore, to say that the plan or material of the building is divine." (Preface to Part III.)

In judging of the Bishop's opinion in this matter, it is necessary to determine whether this sense which the Bishop would put upon the term "the Word of God" is the sense in which the term is used and applied in the Articles and Formularies; or whether it is a new sense, contrary to the "true, usual, and literal meaning" of these Articles and Formularies.

The arguments already urged by the Bishop of Graham's Town are, in my opinion, convincing on this part of the subject. It seems plain that the Bishop of Natal uses the term "the Word of God" in a sense of his own, and denies the Bible to be the Word of God in the sense in which the Holy Scriptures are so termed in the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England.

I believe, therefore, that so maintaining that the Holy Scriptures contain the Word of God, but are not the Word of God, the Bishop of Natal impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith, and that the charge preferred in this schedule has been proved.

VI.

The sixth charge preferred against the Bishop is that "the Holy Scriptures are spoken of and treated (by him) as a merely human Book, not inspired by God the Holy Spirit or inspired only in such a manner as other books may be inspired;" and that this is to impugn and contradict the faith.

The Bishop of Natal, in the book from which quotations are made, opposes himself to what he terms the "ordinary belief" in the inspiration of Holy Scripture. He denies that the Bible is infallibly divine, or is anything but "a human book." He says the Bible is not in itself God's Word. He denies that there was a constant, supernatural, infallible guidance over the writers; and says "they wrote as men, with the same liability to error as others." He maintains that the Bible is full of "contradictions," "impossibilities," and "legends." He asserts that the Pentateuch is not historically true, and that it could not have been written by Moses; that certain parts are not credible; that common sense and the best acquaintance with scientific facts will force men to disbelieve the account of the Deluge; that the writer of the Pentateuch filled up the narration, perhaps to a large extent, from his own imagination; and that there is no reason to suppose that he professed to be writing historical truth.

Yet, on the other hand, the Bishop acknowledges "the inspiration of the Holy One" to "breathe through" the pages of the Bible (page 152), and speaks of the Spirit's "special working on the minds of the writers" (page 13); and he terms the Bible "the best of books" (page 380), and a book to be "reverenced" (*ib.*) as "containing God's Word," and says that the voice of God is to be listened for "humbly and devoutly" in the Bible.

After careful examination into the Bishop's teaching on this subject, and after a comparison of that teaching with the language of the Articles and Formularies, as cited by the presenting clergy, I am compelled to say that I believe the charges are proved, and that the Bishop does impugn and contradict the faith.

Article VI speaks of "Holy Scripture" and affixes to the Books of the Old and New Testament the term "canonical," and claims for them an "authority." The "authority" of these books, of which there was "never any doubt in the Church," is plainly the authority to speak to men in the name of God. As regards the signification of the term "canonical," we have heard Welchman's opinion that it signifies "inspired by God, and given us for a rule of faith and manners." It is not necessary to discuss the exact meaning of the term "inspiration," nor to define the manner in which the Holy Spirit "moves" the writers in their sacred task, in every part of their work. But if the Scriptures are rightly called "Holy" in the Articles; if the term "canonical" has any real meaning; if the Bible has "authority;" then God reveals His Will to us, and it is necessary to salvation, through the Bible, if the Church is bound so to receive Holy Scripture as an authority in matters of faith and duty, that it "may not expound one place that it be repugnant to another," and "ought not to devise anything against the same;" if Councils of the Church must recognize Holy Scripture as an authority higher than their own, because "they may err, and sometimes have erred;" then much more must an individual Christian submit to the authority of the Bible, as above himself, and as regarding his own faith and duty. The authority of Holy Scripture can only be deduced from the inspiration of Holy Scripture. If we believe in the supreme authority of the book, we must believe in some unusual and extraordinary influences of the Holy Spirit through the writers. But the only "inspiration" acknowledged by the Bishop of Natal is something usual and ordinary; such an influence as is exercised by the Spirit of God on the mind of every living man. This is really to deny the inspiration, and the impugning of the authority follows as a matter of course. The Bishop holds parts of the Bible to be inspired, just as he holds that parts of the ancient writings of heathen men were inspired, as he asserts, "by the same Divine Teacher" (p. 155). In such writings, as in the Bible, we are to be taught to recognize the "voice of God's Spirit" (p. 154).

And, consequently, the Bishop of Natal does deny the "authority" of Holy Scripture in any sense as an authority to which "the living voice within" each man must bow. Certain portions of the Bible (he says) may be called "God's Word," but we are all able to judge, and are bound to judge, "whether this or that portion of the Bible has a message from God" to us, or not. In reading the different portions of the Bible we are to "try the spirits whether they are of God;" and this because, though God's Spirit speaks in parts of the Bible, we have the same Spirit ourselves. "The voice from within" is to be the judge of the voice from without,—God's Word written. We must bring the teaching of the Bible to the "test of our own reason and conscience" (p. 152). This teaching wholly destroys the "authority" of Scripture as taught by the Church.

Acting upon his own principle, the Bishop of Natal does expound one part of Scripture so that it contradicts another, which Article xx says the Church collectively may not do. He also declares that the Bible contains "absolute, palpable self-contradictions, unity, unity, contradictions" (p. 17), "manifest *Together in Excellence* and inconsistencies." Thus he destroys at once the authority and sacredness of a large portion of what Article vi terms "Holy Scripture," applying that term to each book in the Old and New Testaments.

And the Bishop's language, as quoted by me, which seems most in accordance with the Articles, is explained by himself in a manner to make it quite inconsistent with them. He calls upon us to "make a complete revision of our views about the Bible." He seems completely to have revised his own views, and they are now directly contrary to the Articles and Formularies of the Church as expressed under this schedule. The sum of that teaching is embodied in the second Advent Collect, where we call upon God "who has caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning, and pray that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of His Holy Word, we may embrace, and ever hold fast, the blessed hope of everlasting life." "All Holy Scriptures" form the "Word of God;" and God "caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning." We are to hear and read the Holy Scriptures as God's "Holy Word," as an authority over us, not as writings which the mere voice within us has a right to accept or reject at will.

I am of opinion that the charges made against the Bishop's acting in this sixth schedule have been proved.

VII.

Under Schedule VII we have to consider, in general terms, the truth of Holy Scripture, as distinct (so far as it can be kept distinct) from the question of inspiration. But much of the language used in dealing with the last charge would apply to the present one. The Bishop of Natal is here charged with denying, in whole or in part, the authenticity, genuineness, and truth of certain Books of Scripture; and it is urged that, by this denial, the authority and canonicity of these books is also called in question and denied, contrary to the teaching of the Church as expressed in certain Articles and Formularies as quoted.

The Bishop does plainly deny, in strong language, repeated over and over again, the truth of a main portion of the Pentateuch. He says he has now given up all belief in its "historical veracity." Some of the chief events there recorded "could not possibly have happened." It contains "a series of manifest contradictions and inconsistencies." Its records involve "plain impossibilities." When ordained deacon, he professed his "unfeigned belief" in those books. Now he declares "it is impossible wholly to believe in them" (p. xii). He now says the "Mosaic narrative is not historically true, that the Books of Chronicles cannot be relied on; that the Exodus did not take place as recorded; that the Deluge could not possibly have taken place; and that the heart revolts at certain commands which these books tell us God gave to Moses. The Bishop asserts that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, and that the real writer filled up the narrative out of his own imagination and represented God as speaking to Moses, but in so doing, the Bishop says, there is no reason for supposing that he professed to be recording infallible truth, or even historical truth. To this extent, then, and in this manner, the Bishop denies the authority, genuineness, and truth of the Pentateuch and other books—no unimportant portion of the whole Bible.

Books full of "fables," "contradictions," "impossibilities," "exaggerations," "inconsistencies," and "legends" can have no divine "authority," and cannot be termed "holy." But the Church claims such "authority" for them undoubtingly, and classes them by name as "holy" and "canonical" Scriptures, causing them to be read in public services as the "very pure Word of God." The Bishop of Graham's Town has already enlarged on this subject. I have myself said much, and need say little more. He has set forth also, in a plain and convincing manner, the question of authorship, and specially of this question as it concerns the Pentateuch.

The Bishop of Natal not only doubts about the authority of these books ("of which there was never any doubt in the Church") but he plainly impugns it. He also denies that the Pentateuch was written by Moses. He says that if men will but "think" and inquire, the "least acquaintance with scientific facts, or common sense itself," will teach them to disbelieve the truth of the Pentateuch. And again the Bishop says that "truth itself" requires men to abandon the ordinary notion of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; and in his letter he says, "Every intelligent student of the Scriptures must be aware of the truth of what I say."

I cannot refrain from contrasting this language with the recent writings of two men of "learning," and "common sense" and "some acquaintance with scientific facts:"—

1. Professor H. Brown says (in a passage quoted by the Bishop of Natal): "With all the pains and ingenuity which have been bestowed on the subject, no charge of error, even in matters of human knowledge, has ever been substantiated against any of the writers of Scripture."

2. Professor Rawlinson, in his Bampton Lectures, says: "Upon the whole, it may be pronounced that we have in the Pentateuch a genuine and authentic work, and one which—even were it not inspired—would be, for the times and countries whereof it treats, the leading and paramount authority. It is (let us be assured) 'Moses' who is still read in the synagogues every Sabbath day, and they who resist him by impugning his veracity, like Jannes and Jambres of old, 'resist the truth.'"

The result of a critical study of Scripture with these two writers is to convince them thoroughly of the truth of the Pentateuch, its authenticity and genuineness. The result of the Bishop of Natal's recent examination of these books is that he disbelieves in the "ordinary notions" of their historic merits and Mosaic authorship. The question is, which of these conclusions accords with the preaching of the Church? The one is directly contrary to the other. Is one of them contrary also to the Articles and Formularies, as asserted?

Articles VI, VII, and XX do certainly teach belief in the truths of all the Books of the Old Testament, as involved in their "authority" and "canonicity." Other portions of the Formularies, as quoted in this schedule, assume the same.

This seems to be the "ordinary notions" to which the Bishop opposes himself. He says we must make a complete revision in our views about the Bible. And he appears to

acknowledge the necessity, therefore, of making some revision of the Articles and Formularies. He says that "the very condition of every young man entering the Ministry of the Church of England is that he (should) solemnly bind himself for life to believe unfeignedly in all the Canonical Scriptures;" and this (the Bishop says) is "to surrender henceforth all freedom of thought." The Bishop says this, "notwithstanding the relief given to the consciences of many clergy," as he imagines, by a recent decision in the Court of Arches. And he also confesses that the Ordination Service is "not the only part of our Formularies that will be generally understood, unless expressed by judicial authority, to involve implicit belief in the historical truth of the facts recorded in the Pentateuch.

I believe that the Bishop's teaching does so impugn the authority and canonicity of certain Books of Holy Scripture as to contradict the Articles and Formularies; and I consider the charge made in the schedule has been proved.



The charge made in the schedule is that the Bishop in his writings "denies the doctrine that our blessed Lord is God and man in one Person." So grave a charge demands the most careful consideration of the Bishop's language.

The Bishop's argument is that we must not suppose that our Lord in speaking of the Pentateuch as a true history, and as written by Mozes, "was acquainted more than any educated Jew of the age, with the mysteries of modern science;" and asks why "He should be expected to speak about the Pentateuch in other terms than any other devout Jew of that day would have employed." And again: "Why should it be thought that He would speak with certain Divine knowledge on this matter, more than upon other matters of ordinary science or history." In the preface to part II. the Bishop gives further explanation in vindication of his opinion "as perfectly competent with—rather is absolutely required by—the most orthodox faith in His Divinity, as the eternal Son of God." In the preface to part III. the subject is again taken up, and this opinion is explained and defended in a letter which the Bishop of Natal appears to enclose. The Bishop says that he is supported in his view "by the consentient opinion of very many of the greatest Divines, both ancient and modern."

After most careful consideration of these opinions referred to by the Bishop, as explaining his own language, and after a comparison of that language with Article 6, and the Creeds, with every desire to research his view with the teaching of the Church concerning our Blessed Lord, I am compelled to say that, in my opinion, it cannot be so reconciled. Nor do I believe the Bishop's opinion to be supported by any one of the "testimonies of divines, both ancient and modern," quoted in Preface to Part III.

In our Lord, "two whole and perfect natures were joined together in One Person, never to be divided, whereof is One Christ, very God and very Man." To say that our Lord's human nature was subject to limitations of knowledge, is only to confess that he was "perfect man." To interpret our Lord's language, mysterious as it is, in St. Mark xiii. 32 ("Of that day and that hour knoweth no man," &c.), as divines have interpreted it, and as their opinions are quoted in the Preface to Part III of the Bishop's work, may be quite in agreement with a full belief in the doctrine of the 2nd Article. But none of these writers dare to attribute ignorance to our Lord in any matter of which He willest to speak. None dare to attribute ignorance to Him as a teacher, or to say that in His teaching he showed any lack of knowledge, much less that He fell into errors in consequence of lack of knowledge concerning the subjects of which He treats.

Yet this is what the Bishop of Natal affirms. And this, I cannot doubt, is to attribute ignorance and error to the *Person* of our Blessed Lord, or to divide the two natures which can "never be divided."

Our Lord's express witness to the Pentateuch cannot be put aside, as the Bishop of Natal puts it aside, without falling into one of these very grave errors.

"God and Man is one Christ," and when Christ our Lord uses arguments in teaching divine truths such as those quoted by the Bishop in the Preface to Part I, p. xxx.,—and as part of these arguments refers to Moses and his writings as undoubted authorities, and as prophetic writings bearing witness to Himself,—His words cannot be met by an assertion of His ignorance concerning the real character and value of these writings, without directly impugning His divine knowledge. The Bishop uses words about the Baptismal Services (II. xxi) which apply well to the subject of which I am now speaking. Our Lord's language "expressly assumes the reality and historical truthfulness of"

the writings from which He quotes. To say that He spoke in ignorance and in error is to deny that He who spoke was "God and Man in One Christ," and in "One Person."

I consider that the charge preferred in this schedule has been proved.

Under the ninth and last schedule, the Bishop of Natal is charged with depraving and impugning, and otherwise bringing into disrepute, the Book of Common Prayer, particular portions of the Ordinal and Baptismal Services, and, in so doing, with violating the law of the Church of England.

The Bishop, in the passages cited in this schedule, complains that the law of the Church compels subscription to the Articles and Prayer Book, and requires a declaration of unfeigned belief in the Canonical Scriptures. He also denies the truth of the Deluge, while at the same time confessing that the Baptismal Service expressly assumes the reality and historical truthfulness of the story." He recommends men to "disobey the law of the Church" in a certain point. He says that if a clergyman ventures to "think" on certain subjects, "he is liable to forfeit some of the Church's doctrine." He says that, in consequence of his subscription and declaration according to the law, a clergyman is not allowed to "think and speak the truth as a free man," and (as I understand the Bishop's words) is required - to maintain, by silence, at all events, if not by overt acts, transparent fictions."

Such language seems plainly to constitute the offence charged, of "impugning and bringing into disrepute" the Book of Common Prayer; and is contrary to the terms of the 36th Canon which the Bishop has subscribed.

I consider that the charge preferred under this last schedule has been proved.

I have now gone through the several charges made against the teaching of the Bishop of Natal, and am compelled to state my opinion, which I do with extreme pain, that each of these charges has been proved. Most thankful should I have felt if the Bishop's defence and explanations had enabled me to conclude that, notwithstanding inaccurate expressions and unguarded language, he was yet sound in the faith. He is one of whom, independently of his sacred office, all must desire to think and speak with respect and esteem. He is a Bishop, in whose work amongst the native races of Natal many amongst us have for years taken a deep interest. It is a grievous thing no longer to be able to look up to him as a teacher of the truth,—no longer to be able to regard him as fit to remain in his high office as a Bishop of

the Church of Christ. Yet this, and no less, is the conviction forced upon my mind. This is the opinion I feel bound to give, as before God and His Church, to the Metropolitan of this Province.

The Lord Bishop of Cape Town then said: I beg to thank my Right Rev. Brethren for the valuable assistance which they have given me, and for the opinions which they have expressed to-day. I have only further to add that judgment will be given on Wednesday next, at eleven o'clock.

Wednesday, December 16.

At eleven o'clock the Lord Bishop of Cape Town and his Assessors (the Bishops of Graham's Town and the Free State) assembled at St. George's Cathedral for the purpose of delivering judgment in the matter of the charges preferred against the Bishop of Natal.

The Lord Bishop of Cape Town, in delivering judgment, said: The case which has been brought before myself and the Bishops of this Province, and upon which I am now called to give judgment, is one of the gravest and most painful character. That a Bishop should be formally accused of heresy is a circumstance happily almost unknown in the Anglican branch of the Church of Christ since the period of the Reformation; and there is absolutely no instance as regards our non-established Colonial Churches. To our African Church attaches the reproach of being the first to be charged with a wide departure from the faith in the person of one of her prelates. The absence of all precedent causes great difficulty in dealing with this case, which, under any circumstances, could not but be most distressing to the Bishops of this Province, called, as they are, to sit in judgment upon one who has been their fellow-labourer for so long a period, and with whom they had been associated in council, and have lived in the interchange of brotherly intercourse.

With myself, as Metropolitan, rests the chief responsibility of dealing with this matter, and that responsibility I may not shrink from. My office has indeed been challenged by the accused; but if there were reason to think that jurisdiction in a legal sense was not conveyed by the

formal instruments which profess to give it—which is at least uncertain, inasmuch as no constitutional government had been established in Natal at the period of their issue—there can be no doubt that the Church, after long and careful deliberation, resolved upon the appointment of Metropolitans over Colonial Churches, and sent me out in that capacity; or that the Crown co-operated with the Church in such proceeding, and gave its full sanction—of whatever value that sanction may be—both to the establishment of the office and to the appointment of the individual who holds it; or that the Bishop recognized both the office and the jurisdiction, and elected the Metropolitan as his judge in accepting his Letters Patent; or that he bound himself by a solemn oath to render due obedience to the See of Cape Town and the Bishop thereof; or that he has repeatedly, throughout his Episcopate, as has been proved by the documents put in at the commencement of this trial, even on a charge of supposed heresy preferred against him some time ago by two of his own clergy, submitted to the judgment of his Metropolitan; or that, in the letter which he has requested may be considered as his defence, he has acknowledged that he stands in the relation of a suffragan Bishop to the Metropolitan of this Province, of which he admits me to be the Metropolitan, with the powers and authority of that office.

There are two ways, as I conceive, in which proceedings may be adopted when charges are brought against a Bishop involving matters of faith. The Bishops of the Province may either of their own accord, in their Synod, call the accused to account, hear and discuss his teaching, and acquit or condemn him; or, if any members of the Church who feel aggrieved by that teaching, and have knowledge of it, promote the office of the Metropolitan, the Metropolitan may proceed to hear those charges. This latter, indeed, is the course prescribed in the Letters Patent: "We do further will and ordain that, in case any proceedings shall be instituted against any of the said Bishops of Graham's Town and Natal, when placed under the Metropolitan See of Cape Town, such proceedings shall be originated and carried on before the said Bishop of Cape Town, whom we hereby authorize and direct to take cognizance of the same." This is the course which has been pursued on the present occasion. Certain of the Clergy at this Province have brought very serious charges against one of the Bishops of the Province, before the Metropolitan. Upon this, he has cited the accused Bishop

to appear before him, furnishing him with a copy of the charges brought against him, and a statement of the Articles and Formularies which he is said to have contravened; and has also summoned the other Bishops of the Province to assist him in the hearing of those charges. This course was adopted;—I. In deference to the above cited instructions of the Letters Patent, which, of however little authority in a legal point of view, serve at least to show what, in the eye of the Crown and of the Church, is the right course to be pursued in this painful case. II. Because it would give to the Bishop accused every opportunity of meeting the charges preferred against him. And, III. Because it was in accordance with the course pursued in the only case furnished by the Mother Church, which seemed to be applicable, and could be regarded as a precedent.

I allude to the trial of **Watson**, Bishop of St. David's, by Archbishop Tennison. The whole question as to the proper mode of proceeding in the trial of a Bishop of a Province was then fully discussed before the Archbishop in his Court of Audience, before the Court of Delegates, the Queen's Bench, and the House of Lords, the whole of the Judges being present; and it was unanimously held by all the Judges, and also by nearly all the Bishops, that the Archbishops had proceeded in the right way, by trying his suffragan as Metropolitan, rather than by condemning him in Synod, even though that case was complicated by the fact that the Bishop was a peer of the realm, and was deprived of his peerage conferred by the Crown by the sentence of the Archbishop.

Without, however, entering fully into this or other grave questions intimately connected with this case, and involving deep principles, from the discussion of which in this judgment I have thought it better altogether to abstain, I proceed to consider whether the charges which have been brought against the Bishop of Natal have been proved, and whether they are such as to warrant the conclusion at which, in common with such other Bishops of this Province as have been able to obey my summons, I have arrived after a long and anxious investigation of the case.

In forming a decision as to the soundness or unsoundness of the Bishop's views, I shall be guided entirely by the language of the Articles and Formularies, including, of course, the whole Book of Common Prayer. I do not mean thereby to imply that these are the only tests by which the Bishops of this Church should try the teaching

of its ministers. I am of opinion that the decisions of those councils which the Church of England regards as **oecumenical**, are the very highest authorities by which they could be guided; and the received faith of the Church in all ages, even though not defined by any council, if it can be ascertained—as for example, on such a question as Inspiration in connection with the **Holy Scriptures**—must also be a guide to them which cannot be disregarded. In the present case, however, though I may refer to these authorities as illustrating and confirming the doctrine of the Church of England, and compare the Bishop's teaching with them, I shall not base my judgment upon them, because the presenting Clergy have not in their Articles referred to them, but have contrasted the Bishop's language exclusively with the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England. I do not feel called upon to estimate with precision the amount of authority to be attached to each of the documents which the Church of England has stamped with its authority, but I perhaps ought not to pass the subject by altogether.

It may be enough to say of the Formularies regarding them all in their several measures, and as utterances of the Church's voice, I regard the three Creeds as of the highest authority, because they express the mind and faith not only of the Church of England, but also of the whole Catholic Church from the beginning.

That I consider the Articles as next in authority to the Creeds, because they express in more exact and scientific terms than our other Formularies, the teaching of the Church of England upon the points of which they treat.

And that I regard the whole Prayer-Book, but more especially the Catechism, the Ordination Services, the Services for Holy Baptism, and Holy Communion, as of great authority; and as sufficient to show what the faith of the Church is on matters upon which the Articles may be silent, or their language require explanation.

I shall, without assuming to decide upon the extent of authority to be attached to the language of the Homilies, refer to them as authorized expositors of the more condensed language of the Articles, and as illustrating their meaning; but I shall not use them as an independent authority on matters not treated of in the Articles.

I shall not refer largely to the writings of those who are generally regarded as the great divines of the Church, and when I do so, it will be for the purpose of illustrating the Church's teaching, not as independent authorities. If there

are any who are entitled to rank as authorities, Jewell and Nowell pre-eminently are so, because of the sanction given by Convocation to certain of their writings; but even these will be used only for the purpose of explanation and illustration.

In interpreting the Church's standards of the faith, I shall endeavour to ascertain their "true, usual, literal meaning," their "plain and full meaning." Wheresoever it is possible, I shall decide this by the "literal and grammatical sense" of the words. (Declaration prefixed to Articles.)

Where the sense of the words is not plain, where they are theological words, and have an historical meaning, I shall interpret them by a comparison of passages (the Articles, for instance, with the Homilies), by the history of the controversies which gave rise to them, by the analogy of the faith. I shall always have regard, where this is possible, to the "*animus impositus*," the intention of the Church in the wording of its documents.

This course appears to me to be the fairest, both to the Bishop and to the Church. The Creeds, the Articles, the Formularies, the Book of Common Prayer are the documents to which he has given his assent, by which he has acknowledged himself to be bound, and in accordance with which he has pledged himself to teach, and affirms in his defence that he has taught: "I do believe that my teaching in this book is in full accordance with the plain teaching of the Church, which I am pledged to guard and maintain, as laid down in her Articles, and, above all, with my consecration vow." (Letter IV).

In common with all engaged in these proceedings, I deeply regret that the Bishop was not himself present on the occasion of the trial. His absence I regard as a serious loss to the Court, and as injurious to his cause. A letter written two years ago, and the preface to which he refers me, very inadequately represent the kind of reply which doubtless he would have made to the charges which have been brought against him, and to the speeches of the presenting Clergy. And the Court itself, had he been present, would have been assisted in the interpretation of passages which it has often felt to be obscure, and have been saved from the risk of misunderstanding, and consequently misrepresenting the Bishop's views.

It is due to the presenting Clergy to say that they have conducted their cause with a degree of learning and ability which has excited very general admiration, and which has been of great service to myself and my assessors in mastering the difficulties of this case.

The Bishop was cited to answer certain charges of false, strange, and erroneous doctrine and teaching, preferred against him by the Very Reverend the Dean of Cape Town, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and the Venerable the Archdeacon of George, arising out of the publication of certain works, entitled "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated and explained from a missionary point of view;"—and Parts I and II of the "Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined."

The extracts from these works which are alleged to contain doctrines, views, and opinions at variance with the doctrine and teaching of the United Church of England and Ireland were served on the Bishop of Natal, together with schedules setting forth the Articles and Formularies contravened in these extracts. The Bishop in acknowledging the receipt of this citation admitted that he published "the matter quoted in the Articles annexed to the citation," and it will therefore be necessary for me now to investigate each of these schedules *seriatim*, and to judge whether the Articles and Formularies so scheduled have been contravened in these extracts, *et cetera*. I may add to the Bishop's defence "that the passages extracted be read in connection with the rest of the works from which they are taken."

I.

The first charge preferred is that in certain extracts which are given from his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, the Bishop of Natal maintains that our Lord did not die in man's stead, or bear the punishment or penalty of our sins, and that God is not reconciled to us by the death of His Son; and that this teaching impugns and contradicts the faith as expressed in certain of the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England which are referred to.

The Bishop's view on this and other subjects must be gathered not only from the passages articulated, but from other passages of his writings also, as indeed he has expressly desired that they may be.

Let me first take the passages complained of: "Once for all, let it be stated distinctly, there is not a single passage in the whole of the New Testament which supports the dogma of modern theology—that our Lord died for our sins in the sense of dying instead of us; dying in our place, or dying so as to bear the punishment or penalty of our sins."

"Let the expression once more be noted. The Apostle

does not say that 'God is reconciled to us by the death of His Son,' but that 'we are reconciled to God.' The difference in the meaning of the two expressions is infinite." "He died not instead of us, but He died for us, in our behalf."

The two points that the Bishop objects to and repudiates in these passages are clearly these .

I. That God was reconciled to man by the death of His Son.

II. That our Lord died instead of us, bore the punishment due to our sins.

I have looked carefully through the Commentary, and through a letter addressed to me by the Bishop more than two years ago, which he has, through his proxy, asked to have considered as containing an exposition of his views, and as his defence of those views, to see whether his expressions on these points were incidental, not supported by the general tone and teaching of the book, but modified and corrected elsewhere; for the writer does not always express himself accurately or exactly when treating of the great mysteries of the faith, and his language does at times appear to me on more points than one to be inconsistent with itself.

The result of my search is, that I find that the Bishop distinctly claims to have taught in exact accordance with the second and thirty-first Articles on the subject of our Lord's sacrifice, redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction. "As to the latter portion of this article (the second—'Christ truly suffered, to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but for the actual sins of men,') I have repeatedly asserted it in my book." And again: "My whole book teaches, in the words of the thirty-first Article, that the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone." And, in accordance with this claim, he does in places express himself in language which would be generally regarded as differing from that charged against him, and as being sound and orthodox with regard to the work accomplished by our Lord on the Cross, to whom again and again an atonement for the sins of the world is ascribed. Thus, at page 64 of his Commentary, he says: "Christ has come, sent by the grace and love of our Heavenly Father, to redeem us, to buy us back with a precious price from his state, and to set us wholly free from the power of evil,

that sin should no longer have dominion over us.' And again, page 98, he says: "Through that precious blood-shedding, the whole human race has been redeemed from the curse." "I have no less distinctly expressed my belief that 'we have redemption through His Blood, even the forgiveness of sins,' for I have said, 'through that precious blood-shedding, the whole human race has been redeemed from the curse.'" We have here the word "redemption" used to express the result of our Lord's sacrifice on the Cross, in a manner wholly unexceptionable.

Again, from page 65 to 68, he explains what he means by "propitiation," in a passage which I need not quote at length, but in which the language, did it stand alone, would be regarded as sufficient and satisfactory. He there says: "We are privileged to know the great mystery of godliness, to know in what way, through the wisdom of God, we have been redeemed from the power of evil, to look at Christ Jesus, through faith in His Blood, and behold in Him the propitiation for our sins, the object which makes us, the whole human race, of which He is the Head, acceptable to God." This language, if not adequate and full, is at least correct so far as our Lord's work is concerned. "Through faith in His Blood, we behold in Him the propitiation for our sins,—that which makes us acceptable to God." Again he says (page 65), "St. Paul says that God set forth His Son to us as a propitiation, that is to say, as something to make acceptable, as one through whom God will smile graciously upon us as our Father, notwithstanding all our own unfitness. In Him the Father was well pleased, and with us in Him. In His holy obedience unto death was that expression of perfect righteousness exhibited in the life of the Son of Man which the Father beheld with entire satisfaction, and accepting Him whom He had Himself made to be our head, and elder brother, and representative, He graciously accepted us all in Him."

Again, at page 94: "We have access, are brought near, reconciled, atoned, justified, pronounced righteous through His Blood."

Now language such as that which I have quoted has constrained me to declare that the teaching of the Bishop on the great subject of the Atonement was not so at variance with that of the Church as to call for any condemnation, did it stand alone. There are, however, other passages in his work besides those complained of, which show that he uses the words "atonement," "redemption," "sacrifice," "satisfaction," "propitiation,"—which are, so to

speaking, ecclesiastical and historical words,—in a sense of his own; that he does not mean what the Church intends by them, and that while using them, he repudiates some portion of the truth which they teach.

Thus, at page 98, section 156, ver. 1, he says: "It is very unfortunate that the true meaning of the word "atonement" should be so commonly lost sight of, and the notion introduced of something paid down to atone (as it is said) or compensate to God, or at least to reconcile God to us for our sins."

And at page 64, section 113, ver. 23: "The word "redemption" implies a buying back, a ransoming, as a captive from slavery But what is this redemption? Redemption from what? The accursed bondage in which we should all be held by our mere natural birth to this tyrant sin is the bondage or slavery from which our Lord has redeemed us." "Christ has come to redeem us, to buy us back with a precious price from this state, and to set us wholly free from the power of evil, that sin should no longer have dominion over us." University of Kortrijk together in Excellence according to the Bishop's view, our redemption is from sin, and its power, and its guilt, only (Letter III) not from the punishment due to it also.

And so with regard to "propitiation." He uses the word. He seems to attach in places a true meaning to it. He even speaks of our Lord's death as a propitiatory sacrifice. But, as I think will be seen from the passages to which I shall presently refer, he does, notwithstanding the occasional soundness of his language, exclude the idea which the Church of England, following the teaching of the Church in all ages, must, as it appears to me, be understood to attach to the words "satisfaction" (the Latin word for which in Article xxxi is *expiatio*), "propitiation," "sacrifices,"—the effecting a reconciliation for us, the making God propitious, the appeasing His just wrath on account of sin, satisfying His unspotted and eternal justice, the making expiation and atonement for our sins by dying in our stead.

In his letter he says: "I do deny that His was a vicarious sacrifice, in the sense in which I understand you to use the words, namely, that He endured in our stead the weight of God's wrath. He bore the penalty due to our sins. I believe that neither the expression nor the idea is scriptural" (Letter, clause 3). And again: "I repeat the assertion, there is not a single

expression in the whole New Testament which distinctly implies that Christ suffered the weight of His Father's wrath in our stead." Again: "He bore our sins, not the penalty due to our sins." He says St. Paul does not teach that "He ransomed them from the hand of God, but from the possession and power of evil." Again: "Nothing is implied about enduring God's wrath in our stead, as if He ransomed us out of God's hand." And again, speaking of our Lord "sympathizing and sharing in all the sorrows of fallen humanity," he says: "In the same sense I understand 'He bore our sins;' for our sakes He took the likeness of sinful flesh. He was made sin. He suffered and died as a sinner. He bore our sins as He bore our sorrows; His whole life of obedience culminating on the cross; but there is not a word here of His bearing the weight of God's anger in our stead" (Letter III). Again, at page 87 of his Commentary, he says: "No inference can be drawn that our Blessed Lord was delivered for our sins in the sense of bearing the burden of them, suffering the punishment due to them." And again, in another passage (page 3, sec. 176, chap. vi, verse 2): "Thus, then, we see what our Lord's death did for us. He paid this debt on behalf of us all, though he paid it not in our stead—that is, He paid it not in the way in which we, unredeemed, should have had to pay it. He did not bear the weight of the curse. He did not suffer the accumulated weight of woe, due as a punishment for the sins of the world."

With these passages before me, I cannot consider that the teaching which has been complained of is so modified or qualified by the more orthodox statements of the writer as to deserve no condemnation. Substitution is what throughout his book he shrinks from and repudiates.

I should be exceeding my office were I to define anything beyond what the Church has defined on the great mystery of the Atonement, which, being a mystery, is in its completeness above our comprehension. Nor is it necessary that I should dwell upon what lies at the root of the opinions which I am called to consider, which I believe to be a defective view of the character and attributes of God,—of His justice and holiness, and hatred of sin,—and I would add, a defective view of sin itself,—its exceeding sinfulness. But I am compelled, by the line of defence which the Bishop has naturally and properly adopted, to examine whether his view on certain portions or aspects of this great fact are in accordance with the Church's teaching.

On the whole, then, weighing the language of the Bishop,

with every desire to do justice to his views, and not to judge him by mere extracts, but to arrive at a clear comprehension of his teaching,—and being also not quite sure that I always understand his meaning, I am constrained to say that I think the charge is sustained, notwithstanding the qualifying passages to which I have referred.

The two heads of this charge are intimately connected with each other. They run into one another. In dealing with them, however, it will be more convenient to take them separately.

Let me examine the charge with regard to substitution first.

Is the Bishop at liberty to deny that our Lord died “instead of us ;” or that He “bore the punishment or penalty of our sins?” I think that this language is at variance with the teaching of the second and thirty-first Articles, interpreting those Articles by the plain meaning of the words, by their historical sense, for all these words have a history—and by the *animus imponentis*.

I think, also, that he differs from other statements of the Church, wherein the University of Cambridge has dwelt upon and asserted more fully in *Exhortation*, in the Service for Holy Communion, the Church calls upon God in these solemn words : “Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, who of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption, who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.” “He came,” in the language of Article xv, “to be a Lamb without spot, who by His sacrifice of Himself, once made, should take away the sins of the world.”

The Service for the Holy Communion speaks of “His meritorious Cross and Passion, whereby alone we obtain remission of our sins. The second Exhortation refers to the “redemption of the world by the Death and Passion of our Saviour Christ.” In the Communion Service it is affirmed that “Jesus Christ the righteous is the propitiation for our sins ; for He was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness.”

The Homily of the Salvation of Mankind (Edit. Oxford, 1802), which is the one referred to in Article xi, as expressing more fully the Church's teaching on the work of Christ, uses language like this, which explains the sense in which the words “sacrifice,” “satisfaction,” “propitiation,” “redemption,” used in the Articles and Services, are to be under-

stood: "God sent His only Son, our Saviour Christ, into this world to fulfil the law for us, and by shedding of His most precious blood, to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends, to His Father for our sins, to assuage His wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same." It speaks of those who "sin after baptism, when they turn to God unfeignedly, being washed by this sacrifice from their sins in such sort that there remaineth not any spot of sin that shall be imputed to their damnation." It speaks of "the great wisdom of God in this mystery of our redemption, who hath so tempered His justice and mercy together that He would neither by His justice condemn us unto the everlasting captivity of the devil and his prison of hell, remediless for ever without mercy, nor by His mercy deliver us clearly without justice, or payment of a just ransom; but with His endless mercy He joined His most upright and equal justice. His great mercy He showed us in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring of any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made upon our part, which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas it lay not in us to do this, He provided a ransom for us, that was the most precious Body and Blood of His own most dear and best beloved Son, Jesus Christ, who, besides this ransom, fulfilled the law for us perfectly, and so the justice of God and His mercy did embrace together, and fulfilled the mystery of our redemption" (p. 18). And again: "The Apostles toucheth specially three things, which must go together in our justification. Upon God's part, His great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, justice, that is, the satisfaction of God's justice, or the price of our redemption, by the offering of His Body and shedding of His Blood, with fulfilling the law perfectly and thoroughly; and upon our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ" (p. 19). And once more: "It pleased our Heavenly Father of His infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's Body and Blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and His justice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly do believe in Him. He for them paid their ransom by His death. He for them fulfilled the law in His life." And yet again it speaks of our Lord's death upon the Cross as "that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the Cross, to obtain thereby God's

grace and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly to Him again." And again, to refer to but one other Homily (for Rogation Week, Part III, page 487): "Upon Him he put our sins, upon Him he made our ransom; Him he made the mean betwixt us and Himself, whose mediation was so acceptable to God the Father, through His profound and perfect obedience, that He took His act for a full satisfaction of our disobedience and rebellion, whose righteousness he took to weigh against our sins, whose redemption he would have to stand against our damnation."

I do not think it needful to add anything to these quotations from the Church's acknowledged formularies or authorities; or to refer to the language of Dean Nowell, or of Jewell, whose testimony as to the mind and intention of the Church have been justly ^{in the course of the} argument to be of great weight.

With these passages before me from the Articles, Services, Homilies, I must decide that the Bishop of Natal is not justified in denying that our Lord died for our sins in the sense of dying instead of us, or dying so as to bear the penalty or punishment of our sins."

And if this language of the Bishop, with respect to the first portion of the charge, be regarded as unjustifiable, still more evident is it that it cannot be justified with respect to the second.

Article II expressly affirms that "Christ, very God and very Man, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile His Father to us." This assertion the Bishop in so many words denies. He says that the difference between his own view and that affirmed in the Article is "infinite;" and when the difference is pointed out, his reply and defence is "as to the former portion of the second Article I am sorry that the expression is there used, because it is not scriptural." (Letter, clause 3.) That which has led the Bishop into his grave error is that he has dwelt exclusively upon God's most gracious attribute of love. He has refused to look at his sterner attribute of justice; 'God is love,' has been his one thought, and from that he has drawn out a system which is at variance with the scheme of our redemption, as taught by the Church out of God's most holy Word. Being all love, God had no justice to be satisfied, no anger against us to be appeased. He could forgive sin without an atonement being made (Letter IV). Christ's death was, therefore, not

the efficient cause of man's salvation. It did not (to use the language of his accuser) by its own proper virtue wash out sin, and by its infinite preciousness purchase our forgiveness.

I must consider the charge as proved.

II.

The second schedule relates to justification. It charges the Bishop of Natal with maintaining that justification is a consciousness of being counted righteous, and that all men, even without such consciousness, are treated by God as righteous, and counted righteous, and that all men, as members of the great human family, are dead unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness.

And this teaching, it is affirmed, denies that men are justified by faith, and impugns and contradicts the faith, as set forth in certain Articles and Formularies of the Church, which are referred to.

The passages quoted appear to me, from a careful consideration of them, and of the book from which they are extracted, fairly to represent the writer's general teaching. It is unnecessary to quote them at full length. The following portions sufficiently, I think, represent his views:

He says: "As he (the Apostle) has just said that all sin, and all come short of God's glory, so now he must mean that all are made righteous, justified freely by the grace of God." Again he speaks of the Jews as having been all made righteous, treated as righteous, and adds that this gift, "God's gift of righteousness," "was intended for all mankind, and was actually from the first bestowed upon them, though as yet they knew it not, for it was not yet revealed to them. But now it is revealed that this gift of righteousness is meant for all, that all are being made righteous. . . . All men, everywhere, though many may be unfaithful." Again: "The justification here spoken of extends to all those who have never heard the name of Christ, and who cannot have exercised a living faith in Christ." Again: "It should be observed that both here and elsewhere when the Apostle says that God 'justifies' any, or 'makes them righteous,' he means that he justifies them in their own consciences. He brings home to them consciously the gift of righteousness."

Again: "All of them, as St. Paul plainly teaches afterwards, are counted as righteous creatures, though they may know it not, through the grace of God bestowed upon the whole human race in His own dear Son whom He has

given to be their Head, and whose members they are." Again: "We have all died unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness in our very birth-hour, through the gracious gift of God, by that mysterious union with Christ our Head which we all enjoy through the grace of our Heavenly Father, as members of the great human family."

If I have not wholly misunderstood the Bishop's teaching it is what it has been represented to be,—viz., that all men everywhere are justified, counted righteous in the sight of God, as members of the great human family, independently of faith in Christ, or even any knowledge of Him. And that St. Paul when he uses the word "justifies" means, occasionally at least, justifying men in their own consciences, bringing home to them consciously the gift of righteousness.

The question for me to decide is, whether this teaching is consistent with the language and decisions of the Church. Had the Bishop contented himself with affirming that our Lord redeemed all mankind; that His sacrifice was offered for the sins of the whole world; that we know not how far His meritorious Cross and Passion may avail for those who never heard of His name, or of the merits of His atonement; that God's mercy and love might extend in His own gracious promises; that, being the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, Christ's redemption looked backward as well as forward, and might have an efficacy beyond what some had been willing to admit, he would have expressed himself as many within the Church have, without challenge, expressed themselves before him. The Church has not dogmatized on such matters. But the Bishop has done more than this. He has confounded justification with redemption. And it is not the mere misapplication of a word. Justification, with him, means more than the Church means by redemption. He means what the Church means by justification, but he extends this, which the Church does not, to the whole human race. He says: "The curse has been utterly taken away, and all we of the human race, being recognized as one with our Head, are counted to be righteous as He is righteous, are made the righteousness of God in Him" (p. 112, sec. 176). "Let this be distinctly noted, that throughout this Epistle the righteousness of God, or God's righteousness, means God's gift of righteousness,—not God's own personal inherent righteousness or justice, not God's way of justifying sinners, of making them righteous, of giving them righteousness (which is by giving it to them in His Son), but the very righteousness itself which God gives to men,

so that by His free grace they stand before Him accepted in the beloved" (p. 12).

"It is the righteousness which He gives us, though in ourselves unrighteous, because He looks upon us in His Son. In virtue of this we stand before Him accepted in the beloved" (p. 13, 14).

"The spiritual life which all men now partake of, each in his own measure, is another sign of that righteousness which God has given them. He Himself, the Father of Spirits, is everywhere enlightening and quickening the spirits of men (p. 107).

"Every man is redeemed and has a living spirit given him by virtue of his union with his Lord" (p. 156).

The necessary consequence of such views is, that faith, in any intelligible and accepted sense, cannot be necessary to justification. And this is the Bishop's view. It is declared by him to be necessary to salvation, but not to justification. "Being justified, we are to work out our salvation, and therefore for this we must have faith; but the word 'salvation' means something very different from the miserable notion commonly attached to the word, of mere deliverance from the pit of woe." . . . "to work out our salvation means to live faithfully as becomes the children of God." . . . "It is to be labouring daily with the grace already given to cast off the works of darkness, and put on more and more of the armour of light, and so not incur the displeasure of our Lord." (Letter, Clause 3.) Faith is necessary to this,—i.e., as it would seem, to our sanctification, rather than our salvation; a point which however, would, not have been noticed had it not been for its bearing on his view with respect to justification, and for his express assertion that for our justification faith is not necessary. "I do not hold that our justification depends upon our faith" (Letter.) I must add that the faith which is admitted to be necessary to salvation is apparently not faith in the man; it is the faith, the body of truth which is external to him; objective, not subjective faith. "Note well that the idea which the Apostle connects inseparably with the use of the word 'faith,' and has principally before his own mind at all times, is not so much that of the believer's subjective activity in laying hold consciously of the promises, as that of the objective existence of those promises. It is necessary to note this, because the Apostle's words might be understood to mean that none are justified except they have conscious faith in God's promises in Christ Jesus."

But does the Church allow language like this, which, as has been truly said, confounds the merits of Christ, which are the cause of our justification, with faith, which is the instrument of our justification, the virtue and grace by which it is made ours? Does it allow its teachers to proclaim that all men are justified, let their creed be what it may, or let there be no creed at all; that faith is not needed in order to justification?

The Bishop claims justification for men who do not believe in Christ, who have never heard of Him. A heathen remaining a heathen, a Mahomedan continuing a Mahomedan, is, in his view, justified. It is not for infants only, who being incapable of faith are brought into the fold of Christ by baptism, that he claims this gift. Apparently, he makes no distinction between a baptized and unbaptized child. His view appears to be that all men born into the world have, "by their natural birth," fellowship with Christ, and by virtue of that fellowship are justified, accounted righteous before God. Neither faith in adults, nor baptism in the case of infants, makes any difference as to their justification.

After the most anxious consideration, and making every allowance for those passages which have been referred to, wherein there is a distinction drawn between Christians and those who are not Christians (p. 200)—Christians being adopted, declared, avouched to be the children of God in a higher sense, the rest of mankind in a lower sense,—I feel constrained to declare that the Bishop's teaching appears to me to contradict the teaching of the Church as set forth in Article XI, and in several of the documents to which the accusers have referred, both in their articles and in their addresses. Article XI, which though drawn up with another object in view, must be held to teach that justification does not belong, where there is a capacity for believing, to any but those who have faith in Christ. "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith"—that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine. Faith in Christ, not merely faith "in the right and true and good," as the Bishop in one place suggests (p. 75), is essential, in this view, to justification in one capable of faith.

The doctrine of Article XVIII is in accordance with that of the eleventh. It anathematizes those who say that a man may "be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, provided he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature; or, as the Latin has it, "In

lege aut secta quam profitetur modo juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate vizerit."

The same view is enunciated in the *Reformatio Legum* (*De Hæresibus*) which, though not to be quoted in a judgment as a work of decisive authority, yet cannot but serve to throw light upon the true meaning of the Article,— "*Horribilis est et inanis illorum audacia, qui contendunt in omni religione vel sectâ quam hominés professi fuerint, salutem esse sperandam, si tantum ad innocentiam et integritatem vitæ pro verisus enitantur juxta lumen quod illis præluet a natur infusum."*

Again, the third collect for Good Friday, which cannot be altogether overlooked, surely does not contemplate Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics as in a state of justification. In it the Church pleads with her Lord to fetch them home to His flock, that they may be saved. If the Bishop's teaching (page 119) be true, we who are within the fold are not "any better or safer than they."

I must add that in the several services for the Baptism of Infants and Adults, and indeed everywhere throughout the Book of Common Prayer, there is a constant reference to Christ; to the necessity of faith in Him, in order to acceptance before God, which in my judgment shuts out the Bishop's view that justification, or the gift of righteousness, is through Christ, imparted to all men, everywhere, at their very birth, while ignorant of Christ, and, as a consequence, not believing in Him, and without being baptized into Him.

The language of Cranmer's Homily, already referred to, makes this even still more clear. Nothing can be more plain than words like these: "Three things must go together in our justification. Upon God's part, His great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, justice, &c. . . . ; and upon our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ."

And again: "St. Paul declareth here nothing upon th behalf of man concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith, which nevertheless is the gift of God, and not man's only work without God. And yet that faith does not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying."

And again: "Ye heard, also, how that three things are required to the obtaining of our righteousness; that is, God's mercy Christ's justice, and a true and lively faith;" "and after this wise, to be justified only by this true and lively faith in Christ, speak all the old and ancient authors."

"Also, you heard the ancient authors' minds of this saying: 'Faith in Christ only justifieth man,' so plainly declared that you see that the very true meaning of this proposition or saying, we be justified by faith in Christ only (according to the meaning of the old ancient authors) is this, we put our faith in Christ, that we be justified by Him only," &c. And once more, "Here you have heard the office of God in our justification, and how we receive it of Him freely, by His mercy, without our deserts, through true and lively faith."

Had there been any obscurity in the Articles or Formularies, there could be no ground for pleading that there are doubtful expressions here. The Homily is expressly referred to in the Article for a more full explanation on the subject of justification than is given in the Article itself. All men according to it, are **not** justified. Faith is essential to justification.

I must rule that the Bishop has departed from the teaching of the Church in what he has written on the subject of justification. On one point only do I consider that the Article needs modification. I charge the Bishop with teaching, apparently generally, that justification is a consciousness of being justified." It appears to me that he only says, as indeed he has pleaded in his defence, that on certain occasions, "both here and elsewhere," the Apostle, when he uses the word "justified," means "justified in their own conscience."

This part of the charge is true if limited as above,—not true if intended to be general; and the Bishop is entitled to the benefit of the doubt.

III.

The third charge preferred is that the writer maintains that all men have the new birth unto righteousness, in their very birth-hour.—that is to say, are regenerated when born into the world as members of the great human family; and also, that all men are at all times partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ; and it is further charged that by such teaching the writer denies that the Holy Sacraments are generally necessary to salvation, and that they convey any special grace; and further denies that faith is the means whereby the Body and Blood of Christ is received and eaten, and that faith is necessary in order that the grace bestowed by God in sacraments may have a wholesome effect and operation; and that, thereby he

impugns and contradicts the faith as expressed in certain Articles and Formularies of the Church, which are named.

I must first consider whether the charge is substantially correct as to the nature of the Bishop's views; and next, whether, if correctly represented, these are opposed to what the Church teaches concerning the sacraments.

On the subject of Baptism, the Bishop says (p. 114): "We have already died unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness in our very birth-hour through the gracious gift of God, by that mysterious union with Christ our Head which we all enjoy through the grace of our Heavenly Father, as members of the great human family, and by virtue of which we are partakers of the death which He died, and of the life which He now lives. That is the 'death unto sin,' our share in our Lord's own 'death unto sin,' and that is the 'new birth unto righteousness,' our share in our Lord's own life unto God, which are said to be given to us as the inward spiritual grace, set forth to us by the outward visible sign in our baptism."

This appears to convey the essence, so to speak, of the Bishop's teaching on the subject. Had it been in his own language, if I understand it aright, it might have been said to be of an *Excellence*.

I. That all men die unto sin, and rise again in their very birth-hour.

II. That they do this through a mysterious union with Christ, as members of the great human family.

III. That through this union they are made partakers of the death which He died and the life which He now lives.

IV. That in this consists our death unto sin and our new birth unto righteousness.

V. That this inward spiritual grace given to us in our very birth-hour is set forth to us by an outward visible sign in our baptism.

The Bishop's teaching on the other sacrament must be given in his own words (page 115): "But the point now to be noticed is that the 'inward spiritual grace' is not the effect wrought upon ourselves by coming to the Holy Sacrament,—depending, therefore, on the spirit in which we come to it, but the Body and Blood of Christ, which are graciously given to us of God, which we may or may not faithfully partake of, which are given to us, however, and to all the human race, not only in the sacrament, but at all times, and of which, in fact, all men are everywhere partaking, through God's mercy, and so receiving all the life they have as redeemed creatures, whether they feed upon it by living faith or not—whether they know the

precious gift of God's grace or not—whether they heed it or disregard it.”

I have found it difficult to analyze this passage so as to arrive at the precise meaning of the writer, and not in any way to misrepresent him. His words, however, appear to me to imply:

First—That the Body and Blood of Christ are graciously given to us of God in the sacrament; for if given “not only in the sacrament” they must be understood as given to us therein.

Secondly—That they are given to “all the human race” “at all times, of which, in fact, all men are everywhere partaking through God's mercy,” “whether they feed upon them by living faith or not.”

Thirdly—That the “inward spiritual grace of the sacrament” is not the effect wrought upon us “by the sacrament, and does not depend upon the spirit in which we come to it.”

I cannot think that the complainants misrepresent the Bishop's views, which appear to me largely to pervade his whole work, though his language does not always seem consistent with itself. *To do this teaching accord with, or does it contradict the teaching of the Church?*

The charge is, that in using such language the Bishop denies—

I. That the holy sacraments are generally necessary to salvation.

II. That they convey any special grace.

III. That faith is the means whereby the Body and Blood of Christ is received and eaten: or that faith is necessary in order that the grace bestowed by God in the sacraments may have a wholesome effect and operation. And references are given to several of the Articles and Formularies of the Church to show what the teaching of the Church is, and in what points the Bishop contradicts that teaching.

I will now proceed to examine the several points in the order in which I have named them.

I. There can be no dispute that the Church teaches that sacraments are “generally necessary to salvation.” The Catechism expressly affirms it. But is the Bishop's teaching consistent with this? I cannot think so, for he expressly says that we have in our very birth-hour “union with Christ our Head.” That in this consists our “death unto sin” and “new birth unto righteousness.” Nor are these mere incidental expressions at variance with the general teaching of the book, of which the very key, so to

speaks seems to be that all men, everywhere, are justified, counted righteous before God. If we have all this vouchsafed to us without baptism, I cannot see how baptism should be generally necessary to salvation.

So, too, with regard to the other sacrament. If the Body and Blood of Christ are given to all the human race at all times, of which, in fact, all men, everywhere, are partaking, if all are justified in the sight of God, I cannot see how the Eucharist can be regarded as generally necessary to salvation. We have all that it can convey without it.

II. The Bishop is next accused of denying that the sacraments convey any special grace. It is assumed that the Church teaches that they do convey grace, and that the Bishop's language contradicts that teaching. Articles xxv, xxvii, and xxviii, the Nicene Creed, the several Baptismal Offices, the Catechism, and the Order of Confirmation, are referred to to prove that the Church teaches that the sacraments convey grace. Article xxv affirms that sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him. Article xxvi, which is not referred to, declares that the "effect of Christ's ordinances is not taken away" by the ministrations of wicked men, "nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith, and rightly, do receive the sacraments ministered unto them, which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise."

Article xxvii affirms that "baptism is an instrument whereby they that receive it rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God."

Article xxviii declares that the Lord's Supper is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death; and that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ. The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper after a heavenly and spiritual manner. The Nicene Creed acknowledges one baptism for the remission of sin.

In the Baptismal Office it is declared that, to enter into

the Kingdom of God, it is necessary to be "regenerate and born anew of water and the Holy Ghost." And God is entreated that the person to be baptized "may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's Holy Church, and be made a lively member of the same;" may "obtain remission of sins by spiritual regeneration." It is affirmed that by our Lord's baptism in Jordan, water was sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin." The effect of baptism is spoken of as "washing and sanctification with the Holy Ghost,"—as deliverance from God's wrath and reception into the Ark of Christ's Church.

The Catechism defines a sacrament to be "an outward visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same and a pledge to assure us thereof." It declares the "inward and spiritual grace in baptism" to be "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness, for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace."

In the Collect in the Order of Confirmation we thus address God: "Almighty and Everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost."

The Catechism teaches with regard to the other sacrament that "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." That its effect is "the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine." In the Communion Office, the Church prays that they who come to the Holy Table may "so eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood, that their sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and their souls washed through His most precious Blood, and that they may evermore dwell in Him and He in them."

There can be no doubt that the Church teaches, through these her Formularies, that sacraments are the channels and instruments of special grace. Does the Bishop's teaching exclude this idea? I think that as far as baptism is concerned, he does teach that it does not convey any special gift or grace, which the person to be baptized had not already received in his unbaptized state. I have looked closely into his views on this subject, and am driven to this conclusion. Thus, at page 75, he speaks of "the whole human race" as "members" of God's dear Son. He says (page 107) that all men are related to the

second Adam by a second spiritual birth, as they are by their natural birth to the first Adam.

At page 119, speaking of the baptized and the heathen, he says: "Not as if we were any better or safer than they, under one Father who loves us all." And again: "We are hereby made, *i.e.* adopted, avouched, declared, taken formally to be what in truth we were before, from our very birth-hour, the children of God. Before our baptism we were partakers of the life and death of our Lord." In these passages he claims for the unbaptized that they are the members of God's dear Son, that they are as safe as the baptized; that they are the children of God, partakers of the life and death of Christ. He appears to me to regard baptism as only a sign, or seal, or pledge of gifts and privileges which are already ours. I am aware, I need not say, that practically the discipline of the Church has been such that clergy have been allowed to express themselves on the subjective side of the sacraments very variously, chiefly, perhaps, because of the difficulty of defining exactly that which is in truth a mystery; and that the right to do so has been considered, so far as Holy Baptism is concerned, to be strengthened by a celebrated declaration, which though not given by the Church or by judges authorized by it, has not formally been set aside by it. But no such language or teaching as that which I consider the Bishop of Natal has been shown to have committed himself to, has ever, so far as I know, been sanctioned or tolerated within the Church.

On the subject of the Eucharist, I feel greater difficulty than I do on that of Baptism, because the Bishop does seem to teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are, as I have before observed, given to us in the sacrament; and this he admits not only in the passage already referred to, but also in one of the sermons appended to his Commentary, wherein he says, "were the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ our Lord only to be eaten in the Holy Communion?" He does not in words deny that these are given and eaten in the Eucharist. But he renders such admissions of no effect, and destroys, as it seems to me, their whole value and character, by affirming that there is no special gift in that holy sacrament—that we are not made any more partakers of Christ through its means than all men are everywhere without it. It appears to me that his language on this point exceeds what he would be warranted in using by the expressions of our rubric in the Office of Communion for the Sick; for, as Wheatley says, "the rubric was added for the comfort and to remove the fears of such as desire

to receive the Holy Communion, but may by some casualty be hindered from doing it." What the Church there teaches is, that inasmuch as a lively faith is the means whereby we partake of the benefit of the sacrament, a sick man, if there be no opportunity of receiving the sacrament, "if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death on the Cross for him, and shed His blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving Him hearty thanks therefore, doth eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ profitably to his soul's health although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth."

This is not the Bishop's doctrine. He teaches that "the Body and Blood of Christ are given" "to all the human race," "at all times," "of which, in fact, all men are everywhere partaking." The rubric limits its exceptional cases to penitents and believers shut out from outward communion by no fault of theirs. The Bishop extends the privilege to all men everywhere, whether penitent and believers or not, -- nay, even to the unbaptized, to the heathen, the Mohammedan, and the Infidel and unbeliever.

The principle of the Church's teaching has been recognized by the Church in all ages. Martyrs who died for the faith of Christ before their baptism were regarded as having been baptized in blood. In later days the Catechism of the Council of Trent says, "*Alii vero spiritu tantummodo Eucharistiam sumere dicuntur, ii sunt qui desiderio et voto, propositum illum celestem panem comedunt, fide viva incensi quæ per dilectionem operatur, ex quo, si non omnes, maximos certe utilitatis fructus consequuntur*" (Cat. Con. Trident, pars secun. 41, page 335. Eng. Trans. page 241, quest. 53).

It is one thing to say that certain persons under peculiar circumstances may partake of Christ without actually communicating. It is quite another thing to say that all men are doing so at all times everywhere. Language like this is not consistent with there being any special grace connected with the sacrament. I must, therefore, in spite of the Bishop's admissions, consider this charge also as proved.

The Bishop is next charged with denying that faith is the means whereby the Body and Blood of Christ is received and eaten, and that faith is necessary in order that the grace bestowed by God in sacraments may have a wholesome effect and operation.

There are two distinct points in this charge: one, that the Bishop denies that faith is the means whereby the Body

and Blood of Christ is received and eaten, whether in or apart from the sacrament; the other, that he denies that it is needed in order to the receiving of the grace bestowed in the sacrament. I think the charge is just. The Bishop says in so many words, "The Body and Blood of Christ" . . . "are graciously given to all the human race," . . . "of which, in fact, all men are everywhere partaking," . . . "whether they feed upon it by living faith or not." These words must be considered to imply that the Body and Blood of Christ may be and are received without faith, which certainly is not the Church's view, for in the rubric already quoted she insists upon faith as essential, in those peculiar cases where the sacrament cannot be had; clearly, her view is that apart from the sacrament, the Body and Blood of Christ cannot be eaten, except through faith.

This part, therefore, of the charge must be regarded as proved.

But does the Bishop deny that faith is needed in order to the eating of Christ's Body and Blood in the sacrament, or to the reception of the grace bestowed by God in the sacrament, and if so, ^{is that denial} opposed to the teaching of the Church? In the passage referred to, he says, "The inward spiritual grace is not the effect wrought upon ourselves by coming to the Holy Sacrament, depending therefore on the spirit in which we come to it." That "the Body and Blood of Christ" given to us, "not only in the sacrament" (therefore in the sacrament) is given "whether men feed upon it by living faith or not, whether they know the precious gift of God's grace or not, whether they heed or disregard it." I think that the Bishop does deny that faith is needed in order to the eating of Christ's Body and Blood in the sacrament, and also to the reception of grace bestowed by the sacrament, and that this teaching is opposed to that Article (xxviii) which declares that "the Supper of the Lord is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death, insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." In this Article the Church distinctly teaches that faith is requisite to the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Bishop teaches that all men everywhere partake of the Body and Blood of Christ, whether they feed upon it by living faith or not. In his view neither faith nor the sacrament are necessary.

I must decide that the Bishop's language with regard to both sacraments is inconsistent with the teaching of the Church.

IV.

Schedule IV contains voluminous extracts from the Bishop's writings on the subject of eternal punishment; and the Bishop is charged with impugning and contradicting the faith, as taught in certain of the Articles and Formularies of the Church, when he declares that he cannot any longer maintain or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments.

The extracts show that at the period of the Bishop's consecration, at which time he published a volume of Sermons, and afterwards wrote a pamphlet, to clear himself from false accusations, he did hold the doctrine of the "endlessness" of future punishments. "I did believe," he says, "in that dogma at the time I wrote and printed those sermons, so far as that can be called belief which, in fact, was no more than acquiescence without having ever deeply studied the question." But he has since abandoned this view. I now declare that I can no longer maintain or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments." I cannot shut my eyes to the truth which these words appear so clearly to imply, that there is hope in the counsels of infinite wisdom and love for all, for all the 'creature,' for the whole human race" (page 175). "Is there not ground, from this text as well as others, for trusting that in some way unknown to us the whole race shall indeed be made to share this hope at last." "That utter, unspeakable misery should be the portion for endless ages, for ever and ever, alike of all who are not admitted at first into the realms of infinite joy, that there shall be no hope in the horrible outer darkness," &c. . . . "Our hearts, taught as they are by God's Spirit, instinctively revolt at such a dogma, as a blasphemy upon the name and character of the High and Holy One, and refuse to believe it, though a thousand texts of Scripture should be produced which may seem at first sight to assert it. For we must never forget that this witness in our hearts is the voice of God."

The Bishop's view appears clearly to be that the punishment of hell, be it of what kind it may, is not endless. He believes in a remedial, purgatorial process after death for all, and that sooner or later all will be admitted to the presence of God, and the joys of that presence. In like manner

he doubts whether the joys of Heaven are secured everlastingly to all who enter into them. There is, according to him, probably, probation for the saved as well as the lost, in a future state (page 186). "May there be decrease also of joy in Heaven? We cannot tell. Perchance there may be. Gifted with higher, more glorious faculties than those which we now have, and doubtless having higher work to do in God's Kingdom, why should we not have trial in that work, as here,—not indeed of our faith, where we shall walk by sight,—but yet of our faithfulness will the blessedness of our future state be maintained by our being absolutely secured from all possibility of falling."

His speculations on this subject he puts forward modestly. "We cannot answer this question. We cannot go further into it." And his stronger language about the endlessness of punishment is occasionally qualified (page 196). "As many leave this world, whether in heathen or in Christian lands, it may seem to us almost past belief that the vessel so defiled should ever be cleansed again, and made fit for the Master's use. ^{And it may be so, we cannot assert to the contrary, whatever hidden hope we may entertain.} "I entertain the hidden hope that there are remedial processes when this life is ended." "I dare not dogmatize at all upon the matter. I can only lay my hand upon my mouth and leave it in the hands of the righteous and merciful Judge."

The Bishop, however, does put forward his opinions on this subject very distinctly, and argues at great length in support of them.

What he means by the remedial process, he describes at the close of his book (page 280). "He will then be all alone with God, and with the awful judgment which a Father's anger and a Father's love has appointed for him. There will he perish everlastingly, and will lie perishing until that Father sees the work is done." . . . "And there too will he lie till God sees that the work is done, the wood and hay, and stubble consumed, the filth purged away, and the pure gold left, or silver, or precious stone, which, even in the heart of that sinful child, the Father's eye can see."

The question which the Bishop has raised does not relate to the nature of the punishment of hell, or to the character, or number of those that shall be condemned to its punishment. It refers exclusively to the duration of that punishment in the cases of those only whom the Sovereign Judge shall condemn to endure its torments.

The Bishop entertains the hope that all will ultimately see God's face in glory. At all events he can no longer "maintain or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments." Upon this awful subject I would gladly have refrained from framing a decision, both on account of its awfulness, and because of the variety of opinions which in all ages of the Church have prevailed with reference to the future state, and the mysteries which hang around it, and around the purification needed to fit souls to dwell there where nothing that defileth, or is unclean, can enter; but being appealed to, I am compelled to consider and decide whether the Church does or does not allow her ministers to make such a declaration upon a point which is not merely speculative—which has been revealed—and which has a direct moral bearing upon man in his present state of probation. I consider that the Church does not allow her teachers to put forth on this subject the opinions which the Bishop has published. Nothing can be plainer than her words. That confession which expresses the greatest mystery of the faith, in language more clear and exact than any other formula—the Creed of St. Athanasius—is express upon this point. It affirms that "they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire." Speaking of the unbeliever, it says that "without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." With this, the language of the Church in the Catechism, the Order for the Burial of the Dead, the Communion Service, as quoted in the pleadings, entirely agrees.

The Homilies, whatever be their exact value, must be regarded as authorized interpreters of the Church's meaning in her Articles and Formularies upon matters of faith.

On this Article of the Faith they are clear and full, and put an interpretation upon the Church's teaching on the subject of eternal,—everlasting death—endless punishment, which excludes the Bishop's teaching, and is in exact agreement with the language of the Athanasian Creed. Thus, in the "Exhortation against the Fear of Death" we find these words: "This state and condition is called the second death, and this is that death that ought to be dreaded and feared; for it is an everlasting loss, without remedy,—of the grace and favour of God, and of everlasting joy, pleasure, and felicity. And it is not only the loss for ever of all these eternal pleasures; but also it is the condemnation both of body and soul (without

either appellation or hope of redemption) unto everlasting pains in hell." And again: "The miserable state of eternal damnation both of body and soul;" and again: "The horrible fear of extreme misery and perpetual damnation in time to come."

And in accordance with this, the *Reformatio Legum*, which, though clearly not a co-ordinate authority, is yet one of the best interpreters of the language and mind of the Church at the period when her Formularies were under discussion, says: "*Nec minor est illorum amentia, qui periculosam Origenis hæresim in hac ætate nostrâ rursus excitant, nimirum omnes homines (quantumcunque sceleribus se contaminaverint) salutem ad extremum consequuturos, cum definito tempore a justitiâ Divinâ pœnas de admissis flagitiis luerint; sed sacra scriptura damnatos sæpe pronuntiat in perpetuos cruciatus et æternas flammâ precipitari.*"

Nowell's Catechism, though having the sanction of the Province of Canterbury, when its use was ordered by the Canons enacted in the Convocation, cannot be regarded as an authoritative formulary, but may well be considered as of great value as testifying to the received faith of the Church at the period of the Reformation. It speaks of the "tenebras perpetuas" of hell;—"ubi scelerum suorum conscientia, et sempiterno igne,—atque omni summoque supplicio excruciat, æternas pœnas dabunt atque dependent" (p. 97, Oxford edit., 1835).

But here I must not overlook the fact, upon which stress has been laid by some who advocate the Bishop's teaching, that in the Articles of 1552 there was one, the 42nd, which expressly condemned those who held the opinion that all men shall be saved at last; but that that Article was omitted in the revision of the Articles in 1562.

It has been urged that this was in consequence of a change of opinion in the eminent men who revised the Articles, and especially in Archbishop Parker; but this could not be the case, because he not only revised the Articles, but he revised also about the same time the *Reformatio Legum*, which declares the Bishop's teaching to be heresy, and put forth an edition of it in 1571, nine years after he is supposed to have changed his views on this matter. Nor could it be true of Dean Nowell, who was his fellow-labourer in the work of revision; or of the Lower House itself, whose prolocutor, at the time of the revision, he was; for his Catechism, containing the decided passage to which I have referred, was, after being submitted to the Bishops and Clergy, "and in certain places by their judg-

ment altered," by that House "unanimously approved and allowed as their own book and owned doctrine."
 —(Strype's Annals, Life of Parker, 1, p. 403; 1, p. 526.)

The real reason for this omission is doubtless that which is assigned by Hardwicke (page 133). The doctrines of the Anabaptists, against which that and some other Articles were levelled, were no longer so menacing as they had been a few years before. There were, therefore, not the same urgent reasons for proscribing them.

In this opinion Harvey (on the Creed, page 693) concurs. He shows that the errors against which the Article was levelled had died out, and says, "For this reason we are justified in supposing that the last Article of the preceding code was now cancelled, because it was no longer needed. Its suppression arose from a wise determination not to overload the formal statements of the Church with the negation of errors that had no general currency in England."

The Church, if this reasoning is to be admitted, might as well be declared to have no belief as to the resurrection of the dead, for the Article on that subject (the thirty-ninth) was dropped with the forty-second, at the revision in 1562.

The teaching of the Church of England clearly is, that the punishment of the wicked will last for ever. And this has been the creed of the Catholic Church in all ages, notwithstanding the opinions which have from time to time been put forth within the Church. It is the creed of the Church of Rome to this day; nor does its doctrine of Purgatory, to which the Bishop refers, and which he pleads as justifying his refusal to believe in the endlessness of punishment, notwithstanding the language of the Creed, really bear him out. His argument is: The Church of Rome "receives the Creed even as we do, and yet it believes in some remedial process after death." "Why may not I interpret the damnatory clauses as the Church of Rome does, and reject the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishment?" (Last words of last note in Commentary on Epistle to Romans.)

The reason why he cannot do so after the example of the Church of Rome is obvious. That Church holds the doctrine of everlasting punishment, along with its doctrine of purgatory. Purgatory is for the good, not for the wicked. The wicked are condemned to everlasting punishment. The Catechism of the Council of Trent (Chap. vi. Ques. iii, page 61; Buckley, London, 1852) describes hell as "that most loathsome and dark prison in which the souls

of the damned, together with the unclean spirits, are tortured in eternal and inextinguishable fire. This place is also called 'Gehenna,' the bottomless pit, and in its literal signification, Hell." And its doctrine about the purifying process is this: "There is also the fire of purgatory, in which the souls of the just are purified by punishment for a stated time, to the end that they may be admitted into their eternal country, into which nothing defiled entereth." In the Latin, the language of the Catechism is: "*Est enim terrimus et obscurissimus carcer, ubi perpetuo et inextinguibili igne damnatorum animæ simul cum immundis spiritibus torquentur, qui etiam gehenna, abyssus, et propria significatione infernus vocatur. Præterea est purgatorius ignis quo piorum animæ ad definitum tempus cruciata expiantur, ut eis in æternam patriam ingressus patere possit, in quam nihil coinquasatum ingreditur.*" (Edit. Colonie, 1622, page 87.)

The Bishop can derive no sanction for his views from the teaching of the Church of Rome with regard to everlasting punishment, whatever may be the case with regard to his views on the subject of purgatory. The Church of Rome holds that the wicked perish everlastingly; the just only are purified in purgatory and saved. The Bishop holds that the wicked are not condemned everlastingly; that they too are purified by a purgatorial process, and will, as he ventures to hope, be ultimately saved along with the righteous.

I must rule that the Bishop's language on this subject impugns the Catholic faith as taught in the Athanasian Creed; and that he is not at liberty as a Bishop of the Church to repudiate the doctrine that the punishment of the wicked in hell is endless. Indeed, he seems himself to be aware that his language is not in accordance with that of the Church; for he says (page 28): "I do not assert that this is what was meant by the writer of the Creed; for it bears the stamp, as I have said, of a harsh and intemperate age, when men were too ready to consign each other to endless perdition."

The above constitute the charges preferred against the Bishop in connection with his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. All that follows has reference to another work published by him, entitled "the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined." The three first charges relate to what the Bishop has written with regard to the Bible. These charges are very closely connected with each other. They almost run into one another; and many of the

passages quoted from the writings of the accused in proof of one charge bear equally upon another. The extracts also from the Church's Formularies apply to some degree to all the charges. It will be my endeavour to keep the matter of the different schedules as distinct as, under the circumstances, is possible.

V.

The first charge connected with this work is that in it the writer maintains that the Holy Scriptures contain the Word of God, but are not the Word of God, and that this view impugns the faith as held by the Church, and expressed in certain Articles and Formularies referred to. The strongest expressions used by the Bishop appear to be the following: "The Bible is not itself God's Word, but assuredly God's Word will be heard in the Bible." "The Pentateuch, as a whole, was not written by Moses; and with respect to some, at least, of the chief portions of the story it cannot be regarded as historically true. It does not on that account cease to contain the true Word of God, to enjoin 'things necessary to salvation, to be profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness. It still remains an integral portion of that Book, which, whatever intermixture it may show of human elements, of error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance, has yet, through God's Providence, and the special working of His Spirit on the minds of its writers, been the means of revealing to us His true Name, the Name of the Only Living and True God, and has all along been, and, as far as we know, will never cease to be, the mightiest instrument in the hand of the Divine Teacher for awakening in our minds just conceptions of His character and of His gracious and merciful dealings with the children of men. Only we must not attempt to put into the Bible what we think ought to be there; we must not indulge that forward, delusive faculty, as Bishop Butler styles the imagination, and lay it down for certain beforehand that God could only reveal Himself to us by means of an infallible book. We must be content to take the Bible as it is, and draw from it those lessons which it really contains."

"For myself, if I cannot find the means of doing away with my present difficulties, I see not how I can retain my episcopal office, in the discharge of which I must require from others a solemn declaration that they unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the O

Testaments, which, [with the evidence now before me, it is impossible for me to believe."

I have examined both of the Bishop's works, as well as his letter to myself, to which he has drawn my attention, in order to get a clear view of his teaching.

From these I give additional passages in further illustration of his opinions. In his Commentary (page 188, chap. viii, 18-23), he says: "God, then, has given this light of the inner man to be the very guide and polestar of our lives, that light which would enable our minds to see and recognize, if we will, whatever is properly presented to them, of the good, and true, and pure, and loving."

"By that light the sayings and doings of good men, the acts of the Church, the proceedings and decisions of her Fathers and Councils, the writings of Apostles and Prophets, the words recorded to have been uttered by our Lord Himself, must all be tried." "We inquire of the spirits whether they are of God." "If we are required on the supposed authority of the Church, of St. Peter, or St. Paul, to believe that which contradicts the law of righteousness, and truth, and love, which God with the finger of the Spirit has written upon our hearts, we are sure that there must be error somewhere." "To the man himself there is but one law-giver. He that sitteth upon the throne judging righteously has set His own law to be a law of life within the heart of every man. Whatever contradicts that law, whether it be the word of man, or the dictum of a Church, or the supposed teaching of Holy Scripture, cannot, ought not to be, a law for him." "No seeming authority of the Church or Scripture ought to persuade a man to believe anything which contradicts that moral law, that sense of righteousness, and purity, and truth, and love, which God's own finger has written upon his heart. The voice of that inner witness is closer to him than any that can reach him from without, and ought to reign supreme in his whole being. The light in which he thus sees light, the voice which he hears, is the light of the Divine Word, is the voice of his Lord."

"I certainly do say, and will maintain, that to the man himself there is but one lawgiver, the law within the heart, to which in some form or other he must bring every question of morals or of faith for judgment. One man has persuaded himself that the letter of the Bible is the revealed Word of God. When his reason is satisfied of this, his conscience tells him that at all cost of bodily or mental pain he must hold to the letter of the Bible. Another's

conscience keeps him in like manner subject implicitly to the dicta of his Church, when his reason is once satisfied that his Church has a right to command him. And each of these will test his conduct continually by bringing it into comparison with the words of the Bible or the Church, before the tribunal of his conscience. If his heart does not condemn him in this review, he will be satisfied, and "have confidence before God," though all the while his conscience may really be injured by slavery to a defective judgment of his reasoning powers. Another takes a different view of inspiration, as I do myself, and believes that God's Spirit is indeed speaking in the Bible to all who will humbly seek and listen to His teaching, but that even when we read the different portions of it we are to 'try the spirits whether they are of God,' and to 'prove all things, and hold fast that which is good,' and to 'compare spiritual things with spiritual,'—that it is a part of our glorious, yet solemn responsibility to do this,—that having the Spirit ourselves, an unction from the Holy One that we may know all things having the promise that we shall be guided into all truth, and that we shall daily have our minds enlightened, and our consciences quickened by walking in the light already vouchsafed to us, we are not at liberty to shake off this responsibility of judging for ourselves whether this or that portion of the Bible has a message from God to our souls or not. God will not relieve us from this responsibility. He will not give us what, in one form or other, men are so prone to desire, an infallible external guide,—a voice from without, such as men often wish to substitute for the voice within." "Our hearts, taught as they are by God's Spirit, instinctively revolt at such a dogma, as a blasphemy upon the name and character of the High and Holy One, and refuse to believe it though a thousand texts of Scripture should be produced which may seem at first sight to assert it. For we must never forget that the witness in our hearts is the voice of God" (Comment. 187, 188).

I must pronounce this language to be not allowable. The Church over and over again affirms that the Bible is the Word of God. The Bishop says that it is not. It may, indeed, be called "the Word of God" in the same sense that a church is called "the House of God," but in no higher. It "contains the Word of God," but a large portion of it is mere fable; much of its supposed history is not true. Its pages show indications of "error, infirmity, passion, ignorance." He puts man above the Bible, the inner light above the written Word. If the two differ on a question of

truth, or morals, or faith, the Bible is in error, not the man inwardly taught of God, for the inner man is given to be the "very guide and polestar of our lives." By that light, not the "decisions of the Church only," but the writings of Apostles and Prophets, and even the words recorded to have been spoken by our Lord Himself," must all be tried. The voice of that inner witness which he hears "is the voice of his Lord." To it must be brought "every question of morals or of faith for judgment." Having the Spirit ourselves, an unction from the Holy One that we may know all things, having the promise that we shall be guided into all truth " " we are not at liberty to shake off the responsibility of judging whether this or that portion of the Bible has a message from God to our souls or not." He "will not give us" "an infallible external guide—a voice from without, such as men often wish to substitute for the voice within." This language is clearly opposed to the whole spirit of the Church's teaching, as that is to be gathered from its Articles and Formularies, and the Bishop seems conscious that it is so (Part I, Preface, xii.)

The sixth Article, the Latin title of which is, "*De Divinis Scripturis quod sufficient ad salutem*," declares that "Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

The eighth affirms that the three Creeds ought thoroughly to be received and believed, "for that they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

The language of the seventeenth Article is as follows: "We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God."

The twentieth Article speaks of the Bible as "God's Word written."

The twenty-second speaks of Scripture as "the Word of God."

The thirty-fourth declares that "nothing is to be ordained against God's Word;" that traditions and ceremonies may be allowed, provided they "be not repugnant to the Word of God."

The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer speaks of "the whole Bible" as "God's Word" ordered to be read

over in Church once every year, instead of the legends and stories which had been introduced, so that now "nothing is ordained to be read but the very pure Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same," i.e., the Apocrypha.

The exhortation at the beginning of morning and evening prayer declares that we assemble in Church, among other things, "to hear God's most Holy Word." The Nicene Creed teaches us to say, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, . . . who spake by the prophets." In the Ordering of Deacons, the Bishop asks: "Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?" The answer is: "I do believe them." In the Ordering of Priests, we read: "Then the Bishop shall deliver to every one of them, kneeling, the Bible, saying, take thou authority to preach the Word of God. The two parts of the Homily on the Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture," of which it declares God to be the only Author," bear out the view which is taken of the Bible in the Articles and Formularies. No one can read that Homily and not see with what reverence it treats every part of the Holy Volume, regarding it as coming from God.

The *Reformatio Legum*, in its first pages, does the same. It speaks of the "*Suprema auctoritas*,"—" *Scripturæ divinæ*,"—" *Divinorum librorum*." It ranks the books of the Old Testament amongst the Divine Scriptures equally with the New. It defines the relation of the Bible to the Creeds, Councils, Fathers,—subordinating all to it. It denounces as heretics those who slight the authority of the written Word. It is especially severe on those who detract from the authority of the Old Testament.

The language of Dean Nowell is scarcely less strong; and that of Jewell, who had, with Archbishop Parker, a great share in the revision of the Articles, and is therefore and unexceptionable witness to their meaning, is exceedingly strong on this point. In his *Apology*, a work more identified with the Church's teaching than the works of almost any other individual writer, he uses these words: "*Recipimus et amplectimur omnes Canonicas Scripturas, et Veteris et Novi Testamenti: Deoque nostro gratias agimus, qui eam lucem nobis excitavit, quam semper haberemus in oculis, ne vel humana fraude, vel insidus Dæmonum, ad errores et fabulas abduceremur: eas esse caelestes voces, per quas Deus voluntatem suam nobis patefecerit: in illis solis posse hominum animos acquiescere: in illis ea omnia, quæcumque ad nostram salutem*

sint necessaria, ut Origines, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus docuerunt, cumulate et plene contineri: eas esse vim et potentiam Dei ad salutem: eas esse fundamenta Prophetarum et Apostolorum, in quibus ædificata sit Ecclesia Dei: eas esse certissimam normam, ad quam ea, si vacillet aut erret, possit exigi, et ad quam omnis doctrina ecclesiastica debeat revocari: contra eas nec legem, nec traditionem, nec consuetudinem ullam audiendam esse: ne, si Paulus quidem ipse, aut Angelus de Cælo veniat, et secus doceat.” (Edit. Valpy, London, 1837, p p 16 and 17.)

But the Bishop's language in his defence must not be overlooked. He says that there is a sense in which he can use the expression that the Bible is the Word of God" (Preface part III, page 27). He can call it the "Word of God," in the same sense that he calls a church the "House of God." But he "prefers the language of the first Homily, 'In it is contained the true Word of God;' and the language of the Consecration Service, 'that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation.'"

The expression that the Scriptures contain the Word of God is, it scarce needs be said, a perfectly legitimate expression. It is used by the Church. The question, however, is not whether it may be used, but whether the use of it should protect a clergyman from the charge of false teaching, while rejecting the authority of a large portion of the Scriptures. The expression is not used by the Church to define her whole teaching with regard to the Scriptures. It is employed in the sixth Article, but mainly in order to contrast the doctrine of the English Church with that of the Romish, touching the authority of tradition.

What the Church chiefly intended by that Article to affirm was, that neither the Apocrypha nor tradition were needed to supplement the teaching of Holy Scripture; that the Bible was the one only sufficient record of divine truth in things necessary to salvation. The same phrase is used again in the Service for the Ordination of Priests, but only in order to bind the clergy not to go beyond the authority of Holy Scripture in teaching the things essential to salvation; all who as Priests are pledged to this have been already, as Deacons, required to acknowledge that they unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

This double requirement I consider to be conclusive as to the light in which the Church regards the Bible. I am

at a loss to understand how any one can fail to be impressed with the force of the words in the Ordination Service; or think it lawful for one who has said "I do believe," "unfeignedly" believe, "all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments," to reject an unlimited portion of them as untrue. The word "belief" surely implies conviction, and "conviction" that the thing believed is true. As applied to all the Books of the Old Testament, as well as the New, it can mean nothing less than that their contents are accepted as true.

The expression "contains the Word of God" occurs again, as the Bishop pleads, in the Homily. But the plain avowed intention of the Church in that Homily is to do honour to the whole Bible, not in any way to separate between different parts of its contents, or detract from the authority of any portion of it. Throughout, the Homily treats every page of Scripture as the Word of God. It affirms, with the sixth Article, that the Bible contains the Word of God. All God's revealed Word is contained in it. There is no need of tradition to supplement its teaching. The same word is used in the Declaration prefixed to the Articles, wherein it is said that the Articles "do contain" the doctrine of the Church of England. As there used, it is proved by the sequel to exclude the notion of any portion of the Articles not being the doctrine of the Church. I have no doubt that the sense of the expression in the Homily and in the declaration is one and the same.

But were the Articles and Formularies altogether silent as to the Bible being the Word of God, or were the Church's language less decided than I think it is on the subject, I should still have felt it to be my duty to declare, on other grounds, that the Bishop was not entitled to say that the Bible was not the Word of God, or that it was marked with "error, infirmity, passion, ignorance."

The Church of England does not date its existence from the period of the Reformation. Its history stretches back to Apostolic times. It holds what the whole Church has always held. Silence upon any particular point of faith, or upon any great question of religion, is no reason for supposing that the Church of England was indifferent to that portion of the faith. There might be reasons, and there were, why Articles and definitions should not be multiplied at the Reformation. But the Articles do not embrace the whole of the Church's teaching. This is distinctly stated by so great an authority as Bishop Pearson (Minor Theol. Works, vol. ii., page 215, Churton's

edition). "The Book of Articles is not, nor is pretended to be, a complete body of divinity, or a comprehension and explanation of all Christian doctrine necessary to be taught; but an enumeration of some truths which upon, and since, the Reformation, have been denied by some persons."

The same opinion is expressed by the late Archdeacon Hardwicke in his History of the Articles. He asks, speaking of the Articles of 1552, "on what principles may we explain the introduction of this point, or the omission of that? Were they designed to be a complete system of theology, or simply to express the judgment of the English Church on a variety of sacred topics, at that time actually controverted within her own jurisdiction." In reply, he shows both from the construction of the Articles themselves, compared with the history of the times, and from other evidence, that the latter is the true light in which they are to be regarded. "In the *Reformatio Legum*, where many of the Articles reappear in a somewhat different form, attention is distinctly confined to the heresies then in course of propagation: *Posset magna colluctatio aliarum heresum occurrere, sed hoc tempore illas nominare solum volumus, quæ potissimum, hæc nostris temporibus per ecclesiam diffunduntur.*" (Hardwicke, page 889.) This, he adds, was certainly the view of Cranmer when he requested the Continental Reformers to take part in such a compilation; and Calvin understood him in this sense, as we read in a letter which he addressed to the Archbishop while the English Articles were in progress. He there says that the doctors were invited, "*ut ex diversis ecclesiis, quæ puram evangelii doctrinam amplexi sunt, convenirent precipui quique doctores, ac ex puro Dei verbo certam de singulis capitibus hodie controversis, ac delucidam ad posteros confessionem ederent.*" (Cranmer's Works, 1—347; Ridley's language in Strype's Annals, 1—260; ed. 1725.)

The two chief objects kept in view in framing the Articles were, the guarding, first, against Romish additions to the faith; and, second, against diminutions of it on the part of the Anabaptists, and other sects which at that time arose. Now with regard to the Old and New Testament, apart from the Apocrypha, there was no difference of opinion between the Churches of England and of Rome. Both regarded and received the Bible, as the whole Church had ever done, as in all its parts the written Word of God.

The language of the Council of Trent is: "The Synod receives and venerates, with equal affection of piety and reverence, all the Books both of the Old and New Testa-

ment, seeing the one Lord is the Author of both;" but if "any one receive not as sacred and canonical these same books entire, with all their parts, let him be Anathema." There was, therefore, as regards the disputes with that Church no need to speak. There were, indeed, wild and extravagant opinions put forth by the sects with regard to Holy Scripture, but chiefly on the Continent, and these were met by direct Articles in some of the Continental Confessions. But these opinions did not so prevail in England as to require the framing of an Article on the subject.

As to the light in which the sacred writings have been regarded by the Church, it was argued in the pleadings that the whole Catholic Church has from the beginning received the Holy Scriptures as the Book of God, and has handed on from age to age the same doctrine concerning the authority of the whole Bible which we know to have prevailed in the Jewish Church with regard to the Old Testament.

I have no doubt of the general soundness of this argument. And, had the Church of England not spoken at all on the subject, I must, in the absence of all proof to the contrary, have held that the Church of England did not intend to abandon that portion of her inheritance. I should have been bound to do so, I conceive, by the language used in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, wherein it is stated that the Church of England had rejected only those things which were opposed to the doctrine of the whole Catholic Church of Christ; and by the language of that important Act, which expressed alike the mind of the Church, the Crown, and the Legislature, and which is still a part of the law of England (25 Hen. VIII, Cap. 21, Sec. 19), in which it is expressly asserted that the Church did not intend "to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very Articles of the Catholic Faith of Christians." And I may add the Act of Elizabeth (1 Eliz., Cap. 1), which provided that that only should be adjudged to be heresy which had "heretofore been determined, ordered, adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or any of them, or by any other General Council, wherein the same was declared heresy, by the express and plain words of the said Canonical Scriptures," &c., &c. This portion of the Act, indeed, ceased to have the force of law when the High Commission ceased to exist, yet Lord Coke regarded it as fit to "serve

for a good direction to others, especially to the Diocesan being a sole judge in so weighty a cause."—(Gibson's Codex, p. 425.)

I must decide that, while it is lawful to say that the Holy Scriptures contain the Word of God, it is not lawful to say that they in such wise contain the Word of God as not themselves to be the Word of God; or that they are no more the Word of God than a church is the House of God.

VI.

The next charge bears upon the above. It relates to the subject of Inspiration. It is affirmed that in certain passages of the Bishop's writings the Holy Scriptures are spoken of and treated as a merely human book, not inspired by God the Holy Spirit; or inspired only in such a manner as other books may be inspired, and that so to speak and treat of the Holy Scriptures is to impugn and contradict the teaching of the Church as expressed in certain Articles and Formularies of the Church, which are referred to.

The extracts are very long. The most important passages of them are to be found in the following: "In order to avert the shock which ^{to our children's} faith must otherwise experience, when they find, as they certainly will before long, that the Bible can no longer be regarded as infallibly true in matters of common history," "the writers of these books, whatever pious intentions they may have had in composing them, cannot now be regarded as having been under such constant, infallible, supernatural guidance, as the ordinary doctrine of Scripture inspiration supposes. We must not blindly shut our eyes to the real history of the composition of this book, to the legendary character of its earlier portions, to the manifest contradictions and impossibilities which rise up at once in every part of the story of the Exodus, if we persist in maintaining that it is a simple record of historical facts. But some one, perhaps, may now say, 'Do you then take from us God's Word, the Bible?' I must reply again, 'Whatever is done, it is not I but the Truth itself which does it.' If the arguments which I have advanced are not really founded upon truth, let them be set aside and thrown to the winds; but if they are, we dare not, as servants of God, do this,—we are bound to hear and obey the truth. It may be then—rather it is, as I believe, undoubtedly the fact, that God Himself, by the power of the truth, will take from us in this age the Bible, as an idol, which we have set up against His will to bow down to it and worship it. I then clung to the notion that the main

substance of the narrative was historically true. Why may not Samuel, like any other head of an institution, have composed this narrative for the instruction and improvement of his pupils, from which it would gradually find its way, no doubt, more or less freely among the people at large, without ever pretending that it was any other than an historical experiment, an attempt to give them some account of the early annals of their tribes? In later days, it is true, this ancient work of Samuel's came to be regarded as infallibly divine."

The Bishop's teaching with regard to the Pentateuch is, that it was not composed by Moses; that it probably was written by Samuel, or succeeding prophets or seers; that it is itself unhistorical,—legendary,—does not give a true relation of facts; that it is full of inconsistencies, contradictions, mistakes; that the appearances, revelations of Himself by God did not really take place; that He did not converse with those with whom He is represented as conversing, or impart laws to Moses; that in introducing the Divine Being Himself as conversing with their forefathers, Samuel only acted in conformity with the spirit of his age, and of his people, which recognized in their common forms of language a direct interference with the affairs of men;" "that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the first writer in the story of the Pentateuch ever professed to be recording infallible truth, or even actual historical truth."

The question for me to decide is, whether the Church allows her ministers to put forth such statements as these, which reduce a large portion of the Old Testament history to a legend, a fiction. Now, without wishing to limit the proper field and province of criticism, or to restrict the freedom which may be regarded as desirable for the eliciting of the truth,—without attempting to define inspiration, a word which does not occur in the Articles or Formularies, in connection with this subject, or venturing to say where the human element in the Bible ends and where the Divine begins,—I must deny that the Church does or can permit its ministers without restraint to make such assertions as these. They are, in my judgment, wholly inconsistent with an honest subscription to the Formularies of the Church. It is impossible to conceive that it should be true that the writers "of the Bible" "wrote as men, with the same liability to error from any cause as other men" (p 152), and yet that the Bible should be "God's Word written;" for it is the Bible—not a part of it only, but the whole Bible—that the Church declares to be such. At the Ordination of

Priests, the Bishop is charged, as I have before observed to deliver to every one of them, kneeling, the Bible into his hand, and say, "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God."

When an Archbishop consecrates a Bishop, he is directed to ask, and does ask, whether that Bishop "is ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word." In the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, it is said that the Church has ordered that "all the whole Bible . . . should be read over once every year" in Church, amongst other things, to enable her ministers "to confute them that are adversaries to the truth." A contrast is there drawn between this reading of all the whole Bible with the practice of the later Roman Church in allowing "uncertain stories and legends" to be read, "whereof some were untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious." And the Church's own practice is defended in ordaining that nothing be read, but the pure Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same. But according to the Bishop, the order to read the Pentateuch, and other books of the Old Testament in Church, is an order to read fables, myths, uncertain stories, and legends. He is at direct issue with the Church as to the character of Holy Scripture.

It were a mockery and wrong for the Church to use the language which it does respecting the Scriptures, if in its belief the whole Bible was not the unerring Word of the Living God, or if it were to be ruled that the ministers of the Church were allowed to teach that the Sacred Books contain "uncertain stories and legends," and openly to reject no less than nine of them, as "legendary" and mythological, full of palpable "exaggerations," "contradictions," "impossibilities," and "improbabilities." Language must altogether lose its meaning. Pledges, promises, declarations, must be regarded as so much waste paper, if the words of the Church in those Formularies and Articles which speak of the Bible, and which are in accordance with, and must be interpreted by, the language of the Church on this great subject from the beginning, are not held to be violated by the Bishop in the passages which have been referred to, and which are but a specimen of the views propounded by him throughout his books.

VII.

The Bishop is next charged with denying the authenticity, genuineness, and truth of certain books of Holy Scripture, in whole or in part, and it is affirmed that this

denial is in contravention of the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles and Formularies of the Church.

The passages referred to are very long. I give but portions of them. "I became so convinced of the unhistorical character of very considerable portions of the Mosaic narrative;" "I use the expression 'unhistorical,' or 'not historically true,' throughout, rather than 'fictitious,' since the word 'fiction' is frequently understood to imply "a conscious dishonesty on the part of the writer, an intention to deceive.'"

"The conviction that I have arrived at, of the certainty of the ground on which the main argument of my book rests, viz., the proof that the account of the Exodus, whatever value it may have, is not historically true."

"The main result of my examination of the Pentateuch, viz., that the narrative, whatever may be its value and meaning, cannot be regarded as historically true, is not, unless I greatly deceive myself, a doubtful matter of speculation at all; it is a simple question of facts."

"The result of my inquiry is this, that I have arrived at the conviction, as painful to myself at first as it may be to my reader, though painful now no longer, under the clear shining of the light of truth, that the Pentateuch as a whole cannot possibly have been written by Moses, or by any one acquainted personally with the facts which it professes to describe; and further that the (so-called) Mosaic narrative, by whomsoever written, and though imparting to us, as I fully believe it does, revelations of the Divine will and character, cannot be regarded as historically true."

"This, however, was a very great strain upon the cord which bound me to the ordinary belief in the historical veracity of the Pentateuch, and since then that cord has snapped in twain altogether."

"The conviction of the unhistorical character of the (so-called) Mosaic narrative seems to be forced upon us by the consideration of the many absolute impossibilities involved in it, when treated as relating to simple matter of fact."

"Even if it were conceivable that Moses should have written a story about matters in which he was personally concerned, involving such contradictions, exaggerations, and impossibilities as we have already had before us, yet the fact above mentioned would alone be decisive against such a supposition. We may with very good reason abide by our supposition that they were written very probably by the hand, or at least under the direction, and certainly in the time of Samuel."

"It is not I that require you to abandon the ordinary notion of the Mosaic authorship and antiquity of the Pentateuch. It is the truth itself which does so."

"He will need only a common practical judgment to convince him that the story which is told in the Book of Genesis is utterly incredible."

"If he once begins to inquire, it is extremely probable that any such clergyman must needs come very soon to doubt, and before long to disbelieve, the truth of the Scripture account of the Deluge." "We shall see the utter impossibility of receiving any longer the story of the Exodus as literally and historically true." "According to our view Joshua was only a mythical, or perhaps legendary personage." "The stories in the Book of Judges are also, like the story of the Exodus, most probably founded upon some real traditions, and though in some places they are evidently exaggerated, and in others they have assumed a legendary form, the heroes whose exploits are there described seem to have been real characters, and their names in most cases may be supposed to be genuine." "We conclude, then, that the Song of Deborah was written after the middle part of David's life, perhaps towards the close of it, two or three centuries after the time of Barak and Deborah, by a writer who has produced an admirable imitation of an ancient song, a 'Lay of Ancient Israel,' and thrown himself thoroughly into the spirit of the age which he describes." "The chronicler's statements, when not supported by other evidence, are not to be relied on."

It is with inexpressible pain that I quote language like this, and bear in mind that the writer is a Bishop of this Church. My duty, however, to-day is, apart from all personal feelings, simply to consider whether this language is so opposed to the plain teaching of the Church as to call for judicial condemnation. There may be, I need scarce say, much on such a subject that a writer may put forth which may be most rash, unwarranted, deserving of severe condemnation, but which, nevertheless, the Church, confident of the truth, and of the advantage of full discussion for the elucidation of truth, has not thought it necessary to declare to be criminal on the part of the clergy to publish.

Thus it has been argued, and I think justly, that a clergyman could not be judicially condemned for holding that particular portions of Holy Scripture were not written by the authors to whom they have been generally ascribed,

provided he did not deny their canonicity. The authorship of the Books of Scripture generally has not been made matter of faith by the Church, partly it may be, because of the real difficulty of deciding who the writers were of certain portions of it; but mainly because the point was not of great moment so long as it was held that all had been given by inspiration of the Holy Ghost; but the canonicity has been held to be a matter of faith, because upon this depends the question of the Bible being, as Bishop Cosin says, "of infallible verity and unquestioned authority," upon its being the canon or rule of the Christian faith and practice, and consequently its inspiration.

Let me next examine how far this admission bears upon the particular point under consideration. The Bishop is charged with denying the authenticity, genuineness, and truth of certain books of Holy Scripture, in whole or in part. It must, I think, be admitted that this is proved; but how far does this bring the writer under the condemnation of the Church? And here I would observe that I do throughout these proceedings bear in mind that the inquiry we are conducting is of a most solemn and a serious one; that it affects the character and future prospects of one high in position; and that the best construction is to be put upon his language which his words will bear. But I must, on the other hand, add that I cannot think that the language of the Church should be strained to the utmost to cover unsound teaching, because the proceedings in which a judge may unhappily be engaged do seriously affect the character and position of an individual.

My first duty in this case I believe to be to the Church and to the Church's Lord. I am bound to be on my guard lest consideration for the accused should lead me to say anything which might tend to injure or destroy the faith, by making that an open question which the Church never intended to be an open question,—or by sanctioning the teaching of error to those who look with confidence to the Church for instruction. The faith and teaching of the Church may be added to, or it may be gradually weakened, undermined, changed, by the decisions of Courts.

This last result will arise, if it be declared that the clergy are not required to teach that which the Church holds to be essential, unless the teaching of it is absolutely enjoined in words which will admit of no doubt or cavil.

The Church itself might thus, through no fault of its

own,—unless it be a fault not to have expressly provided against every possible heresy,—cease to be a witness for truth which once it upheld. It is the first duty of the Bishops of the Church to see that its teaching shall be preserved pure, uncorrupt, complete, fixed, and positive, at all hazards. But so far as is compatible with this, not only must freedom be allowed to the clergy, but special care must be taken not to overstrain or exaggerate their engagements, and the most generous construction must be put upon the language of any who may be accused of false teaching.

Bearing these principles in mind, I must rule that in denying that the five Books commonly, almost universally, in all ages, ascribed to Moses, were really written by him, and in attributing them to Samuel the Bishop does not contradict the express language of the Church of England. Whatever may be thought of this repudiation of what has been affirmed by the concurrent testimony of antiquity, and by the uniform report of uninterrupted tradition; of what has been received by the Jew as well as the Samaritan, by every sect of the Hebrew and of the Christian Church; of what has been taken for granted by almost all the sacred writers, who mention the Pentateuch as the word of Moses under the title of the law, and cite it as indisputably his work,—still the Bishop does not appear to me so to have offended against the plain words of the Church's Articles or Formularies as to be liable to condemnation by them. vii Article, does indeed speak of the "Law given from God by Moses." It might, however, have been so given, and yet the account of it be written by another,—by Aaron, or by Joshua.

But is it therefore lawful for the Bishop to teach that Samuel, and not Moses, was the author of the Pentateuch? I think not. The case is widely different from what it would have been had he questioned whether the second Epistle of St. Peter, or the Epistle to the Hebrews, were written by those to whom they have been generally attributed. In this case the attributing of the Pentateuch to Samuel is not only opposed to the stream of writers in all ages of the Church, and to express canons,—as the 85th of the Apostolical Canons,—and to the internal evidence, and even the assertions of the Pentateuch itself. It goes beyond this. It involves the rejection of our Lord's authority, and of His words as delivered to us by the Church in the Gospels, as we have them, wherein the Saviour is made to quote from each of the books of the Pentateuch; and this is one of those instances to which I have just referred, in

which there may be an offence against the Church's teaching, while there is none against the express language of the Articles or Formularies.

These are our Blessed Lord's words on this subject: "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me; but if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words." "They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them." "If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." "These were the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me." "Have ye not read in the Book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him?" "What did Moses command you?—and they said Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement and to put her away. And Jesus answered and said unto them, for the hardness of your hearts he wrote you this precept." If the Bishop has not offended against the language of the Church, he has against the University of Oxford. These words, it will be remembered, *Together with the* were said to a people who held the Pentateuch in their hands, as we now have it. It is to these books that our Lord refers, it is of them He speaks, and I feel bound to observe in passing, although there is no express charge upon this particular point, and therefore my judgment cannot in any way be founded upon it, that the ministers of the Church are not at liberty to set aside the words of Christ, and that it is heresy to teach in opposition to the teaching of our Blessed Lord. The words of her Incarnate God are in the Church's eye of far higher authority than her own. But if the Bishop is not permitted to deny that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, he is still less at liberty to deny the truth of what is recorded therein. It were needless to repeat the many passages in which he does reject the authority not only of the Pentateuch, but also of the Books of Joshua, Judges, Chronicles.

Is he at liberty to teach that the Scriptures are not to be believed in what they say about the Flood,—the Exodus,—the history of the Judges? May he proclaim that Joshua was "only a mythical, or perhaps a legendary personage?" or imply doubt whether Moses was an historical character? (Part III, Page 183, Section 223.) Questions like these involve the consideration as to what is consistent with the Church's belief in the Bible.

I cannot admit that such language is consistent with any

real faith in the Bible. It cannot be used consistently with the belief that the Bible is "God's Word written." If Joshua be a myth, the Flood a fiction, the Exodus not a real fact, a large part of that Book which the Church declares to be "God's Word," cannot possibly be God's Word, and the language in the Preface to the Prayer-book, already referred to, is entirely mistaken.

It has been said indeed, by a high authority,* that when the question in the Ordination Service for Deacons is put,—"Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?" and to which the answer is given, "I do believe them"—the pledge then given must be regarded as sufficiently fulfilled if there be 'a *bona fide* belief that the Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary to salvation, and that, to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty,"—even apparently though the historical portion of Scripture should be disbelieved.

I cannot concur in this decision. It is a wrong to the Church thus to limit the meaning and diminish the force of its plain language. It has two distinct statements, one of which is "What the Bible is, it is "God's Word written," the other as to what it contains with regard to the faith,—it contains, without the aid of tradition, "all things necessary to everlasting salvation."

The Ordinal does not ask of those who are seeking to be admitted to the lowest office in the ministry whether they believe that the Scriptures "contain everything necessary to salvation," but whether they believe them to be God's Word,—whether they believe them to be true. This is the first condition of admission to the ranks of the ministry. The truth of the Scriptures lies at the foundation of Christianity. The first and most anxious inquiry, therefore, of those about to be sent forth in the Church's name, though without full authority to teach, is, whether they believe them,—believe them to be true. Then, when the priestly office is sought, when the position of teacher is to be undertaken, the Ordinal goes further, and requires not merely belief in the Scriptures themselves, but a belief that those Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and a promise to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation but what may be concluded and proved by the Scripture.

* Dr. Lushington's judgment, Bishop of Salisbury versus Williams.

Upon the strength of concessions to which I have alluded, and from which I feel constrained to differ, the Bishop claims (Preface, Part I, Page 33) not to have violated, as he previously supposed that he had done, the conditions imposed upon him by the Church, even while rejecting altogether the historical veracity of a great part of the Old Testament; though he does not seem to be aware that the same authority, with some inconsistency, has declared that "every clergyman comes under an obligation not to preach or teach, that is, not advisedly to maintain, any doctrine which tends to weaken or destroy the divine authority of Scripture as contained in the authorized version, or to negative its truth;" and that "to deny the canonicity of these books, or any one of them, or substantially to impeach their divine authority, would be both a violation of the sixth Article, and also a disregard of the declaration of belief made in them at the Ordination of Deacons."

Upon the whole, reviewing this charge, I feel bound to decide that in denying the authenticity and genuineness of certain parts of Holy Scripture, the Bishop has contradicted the teaching of our Lord Himself. And that in denying the truth of a large portion of the contents of the Pentateuch, Books of Joshua, Judges, and Chronicles, the Bishop has contravened the faith as expressed in the Articles and Formularies of the Church,—more especially the sixth Article;—the seventh Article, which declares that "the law was given from God to Moses;"—the twentieth Article, which regards the Holy Scripture of the highest authority, and affirms that it is not lawful for the Church itself to ordain anything contrary to God's Word written; the Ordination Service for Deacons in which the deacon is required to declare that he unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments;—the first prayer in the Ministration for Public Baptism, wherein the Church thus addresses God on two great events which the Bishop regards as fictitious, "Almighty and Everlasting God, who by Thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the Ark from perishing by water, and also didst safely lead the children of Israel thy people through the Red Sea;"—and again in the Prayer for Fair Weather, "O Almighty Lord God, who for the sin of man didst once drown all the world except eight persons, and afterward of Thy great mercy didst promise never to destroy it again;"—the prayer in the time of any Common Plague or Sickness, "O Almighty

God, who in Thy wrath didst send a plague upon Thine own people in the Wilderness for their obstinate rebellion against Moses and Aaron;"—the announcement of the commandments in words like these, "God spake these words and said, I am the Lord thy God;"—the Catechism, wherein her children are taught that "God spake" these same commandments, "in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, saying, I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." Clearly, the Church regards, and expects all its officers to regard, the Holy Scriptures as teaching pure and simple truth. The Bishop regards them as, to a great extent, teaching what is not true. It is nothing to reply that he believes that they teach what is true in all things necessary to salvation. Who is to judge what is necessary to salvation? In the Bishop's view, a very small amount of truth might be necessary, a very few words might contain all that was necessary. The Apostle's Creed actually does contain all that is necessary. Are we to understand that in pledging the clergy to a belief in the Bible, the Church pledges them to nothing more than to a belief that it contains divine truth just to the same extent with the Creed.

I believe that it means infinitely more than this.

VIII.

The next charge brought against the Bishop is, if possible, graver than any of the above. It relates to the Nature and Person of our Blessed Lord. It accuses the Bishop of imputing to our Lord ignorance and error, and thereby with denying that He is God and Man in one Person; and affirms that by this denial he impugns and contradicts the Catholic faith as expressed in the Articles and Creeds of the Church.

The ground for this accusation is to be found in a passage taken from the Preface to Part I of his work on the Pentateuch. He there says, speaking of the Saviour: "It is perfectly consistent with the most entire and sincere belief in our Lord's Divinity to hold, as many do, that, when He vouchsafed to become a 'Son of Man,' He took our nature fully, and voluntarily entered into all the conditions of humanity, and, among others, into that which makes our growth in all ordinary knowledge gradual and limited. We are expressly told in St Luke ii, 52, that 'Jesus increased in wisdom' as well as in stature. It is not supposed that, in His human nature, He was acquainted,

more than any educated Jew of the age, with the mysteries of all modern sciences; nor, with St. Luke's expressions before us, can it be seriously maintained that, as an infant or young child, He possessed a knowledge surpassing that of the most pious and learned adults of His nation, upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch. At what period, then, of His life upon earth, is it to be supposed that He had granted to Him, as the Son of Man, supernaturally, full and accurate information on these points, so that He should be expected to speak about the Pentateuch in other terms than any other devout Jew of that day would have employed? Why should it be thought that He would speak with certain Divine knowledge on this matter, more than upon other matters of ordinary science or history?"

It has been argued that there is nothing new in the Bishop's views; that they are the same as those put forth, though in a far more modified form, more than 1400 years ago by a Patriarch of Constantinople; and that they then gave rise first to a warm controversy, and then to a decided condemnation by two of those great œcumenical councils whose decisions upon questions of heresy were made binding upon the Church of England by the Act of 1 Eliz., chapter 1, section 36.

The heresy of Nestorius was not that he denied our Lord's Divinity. Nay, he went so far as to persecute vehemently the Arians, who did deny it. But he used language which implied the existence of two persons in Christ. He held our Lord to be a perfect man, connected by a moral and apparent union with the Word. There was a conjunction, not an union of the two natures. The Word was indeed in some sense united to man, but was not made man. The main point of his heresy was that the Son of God was connected with the Son of Man, but was not made man. The second Council of Constantinople, i.e., the fifth General Council, in its sentence of definition, section 4, points out where his error lay. By calling God the Word, Son, and Christ, and yet naming the man Christ separately, he really and evidently taught that there were two persons in Christ; and though he claimed to acknowledge one person, he did so only in name, not confessing the unity of God the Word with the flesh, animated by a reasonable and intellectual soul. In opposition to this teaching, which separated the Body of the Word from the Word Himself, the third and fourth General Councils (and I might add the fifth and sixth also, for they

concurred in and confirmed the decisions of the previous councils), affirmed that there were two natures, but only one Person, in our Lord; that the two natures do not either of them constitute a distinct person, but both of them are united in one and the same person.

The Council of Chalcedon, consisting of no less than 630 Bishops, declared that "He is to be acknowledged one and the same Christ, the Son, the Lord, the only-begotten, in two natures, without confusion, change, division, or separation; the difference of natures not being removed by their union, but rather the propriety of each nature being preserved and making up one person, one 'hypostasis' (subsistence), not divided or separated into two persons, but the only Son, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, and one and the same person."

This is the Catholic faith concerning this great mystery. It has been held to be since the decision of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon: "Out of the Divine and human nature, one Christ was formed," says the second General Council of Constantinople. With these assertions, the definition of our own stated Article, as well as the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, are in strict accordance. The language of the Article is exact and full,— "The Son took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance, so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man." The language of the Creed of St. Athanasius is equally full and exact: "Although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ. One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person; for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ."

Our own most eminent theologians unfold and enforce this great mystery. I quote the language of two of the greatest of them here, because I think that writers with whom the Church of England has been for ages almost identified are on such a question as this amongst the best exponents of her teaching; and more especially when they are in harmony on these points with many other great divines, to whom it is needless to refer. "The two natures," says Beveridge (Article 11), "do not either of them constitute a distinct, but both of them make up one and the same person, and, there-

fore, we must consider that the human nature had no subsistence in itself by which it could be a distinct person of itself; but its subsistence was only in the Divine person; and also how, as if was not a human person, but the human nature which was assumed, so it was not the Divine nature, but a Divine person that did assume." And again (page 113): "We are now to inquire whether He be thus God and man in one person or in two. I mean, whether He be God in one person, and man in the other, or both God and man in the same person. But we need not make much inquiry after it, the Scripture being so plain and frequent in attributing to Him two natures, and yet but one person; in saying that 'the Word was made flesh.' John i, 14. He did not take flesh unto Him, but into Him. Yea, he was made flesh, that is, He that was really a Spirit as God, became as really flesh, as man; not by changing Himself into flesh, but by taking flesh into Himself, to make up one and the same person with Himself."

"Our Lord," says Hooker, "did not assume a man's person to His own, but a man's nature to His own person. He took the seed of Abraham, and He took it before it had any human personal existence. It was in the womb of the blessed Virgin He took it, before any human being was conceived. If a human being had been first conceived, and then united to God, that human being must have been a human person previously to the union with the Divine Person, and so the Incarnation would have been the union of two persons, not the union of two natures."

The Bishop of Natal's creed seems to be this. He believes in the Divine Nature of our Lord. He speaks of his "most entire and sincere belief of our Lord's Divinity." He declares that "from the first moment of his ministry to the present hour, in all his preaching and teaching, no doctrine of the Church has been maintained by him more strenuously" . . . than "that of the Divinity of our Lord;" but he believes that the union of the Divine Nature with the human was not of such a character as to shield the Christ from ignorance or error. He separates, by his assertions, the man from the God, and really follows Nestorius.

Now the true faith is, that it was a Divine Person that, took the nature of man—not the person of any particular man—into the Godhead;—and the union was so perfect that the Word was made flesh,—became man.

In the Christ there was the second Person of the ever Blessed

Trinity, and there was the perfect nature of man. The two natures, without confusion of substance, were united in the Person of our Lord.

Being God, our Lord was omniscient. Infinite knowledge was a property of the Christ,—i.e., of the Person of Christ, God and man. He could not have been God had His knowledge been less than infinite. To deny His omniscience is to deny His Godhead, or to affirm that omniscience is not an attribute of God. To maintain that He could err, is to maintain that He was not God, or that God could err.

Being perfect man, as well as perfect God, He had, as man, the nature of man,—the finite faculties of man. He was therefore limited in knowledge *qua* His human nature,—on that side, so to speak, of His united nature. "We may not," to use again the language of Hooker, "imagine that the properties of the weaker nature have vanished with the presence of the more glorious; nor had there been therein swallowed up, as in a gulf." But neither may we suppose that the attributes and powers of the higher nature were in any way lost or diminished. There is a true union of the Godhead and manhood in Christ, and the mode of union is such that neither nature is destroyed by the conjunction.

These two natures coexist, however marvellous the mystery, without confusion of substance, as distinct natures in the one Person of Christ. "They have been," to use again the language of Hooker, "from the moment of their first combination, and are for ever, inseparable." And to that one Person,—though He might sometimes act, or speak of Himself, as man, sometimes as God,—belonged of necessity all the properties and attributes of the Godhead.

The Bishop's language implies of necessity the existence of two persons in Christ. He admits Him to be God; but he says: "At what period of His life upon earth is it to be supposed that He had granted to Him, as the Son of Man, supernaturally, full and accurate information on these points, so that He should be expected to speak about the Pentateuch in other terms than any other devout Jew of that day would have employed? Why should it be thought that He would speak with certain *Divine* knowledge on this matter?" He separates that which is inseparable. He distinguishes the man Christ Jesus from God the Word. The man is not the Incarnate Word. He really denies the Incarnation.

I do not feel it necessary to go further into the depths of this great subject, or to attempt to discuss the many interesting questions which have been raised in connection

with it. The case does not require me to do so. The Incarnation is a mystery which transcends knowledge,—“Great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh.” It is enough to say that the Bishop’s words appear to me clearly to imply the existence of two persons in Christ. This is essential to his position. It is the only explanation of it. He teaches *Nestorianism*. But he goes beyond Nestorius, for he did not teach, so far as I am aware, that our Lord was liable to error, though this follows of necessity from his teaching. “Between him and the Church of God,” says Hooker, “there was no difference saving only that Nestorius imagined in Christ as well a personal human subsistence as a Divine, the Church acknowledging a substance both Divine and human, but no other personal subsistence than Divine, because the Son of God took not to Himself a man’s Person, but the nature only of a man.”

The question which the Bishop has raised is not a light one. It is not a mere question of words. If, as he affirms, our Lord, while on earth was ignorant and liable to error,—if He quoted fiction for fact, legends for history,—if He mistook altogether the character of the Bible,—believed a mere human composition to be the Word of God,—believed that God really had spoken to Moses, when He had not,—made blunders about the most important matters, as to which it has fallen to the lot of Bishop Colenso to set Him right,—then, if these things be so, we have no sure ground for our faith. Mistaken on one point, He whom we call Lord may have been so on every matter. We could not admit the Bishop’s statements without shaking to its very foundation the whole Christian faith as a revelation from God.

I must decide that in imputing to our Blessed Lord ignorance, and the possibility of error, the Bishop has committed himself to a most subtle heresy, destructive of the reality of the Incarnation, and that he has departed from the Catholic faith, as held in the Church from the beginning, and as expressed in the second Article, and in the Creeds.

IX.

The last charge is that the Bishop has in his writings, from which extracts are given, been guilty of depraving and impugning, and otherwise bringing into disrepute, the Book of Common Prayer, particularly portions of the Ordinal and the Baptismal Services, and that in so doing

he has violated the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland, as contained in the 36th of the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical.

The extracts are too long for quotation. In them, however, I find expressions such as these: "It may be that the time is near at hand when that work" (missionary work among the heathen) "shall no longer be impeded by the necessity of our laying down, at the very outset, stories like these for their reception, which they can often match out of their own traditions, and requiring them, under pain of eternal misery, to believe 'in them all' unfeignedly." "And when a Missionary Bishop of the Church of England shall not be prevented, as I have, from admitting to the diaconate a thoroughly competent, well-trained, able, and pious native because he must be ordained by the Formularies of the Church of England, and those require that he should not only subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledge the Book of Common Prayer, but solemnly declare in the presence of God and the congregation, that he unfeignedly believes in all the Canonical Scriptures." If he once begins to inquire it is extremely probable that any clergyman must needs come very soon to doubt, and before long to *disbelieve* the truth of the Scripture account of the Deluge. Rather let me ask, does any intelligent clergyman of this day really believe in that story? Do the Bishops and Doctors of the English Church believe in it? If they do not, then do not these divines, one and all, 'disbelieve the Church's doctrine' on this particular point, while yet, in common with all their fellow-clergy, they use habitually that solemn form of address to Almighty God in the Baptismal Service which expressly assumes the reality and historical truthfulness of the story of the Noachian Deluge." "The fact is, that by the present law of subscription, each clergyman is bound by *law* to believe in the historical truth of Noah's flood, as recorded in the Bible, which the Church believed in some centuries ago, before God had given us the light of modern science; and he will be so bound till the Legislature of the realm shall relax the painful obligation, and relieve him from the duty to which he now stands pledged, of using a form of prayer which involves such a statement as this." "But what are they to do under these circumstances,—those, I mean, who have their eyes open to the real facts of the case, and who cannot bear to utter what they know to be untrue, in

the face of God and the congregation." "What shall be said to those who feel it to be impossible to continue any longer to use such words in a solemn address to the Almighty. I see no remedy for these but to omit such words,—to disobey the laws of the Church on the point, and take the consequences of the act, should any overzealous brother clerk or layman drag him before a court and enforce a penalty in the face of an indignant nation." "Just such, I apprehend, is the state of many of us at present, with reference to our relations as clergy to the National Church. At the time when we were admitted into her ministry, we heartily believed what we then professed to believe, and we gave our assent and consent to every part of her Liturgy, but we did not bind ourselves to believe this always, to the end of our lives. But we engaged in her service it is true, upon certain conditions, in virtue of which we were subject to her laws, and amenable to her courts in case of disobedience. If then, in obedience to a higher law than that of the National Church we now feel it necessary to disobey deliberately any one of her *Universities of Hous* *together in Excellence* directions, of course, for the consequences of such an act, which, in her present state of ignorance as to the real facts of the case and the perilous dangers which threaten her, she may choose to inflict upon us." "Should, however, a prosecution be set on foot in such case, and a clergyman be suspended, or expelled from the Church of England, because he could not bear to approach the holy presence of God by addressing Him as the Being who 'of His great mercy did save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water,' then may we sooner attain the freedom which is needed to make the Church of England to be what it professes to be, the National Church." "Let the laity answer the above questions for themselves, and then ask themselves the reason of this. It is not because the clergy, bound by their ordination vows, and the fetters of subscription, either dare not think at all on such subjects, or, if they do, dare not express freely their thoughts from the pulpit, or by means of the press, without incurring the awful charge of heresy, and the danger of being dragged into the ecclesiastical courts by some clerical brother, who has himself no turn—perhaps no faculty—for thinking, or who has else abandoned his rights and duties as a reasoning man, to become the mere exponent of a Church system or a creed. How, in fact, can it be expected that a clergyman should venture

to 'think' on these subjects, when by so doing he is almost certain to come to 'doubt' and 'disbelieve' some portion at least, as we have seen above, of the Church's doctrines."

He then speaks of the hardships to such an one to have to leave his work, "with strength still, and a hearty will to do more in the Church's service, if only he may be allowed to think and speak the plain honest truth, as a free man, and not be required to hush up the facts which he knows, and publish and maintain in place of them, by silence, at all events, if not by overt acts, transparent fictions."

Upon this charge there is but little left for me to say. The Bishop, to do him justice, is sufficiently outspoken. He does not conceal that he no longer believes a great deal that the Church teaches out of Holy Scripture, and has embodied in her Formularies. He does openly and avowedly impugn, assail, deprave, and endeavour to bring into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer. He intimates his intention of not using in public ministrations those portions which he has begun to disbelieve; and he encourages others to do the same. I see no remedy for this . . . but to disobey the law of the Church." He compares the Church to a master in "real danger," under a great "delusion;" who issued orders long ago, which are "most ill-judged, and the attempt to enforce which would be irrational and suicidal." He is the enlightened "servant" who knows better than his master what is right and for his good, whose "duty it is to disobey, who is bound to disobey, though the consequences of the act might bring ruin on himself, should his master, in his blindness and obstinacy, not appreciate his motives." He hopes though "violent at first," "he will awake from his delusion," and recognize the spirit of faithfulness which prompted the "disobedience." He looks forward to the time when the Church shall be so changed in its teaching condition as to become "what it professes to be, the National Church;" not "a mere sect, but the representative of the whole community in its religious capacity," i. e., "of every form of earnest religious thought within the realm." It is clear that he would not have the clergy under an obligation to teach definite truth. He would have error taught in our pulpits, as well as truth, provided only the teacher thought it to be truth. He would have clergymen at liberty to teach what they like, provided they are in earnest. He speaks contemptuously of those who "abandoning their rights and duties as reasoning men," allow themselves to "become the mere

exponents of a Church system or a creed." Clearly, in his view, there is not, and ought not to be, a faith once for all delivered and for ever to be maintained. The principle he advocates appears to me simply subversive of Christianity.

The two Formularies with which he finds the greatest fault are the Ordinal and the Baptismal Service.

He complains of the former because of its requirements—that it does not allow Bishops to ordain any who do not profess their unfeigned belief in the Holy Scriptures, and subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles and Book of Common Prayer.

He complains of the latter because of the prayer to God in which belief in the Deluge and the saving of Noah and his family in the Ark is spoken of.

There is really no question about the Bishop's faith. He expressly says that he does not now believe what the Church teaches; though in the letter put in as his defence, and written some time before, when his views probably were not what they now are, he denies repeatedly that he differs in his teaching from the Formularies of the Church, by which he admits himself to be bound. "I do believe that my teaching on this subject in this book is in full accordance with the plain teaching of the Church, which I am pledged to guard and maintain, as laid down in her Articles, and above all, with my consecration vow." (Letter IV.) It is deeply, I think, to be regretted that when he first felt the pain of discovering that he no longer believed what the Church teaches he did not at once withdraw from a position which, as one who had bound himself on very solemn occasions to teach what the Church teaches, and also to enforce its discipline on those of his clergy who might depart therefrom, he could no longer hold with honour to himself. It appears to me to be of far higher obligation to maintain good faith in the keeping of engagements voluntarily undertaken with most solemn vows, than to remain in a post, the duties of which one can no longer fulfil, in the hope of bringing about a change; and in this particular case, the call seemed to be doubly loud, because the founders of the see filled by the Bishop were still living, and provided an endowment only ten years before, expressly for the purpose of teaching and maintaining those truths which they still hold, but which he has abandoned.

It only remains to me to observe that in thus impugning and defaming the Book of Common Prayer, the Bishop has, in my judgment, done what he is charged with doing. He

has violated the law of the Church, as contained in the 36th of the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical. In the terms of that Canon, he has himself declared that "the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said Book prescribed, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other."

He has himself subscribed the three articles of the Canon, in these words, "I do willingly and ex animo subscribe to these three articles above mentioned and to all things that are contained in them."

I cannot think that his language in the passages extracted from his writings is consistent with this declaration, and I must therefore adjudge that the charge which has been brought against him has been proved.

In conclusion, I would observe, that I have felt the greatest difficulty in dealing with this case, and with the charges which have been brought.

Considering the office of the accused, the almost entire absence of precedent, the novelty of my own position and that of my brethren who have been my Assessors, the gravity of the charges brought, I would gladly have shrunk, had it been possible, from the responsibility of acting, and have left this painful case to be dealt with by the Bishops and Doctors of the Mother Church. By general consent, however, it has been concluded that the burden must be laid upon the Metropolitan and Bishops of this Province, all of whom have been summoned as my Assessors on the occasion; though some, from the vast distances which separate us, from the great difficulty of communication, and, I may add, the heavy expense to which they would have been put, have, though most anxious to bear their share of responsibility, not been able to be present.

For myself, I may be permitted to say that I have taken up the burden which has been laid upon me with fear and trembling; but having assumed it, I have felt it to be my duty, looking up to God for guidance, to vindicate, so far as it was in my power to do so, the Church's faith, and at least rescue it from the charge of conniving at false teaching in the person of one of its prelates. The accusations brought are many and weighty. They touch the greater number of those doctrines which have been most debated within the Church, and

which are unanimously regarded as fundamental. It is with the deepest pain that I have arrived at the conclusion to which I am driven, that my brother, once a witness for the truth, is now a destroyer of that faith which in days past he upheld.

I do not stand alone in this conviction. It is hardly too much to say that the whole Church concurs in it. On account of these writings which have been under review, nearly every Bishop of the Church of England has called upon him to resign his see, and on his refusal to do this, has inhibited him from officiating in his diocese.

And both houses of the Provincial Synod and Convocation of Canterbury have pronounced their formal judgment against that work of his which has attracted most attention, but which is hardly more dangerous than the other. They have united in a solemn declaration that "the book contains errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of faith in the Bible, as the Word of God."

This is a very heavy condemnation. It has, however, further, in my judgment, been more clearly and convincingly proved against the accused in the proceedings which have taken place before the Bishops of this Province, that not on one point only, but on many, he has contravened and denied the Catholic Faith, as taught and expressed in the Creeds, Articles, and Formularies of the Church.

It becomes, therefore, my painful duty, first, to declare that, convicted as he has been of false teaching on many grave and fundamental points, involving a wide and systematic departure from the faith, he is unfit, so long as he shall persist in these errors, to bear rule in the Church of God, or to exercise any sacred offices whatever therein; and, next, to pass sentence accordingly.

In this opinion, and in the sentence which I am about to give, my Assessors entirely agree.

I have only to add that, if it be desired, as has been intimated, to make a formal appeal to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, I shall consent to forward my judgment to His Grace for revision, waiving in this particular case, which is in itself novel, and of great importance to the whole Church, any real or supposed rights of this Church, and feeling that it will be a very great relief to submit my decision to the Chief Pastor of the Church at home, and to share my responsibilities with him, and, if he should see fit, with the other Bishops of the National Church.

In the Name of God, Amen.

We, Robert, by Divine permission Bishop of Cape Town, and Metropolitan, do hereby make known that,—

Whereas the Bishop of the See of Natal is declared in the Letters Patent issued to us, under Her Majesty's sign manual, on the 8th day of December, 1853, to be subject and subordinate to the See of Cape Town, and to the Bishop thereof, in the same manner as any Bishop and See in the Province of Canterbury is under the authority of the Arch-episcopal See of that Province, and the Archbishop of the same:

And whereas, further, it is provided in the said Letters Patent that in case any proceedings should be instituted against the said Bishop of Natal such proceeding should originate and be carried on before us; and whereas we are, by the same Letters Patent directed and authorized to take cognizance of such proceedings:

And whereas at the time of the appointment and consecration of the Right Reverend John William Colenso, the Bishop of Natal, the said Bishop of Natal did voluntarily recognize and submit himself to the provisions of the said Letters Patent, and did accept the said office of Bishop of Natal under the said provisions, and did then solemnly profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town, and to his successors, and did thereafter, in due accordance with such promise and profession, continue to submit himself to our jurisdiction as such Metropolitan, and from the said promise and profession hath never been relieved:

And whereas, on the 12th day of May last, the Very Rev. the Dean of Cape Town, the Venerable the Arch-deacon of Graham's Town, and the Venerable the Arch-deacon of George did lay before us, as such Metropolitan, in writing, certain charges against the said Right Rev. John William Colenso,—firstly, of having promulgated opinions which contravene and subvert the Catholic faith as defined and expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and the Formularies of the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland; and, secondly, of having depraved, impugned, and otherwise brought into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer, particularly portions of the Ordinal and Baptismal Services, and of having thus violated the law of the United Church of England and Ireland, as contained in the 36th of the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical; and the said Dean

and Archdeacons did then declare themselves ready to prove the said charges, and to claim our judgment thereon:

And whereas we did, thereafter, on the 18th of May last, cause the said Bishop of Natal to be cited to appear before us on the 17th day of November following, in the Cathedral Church of Cape Town, to answer the said charges:

And whereas, on the said 17th day of November, we did, as such Metropolitan aforesaid, hold a Court in the said Cathedral Church, having previously invited certain of the Bishops of this Province to be present as Assessors, and the Bishops of Graham's Town and of the Orange Free State being then present with us, as such Assessors:

And whereas on the said 17th day of November the said Bishop of Natal appeared by his agent, and did then, as well by his said agent as also in a letter addressed to us, admit the service of the said citation upon him, and his knowledge of the charges he was called upon to answer; and did further, in answer to the said charges—firstly, offer a protest against our jurisdiction; secondly, did submit certain matters of defence to the said charges; and thirdly, did intimate to us his intention of appealing if we should proceed to the delivery of a judgment, and such judgment should be adverse to him.

And whereas we did then refuse to regard the said protest, and did proceed to the hearing of the charges brought as aforesaid:

And whereas the aforesaid Dean and Archdeacons did then, in open Court, submit to our judgment certain extracts from two works, alleged to have been written and published by the said Bishop of Natal,—to wit: "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated and explained from a Missionary Point of View," and Parts I and II of the "Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined;" copies of which extracts had been before served upon the said Bishop of Natal, with the citation aforesaid, and of which extracts other copies are hereunto annexed, and herewith recorded.

And whereas, after hearing the said Dean and Archdeacons, and duly considering the matters of defence submitted as aforesaid, and after due consultation with the said Bishops of Graham's Town and the Orange Free State, present with us as Assessors, we have found it sufficiently proved that certain of the said extracts, to wit, those of them arranged under the heads of the Schedule I to Schedule VIII, do contain opinions, as charged, which contravene and subvert the Catholic Faith, as defined and

expressed in the thirty-nine Articles of Religion and the Formularies of the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland; and certain other extracts, to wit, those arranged under Schedule IX, do, in substance, deprave, impugn, and bring into disrepute the Book of Common Prayer :

And whereas it was further duly proved that the works from which the said extracts have been taken were published both in this Province and elsewhere, with the knowledge and by the authority and consent of the said Bishop of Natal.

Now therefore, we, in the exercise of our jurisdiction aforesaid, do hereby sentence, adjudge, and decree the said Bishop of Natal to be deposed from the said office as such Bishop, and to be further prohibited from the exercise of any divine office within any part of the Metropolitan Province of Cape Town.

But inasmuch as the said Bishop of Natal is not personally present, and we desire to afford him sufficient opportunity of retracting and recalling the extracts aforesaid, before this sentence shall take effect, we do suspend the operation of the said sentence, for the purpose of such retraction, until the 16th day of April next; and we hereby decree and order, that if on or before the 4th day of March next the said Bishop of Natal shall have filed of record with Douglas Dubois, of Doctors' Commons, in the city of London, proctor, solicitor, and notary public, our commissary in England, at his office, 7, Godeman-street, Doctors' Commons, London, a full, unconditional, and absolute retraction, in writing, of all the extracts aforesaid; or otherwise shall have, before the 16th day of April next, filed with the Registrar of this Diocese, at his office in Cape Town, such full, unconditional, and absolute retraction and recal of the said extracts, then, in either case, on the day of such filing, this sentence shall become null and void; but if, on the said 16th day of April next, no such retraction shall have been recorded in manner above set forth, then the said sentence shall be of full force and effect, and shall be published, so soon as convenient after the said 16th day of April, in all the Churches of the Diocese of Natal, and in the several Cathedral Churches of the province of Cape Town.

In testimony whereof we have herunto caused our Episcopal Seal to be affixed, and do subscribe our hand, in open Court, this Sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, in

the Cathedral Church of St. George, and do deliver the same to the Registrar of this Diocese to be duly recorded.

(Signed) R. CAPETOWN (L.S.)

Dr. Bleek, the representative of Dr. Colenso, then handed in the following protest:

"On behalf of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Natal I again protest against the legality of the present proceedings, and the validity of this judgment; and with all respect towards your Lordship personally I, on the Bishop's behalf, give you formal notice that the said proceedings and judgment are and will be regarded and treated by him as a nullity, void of all force and effect.

"And I, in like manner, further give notice that the Bishop of Natal will, if the same shall be expedient or necessary, and, if he shall be thereunto advised, appeal from, or otherwise contest the lawfulness of these proceedings, and will, if need be, resist any attempt to enforce and carry out the execution of this judgment in such manner, and by such lawful ways and process as he shall be advised to be proper.

"W. H. J. BLEEK.

"Cape Town, 16th December, 1863."

The Bishop of Cape Town: I cannot recognize any appeal except to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and I must require that appeal to be made within fifteen days from the present time.

CAPE TOWN.

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ERRATA

Page 8.—Instead of Article ~~xxvii~~, read Articles xxv, xxvii, xxviii.

Page 10.—Omit the paragraph beginning “The ab-
solution.”

Page 57.—For Romans read Hebrews

Page 83.—For univ~~ersation~~ read universalism.

Page 271.—The sermon by Dean Alford referred to, and quoted at the time from memory, is Sermon v, from SERMONS ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, Rivingtons, 1862, and is not on 1 Cor. xv, 22, but on Romans v, 18, 19. The next sermon on Gal. iii, 28, ought to be taken in connection with it. The speaker was confusing Sermon v in some degree with Sermon xviii, on 1 Cor. xv, 12.