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REMARKS  
ON  
PALEY'S EVIDENCES.

A LETTER  
TO  
*THE YOUNGER MEMBERS (GRADUATES AND UNDERGRADUATES)*  
*OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.*

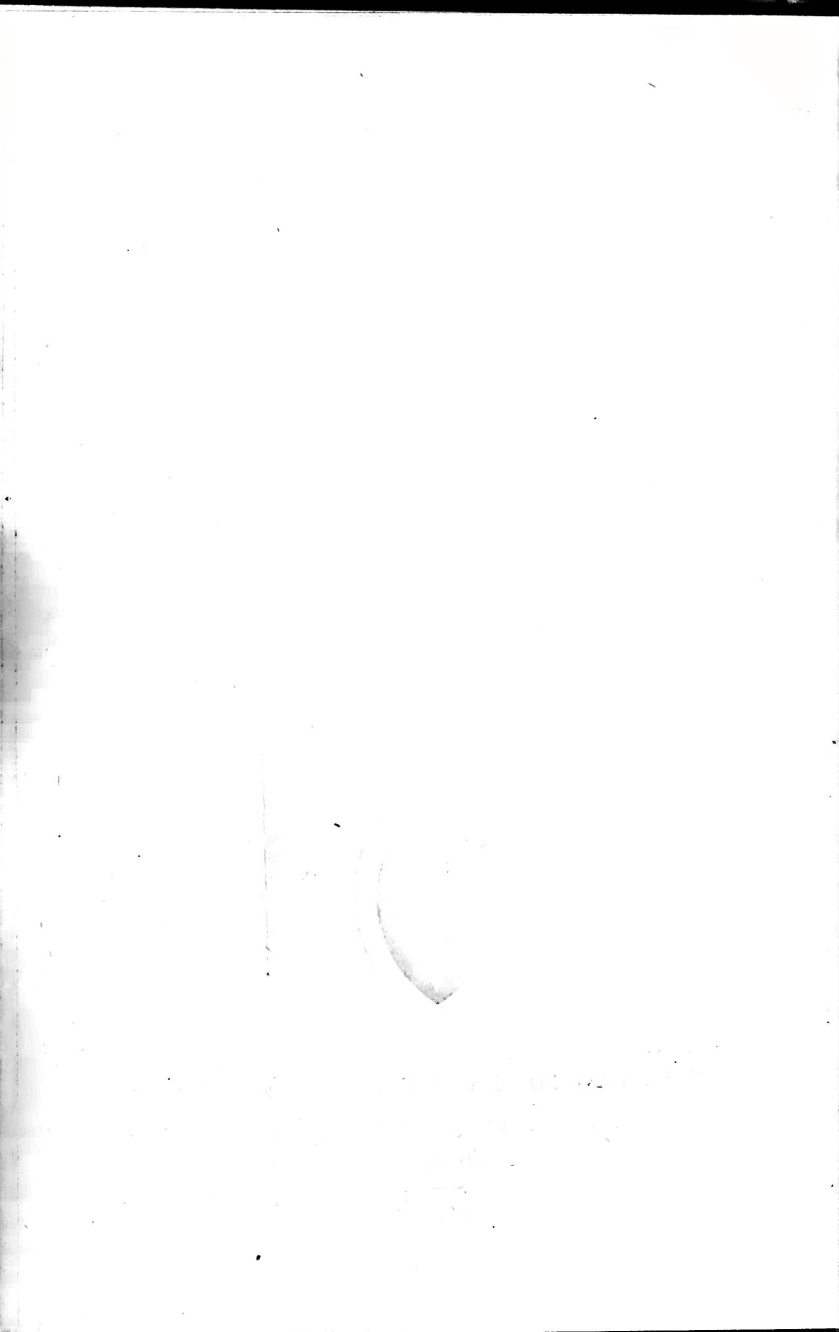
BY  
AN OLD GRADUATE.



PUBLISHED BY THOMAS SCOTT,  
NO. 11 THE TERRACE, FARQUHAR ROAD, UPPER NORWOOD,  
LONDON, S.E.

1873.

*Price Sixpence.*



## REMARKS ON PALEY'S EVIDENCES.

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*TO THE YOUNGER MEMBERS  
(GRADUATES AND UNDERGRADUATES)  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.*

GENTLEMEN,

**W**HATEVER may be the truth or value of that system of doctrine and practice which is popularly conceived to represent genuine Christianity, it must be confessed by every candid mind that it cannot in the long run be confirmed by defective statement, or by the presentation of illegitimate evidence.

A meritorious intention is not always a guarantee of effective execution. It is not an uncommon thing for an eager advocate to damage the best of causes by his very eagerness, and by his insisting on introducing as testimony that which either is no testimony, or, in fact, invalidates his own argument. It must not of course be asserted, without proof, that this is the case with Paley's famous work on 'The Evidences of Christianity,' but we may be permitted to remark that this is not the first time that the value of the controversial works of this author has been questioned.

At the end of the last century faith in Christianity had been reduced in many quarters to such a nebulous

state by the assaults of the English Deists and French philosophers, that almost any production was welcomed which seemed to restore it to a tangible condition, and re-establish its "*origines*" in the region of historical fact. The particular form which Paley's lucubrations assumed, both on the subject of faith and morals, is no doubt due to the influence of the philosophy of Locke. This philosopher and his followers had indoctrinated a large class with a deep-rooted distrust of all systems based on *à priori* considerations, and hence, apart from the natural tendency of his own mind, it was Paley's desire to meet the general requirement by founding both ethics and religious belief on the solid logic of facts. His views on morality have been strongly objected to by many—in this University by no less authorities than Dr Whewell and the recently lamented Professor Sedgwick;\* so much so that the 'Moral and Political Philosophy,' which in my younger days was one of the subjects for the B.A. Examination, has, I believe, been removed from the list of class-books. His mode also of presenting the Christian Evidences has met with no little unfavourable criticism in high quarters,† both among the fervent Evangelicals and that party which piques itself upon its orthodoxy and respect for Church principles. Although, therefore, I approach the subject from a different standpoint from either of these schools, I trust it may not be thought presumptuous if I offer what appear to me some addi-

\* See Whewell's 'Lectures on Moral Philosophy.' *Introd. Lect.* p. x., and elsewhere; *v.* also his 'Elements of Morality, including Polity.' *Suppt.* c. III. See, also, Sedgwick's 'Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge;' Sir J. Mackintosh's *Works*, I., 189; De Quincey's 'Essays on Philosophical Writers,' I., 77.

† See Coleridge's 'Aids to Reflexion,' vol. i., p. 278; Archbishop Trench 'On Miracles,' p. 31; 'Tracts for the Times,' No. 85. See also Erskine's 'Internal Evidences of Christianity,' p. 21 and seq., and pp. 183 and 200.

tional objections to this production of Paley's, on the ground of its ambiguity and inconclusiveness.

I must appeal to your candour to weigh dispassionately what I wish to allege in support of these conclusions. If what I say should wound any person's prepossessions, or seem wanting in respect for their religious feelings, it will be a matter to me of regret. I shall endeavour, therefore, to clothe my remarks in as respectful a form as possible, so far as it is consistent with a due presentation of truth. The interests of truth ought to be ample excuse for any statement, however painful, or before any audience; but addressing educated Englishmen, and at the same time members of a University always distinguished for its love of scientific accuracy and its manly tone of thought, I feel I need not preface my remarks with any of those rose-water qualifications or cloudy euphuisms suited to timid women or squeamish ascetics. Men of courage and honour will not take offence at plain words.

Let us proceed, then, to examine a few of the grounds on which I demur to Paley's work on the Evidences, for I must premise that it is only on a few points that I shall endeavour to lay open the weakness of his argument. To proceed *seriatim* through all the topics to which he refers is beyond the compass of a brief letter; but I venture to think that the principles I shall point out will be capable of being applied far more extensively.

Paley's treatise commences, as you are aware, with an introductory chapter, in which he prepares the way for his argument by attempting to dispel some antecedent objections, which might be considered to leave it no place.

His first clause contains an assumption on the very face of it, one, however, which probably has much imposed on persons of uninquiring and impressible dispositions. He says, "The question

lies between the Christian religion and none: for if this be not credible, no one with whom we have to do will support the pretensions of any other." This insinuates an "*argumentum ad odium et terrorem*" on the threshold, and is well calculated to impart a preliminary fright to weak and well-meaning persons, lest they must of necessity fall into atheism if they fail to follow the author's conclusions.

But the invocation of such a phantom is quite unwarranted, for the Deists or Theists, with whom assuredly the writer's argument largely "had to do," are, in spite of frequent mendacious assertions, many of them very religious people, although more backward than some in supporting their pretensions to that character: the Jews, moreover, in all ages have not been lacking in strenuously maintaining the claims of their own revelation as exclusive and paramount. Indeed, as far as argument is concerned, they have always run Christian advocates very hard, and not seldom have made sad inroads in Christian Churches.\* The professors of some other faiths, likewise, might deem it not altogether candid on the part of our Christian advocate to shut them altogether out of court in this manner.†

\* See a list of works, in the controversy of the Jews against the Christians, in Farrar's *Bampton Lectures on 'Free Thought,'* Appendix, Note iv. Their tenets seem at one time to have spread considerably in the Eastern Church, and they brought over the Archbishop of Moscow to their opinions. See Milman's *'History of the Jews,'* vol. iii., 394. I have been informed that some of the clergy of Spain at the present day are Jews, and have brought others over to their faith. In the eighth century they appear to have converted a whole Turcoman tribe and established an independent kingdom, called Khazar, between the mouths of the Wolga and the Don, *ib.* 129. There are other similar instances.

† See *'The Modern Buddhist,'* by H. Alabaster (Trübner and Co.); and *'A Lecture on Buddhist Nihilism,'* delivered before the Association of German Philologists at Kiel, by Professor Max Müller.

A little further on the author introduces us to another astounding assumption. "In what way," says he, "can a revelation be made but by miracles? In none which we are able to conceive." To reveal is to unveil, to disclose. A revelation means the imparting to anyone some truth he did not know before, in an active sense, or it is sometimes taken in a passive sense for the thing so imparted. So that, if Plato or Cleanthes had instructed a Polytheist in the doctrine of "one living and true God," this would be to the latter a revelation. Is it meant to be asserted by our author that this truth cannot be accredited and accepted without miracles? If so, he appears in the latter part of his treatise to contradict himself, for he there asserts that the religion of Mahomet was propagated without miracles. He would probably evade this dilemma, by replying that this of Mahomet's was only a pretended revelation, and that his statement referred to a true one. As between one creed and another, however, this reply is a mere begging of the whole question: and, moreover, in this article of the unity of God as against Polytheists and idolaters, I suppose he would not deny either the verity or the value of the Creed of Islam. Mahometanism at least shows that "we can conceive" of a revelation without miracles. But further, we may ask, what was to hinder the Deity from so constituting the human mind\* that, at a particular stage of its growth with a definite increase of knowledge, it should become intuitively certain of the personality and unity of God, in the same way as, when instructed in numbers, it perceives that two and two make four. Sight is a daily revelation to an infant; six and seven are revelations

\* Paley contradicts himself again in Part iii. c. vi., where he concedes this very point: "For anything we are able to discern," says he, "God could have so formed man as to have perceived the truths of religion intuitively," &c.

to a savage whose mental faculties had never before enabled him to count beyond five. To say the least, then, it is quite as possible "to conceive" a revelation to arise from the natural law of progress, as to suppose it ushered in by cataclysms, which one would think must have a tendency rather to confuse than clarify the perceptive faculties, and so interfere with the very purpose of a revelation, if its object is to increase light.

Further, it seems to me that Paley does not fully comprehend the force, at any rate does not fairly represent what he calls the "*principle of the objection*" to miracles, that "it is contrary to experience that a miracle should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false." He says that the alleged improbability of miracles does not properly arise from the fact that they are contrary to experience, but simply that there is a "*want of experience*" respecting them: he implies accordingly that the objection is fallacious, since this "*want*" is inherent in their nature; for, if they were matter of frequent experience, they would cease to be miracles. This cannot be considered a fair statement of the full meaning of the objection, whose antithetical and somewhat epigrammatic form Paley seems to have taken advantage of. What is evidently meant to be implied is an inference similar to that which is now come to by the majority of thoughtful and clear-headed men. Thoughtful men do not contemplate the subject from the negative but from the positive side. Their objection is not that there is any "*want of experience*" of miracles, for, on the contrary, in ancient and modern times they are "thick as leaves in Vallambrosa," but that there is an enormous positive experience of miracles (so called) founded on delusion, fraud, or hallucination. All history teems with miracles; in certain stages of human growth they spring up as spontaneously as weeds in a fallow, and in particular states



of mind accounts of them are imbibed as greedily as infants swallow sweets. The childish mind naturally expatiates in tales of wonder, and delights to lose itself in realms where there is an absence of limitation. The vast majority of persons were once but children of a larger growth; a large number still are. Until the mind, by education and the habit of careful and measured observation, has come to form a somewhat clear notion of the order of nature and scientific causation, it is really more inclined to credit than to discredit everything marvellous. In the absence of knowledge we are in a position to believe anything. As knowledge increases, marvel after marvel is explained; phantoms vanish into thin air; we begin to see the sources of mistake, or the evidence of fraud and delusion, as the case may be; we are aware of the impossibility of alleged conditions, the incongruity of asserted relations. We perceive, too, that the tendency to credulity, although more general, was not confined to ancient times, but that it is strictly dependent on peculiar conditions of mind and body which physiology enables us to explain. We have a large and daily growing experience that a certain exaltation or excitement, or morbid action of the nervous system, either an enthusiastic and ardent or a depressed state of feeling, with a low and ascetic habit of body, especially if there be an external cause of dejection or triumph in national or domestic affairs, have remarkable influence in the production of extravagant beliefs, and that these beliefs have a constant tendency to become epidemic. It is not, therefore, the limitation but the extent of our experience which indisposes us to a belief in the miraculous. Whatever marvels may be alleged, we have constantly found, *when we can get at them and obtain a fair opportunity of observation*, that they turn out to have originated in fraud or mistake. The fair and inevitable inference, therefore, is, that if we were only allowed proper

facilities of examination, we could show others to have no better foundation. The real meaning, therefore, that Paley's objector intended to convey probably was, that while it is contrary to general experience that an alleged miracle, when examined, should turn out to be true, we have a very large experience of the falsity of that testimony which is adduced on their behalf. There is a "*want of experience*"—as to their truth; for, if we can get sufficiently near them as to be said in any real sense to have experience of them, we find them untrue, so that, in strict speech, they may be justly affirmed to be "*contrary to experience.*" On the other hand, we have on all sides abundant experience as to the fictitiousness of vast numbers of miracles. If men *are to be guided by experience at all*, on which side does the balance of probability lie?

The author concludes his preparatory considerations with his famous "simple case" of the "twelve men of good sense," whom he "undertakes to say that not a sceptic in the world," except Mr Hume, would disbelieve. Whether, if twelve men were to do and say all that these imaginary beings are supposed to do, there might not still be sceptics I can *not* undertake to say; I should hesitate myself to commit so critical a question to a "*common jury.*" But, as far as the actual case before us is concerned, the testimony of Paley's consistent and stedfast dozen of eye-witnesses is no more producible in Court than the twelve signs of the Zodiac; we may leave, therefore, his hypothesis to stand for what it is worth, and proceed to the consideration of his main proposition. It is this: "*There is satisfactory evidence that many, professing to be original witnesses of the Christian miracles, passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, voluntarily undergone, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of those accounts; and that they*

also submitted, from the same motives, to new rules of conduct."

In a work which assumes so much the form of a strict mathematical demonstration, we might have expected the author to have given us a preliminary definition of the sense in which he uses his terms; we may, however, collect from what follows that by "Christian miracles" he means those of the Gospel history on which the main doctrines of the Christian creed rest, and by "original witnesses" those who were present when these miracles took place.

It is not quite clear what the author considers *satisfactory* evidence. Evidence may vary in its satisfactoriness, according to the class of persons to whom it is addressed, or the subject-matter to which it relates. Evidence that will satisfy a village gossip may be insufficient for a judge; and a common incident requires less than an extraordinary phenomenon. If we look at it in its kinds, there is, first, the evidence of our own senses of sight and hearing, &c., which some wise men have counselled us to be rather distrustful of in the case of very remarkable phenomena untestified by general consent. Certainly the senses are anything but infallible when uncontrolled by sound reason. There is, secondly, the evidence of other persons, which may be either *DIRECT*, as where the witness testifies of himself that "he saw it;" or *COLLATERAL* or *INDIRECT*: and this may be in the first degree, as where the witness says he heard a particular person, A. B., say he saw it; or in the second or lower degrees, as where the witness says he heard A. B. say it was seen by somebody, or that he heard that somebody had said it was a matter of general rumour, and so on through descending grades of indistinctness. Now, in a question like the one before us, we must, of course, be dependent upon the evidence of other persons, but I think that most candid persons will confess that, in so serious a matter,

nothing less than the most absolutely *direct* testimony can be even moderately satisfactory. Let us see how much the Advocate before us produces of this description.

According to the terms of his statement, he has got to make out, not only that he has witnesses who can give this direct testimony, but that these same original witnesses *themselves* underwent the dangers, &c., in attestation of it. Even if our author could make out his case, it will not easily appear to all minds that his final conclusions would necessarily follow. He means it to be concluded that, if he can prove his propositions, the truth of orthodox Christianity is established. "The religion," he says, "must be true." He does not define the words "Christianity" and "Christian religion," but it may be concluded, I suppose, from his position and other writings, that the sense in which he uses them is that which is commonly called orthodox; though, indeed, from certain expressions he lets fall, he seems inclined, for the convenience of his argument, to leave it in some places as vague as possible.\* This is a point, however, requiring to be alluded to, since the loose sense in which the word Christianity is used, and the Christian name claimed in many directions at the present day may prevent some persons from perceiving how much the strength of Paley's argument is disproportioned to his demand upon it, how little calculated to support the ponderous edifice reared upon it. If it had simply been a question that at a certain period in past history a remarkable person had appeared, who produced a marvellous moral effect on his own age which has descended to ours, however great the effect produced, or however ardent the zeal of his followers, this would

\* As, for instance, when he talks of "the *substantial* truth of the Christian religion," "the *main* story," "the general truth of the religion," &c.

not have been so much beyond what we observe of the Providential Government of the world as to demand more than fair historical evidence. Men inspired with extraordinary genius, and with a force and elevation of character far above their fellows, have indisputably at certain times appeared in the world to give a fresh impetus to the human race in its onward course, and produce what seems almost like a new creation. And, if there have been such men, it is not only not improbable, but it is most likely, that one of them will far transcend his fellows. This, at any rate, is a matter of fair discussion, and is maintainable by such testimony as is possible in human affairs. But it is a very different matter that our author undertakes to prove. When we are told that a philanthropic carpenter, who was born of a young Jewess 1800 years ago in an insignificant village in the Roman Empire, was the Eternal God, the Universal Source of All things, on whom the whole realm of nature is dependent; or, to state the same thing in orthodox language, was "Very God of Very God, by whom all things were made;" that this God, having excited the wrath of the rulers of his country by declaiming against their hypocrisy and corruption, was eventually hung as a malefactor and perverter of the people,—but that after being dead and buried, he nevertheless lived again in his body, and therewith "with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature,"\* ascended into the heavens in the sight of his followers,—we have here a story which makes the most tremendous demands upon our belief, and which no man in the possession of his senses could be expected to believe, in fact which it would be utter unreason and madness to believe, without evidence of the most incontrovertible and absolutely overwhelming description. It may

\* Third Article of Religion.

here be said that I am but reiterating, in a round-about fashion, Paley's assertion that a revelation can only be made by miracles. Of *such* a revelation this is undoubtedly true, for it is itself the most stupendous miracle that was ever proposed for human belief. Its very vastness transcends all possibilities of human evidence, and can only be accepted by some such moral and intellectual spasm as Tertullian's "Credo, quia incredibile."\* It is impossible for a less miracle to substantiate a greater one: the belief in the most improbable event in the world is not assisted by surrounding it with those minor improbabilities which have always accompanied tales of theophany.

The Divine Creator, the ruler of infinite worlds, becomes incarnate and walks the earth, and first introduces his claims to his admirers by the trick of a conjuror! † The bathos is too terrible.

Let us now, however, examine what this supposed satisfactory evidence is which our Advocate offers. When we come to look into it we find that he himself only professes to bring forward two witnesses properly and distinctly original, viz., the first and last evangelists; what their claims are to be considered in this light we shall see presently. Our author allows that the second and third evangelists

\* Tertullian's words are,—“The Son of God died: it is credible because it is absurd. When buried he rose again to life: it is certain, because it is impossible.” *De Carne Christi*, sec. 5.

† Turning water into wine was a trick known to ancient “Wizards” of the South as well as “Wizards of the North.” Some of the heathen deities also are asserted to have done the same. Christian Saints performed a similar miracle on a more extended scale. Epiphanius affirms that a fountain in Caria and another in Arabia were turned into wine, and that *he himself* had drunk of them. Another holy saint, Narcissus, according to Eusebius, turned water into oil, and he declares that some of the oil was preserved to his own time, about a hundred years after the miracle. Epiphanius. *adv. Hær. L. 2, cxxx.* Euseb. *Hist. Ecc. vi., 9.*

composed their accounts from stories which they had heard from others, although he implies that these were persons of the first authority, being the apostles Peter and Paul. But he gives no solid reason for his assertion that St Peter had anything to do with the gospel according to St Mark. The writer of that gospel does not assert it on his own account, and the whole supposition rests on the very vaguest tradition. The connexion of St Paul with St Luke's gospel rests on as weak a basis. In fact, as the author of that gospel prefaces his relation with a statement of the sources of his information, it is not probable that he would have omitted to mention his instruction by so eminent a person as Paul if such a claim had been correct. On the contrary, the author sets out with the declaration that he intends to detail such things as are "surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us (not *me* personally), which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word;" that is to say, the rumours which were commonly received among Christians, and which, like all tales of similar kind, were asserted by their propagators to have come from head-quarters, he intended to set down for the edification of the imaginary Theophilus.\* This is the same kind of allegation that Irenæus makes in support of his stories, that he had heard them from somebody, who had them from somebody else, who had seen some one or other of the apostles. The introduction of Luke's gospel, in my mind, is a clear note of its having been composed in the second or third stage of Christian tradition. Let us concede, however, that Paley's hypothesis may be correct, that St Luke had derived his information from St Paul, still the latter cannot be metamorphosed into an original witness by any ingenuity of orthodoxy. Paley in his zeal,

\* Many think that Theophilus was a real person. The point is immaterial.

indeed, would make him almost a second founder of the religion, and attaches immense importance to him as an "independent witness." Whether he is so or not, he is certainly not an *original* witness, which is what we are at present in search of. He certainly allows his imagination pretty free play in developing the Christian *doctrines*, for which he may have considered he had obtained warrant in that third heaven where he could not tell whether he was in or out of his body, but for early Christian *facts* he must have been dependent upon those ordinary hearsay reports which, as St Luke says, were commonly believed among them.

It is evident, then, that the authors of Mark's and Luke's gospels were not original and direct witnesses in the sense previously laid down. Let us see what can be said for St Matthew. The most direct evidence we have concerning this gospel comes to us from Eusebius, who wrote about three hundred and twenty years after Christ. He states that Papias, a writer of the first half of the second century, said that Matthew "wrote out the sayings (of the Lord) in the Hebrew\* dialect." Eusebius also relates a tradition of one Pantœnus, "who *is said* to have gone to the Indians"† and found a gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, which had been left there by the apostle Bartholomew. There is other early testimony to the fact that the authentic gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew. This work seems to have been preserved for some time among the Nazarenes and Ebionites, but eventually to have been lost sight of. These last-named sects were persecuted and denounced by other bodies of Christians as heretics, chiefly on the ground of their denying the miraculous conception of Jesus, and taking altogether

\* *I.e.* Aramaic or Syro-Chaldee.

† Euseb. Hist. Ecc. v., 10.



a more humanitarian view of his person. The fact of their especially appealing to the authority of St Matthew, and possessing the only gospel which had any title to be considered authentic, raises a very shrewd suspicion of what was the true original character of Christianity. At any rate, it affords conclusive evidence, if the fact were not otherwise certain, that the gospel they possessed was not our gospel of St Matthew, since the latter is very particular on the fact of the miraculous birth, and puts poor Joseph out of the question altogether. The only document we possess bearing the name of Matthew is written in Greek, and there is nothing worthy of the name of evidence to determine who was its author. Competent modern critics have made it clear that *it could not have been written by an apostle or an eye-witness*: it is impossible to define its date with exactness, the balance of evidence seems in favour of the year 100 A.D. It would exceed the limits of a letter to adduce proof of this here, for which I must refer you to well-known works.\*

The only remaining work of a supposed original witness is the gospel of St John. It may unhesitatingly be affirmed that the majority of exact and competent critics, who have not a foregone purpose to serve, agree that, whatever value this book may have as a monument of early Christian feeling, it could not have come from the hand of the apostle John. In thus speaking, I must be allowed to explain that I cannot consider the work of M. Renan as an exact criticism. His work is more like a pastoral romance of the apostolic age thrown into a somewhat dramatic form; his preference of the fourth, over the

\* See the writers mentioned in Mackay's 'Tübingen School and its Antecedents,' Part iii. (particularly Baur's 'Evangelien'), and Dr Davidson's 'Introduction to the New Testament' (ed. 1868), vol. i., p. 465, and seq. Note the edition.

other gospels, is explained by the greater facility with which it would lend itself to such a composition. I am by no means insensible to the beauty and ability of M. Renan's production, but it is not criticism, if by criticism is meant a due weighing of evidence and historic probabilities. St John was a Galilean peasant, and still appears in his old age to have retained so much of his narrow-minded intolerance and fiery zeal as to run from the bath that Cerinthus had occupied. The author of the gospel is full of the spirit of accommodation, has had his mind filled with the lucubrations of Alexandrian Platonists, and uses the words of Philo-Judæus. St John is said to have been a supporter of the Oriental practice as to the 14th Nisan; the author of the gospel supports the opposite view. Further, from no Church writer before 160 A.D. can be produced a passage which shows any clear knowledge of such a gospel, *even in places where, if such a document had existed, they must have referred to it.* Paley, indeed, asserts that Justin quotes John, but this is an error; all that can be truly said is that Justin makes use of some expressions *sufficiently resembling* certain phrases of the fourth gospel as to make it probable that he had come within the influence of the same ideas which gave birth to it. But his tone of thought is, in some respects, so similar to that of the fourth evangelist, that *he would undoubtedly have made full use of him, and mentioned him, if he had known of his work.* Similar remarks apply to the heretic Marcion,\* whose purpose of spiritualising the doctrine of the synoptists the gospel of St John would have admirably served, had he been acquainted with it. No writer distinctly cites the fourth gospel, and ascribes it to St John, before Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 176).

The internal evidence is also considered conclusive

\* See Neander's 'Church History,' vol. ii., p. 129, and seq.; and Bayle's 'Dictionary,' art. "Marcionites."

against the authorship of a native of Palestine at all, especially from the peculiarity of certain mistakes as to geography and ignorance of localities in Jerusalem, and also from an absence of knowledge respecting some national peculiarities.\*

Our Advocate finally, with great skill, labours to produce a combined effect by massing his evidence in a single view. He endeavours to make up for the defectiveness of each of his witnesses taken by himself by rolling them into one; as if out of four cripples you could make one stout soldier. He insinuates that among four witnesses the truth must lie somewhere: "if," he says, "only one of them be genuine." This "if" betrays the weakness of his argument. Neither four nor forty doubtful witnesses will make up one good one. It is familiar to lawyers how easy it is to multiply a certain kind of witness, how difficult to obtain that one thoroughly respectable man of *known character and unmistakable identity* who will come forward and swear he saw the fact himself. Now this is what we ask; and put the evidence in as many different points of view as you like, it is not forthcoming. Four grey horses will never make one white, trot them round one after another or altogether, in *any kind of light*, as often as it pleases you. In the dark, indeed, a white may be represented by a grey or any other colour.

Before concluding my remarks on our author's witnesses, I must refer to a rather remarkable fact concerning the apostle Paul, which Paley himself alludes to, without seeming to see the inference to which it unavoidably leads. Those epistles which are by common consent attributed to St Paul are undoubtedly the earliest authentic compositions ad-

\* See, for full details, 'An Attempt to Ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel,' by J. J. Tayler; or, 'Introduction to the New Testament,' by S. Davidson, D.D., and the works named in Mackay's 'Tübingen School.'

mitted into the New Testament Canon : probably the two latest are the gospel of St John and the second epistle of Peter. Between the date of the earliest epistles of Paul (commonly supposed to be those to the Thessalonians) and these works, we have an interval of about a century and a quarter (A.D. 55 to 170, approximate dates).

Now it is a singular circumstance that in the earlier works we have but slight allusion to miracles, whereas in the latter they crowd upon us, and at the same time increase in their marvellous proportions. St Paul, indeed, *alludes* to the resurrection, but of this he does not pretend to have been an eye-witness. He seems to ground his own belief on the fact of his having seen the Lord in the Spirit in those visions or revelations which he conceived himself to have of heavenly things. But to other miracles throughout his whole epistles, genuine and doubtful, there are but very few references : Paley himself confessing that there are but "three *indubitable* references."\* He accounts for this by imagining "that the miraculous history was all along presupposed : " does it not equally, however, give room for the surmise, that the farther we get away from genuine and authentic documents the less sense of responsibility we find in

\* Paley's indubitable references are Gal. iii., 5 ; Rom. xv., 18, 19 ; 2 Cor. xii., 12. In the first, St Paul is reproving his converts for falling back from faith to the carnal works of the law. He appeals to their own experience at their first conversion, and asks them whether he, then, that gave them the spirit, and worked miracles *in* them did it by the works of the law, or the hearing of faith? "Miracles *in* you," not "among you," as in the authorised version, is here the true rendering, and evidently has reference to those spiritual miracles of sudden conversion which the early Christians described as the "Holy Ghost falling upon them." (See Professor Jowett's Commentary on the Galatians *in loc.* and the references there.) The passages, Romans xv., 19, and 2 Cor. xii., 12, are equally capable of being understood of "signs and wonders" of grace, combined with those ecstatical "gifts of

the writers, the more unbounded scope given to the imagination and that love of the marvellous inherent in all half-educated and enthusiastic minds?

It must be conceded, I think, from what has been said, that the testimony of Paley's "original witnesses" cannot be produced, and that therefore his evidence, according to what was before stated, not being direct, is *not* satisfactory. But now, let it be granted for argument's sake that we had "satisfactory evidence" of the chief feature of the circumstance stated, viz., that there was clear testimony to the effect that certain persons, honestly professing their belief in a remarkable story, went about preaching a new religion, and endured all sorts of suffering rather than deny their profession; I do not think it can be asserted that this fact will justify the author's conclusions. In the first place, he seems to have taken it for granted that because they suffered such things they must have really *seen* the miracles, for that no one would have shown such endurance on any other supposition. But this by no means follows: indeed, the sequel of the story itself proves the

the Spirit" which seemed to have accompanied the sudden conversions and the ardent religious exercises of the primitive believers, as they do even those of modern believers who have been worked up to a high degree of excitement. Such "gifts" were what they called "speaking with tongues," "gifts of healing," "interpretation of tongues," "discerning of spirits," "casting out of devils;" the notion of some of which arose from a defective diagnosis of certain diseases, others from an ignorance of common mental and nervous phenomena, and the remainder were the result of that high-wrought enthusiasm which is the invariable accompaniment of all religious outbursts in their early stages. It is a noteworthy fact that St Paul does not specify, as within his own experience, even when it would have been most serviceable to his argument to have done so, a single miracle of *the material and tangible sort*, so often referred to by the other writers of the New Testament. Probably, if he had been acquainted with the true principles of physiology, the word miracle would have dropped out of his vocabulary. For similar manifestations in later times to

contrary. For, suppose the first preachers of the religion witnessed the facts and therefore suffered, their followers of the next or the subsequent generations did not see them; but they still, many of them, continued to endure persecutions with the greatest constancy. They, at any rate, had only reports or tradition of miracles to inspire their courage. The story itself, therefore, shows that men may be worked up to as high a pitch of belief, and as great a degree of constancy and endurance, by stories related about miracles as by those of which they have ocular demonstration. That is to say, men's feelings and imaginations may be as strongly worked upon through their ears as their eyes, and when enthusiasm is once thoroughly roused it does not ask for evidence, and laughs at suffering. Its own innate persuasion is its evidence, and the answering glow of sympathising companions dispels every chill of doubt; each burning believer incites and encourages the other and adds to the general contagion; the calm and hesitating are contemned and cast forth as cold-hearted and cowardly, and thus no counteracting principle is left to prevent the spread of the ever-increasing flame. Paley covertly implies that men

those mentioned in the epistles, see 'The *full* and particular Account of Miracles at the Tomb of the Abbé Paris,' by M. de Montgeron, Conseiller au Parlement de Paris; 'An Account of the Irvingite Manifestations' (I have forgotten the Publishers); Bishop Layington's 'Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared,' passim. Appendix to vol. i.; 'The Miraculous Life and Conversions of Father Bennett, of Caufield, in Essex,' 'The Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon,' vol. i., p. 129, 400; and Southey's 'Life of Wesley.' 'The Life of St Dominic,' by the Abbé Lacordaire. 'Voyage à Migné.' 'Recueil de temoignages concernant l'Apparition Miraculeuse de la Croix à Migné.' See Dean Stanley on 'The Gift of Tongues,' 'Comment. on Corinth,' p. 254, and seq., and Coleridge on 'The Gift of Tongues,' note to 'The Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit,' p. 231.

must have been great fools who acted in this manner. "Would men," he asks, "in such circumstances" (*i. e.*, of suffering and persecution), "pretend to have seen what they never saw?" No one imagines they "*pretended*" to have seen anything: the early believers saw with their hearts and souls. Had the Corinthians, for instance, *seen* anything, except in those visions and revelations of the inner man which ardent spirits have experienced in all ages? "We walk by faith, not by sight," said St Paul to them, "though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know we him no more." Neither the Apostle nor his hearers had seen Christ after the flesh, but the moral conviction arising from a grand idea heartily embraced, the undying aspiration of the human spirit towards the infinite, supplied the place of bodily sight. The Apostle's frequent language shows the kind of sight he looked for, and wished to arouse in his followers. Because the unbelieving Jews could not see what the Christians saw, he said a "*veil* was upon their hearts;" but that when they turned to the Lord, then the veil should be taken away. "The God of this world," said he, "hath blinded the *minds* of them that believe not," "but God that commanded the light to shine out of darkness hath shined in our *hearts* to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God," &c. This is not the language of one who was in the habit of appealing to the visible works of a thaumaturgist, and points much more clearly to the real power which first gave wings to primitive Christianity than Paley's notion of a machinery of material signs and wonders. There is no doubt that the spiritual visions of the first founders and the higher minds of the religion became quickly materialised in the conceptions of their followers, and that the gathering mists of mythus soon conglomerated themselves into solid cloudy forms; but to suppose that those phantasmagoria were the sole or

main forces that so stirred the trodden-down believers of the first age, and projected their faith across the centuries, is to take no true measure of the human spirit, and to vulgarise a majestic episode of the human drama into the proportions of a tale of hobgoblinry. If we are to believe in a direct divine agency and a providential re-awakening of the human race at the dawn of Christianity, it seems to me much more easy to trace it through the nebular hypotheses of Strauss than through the wooden machinery and string-and-wire theories of Paley.

The second assumption to which Paley's conclusion introduces us is that a religion founded on the story of men who were prepared to suffer in the way described must be true. If this assumption were reliable, how many conflicting religions in the world's history would have equal evidence of their verity? The toughness of character which induces men to endure persecution or undergo toil in support of their opinions is not peculiar to orthodox Christians, but has often displayed itself among heretics, infidels, and pagans. In Church history alone we have abundant evidence of it; the most admirable trait in the zealous contests which have so often taken place between rival sects being the patience and courage with which they endured the mutual cruelties which each by turn inflicted on the other, and the no less marvellous faith with which both regarded their conflicting nostrums. Christians by this time ought to know pretty well from their own annals how persecution, instead of killing, gives life to religious beliefs. Men, somehow, seem to have got the notion that it is a fresh evidence of the value and divinity of an object when it is subjected to the fierce assaults of the powers of this world. A race despised and hunted from the face of the earth naturally looks to the skies for a deliverer, and thus everything in the nature of



religion becomes the centre of all its hopes, and re-consecrated by every fresh effort and sorrow. The principle of resistance in human nature first leads a man to maintain his liberty of thought, and then that for which he has suffered becomes every day more sacred to him. Christians have had experience of this over and over again in their own history. They have attempted themselves to crush out opinions by measures little short of absolute extermination. But they have miserably failed. The growth which seemed stifled has sprung up again, and often has spread all the more luxuriantly. Let this teach them how far the endurance of persecution can be accepted as evidence of the truth or value of religious beliefs.

The persecution of the Christians by the Roman authorities, however, was very far from being of such an exterminating character, though our Advocate, as in duty bound, endeavours to make the most of it, and the ecclesiastical historians and apologists have drawn it in dark colours. But the stories themselves show frequently that the ruling classes were singularly forbearing, and sometimes protected the Christians from the Jews, or from their mutual violence to one another. Such things as shipwrecks and occasional shortness of provisions cannot be considered as important elements of the question, for a man must expect to meet his share of the ordinary accidents of travel whether he sets out to propagate a faith or puff a commercial firm. With respect to such interludes of fierce and active persecution as really did take place, we have positive evidence that they were extremely partial and intermittent. Sometimes they were brought on by the quarrels of the Christians themselves attracting notice; sometimes they were even sought for by zealots, who thought a crown of martyrdom a sure passport to both heavenly and earthly glory. We find St Cyprian, in the middle of the

third century,\* even lamenting that the lack of persecution had impaired the faith and morals of the Christians. "*As a long† continuance of peace and security,*" says he, "had relaxed the vigour of that holy discipline which was delivered to us from above, it grew necessary to awaken our sluggish faith, and rouse up our dormant principles by some smart dispensation of Providence."‡ He then proceeds to enumerate the corruptions that had grown up during the long period of ease. It has often been shown that, of all things in the world, nothing is more calculated to stimulate and diffuse a religious belief than persecution which is occasional and sporadic; not enough to efface and eradicate, it is just enough to create a few heroes and examples, to stir the compassion of some, and excite the admiration and emulation of others. It has passed into a commonplace that persecution to be in the least effective must be sweeping and "thorough." But in spite of all that has been said, men do not yet seem to have hit upon the method of making it sufficiently "thorough" to accomplish its object in the extermination of a religious belief; so that persecutors, now, like the devil, have

"Grown wiser than of yore,  
And tempt by making rich, not making poor."

They have found that the best mode of relaxing the zeal of objectionable religionists is not to proscribe but to endow them.

Our Advocate endeavours to back up his case by putting the converse of his first proposition, which may be in brief stated thus: that there is *not* satisfactory evidence that other believers in a miraculous story have endured similar sufferings sooner than

\* A.D. 251.

† That is to say, about forty years.

‡ See St Cyprian's works, translation by Marshall, Fol. Ed., p. 117.

relinquish it. I have purposely omitted his reiteration of the term "original witnesses," having already shown that there is no evidence of the testimony of such persons, and, if there were, the majority of those who carried on the propagation of the religion and endured the consequent sufferings were not original witnesses, but persons who had accepted certain stories on hearsay. From what has already been stated, it must be apparent there is no foundation whatever for Paley's statement; but as additional evidence of its incorrectness, let me ask whether any people have ever endured such severity of persecution and for so long a period as the Jews? They believe in the miraculous origin of their religion, the thunders of Sinai, the fire of Elias, the inspiration of their prophets, the angel of the Maccabees; they have maintained this faith in every quarter of the known world; they have endured an amount and a persistency of persecution and proscription absolutely unparalleled, not merely intermitting through a couple of hundred years, but steadily continued through long centuries. Verily, if our test of truth be the devotion of its followers,\* here is the people who challenge our comparison and are entitled to our suffrage! If from Western we turn our eyes to Eastern Asia, where again will you find in past time a people more devoted or more successful than the followers of Buddha? From the time when they were persecuted, driven out, and actually nigh exterminated on the plains of India, they went abroad preaching their faith by land and sea, carried it over a world more extensive, and subdued before it empires more ancient† than yet bow before the banners of

\* See the account of the courageous martyrdom of Eleazar, 2 Maccab. vi.

† The most ancient races that embraced Christianity fell away to Mahometanism. The Church has been chiefly recruited from the nations of modern Europe and their descendants.

the cross. It is true this religion has become much diversified in the various countries to which it has found its way; but not more so than Christianity. It is true also that it has corrupted itself by many superstitions; but has not Christianity done the same? Some travellers have informed us that, if you go into a Greek, a Roman, or a Buddhist church, you could hardly tell the difference between them. The similarity of many of their miracles, their doctrines, their religious ideas, and their practices, will easily appear to anyone who will be at the pains to study them. But we need not carry our view so far off nor to such ancient times to find how easily simple people may be induced to undergo labours and sufferings in support of what they conceive to be a miraculous revelation. We need not, in fact, go much further than our own doors. Read the account of how death was braved and the terrible hardships "voluntarily undergone" when, their leader having been slain, the Mormon apostles bid their followers relinquish their homes at Nauvoo, and seek a promised land across the desert and the Rocky Mountains; then listen to the language of some of the poor emigrants and their teachers leaving our ports for what they fondly look to as a "New Jerusalem," a "Chosen Zion," and you will see that a faith like in kind to that of the ancient believers has not altogether died out of the world. You may say all this is but a poor parody on Christianity. That is true; but that does not prevent it from being a convincing illustration of how easily a certain class of minds may be convinced of a miraculous revelation, and how very slight evidence of its truth results from the fact of their undergoing suffering in consequence of such conviction.

I know our author attempts to consolidate his position by drawing a distinction between "other

miracles, and miracles in their nature as certain as those of the Christians;” so as to be able when other instances are adduced of persons suffering for a miraculous faith, to elude his opponent by alleging “your miracles are not of my sort, and therefore do not invalidate my argument.” But this is a mere artifice founded on a gratuitous assumption. Whether they are in their nature certain, depends like the rest of the question upon testimony. What the intrinsic difference is between the asserted Christian miracles, and others, no one is able to say. Whether anything corresponding to such events ever took place or no, is the point at issue. As I have already said, and must again reiterate, we have no account of an actual original eye-witness, and therefore can only compare such narratives as we have with similar stories heathen and patristic. And in so comparing we must remember that we look at the Christian miracles with an educated eye and with the reverential associations in which we have been indoctrinated from our earliest days, whereas the strangeness of the style in accounts to which we have not been accustomed at first shocks us; but if we saw them for the first time side by side in a newly discovered book, it would be a different matter. A philosopher from another planet, unacquainted with both, might find it difficult to know to which to award the palm for poetic feeling and moral beauty. Each collection would seem to him to have its grander features, the cross of the dying God would stand over against the rock of the benevolent and long-enduring Titan, the incarnation of Buddha parallels the incarnation of the Saviour; while both Jesus and Osiris rise triumphant from the tomb. On the other hand, on either part, he would find instances of a lower type, and would have no difficulty in finding parallels for such grotesque or gratuitously mythical examples as

the possessed swine, the tribute-paying\* fish, the angel who troubled the pool of Bethesda,† or the numerous dead who rose out of their graves after the crucifixion.

By the distinctions he draws, our author means to allege that there is a perfectly *unique combination* in Christianity between the sufferings and the miracles, which exists in no other instance. But this is a mere arbitrary method of stating the case, which has no foundation in fact. The early Christians were not ready to undergo martyrdom on account of some theory as to certain miracles, but, like votaries of other faiths, they had embraced a story miraculous on the whole, which involved principles that stirred all the enthusiasm of their nature. They, the poor, the trodden down of this world, rich in faith, were the elect favourites of heaven,—their Lord was soon to come again, when the wrong should be righted, the lowly exalted, and the proud abased, this impure and sinful world should be consumed by fire, while the

\* Archbishop Trench makes the fish pay *tithe* instead of tribute, and evolves a wonderful amount of mystery out of the fact. He does not seem to think it likely a miracle would have been wrought to discharge a mere worldly tax. While referring to this writer I must take leave to protest against the insolent intolerance and spiritual pride of many of his remarks. He seems to consider that differing from his opinions is a conclusive proof of moral obliquity. He not only accuses his opponents of want of honesty, as he does poor Dr Paulus, but of hate, malice, and other bad passions. It is futile, however, to complain of one more instance of the uneven "balance of the Sanctuary;" it will be fully justified in the eyes of the orthodox. When they use rude language, and reiterate their well-worn jokes at the expense of free-thinkers, it is to be regarded as holy zeal and pious indignation; when their opponents retaliate, it is "coarse ribaldry," "stark blasphemy," and so forth. See Trench on The Miracles, Preliminary Essay, and elsewhere. *Passim*.

† See Hammond's curious attempt to rationalise this account. Comment *in loc*.

faithful should reign triumphant in the New Jerusalem. This prospect of a certain and shortly to be fulfilled future was the motive power that first set the ball rolling, and similar enthusiastic beliefs have over and over again carried crowds across continents.\* There was nothing astonishing in their shaping their beliefs in the forms of a miraculous story; the astonishment would have been had it been otherwise, since the whole atmosphere of the time was miraculous; the mass of the people connected religions and miracles together as a matter of course, and nobody thought of questioning such things but a few critics and philosophers. When details, perhaps, at length come to be questioned, there is never a lack in these cases of "credible witnesses" to state what in fact they honestly believe, and if their belief is bound up with enthusiastic religious hopes they will suffer and die for it. Read the ardent asseverations of some of the early fathers and some modern divines; they were not original witnesses; these last most certainly had no ground of their belief beyond the fact that they had heard it stated again and again; but it was bound up with their dearest hopes and all the enthusiasm of their natures, and, I have no doubt, that whether ancient or modern, many of them if it had come to the pinch would have died for it too.

Thus much may suffice to show the inconclusiveness of our author's general propositions. Much more might be said on many of the details of the latter part of his work, both as to his inadequate manner of

\* See the account of the "Brethren of the Cross," "The Flagellants," and the Children's Crusade in the Middle Ages. The superstition of the approaching end of the world has cropped up over and over again. See Milman's *Hist. Lat. Christianity*, iv. 396; do. *Hist. Jews*, iii. 222. Neander's *Church Hist.* ix. 595. Kingston's *Life of Emp. Frederick II.*, c. xv. 260. Robertson's *Charles V.* "Proofs and Illustrations," No. 13.

stating the objections of opponents, and his *ex parte* representation of conflicting facts. I will conclude, however, after the manner of our author himself, by putting a simple case. Let it be remembered, as I have already shown, that in the earliest writings of the New Testament, and those only which can be supposed to be genuine and authentic, the references to miracles are extremely slight, and such as are quite capable of being explained by the same theory which Paley employs to discredit those of the Abbé Paris. Let it also be remembered that the later the date of the productions, the more does the miraculous element predominate, and that none of the books in which it predominates can be proved to be earlier than the year 110 A.D., their various probable dates ranging from about 120 to 160, during which period the floating traditions connected with the religion were "co-acervating" and developing, by mutual accretion, until they were worked up into the form in which the fathers of the latter part of the second and third centuries have handed them down to us. *These fathers, therefore, are the real persons who have guaranteed the stories to us.* Now, bearing these things in mind, let us suppose that a wondrous tale were brought to us from the other side of the Atlantic, which on the face of it surpassed the bounds of probability. If, however, it were brought to us by several men, not merely of "probability and good sense," but of calm judicial minds, accustomed to weigh evidence, historical and scientific, who all and each declared they had witnessed the incidents themselves, and who had no personal feelings, affections, or aspirations enlisted in the matter, we might think it at any rate worthy of our candid examination, and we might, under certain circumstances, feel ourselves bound to accept their statements as facts even if we could not explain them. If, on the other hand, the tale was conveyed to us by persons



of extremely excitable and enthusiastic dispositions who had given many previous proofs of their extraordinary credulity, and who came from a district greatly addicted to the marvellous, and celebrated for the credulous and uncritical character of the natives; if, moreover, they could not truly affirm that they were personal eyewitnesses, and the tale was bound up with many of their strongest feelings and aspirations, and at the same time added largely to their personal influence and importance, without attributing any sinister motives to them, we should be strongly inclined to say, the story is so improbable in itself that, under any circumstances, we should have found it extremely difficult of belief, but its credibility is altogether out of the question when we consider the character of the narrators.

Now these remarks exactly apply to the circumstances of the case before us. The *miraculous* Christian story *took form* in a remarkably and increasingly credulous age, it received nourishment from such circumstances as were peculiarly suited to foster it, and it is presented to us by men who have given repeated proofs of their want of judgment and critical discrimination, their readiness to embrace anything that fell in with their preconceptions, and their enthusiastic and uncontrollable feelings. This is only a fair description of the ecclesiastical fathers of the end of the second, the third, and the fourth centuries, *who are our only vouchers for the miraculous records*. Here is not the place for multiplying illustrations of this assertion. I can only say if any one doubts the substantial truth of my allegation let him read the fathers for himself!

This uninviting task is now facilitated by the fact that most of them are translated, so that a sufficient knowledge of their contents may be obtained without having to struggle through the contorted Latin and

bad Greek for which some of them are distinguished. I subjoin a few instances of their credulity and want of judgment.

To draw, then, this somewhat long epistle to a close, I submit to your candid consideration whether a work, which grounds on so unsatisfactory a basis the evidences of Christianity, which puts the material machinery and the thaumaturgic element of its history into so much greater prominence than the moral (the really strong point of the Christian religion), and which, in its critical statements, is so far below the information and requirements of the present day, is such a work as should occupy a place on the list of class-books of this great University. My object in this letter is to express a hope that members of this University may, each as far as lies in his power, exert their influence to obtain its removal from such a position.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

AN OLD GRADUATE.

NOTES.

Origen, for instance, informs us that in his time it was a common thing to cure innumerable evils and drive out devils from men and beasts by adjurations and exorcisms (Conts. Cels. L. vii. p. 374).

Justin Martyr not only affirms the old fable about the Septuagint translators, but declares that he had *himself seen* at Alexandria the remains of the cells in which they were shut up. (Cohort. ad Græc. p. 14.) The same Father tells us that the Christians often drove out devils after other enchanters had tried and failed (Apol. ii. 116).

Minutius Felix declares that Saturn, Serapis, and Jupiter, when adjured by the Christians, confess themselves to be demons (Octav.).

Several Fathers have fabulous tales of angels begetting demons on the bodies of women, and indulging in sensual enormities with women and boys.

Lactantius and the author of the Clement. Recogn. allege, as proof of the immortality of the soul, that any magician could call up the souls of the dead and make them foretell future events, and say that *Simon Magus wrought his miracles by means of the soul of a boy* who had been put to death for the purpose (Lact. Div. Inst. L. vii., c. 13; Clem. Rec. L. ii., c. 13).

Irenæus declares that the *Dead were frequently raised* in his time by the prayers of the Church, and afterwards lived many years among them (adv. Hæres. L. ii., c. 57).

Papias alleged the same according to Eusebius (Hist. Ecc. iii. 39).

St Augustin, that famous Father, goes beyond this, and relates that several persons were brought *back to life by means of the reliques of St Stephen* (De Civ. Dei. L. xxii., c. viii., § 18—21).

St Athanasius informs us that one day, Anthony, the Monk, going to his door was accosted by a tall meagre person who, being asked his name, answered that he was Satan. He adds a large number of monstrous stories, declaring that he *knew them to be true* (Athanasius, Life of St Anthony).

Gregory, of Nyssa, has a wonderful story of an appearance of the Virgin Mary and St John.

But, perhaps, the most astounding of all is a story of St Augustin's, which he declares he had from *credible witnesses*, to the effect that the ground where St John was buried heaved

up and down regularly according to the motion of his body caused by his breathing. This they supposed a fulfilment of the promise that St John should not die (Augustin *in loc.*, Joh. xxi. 23).

These are but a few specimens of the marvels testified to by some of the early Fathers. The other Fathers, not mentioned, share their superstition and credulity. [I particularly recommend to the notice of those who have not read it, 'An Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church,' &c. (by Dr Conyers Middleton, formerly Fellow of Trin., Librarian of this University, and Woodwardian Professor), from which work the above examples are taken.] The professed historians of the Early Church were very little better. Refer to Socrat, B. vii., c. 4. Sozomen, B. ii., c. 1, c. 3, c. 7; B. iii., c. 14; B. iv., c. 3, and many other places. Theodoret is full of superstitious fables. See particularly B. I., c. 7, c. 14, 18, 23, 24; B. iv., c. 21, and, in fact, *passim*.

