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THE

CHURCHMAN

AUGUST, 1898.

ART. I.—SOME LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES IN GENESIS.

IT is generally acknowledged that the whole air and aspect of Genesis is early, simple, archaic, and patriarchal, rather than Israelite, Davidic, or Exilic. But if the book is really the earliest part of the Bible, one might expect to find some peculiarities in its language which would distinguish it, in part at least, even from the later books of the Pentateuch, and which would make a strong line of severance between its pages and those of the later histories. A pre-Mosaic book could hardly be expected to be in the same style as those written in or about the period of the Exile.

When this subject is broached in conversation, the reply usually given is that there are no such linguistic differences; and that this disappointing fact is either owing to the conservatism of the Hebrew tongue, which remained as stationary as the Assyrian did, or else it is to be regarded as a proof that Genesis is not early, and that its date as a composition must be brought down to the period of the Exile. But is it absolutely certain that Genesis contains no peculiar linguistic features, and that it possesses no marks by which its primæval character may be ascertained? The careful study of the Hebrew text, and the constant use of a Hebrew Concordance, ought to enable any ordinary inquirer to answer the question one way or another. I propose to answer it simply and briefly, and for convenience I divide the subject as follows: (i.) I note certain undifferentiated forms; (ii.) certain verbal reminiscences; (iii.) peculiar words in the story of the Flood; (iv.) peculiarities in the patriarchal narrative; (v.) the story of Joseph; (vi.) the proper names; (vii.) provincialisms.

1. Undifferentiated Forms.

One of the most remarkable features of the Pentateuch as a whole is this, that the third person feminine pronoun is spelt in the same way as the masculine. Whereas in all the later Hebrew books it is, in unpointed Hebrew, HIA (הִיא), in the Pentateuch it is HVA (הוּא). The word occurs hundreds of times, and there are only about a dozen passages in which the ordinary spelling is adopted, and these may well be taken as copyists' slips. The later Hebrew authorities who inserted the vowel-points so as to secure the traditional pronunciation, have put the true feminine vowel-point under the middle letter, but have not ventured to alter the letter itself. It is as if we put a dot over the letter *u* to show that it stands for *i*. This strange form thus stands as a monument on almost every page of the Pentateuch. How is it to be explained? It can hardly be an accident. There are, indeed, frequent changes in copying owing to the similarity of the ordinary Hebrew letters U or V (ו) and I (י), though in the older Hebrew, as represented by the Samaritan and Moabite character, there is no marked resemblance. Moreover, there is too much method in this case to justify such a supposition. The phenomenon seems to point back to a time when the Hebrews had the same form for the masculine and feminine pronoun, and made no difference in writing *she* and *he*.

The curious thing is that the same is true of the Hebrew words for "young man" and "young woman" all through the Pentateuch (*i.e.*, in about twenty passages, the only exception being Deut. xxii. 19). In all these places the later authorities, instead of altering the text (נער), have introduced a note at the foot giving the feminine termination (נערה).

We thus possess two witnesses to the archaic and undifferentiated state of the text of the Pentateuch as it stands.

It is well known that the name *Adam* means "man," and consequently is capable of a definite article. In the earliest passages where the word occurs it is "*the* man"; and it is not till chap. iv. 25 that the definite article is dropped, and Adam stands forth as a differentiated personage. Our Revisers have noticed this fact, and have not introduced the name Adam into the Bible till this verse, except in two places where we have the dative case (see iii. 17, 21). In these the Hebrew letters leave the matter open, and the Revisers have deferred to the later Masoretic pointing, though whether they were right in doing so is open to question.

The name of *Israel*, like that of Adam, has to do double duty in the Bible. In the later books it stands either for the

twelve tribes or for the ten. In Exodus it stands for the family or clan, the Beni-Israel. But in Genesis it means the actual patriarch. His children are called "sons of Jacob" in chap. xxxiv. 7, and it is not till chap. xlii. 5 that the "sons of Israel" are so called, and they were still "all one man's sons."[1]

No distinction is more frequent in later books than that between the Israelitish *people* (עם, *'am*) and the surrounding *nations* (*goim*, גוים); but the position of Israel is not thus differentiated in Genesis. The word *goi* in the singular and plural is freely used of Abraham's seed, and likewise the word *'am* of outsiders. Thus we read: "I will make of thee a great nation" (xii. 2); "I will make thee nations" (xvii. 6); "a nation and a gathering of nations shall be from thee" (xxxv. 11); "He (Ephraim) shall become the fulness (or filling up) of nations" (xlviii. 19). In all these places *goim* is used.

II. Verbal Reminiscences.

In chap. iii. 16, 17 we read: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow . . . in sorrow thou shalt eat." The word here translated "sorrow" is *itzavon* (עצבון). The only other place where this form occurs is chap. v. 29, which is a manifest reference to the curse on Adam: "He (Noah) shall comfort us concerning our work and concerning the sorrow (A.V. toil) of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." This is not only a reminiscence, but a verbal one, so that this form of the word is practically unique.

In chap. xvii. we have the institution of the rite of circumcision. According to ver. 12, "He that is born in the house (*i.e.*, in the family), and he that is bought with money from every son of an alien" must be circumcised. As for the uncircumcised man, that soul shall be cut off from his people. When the Passover was appointed (Exod. xii.) no "son of an alien" was to eat thereof (ver. 43), but every man's servant that is "bought with money" and "circumcised" (ver. 44) was to eat it. Here the double verbal reminiscence is clear, though the Hebrew words are not confined to these passages.

The blessing given to Jacob in chap. xxvii. 29, though it resembles that given to Abraham in chap. xii. 3, is not altogether the same. The words in Gen. xii. 3 run thus: "I will bless him that blesseth thee, and him that lightly esteemeth (קלל) thee I will curse (ארר)"; but in Gen. xxvii. they run thus: "Cursed be he that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee." It is not surprising that these remarkable

[1] Chapter xxxii. 32 is a note, and the expression "children of Israel" is naturally used there in its later sense.

utterances should be known in the East in later days, or that Balaam should be led to incorporate one of them into his prophecy. The form of blessing as bestowed on Jacob was that which he was most likely to have heard; and this he cites (Numb. xxiv. 9), combining it with a verbal reminiscence of Jacob's benediction on his son Judah (Gen. xlix. 9).

One hardly cares to speak of the use of a technical or ceremonial word as a reminiscence; but when it is connected with a rite, as in the case of the Sabbath, or with a peculiar custom, as when a younger brother had to marry his deceased brother's widow, the use of a special word emphasizes the relationship between the more ancient and the less ancient observance. Patriarchal usages were the seeds of some important Mosaic laws. Thus, in connection with the last-named custom, there is a particular word, *yabam* (יבם), which binds together Gen. xxxviii. 8, Deut. xxv. 5, 7, and Ruth i. 15. It occurs nowhere else.

There is another apparent reminiscence which deserves attention. In the story of the Flood we read of animals which were regarded as clean and of others which were not clean (Gen. vii. 2, 8). Some think that this distinction between two classes of animals did not exist until the Mosaic age (Lev. xi.); but this is pure imagination. The Levitical distinction was probably based on an earlier one. But it has not been generally noticed that the Levitical word for "unclean" (*thama*, טמא) is *not* used in the narrative of the Flood. In fact, this noun is never used in Genesis or in Exodus, and the verb barely exists in Genesis, and then in a somewhat different sense (Gen. xxxiv. 5, 13, 27). Strange as it may seem, the expression "not clean" (לא טהור) is never used in the whole Bible after the story of the Flood, the later ceremonial word "unclean" having entirely taken its place. If the narrative of the Flood were written in late times, is it likely that this would have been the case?

III. Peculiarities in the Story of the Flood.

Besides the singular fact just mentioned, the story of the Flood contains a series of words of deep interest and of marked peculiarity. As to the word "Flood" itself, it is only used in this connection and in Ps. xxix. 10, which is a verbal reminiscence, and which the Revisers render:

> The Lord sat *as King* at the Flood,
> Yea, the Lord sitteth as King for ever.

It is literally "a torrent." A different form of the word is used in Isa. xxx. 23, xliv. 4, etc. I may mention, in passing, that eight different Hebrew words are translated "flood" in the A.V.

The word for the ark (תבה) is only used elsewhere of that in which Moses was exposed. The "living substance" (vii. 4) which was to be destroyed is literally "the crop" (יקום), but the word only occurs again in Deut. xi. 6. The so-called "giants" (vi. 3), or *nephilim*, are only mentioned again in Numb. xiii. 33.

The words "My spirit shall not always strive with man" (vi. 3) have puzzled translators from the earliest times. The word rendered "strive" (ידון) is in its accepted form unique, and the conglomerate word (בשגם) rendered "for-that-he-is-also-(flesh)" is also unique. The verb rendered to "bring a cloud" in chap. ix. 14 is nowhere else used in this sense, but occurs in the *post* form for the "observing times," or cloud-gazing. Once more, the word rendered "enlarge" (*yapheth*, יפת) in the utterance "God shall enlarge Japheth" is never used again in this form, and is evidently introduced here in connection with the name Japheth.

It may be added that the simple ejaculation (הבה) rendered "Go to!" in chaps. xi. 3 and xxxviii. 16 and Exod. i. 10 is not found elsewhere.

IV. The Record of the Patriarchal Age.

In the Patriarchal narrative there are some obsolete customs, and some rare, if not unique, forms which deserve notice.

To "lift the foot" in the sense of starting for a journey is only found in chap. xxix. 1. To be "gathered to one's people" is an expression used only of the patriarchs and of Moses and Aaron. Other forms of expression afterwards took its place. The strange custom of putting the hand under the thigh in connection with an oath is only referred to in chaps. xxiv. 27 and xlvii. 29. The word used for the pitching of a tent, which occurs twice in chap. xxxi. 25 in the story of Laban and Jacob, is generally used of the sounding of a trumpet. The word, in fact (*taka'*, תקע), represents the sound either of a hammer striking a tent-peg or of a trumpet blast. It is only used again, however, of pitching a tent in Jer. vi. 3. The "binding" of Isaac represents a unique word (*'akad*, עקד); so with the word "a hundred-*fold*" (Gen. xxvi. 12). The word for "seething" pottage (xxv. 29) is never used elsewhere in this sense. The same is the case with the word for "feeding" in the next verse. Laban is twice accused of changing Jacob's wages *ten times* (xxx. 7, 41); but the word translated "times" is not found elsewhere.

In chap. vii. 11 we read of a date in Noah's *life;* in xxiii. 1 of the period of Sarah's *life;* in xxv. 7 of Abraham's *life;*

and in xlvii. 8, 9 of Jacob's *life*. It seems strange that this simple form of expression died out, though the Hebrew word itself is such a common one. The idiom "large enough" (*lit.*, "wide of hands"), in chap. xxxiv. 21 is only found again in Judges xviii. 10. The pieces of money (xxxiii. 19) are literally *kesitahs*. The word is used again by way of verbal reminiscence in Josh. xxiv. 32. The only other place where it occurs is Job xlii. 11.

The verb *racash* (רכשׁ), which signifies the "possession" of goods, is only used in Genesis, though the kindred noun is found in the later books. The word used for "sheep" in Gen. xxx. 32, etc., is never used after the Pentateuch. The word translated "furnace" in chap. xix. 28 is never used after the Book of Exodus. The "quiver," the "savoury meat," and the "deceiver" of chap. xxvii. stand for forms which occur nowhere else. The "young pigeon" of chap. xv. 9 is only found again in Deut. xxxii. 11, and the verb used for "dividing" it (ver. 10) occurs nowhere else, though a noun formed from it is found in Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19. The "veil" of chap. xxiv. 65 and xxxviii. 14 is never used again. The same is the case with the particular form of the word rendered "pledge" in chap. xxxviii. 17, 18, 20, and with the expression for "obtaining children" in chap. xiii. 3 and xvi. 2.

In chap. xviii. 21 we read, "I will see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it." The word *calah* (כלה), here rendered "altogether," is never used again in this adverbial sense except in Exod. xi. 1, "He shall thrust you out hence altogether."

Perhaps it ought to be pointed out that the documents comprised in the earliest part of Genesis may be translations into Hebrew from a language more of the Accadian cast. The only difficulty in this view is that the proper names, such as Adam, Eve, Cain, Seth, have Hebrew explanations attached to them; and the same is the case with names of places, *e.g.*, Eden, Nod, and Babel. This difficulty, however, may prove to be not insurmountable. Perhaps the late Mr. C. Forster's dream of the discovery of the "one primæval language" may yet be realized.

V. The Story of Joseph.

In chap. xxxvii. 36 and xxxix. 1 Potiphar is called "the captain of the guard." The word used for "guard" in these chapters (*Thavach*, טבח) is never used of an Israelite guard. In 1 Sam. ix. 23, 24 it refers to a cook; and it is also used in Kings and Jeremiah of the Chaldean guard.

The expression for "prison" used in chaps. xxxix. and xl.

occurs nowhere else. The same is the case with the word for the "interpretation" of dreams in chaps. xl. and xli., and for the "white" baskets of chap. xl. 16. The word translated "provender" in chap. xxiv. 25, 32, xlii. 27, and xliii. 24 is never used afterwards except in Judges xix. 19. In chap. xlii. 4, 38, and xliv. 29 we read of "mischief" befalling; but the word only occurs again in Exod. xxi. 22, 23, though its late use may be traced in the newly-discovered Hebrew Ecclesiasticus.

In chap. xlv. 17 we have the expression "lade your beasts." The word translated "lade" is used nowhere else in this sense, and the word for "beasts" is only to be found in Exod. xxii. 5, Numb. xx. 4, 8, 11, and in Ps. lxxviii. 48, which refers to the Mosaic narrative.

It has often been pointed out that three Hebrew words are translated "sack" in this narrative. One is the word "sack" itself (*sak*, שַׂק), which shows that the material brought its name with it to England from the East; another is an ambiguous word which would serve for any household goods; but the third, which occurs no less than fifteen times in this story, never appears again. It was not a corn-sack, but a pouch for money and personal necessities, and might well have been translated "bag." Strange that anyone should detect signs of diverse authors in the use of these diverse words! Compare the use of three words for "window" in the story of the Flood.

In chap. xliii. 11 we meet with the words "take of the best-fruits of the land." The word "best-fruits" (*Zimrah*, זִמְרָה) never occurs again except in a musical sense, though the cognate verb is used of pruning. In the next verse the word translated "oversight" occurs nowhere else in this form. In chap. xlvii. 2, "He took some of his brethren," the word rendered "some" is never used again in this sense. It ordinarily means an extremity or boundary. In the seventeenth verse of this chapter the word translated "he fed them" is always used elsewhere not of *feeding*, but of *leading*.

VI. The Evidence of Proper Names.

It is plain that Genesis contains many rare words for ordinary things. This is to be expected if the work is wholly or mainly pre-Mosaic, but is not easily accountable on the other hypothesis. It should be added that the proper names in Genesis are a perfect treasury of remarkable roots. I only here refer to one or two of the most familiar names. The root *raham* in the name Abraham is not known in Hebrew, and must be looked for in Arabic. The verb from which the name of *Israel* is formed occurs nowhere else except in Hos. xii. 34,

which is a verbal reminiscence of Gen. xxxii. 28. The verb from which *Jacob* gets his name is only used in two verbal references to his history (Hos. xii. 3; Jer. ix. 4), and in Job xxxvii. 4; whilst the other wrestling word (*abak*, אבק) from which possibly Jabbok got its name, never occurs except in chap. xxxii. 24.

It may be added that there are places named in Genesis which afterwards occur no more, such as Mamre (xiii. 18, etc.); compare Moreh (Gen. xii. 6 and Deut. xi. 30); whilst others spring into being and have their names accounted for in the Patriarchal history, *e.g.*, Bethel, and Mahanaim (xxxii. 2).

VII. Provincialisms.

The question of provincialisms and dialectal differences is an obscure one, but will repay examination. Some things are clear, and others will be cleared up by further discoveries. Laban, for example, talked in a different dialect from that of Jacob, and called the "heap of witness" by a different name (xxxi. 47). Leah and Rachel naturally talked their father's language; and we cannot be surprised to find that when Leah bore Zebulon, and said, "God hath endowed me with a good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me," the words "endow," "dowry," and "dwell" occur nowhere else. The word for "dowry" (זבד) is, however, in the newly found Hebrew Ecclesiasticus. Again, when Abimelech made terms with Abraham (xxi. 23), he said, "Swear that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my *son*, nor with my *son's-son*." The words "son" and "son's-son" only occur again in Job xviii. 19 and Isa. xiv. 22. The book of Job has so many strange words in it that we are not surprised to find these; but it is curious that they should occur also in Isaiah. But this is only one out of many verbal relationships between these books. The words now referred to are to be found in the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus, which evidently contains some interesting old provincialisms.

The "dukes" of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 15, etc.) had an official title (אלוף), which is used only of them in the historical books, though afterwards it occurs in a more general sense. The Midianite name of a "castle" (xxv. 16) is only used again in Numb. xxxi. 10, where also it is Midianite. The word used of the "field" (A.V. country) of Edom (xxxii. 3) is never used of the land of Israel, but of Moab, Amalek, Philistia, and Syria.

With regard to all these expressions, we may regard them not as marks of lateness, but as peculiar characteristics of special families, persons, and places. They would lurk in a language for centuries, and be used in people's home life, even

though they might be avoided on public occasions; just as many who naturally said "Sibboleth" would make a great effort to say "Shibboleth" to save their lives.

The typical chapter for the study of provincialisms is the twenty-fourth, which gives us the steward's narrative of his mission to Haran. This steward we naturally take to be Eliezer of Damascus. He is adjured to be faithful in a peculiar and solemn way, as in the presence of the God of heaven[1] and earth. He is to go to Abraham's country, and to his kindred or family, which had hardly been mentioned since the beginning of the twelfth chapter. Accordingly he goes to the city of Nahor, but, strange to say, he omits to name it, though he tells us that it is in Aram Naharaim (A.V. Mesopotamia), which the inscriptions call Naharina. The city or region is called Padan Aram in chap. xxv. 20, and Haran (Kharran) in chap. xxvii. 43. He now prays to his master's God that He would "send-good-speed," using a word which is found nowhere else in this exact sense. The word for the "damsel" occurs five times in the chapter—of course, in its masculine form. He asks that a particular act may indicate the "appointed" damsel. Here, again, he uses a word which is not found elsewhere in this sense. In ver. 17 he says, "let me drink"—literally, "let me swallow" (גמא). This word is found elsewhere only in Job xxxix. 24. The damsel empties her pitcher into the trough or "cistern," the word for which only occurs again in chap. xxx. 38, when Jacob is in Laban's domain. The man "wonders" (ver. 25); here we have another unique usage (שאה). He gives her a golden earring, such as Jacob's wives had in later days (xxxv. 4), and such as the Israelitish women afterwards turned both to an evil purpose (Exod. xxxii. 2) and to a good one (Exod. xxxv. 22). It was a half-shekel weight—literally, a Bekah (see Exod. xxviii. 36, where alone it occurs, and where an explanation of it is given). She provides "provender"—a word only to be found in this book and in Judges xix. 19; and the servant gives to her relatives "precious things"—a word which does not occur again till Chronicles and Ezra. Finally, when she meets her husband-elect, she puts on a "veil" of a kind which is only named again in chap. xxxviii. 14, 19.

Hebrew poetry always contains more rare words than prose does, and an examination of Jacob's blessing (iv. 9) would give some unique expressions; but I am content to let the matter be decided on the evidence of current everyday language.

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[1] This title Eliezer would appreciate. It does not occur again till the age of Cyrus.

The subject is by no means exhausted. In some cases I have laid more stress on the phenomena than others would do. But I have pointed out certain linguistic features in Genesis which seem to testify both to its antiquity and to its originality, and which indicate a literary distinction between the Hebrew text of this book as it stands and the usages of the centuries which elapsed between the time of Samuel and the Exile. These phenomena must neither be exaggerated nor minimized. Some may be accidental; but the fact stands forth that in a number of places where an ordinary word might have been used it was not forthcoming, and terms and forms were in vogue when the materials which compose our Genesis were written down which dropped out after the age of Samuel. It would be interesting to confirm this argument by taking the converse, and by showing that many words are freely used in the time of Samuel which are conspicuous by their absence in Genesis. How is it, for example, that "the Lord of Hosts" is never named by this grand title in the whole Pentateuch? How is it that so little is said about Jerusalem in Genesis? Why is it that the idea of God as a Saviour is not hinted at until we reach Jacob's blessing of Judah? (xlix. 18). There must be a reason for these things, and the "traditional" view seems to afford their true solution.

R. B. GIRDLESTONE.

ART. II.—ST. BERNARD.

LIVING in an island has its undoubted advantages, but it has also its serious drawbacks. It has its advantages, for by the sea which surrounds us we are protected from many ills, invasion and the like, from which the other nations of Europe have without exception suffered in the past, while we have dwelt in safety. It has its drawbacks, for a nation so situated is tempted to become insular in its ideas and narrow in its conceptions. Even if its vision is not so short-sighted as to prevent it seeing things which have or are happening elsewhere, it is prone to see them through insular-tinted glasses, and only to take an interest in them as they seem to affect its own well-being. But in so doing we are of necessity the losers, for we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of mankind even in thought without serious detriment. Our understanding of the true meaning of events in past or present is imperfect, our interest in them faint and uninspiriting, our grasp of matters of world-wide importance feeble and enervated.

Certainly there is a great danger of this in our study of Church history. We are prone to regard it only as it concerns our own Church and country. "Catholic" becomes contracted in idea if not in word into "Anglican," and we forget that the great saints of Christendom in every age and land are our holy and noble ancestry, with whom we are linked by far closer ties than those of a merely earthly nationality.

On this account, then, it is profitable for us, in dwelling upon the period of Church history between 1100 and 1253, to look beyond our own insular horizon, and turn our gaze outward on some of those heroes of the faith who shone forth like brilliant stars in the darkness which still overspread Europe when the twelfth century began. Among these, St. Bernard, a French Churchman, has surely a special claim on our attention.

There has been from early Christian times a close connection between the Gallican or French Church and the Church in Britain. When, for instance, in the fifth century, the Pelagian heresy, which taught that man can keep God's commandments without God's grace, troubled the Church of this land, we find the ecclesiastics of that day, in their perplexity, inviting the help of learned Gallican divines, and we read that the Synod of the Church in Gaul, in answer to this appeal, deputed two of their Bishops, Germanus and Lupus, to cross over to Britain. They landed on our shores in 429, and were of the greatest service; and the preservation of the names of Gallican saints in our Kalendar, such as SS. Hilary, Britius, Martin, and others, tells us of the close connection which from that time, if not before, existed between the two Churches. Many sacred buildings, too, in this country are still dedicated to Gallican saints, and there seems little doubt that the Liturgy which Augustine found in use when he came to England at the end of the sixth century, and which differed in many respects from that used in the Roman Church, was Gallican in its source, and was founded on the Liturgy known by the name of St. Ino of Ephesus, from which place Christianity had been originally brought into France.

In trying to obtain, as it were, a bird's-eye view of Bernard, his life, character, work, and writings, there naturally occurs a preliminary inquiry. We cannot afford to separate a man from the times in which he lived. Great men not only help to shape the times and to make their history, but the times in their turn do much to create the man, develop his character, and interpret his actions. How often this has been forgotten. The lives of men who lived in the past, nearer or more remote, have been written by those who have judged them not by the

standard of morality or knowledge of the days in which their lot was cast, but of the times of the writers. They have taken them out of their proper surroundings, and the result has of necessity been unfair to the men they write about and misleading to the readers.

What, then, we must ask, was the state of things at the end of the eleventh century and during the first half of the twelfth, the particular period with which we have to deal? "Unsettled" is perhaps the best word by which to describe it. Everywhere it was characterized by a spirit of restlessness which came between a long time of darkness and the dawning of the light.

At home, with William the Conqueror as King of England, great changes had taken place. Having sworn at his coronation to do equal justice to all his subjects, Normans were everywhere favoured by him, and Anglo-Saxons treated with indignity, until it seemed hopeless for any Englishman to hold a high office in Church or State. He was succeeded in 1087 by William Rufus, who "feared God but little and man not at all," abused his power, and disgraced his crown. Bishoprics were purposely kept vacant, simony was rampant, corruption prevailed, until Anselm, Prior of Bec in Normandy, having come to England to look after the English estates which had been made over to his monastery, was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, and at once vigorously set about the much-needed work of reform.

Abroad we find everywhere a state of things even more unsatisfactory. A divided Christendom in the rupture between East and West, unhappily consummated on July 16, 1054, when the legates of Leo IX. laid on the altar of St. Sophia at Constantinople a writ of excommunication against the Patriarch, which was answered by anathemas on the part of the Patriarch and his clergy; a bitter conflict for supremacy between the ecclesiastical power as represented by the Pope and the temporal by Henry IV., Emperor of Germany; a Papal schism dividing the Western Church, Urban II. and Clement III. both claiming to be the rightful occupier of the Chair of St. Peter; insubordination and irregularities of the worst kind, in which popes and bishops, clergy and monks, were all involved. Such was the state of things at the close of the eleventh century. But dark as the times were, it was the intensified darkness which precedes the breaking of the approaching day, not the gloom of the coming night. The very unsettlement which prevailed told of movement, and movement belongs to life, not to death.

There was already the shaking of the dead bones, and the work of quickening had begun when Bernard saw the light, a

man destined to be a leader in the Church and the world, making his influence felt far and wide, and, under God's providence, directing the movement just beginning for the lasting wellbeing of humanity and the growth of true religion.

Born in 1091, dying in 1153, his life coincides with the central portion of the Middle Ages, and is well summed up by a well-known historian: "He saw the first and second Crusades, the beginnings of scholasticism, a great reformation movement in the Church, and the noblest period of growth and influence monasticism was destined to know." And in all these, as we shall see, we find Bernard a foremost actor, an energetic and zealous worker.

He was born near Dijon, of noble and pious parents. His father was a man of high character, a brave soldier, and a kind-hearted and charitable man. His mother was his worthy helpmeet, caring for her children, dedicating her six sons to the Lord from their birth, visiting the fatherless and widow in their affliction, and keeping herself unspotted from the world. Of the children Bernard was the third son, and one of his earliest recollections must have been the events connected with the First Crusade. We have no time to dwell upon this at any length. Enough to remind you of the terrible tales of suffering endured by the Christians in the Holy Land at the hands of the Turks, who had taken possession of Palestine in 1076; the preaching of Peter the Hermit, who had been to Jerusalem, and seen with his own eyes the cruelties which were being perpetrated; his triumphant progress through Europe, as he stirred up the people everywhere to an uncontrollable enthusiasm; the starting of the first expedition; its many disasters, and at length its final success, when in 1099, at the hour of three on a Friday afternoon, the army of Crusaders, with Godfrey of Bouillon at its head, mounted the walls of Jerusalem, and, "wading through the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses," took possession of the Holy City.

The next memorable occurrence in his life was his mother's death, just as he was passing from boyhood to youth. She was a saintly woman, so highly thought of by those among whom she lived that the Abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon begged that her body might be buried in the church of his abbey.

We cannot doubt that these events left an indelible impression on the character of a boy who, we are told, was *mire cogitativus* ("marvellously thoughtful"), and that both the wild excitement of the Crusade and the peaceful memory of his mother's life were never forgotten, and their influence, like their remembrance, never effaced.

At last the day came when he must choose his career.

And when we picture him as he has been described—his great beauty of person, his charm of manner, eloquence of speech, love of literature, holiness of life, deep self-denial, we are not surprised to learn that amid the din and clash of arms he was attracted by the quiet retirement of the monastery. Opposed by friends who urged him not to cut himself off from the great future which evidently lay before him, he was for a time puzzled and in doubt, until on his way to visit his soldier brothers he came to a lonely church by the wayside, and "on his knees he lifted up his hands to heaven, and poured forth his heart like water in the presence of his Lord, and dedicated his life to his Master's service."

Accordingly, at the age of twenty-two he joined the humble and poor monastery of Citeaux. It belonged to the Cistercian Order, and the rule of St. Benedict was strictly observed in it. The discipline was severe, and the asceticism practised by the monks in striking contrast to the luxurious self-indulgence which had found its way into many religious communities at that time. Having entered upon this life, Bernard did not rest until by the force of his character and the consistency of his life he so commended the step he had taken that in a short time he induced his brothers and many of his friends to follow his example. It is interesting to learn that the head of this monastery was Stephen Harding, an Englishman, whose great desire was to reform monasticism, and who found in Bernard a true friend, a like-minded enthusiast, and a wise adviser.

The life at Citeaux was hard, but not severe enough for Bernard, who, with the proneness to extremes which so often characterizes the young, carried his austerities to an extraordinary degree of extravagance, which he himself lived to repent. We are told that he strove "not only to subdue the desires of the body, which come through the senses, but the senses themselves. He stopped his ears that he might not hear the idle talk of friends who came to visit him; passed whole nights without sleep, and but for the interference of his friends would have sacrificed his life." In his later years he lamented much the excessive mortification he had practised, by which he had enfeebled his bodily powers, unfitted himself for work, and shortened his life.

After two years spent in this way, having been chosen by the abbot to go forth and begin a monastery where reforms could be more easily carried out, he left Citeaux with twelve companions, and founded the abbey with which his name will always remain associated. There the purity of his life, the austerity of his self-denial, the wonderful influence he gained over all who came in contact with him, aided by the reputation of prophetic visions and miraculous gifts, soon made him

famous. The inmates increased to 700, among whom was Henry, brother of the King, and afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, and others whose names are well known in Church history. We are told that in a short time no less than 160 monasteries were founded by him and his disciples, while the very name of the valley where the monastery was situated was changed from the Valley of Wormwood to Clairvaux, or the Bright Valley.

But his influence could not be hid within the walls of his monastery. Gradually his reputation spread. He became the wise and trusted counsellor of Popes and Kings; the fearless reformer of abuses; the brave champion of the faith; the eloquent preacher and writer; and, withal, the humble follower of Him whom he loved to call Master.

We will try briefly to illustrate these various aspects of his life.

1. *The Wise Counsellor.*—He had been this to Stephen Harding in the monastery at Citeaux, and to the brethren of high and low degree in his own monastery at Clairvaux. But the time arrived when he was called to higher responsibilities, and became the chosen adviser of Emperor and King and even Pope.

His first great opportunity came to him in 1130, when, after the death of Pope Honorius II., two rival Popes were set up—Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo, under the name of Innocent II., and Peter Leonis, Cardinal of St. Mary, grandson of a wealthy Jew who had become a Christian, under the name of Anacletus II. In less than three hours on the same day these two men were consecrated Popes in Rome, and for eight years they struggled for the supremacy. Anacletus, by the lavish use of his great wealth and the power his family had gained in Rome, soon got the upper hand in that city. He took possession of (the then) St. Peter's by force, and Innocent was forced to betake himself to France for safety. There the important question was, What would the King and Church of France do? Whose side would they take in the dispute? For on that decision the ultimate issue in a great measure depended. A council was summoned by Louis VI. at Etampes to consider the matter, which, writes the historian, "the man on whom the eyes of the Church had long been fixed was commanded to attend." Bernard obeyed the summons very reluctantly, but once there he took a leading part in the discussion, and so powerful was his advocacy that his counsel prevailed, and the assembly pronounced in favour of Pope Innocent.

Spain and Germany quickly followed the example set by France, and then Bernard took on himself the task of persuading Henry I. of England. The King happened to be at the time on the Continent, on territory that belonged to

England, and there Bernard sought him. And when the King seemed inclined to listen to the prelates about him, who urged him to support Anacletus because of his wealth, Bernard said, "Are you afraid that you may sin by giving your obedience to Innocent? Think how you may answer for your other sins, and let this sin rest on me." At last Henry yielded, and accompanied Bernard to Chartres, where he promised his support to Innocent.

We are not surprised to learn that Bernard after this gained an immense influence over the Pope, and became his most trusted companion, so that when he left France and returned to Italy Bernard accompanied him, and by his splendid eloquence and winning power persuaded the people everywhere to acknowledge Innocent as the rightful Pope. At length, when Anacletus died in 1138 and a successor was set up, Bernard so prevailed with him that he renounced his claim, stripped off his insignia, and, led by the saint, prostrated himself at the feet of Innocent and paid him homage.

This is but one instance of his great influence over men. We read that among the many great men who sought his advice was Theodore, Count of Blois, elder brother to Stephen, King of England, and that Pope Eugenius III. in his earlier life had been a learner at his feet in Clairvaux.

The schism being thus happily ended, Bernard returned to his monastery to take up again the work to which he had long before put his hand as the reformer of abuses in the Church. There was plenty of scope for such work, but he began, as we might expect, with the monasteries. These communities had arisen from the necessities of the times, and it is difficult to over-estimate the debt the Catholic Church as a whole owes to them. But as years went on evils had crept in. The inmates had grown wealthy, lazy, worldly, and not unfrequently dissolute. As far back as the eighth century St. Benedict had seen the downward tendency, and tried to arrest it; and Bernard, in whose day this laxity had reached its climax, plainly and fearlessly denounced it. In his "Apology," which he wrote in defence of the Cistercian Order, he points out some of the chief abuses which needed correcting. "Many of the monks," he says, "though young and vigorous, pretend sickness that they may be allowed to eat flesh. At meals no man asks his neighbour for heavenly food. There is no conversation concerning the Scriptures nor the salvation of souls, but small talk, laughter, and idle words fill the air. At dinner the palate and ears are equally tickled, the one with dainties, the other with gossip and news. They dress themselves in the costliest furs, in silk and in cloth fine enough for royal robes. The walls of their churches are adorned, while the poor are

left in nakedness." And he concludes a strong denunciation of the luxury and ornamentation, the pictures and gorgeousness of the fittings of their places of worship and cloisters, by the vehement appeal: "What has all this to do with monks, with professors of poverty, with men of spiritual minds? Good God! if we are not ashamed of these vanities, why are we not grieved at the cost of them?"

But it is not only monks and monasteries that come under the lash of his righteous indignation. Bishops and clergy, too, he rebukes with a like plainness of speech. Two quotations from his writings will suffice to show how great was the laxity which had crept into the Church and was destroying her influence in the world, and how earnestly and fearlessly he endeavoured to bring about a better state of things.

In his tract on the office and duty of bishops he says: "At the present time people look only at the splendour of dignities, and not at the responsibility which is attached to them. A man blushes to be only a simple minister in the Church of God, and believes himself to be of no account, to become dishonoured, if he is not raised to some eminent post, no matter what it is. Do we not see children who have just left school, and youths who have barely reached manhood, raised because of their noble blood to the dignities of the Church, and passing from under the government of the ferule to exercise the government over presbyters? In truth, it is more a matter of rejoicing to them to have no longer to fear the rod than to see themselves raised to places of dignity; and they congratulate themselves less on being able to rule others than that they are no longer obliged themselves to obey. But that is only the beginning. With time they conceive the wish to rise higher, and, learning from these two masters, ambition and avarice, they are not long before they know how to invade altars and to empty the purses of those below them." This may seem to some to be an exaggerated statement, but when we remember that so short a time back as 1033 a boy of twelve years of age had been made Pope under the name of Benedict IX., we can well believe that we have here the sober language of a reformer who was brought face to face with terrible facts.

In the same way he writes to Pope Innocent of the condition of the clergy: "The insolence of the clergy, occasioned by the negligence of the bishops, is everywhere the cause of trouble and disorder in the Church. The bishops give holy things to dogs and cast pearls before swine, and then these creatures turn upon them and trample them under their feet. That is the just punishment of prelates who grow fat upon the goods of the Church and never correct its disorders. These well

merit to be tormented by those whom they bear with showing a culpable insolence towards them. When the clergy are enriched from the labours of others and seek the richness of the earth without making the least return for it, they grow corrupt in the very bosom of plenty, so that in order to describe them we need only say with the prophet: 'They sat down to eat and to drink, and then rose up to play.'"

But while he thus sternly rebukes the faults, what a splendid ideal he sets up of the character and duties of the bishops and clergy. We have it from his own pen: "A right intention of the heart in a Christian bishop consists in two things: in seeking the glory of God and the benefit of his neighbour; so that a bishop should in all his words and actions seek nothing for himself, but only the honour of God or the salvation of his brethren, or both together. It is thus he will be able to fulfil the office of a pontiff, become, as it were, a kind of bridge (*pons*) of communication between God and man. For as a bridge he reaches even unto God by the faithfulness with which he seeks God's glory and not his own. On the other hand, he touches his neighbours by the pious devotion with which he seeks to do good to them rather than to himself. The faithful priest is he who regards with dovelike simplicity all the wealth which passes through his hands, whether it be the benefits bestowed by God upon men, or the offerings of men to God, and keeps back nothing for himself, for he seeks not the gifts of the people, but their good, nor his own glory, but the glory of God. He loses his soul in this world, in order that he may find it in the life which is eternal."

Before we leave this part of our subject, it is worthy of notice that, strong believer as he was in upholding the authority of the Pope as the only defence in those days against the encroachments of the secular power, yet he foresaw with prophetic vision its dangers, too. His writings are full of warnings to the Popes as he unhesitatingly points out the evils which excessive centralization must inevitably bring with it, the dangers in which Papal supremacy would land the Church if not carefully guarded against. In these warnings time and experience have indeed proved him to have been a true prophet.

But soon a new field of activity opened out before Bernard, and, obedient to the call of duty, he stood forth when the need arose as the champion of the faith. A spirit of scepticism had sprung up, orthodox belief was at a discount. The old truths were called in question. The faith once for all delivered to the saints was openly attacked by those within the Church.

Foremost among these was one Peter Abelard. He was

born in Brittany in 1079. His name was Peter Palatinus, but when, having chosen the life of a scholar, he renounced his succession to the paternal estate, he took the name of Peter Abelard. At first he was a student of philosophy, in which he soon excelled, but having made up his mind to take up the study of theology, he went to the school at Laon, which had long flourished under Anselm, a pupil of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. He did not, however, remain long there. Despising what he considered the old-fashioned teaching given there, and openly stating this contempt, he was challenged by his fellow-students, and in answer he proceeded to give a course of lectures on Ezekiel. He at once drew a large audience, and, returning to Paris, became very popular. By his immoral conduct, however, he was forced to retire into the monastery of St. Denys, but after a term, quitting the monastery, resumed his theological teaching, and soon had a very large following of disciples and admirers. His heresies were many, and had to do with the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divine attributes, the work of the Saviour, the operations of the Holy Ghost, the sinfulness of man, the inspiration and integrity of Holy Scripture, the Eucharistic Presence, the relation of faith, reason, and Church authority. In a word, there was hardly an article of the faith which did not come within the sphere of his dissecting-knife. Nothing was held sacred by him.

With this man Bernard was brought into open conflict at a Synod summoned at Sens in 1140 to deal with the matter. The King and a large number of ecclesiastics were assembled. Bernard had no desire to attend; indeed, he did his best to avoid the encounter, for he had already met his antagonist in a private interview, and reasoned with him. "Much against my will and with tears," he writes, "I yielded to the advice of my friends."

The scene must have been a remarkable one, as the two men, the representatives of speculative inquiry and of Evangelical truth, met face to face. "In a wooden pulpit," writes the historian, "stood Bernard, holding in his hands the book for which his opponent was impugned. He read passages marked for reproof, explanation, or condemnation, pointed out their discrepancy with received doctrines and the declarations of the Fathers. But he had not finished his case when, to the surprise of all present, Abelard rose up, refused to hear more, or answer questions, appealed to Rome, and left the assembly." In his absence he was condemned, and ordered to desist from public teaching, whereupon he withdrew to the Abbey of Cluny, where he died two years later, a penitent and humble monk.

A letter written by Bernard at that time to an abbot will best enable us to understand his standpoint in opposing Abelard. "It must needs be that offences come, so that those who are approved may be made manifest. If anyone is the Lord's servant, let him take the Lord's side, for His cause is now in question. The truth is attacked; the vestments of Christ are torn in pieces; the Sacraments of the Church divided. From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head the well-being of the Church is compromised, and the simple faith of believers ridiculed. Already Peter Abelard goes before Antichrist to prepare his ways, speaking differently from tradition with respect to matters of faith, of the Sacraments, and of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. He writes, teaches, and disputes, and his words tend to the subversion of the hearers. With Arius, he distinguishes degrees and inequalities in the Trinity; with Pelagius, he prefers free-will without grace; with Nestorius, he divides Christ by excluding His humanity from the fellowship of the Trinity. May the Lord look upon it, and judge if the mouth of that man who speaketh unrighteousness be not speedily closed."

It is interesting to know that in 1140, while denouncing Abelard for sceptical teaching and taking from the faith, he wrote his celebrated letter to the Canons of the Church of Lyons to defend the faith from the opposite danger of men adding new dogmas to what was already held by the Church.

A new festival, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, was held, and he wrote a letter in which he made a vigorous but temperate remonstrance against such an innovation. The letter is too long to give at length, but some extracts will be of interest.

"It is well known," he writes, "that among all the churches of France that of Lyons is first in importance, whether we regard the dignity of its see, its praiseworthy regulations, or its honourable zeal for learning. Wherefore I cannot but wonder that there should have been some among you at this time who wished to sully this splendid fame of your church by introducing a new festival, a rite of which the Church knows nothing, and which reason does not prove, nor ancient tradition hand down to us. Have we the pretension to be more learned or more devoted than the Fathers? It is a dangerous presumption to establish in such a matter what their prudence left unestablished, and the matter in question is of such a nature that it could not possibly have escaped the diligence of the Fathers if they had not thought that they ought not to occupy themselves with it. The mother of the Lord, you say, ought to be honoured. You say well; but the honour of a Queen loves justice. The royal Virgin does not

need false honour, since she is amply supplied with true titles of honour and badges of her dignity. Honour, indeed, the purity of her flesh, the sanctity of her life, wonder at her motherhood as a virgin, adore her Divine offspring. Extol the prodigy by which she brought into the world without pain the Son whom she had conceived without concupiscence. Magnify her as the medium by whom grace was displayed, the instrument of salvation, the restorer of the ages, and finally extol her as having been exalted above the choirs of angels to the celestial realms. These things the Church sings concerning her, and has taught me to repeat the same things in her praise, and what I have learned from the Church I both hold securely myself and teach to others. But this is not to honour the Virgin, but to detract from her honour. Wherefore, although it has been given to some, though few, of the sons of men to be born with the gift of sanctity, yet to none has it been given to be conceived with it, so that to One alone should be reserved this privilege, even to Him who should make all holy, and, coming into the world, He alone, without sin, should make atonement for sinners. The Lord Jesus, then, alone was conceived by the Holy Ghost, because He alone was holy before He was conceived. He being excepted, all the children of Adam are in the same case as he who confessed of himself with great humility and truth, 'I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother conceived me.' And as this is so, what ground can there be for the festival of the Conception of the Virgin?"

It is a strange commentary on this clear declaration of one who has been canonized by the Church that in December, 1854, the Pope of Rome pronounced the dogmatic decree of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and made that a dogma of the Roman Catholic faith which Bernard so sternly condemned.

Time does not suffice to dwell upon him as a preacher and writer. His sermons were the delight of the faithful in all ages, and were distinguished by their scriptural character. "They are," says Sixtus of Sienna, "at once so sweet and so ardent that it is as though his mouth were a fountain of honey and his breast a whole furnace of love."

We have a striking instance of the power of his preaching in the Second Crusade. Summoned by the Pope to preach a new Crusade in 1144, he at first hesitated. He was worn and exhausted by all he had gone through, and felt unequal to the undertaking. But regarding it as a call of duty, he threw himself into the work with all his accustomed fervour. Stirred up by his eloquence, Europe was aroused, and a vast army set out for the East, with the King of France and the Emperor of

Germany at its head. It ended in a great disaster and frightful destruction, but Bernard only saw in this feature the hand of God, and believed that the overthrow of the expedition was a just punishment from Heaven for the many and notorious sins of the Crusaders.

There are some who have blamed him for encouraging the Crusades, but surely he would have been a half-hearted Christian who could hear unmoved the cruelties to which the Christians in the Holy Land were subjected by their conquerors. Moreover, who can deny the beneficial results which came from these Crusades to Europe as a whole?

1. The nations of Europe became for the first time known to each other as bound together by a high cause.
2. All classes were brought into touch.
3. Religious enthusiasm was aroused, chivalry and Christianity acted and reacted on one another.
4. Christians were brought into contact with the civilization of the East, and learned to see good in those whom till then they had regarded as utterly bad.
5. Literature and science were benefited.
6. Navigation was improved, and the commerce of the East introduced.

His letters, sermons, and treatises tell of his power as a writer, while his hymns, translated from the original Latin, are well-known to us. We must, however, be careful to distinguish him from Bernard of Cluny, from whose pen we have "Jerusalem the golden," "Brief life is here our portion," "For thee, O dear, dear country," and "The world is very evil." The best-known hymns of St. Bernard of Clairvaux are, "Jesu, the very thought of Thee," "O Jesu, King most wonderful," "Jesu, the very thought is sweet," "O Jesu, Thou the beauty art," and "Jesu, Thy mercies are untold."

There remains little more to say of this great saint. He sought no honour, refused all dignities, and died, as for thirty-eight years he had lived, the Abbot of Clairvaux. Up to the last he did not spare himself, and the closing act of his life was a successful effort to reconcile the combatants in a fierce war which had sprung up between the town of Metz and the neighbouring barons. He rose from his sick-bed, was carried to the place in a litter, and, having accomplished his work of peacemaking, returned to the quiet of the abbey he loved so dearly, where he breathed his last on May 20, 1153.

A letter which he wrote to a friend only a few days before his death tells how, in perfect trust, he commended his spirit into the hands of a faithful Creator and most merciful Saviour.

"Pray ye to the Saviour who willeth not the death of a sinner that He would not delay my timely exit, but that still He would guard it. Fortify with your prayers a poor unworthy creature, that the enemy who lies in wait may find no place where he may fix his teeth and inflict a wound." He died as he had lived, a humble follower of the Master he had served so faithfully. His contemporaries called him the thirteenth Apostle, and ten years after his death he was canonized by the Church as a saint and doctor. I cannot better conclude than by quoting the words with which Luther, writing some 400 years later, sums up his life and character, and which are given by a modern writer of St. Bernard's life.

"Thus died Bernard, a man so godly, so holy, and so chaste that he is to be commended and preferred before all the Fathers. He, being grievously sick and having no hope of life, put not his trust in his single life, in which he had yet lived most chastely, nor yet in his good works or deeds of charity, of which he had done many; but removing them far out of his sight, and receiving the benefit of Christ by faith, he said, 'I have lived wickedly, but Thou, Lord Jesus, dost possess the Kingdom of Heaven by double right: first, because Thou art the Son of God; secondly, because Thou hast purchased it by Thy Death and Passion. The first Thou keepest for Thyself as Thy birthright; the second Thou givest to me, not by the right of my works, but by the right of grace.' He set not against the wrath of God his monastic state nor his angelical life, but he took of that one thing which was necessary, and so was saved."

C. J. RIDGEWAY.

ART. III.—PLAIN FACTS AND FAITHFUL TESTIMONIES IN SUPPORT OF CHURCH DEFENCE.

THE *history* of the National Church undoubtedly furnishes an abundance of plain facts in favour of her position and maintenance. Her *work*, too, has long been, and still is, such as should strongly commend her to the intelligent and honest support of every candid mind. Such support is a matter for the earnest consideration, or rather the favourable decision, not only of her own members, but of all who are capable of arriving at a sound and unprejudiced judgment with regard to her position, history, and work. We need not—indeed, her true defenders will not—sanction any abuse which may admit of a sufficient and reasonable remedy. Whatever the abuse may be—and some will point to one thing, some to another—if such objectors have reason on their side when they speak of

it as an "abuse," then we may hold that the Church would be all the stronger, and do her work, her great and invaluable work, all the more faithfully and efficiently, if that abuse were wiped out. Such a belief may possess all the strength of a deep-seated conviction. We may even strive earnestly to give it effect in some well-considered way which is not characterized by excess or defect at least as serious as that of the evil we wish to remove.

Some speak of *Church defence* in a way which leads others to think that the only idea they have of it is that of a defence of the Church's prestige; whereas our chief concern is that she should be allowed to retain her rightful means and opportunities, and to occupy her true position, for the sake of the work in which she has so long been faithfully engaged. Without those means and opportunities it is idle to suppose that she could do all she is now doing for the good of the people and the improvement of all classes of the community. No spiritual work in which a body of men are engaged can be carried on in this world without means at least adequate to what is done. And where such work is increasing instead of diminishing, where the workers are growing in faithfulness and zeal, where they are bringing increasingly all their powers to bear upon the work to which they have devoted themselves, and where thousands are receiving ever more and more benefit from their ministrations, where the Word of God and His holy Sacraments are faithfully proclaimed and administered, there at least no reasonable means and opportunities for doing such a work should be denied, much less unjustly taken away. The serious consequences which such an act would involve should receive careful and honest consideration. Where no better means can be devised of gaining their professed aim by the advocates of so-called "religious equality" than that of depriving the most successful body of Christian workers in the land of their rightful possessions and means of carrying on their work, it is only right that such advocates should be warned of the responsibility which they incur, and that we should be united in the defence of what they unjustly attack. We shall do well not to boast of anything "beyond our measure," but we must be prepared to resist and denounce all legislative proposals of a harassing and destructive character. The Church has survived many such attacks, and may have to meet and overcome many more, therefore we shall do well not to become indifferent to the plain facts of her past experience. Rather let her strive in fulfilling her great mission to become still more faithful, and fulfil it in the assured belief so nobly expressed by the Bishop of Manchester: "I believe that at this hour there is nothing in the world so inde-

structible as the Church of Christ. Empires may rise and fall, republics may prosper and fall into ruins, philosophies, sciences, social organizations may succeed each other in endless variety; but the Church of Christ will exist through them all and survive them all, giving them whatever of true strength they possess while they are passing across the stage of time, and using them all in turn to prepare her own ultimate triumph. You may rob the Church of Christ, and strip her as bare as she was when she came into the world; but weaken her or subdue her you cannot so long as the spirit of her heavenly Master dwells in her heart and inspires her life."

Equally wise in many respects, and deserving of quotation and consideration, are the words of one who was generally recognised as occupying a high position among Christian writers and workers, especially as it has so distinct and important a bearing on the subject before us. Dr. R. W. Dale, in his "Lectures on Preaching," says: "I am increasingly disposed to value the trite and the commonplace, especially in everything that relates to the practical ordering of life and the securing of the great ends of human existence. With Nathaniel Culverwell, I always reverence 'a gray-headed truth.' When a truth comes to me which has been reasserted year after year for centuries, it comes with the sanction and authority, not of an individual man, but of successive generations of men. Our time in this world is too short for experiments the issue of which is uncertain. In the great affairs of life we can afford to risk nothing. It is as if we were making our way across a mountainous and perilous country, through which we had never travelled before. We are bound to reach the distant hospice on the other side of the great pass before the darkness sets in. We cannot venture on doubtful and unknown paths. Here is the well-beaten track under our feet; let us keep to it. It may not be quite the shortest way; it may not take us through all the grandeur and sublimity which bolder pedestrians might see; we may miss a picturesque waterfall, a remarkable glacier, a charming view; but the track will bring us safe to our quarters for the night. Yes, I repeat that in all that affects the supreme objects of life I believe in the trite and commonplace; and anyhow, just as in directing a stranger among the hills we feel obliged to point out to him the regular path, even though we ourselves might venture now and then to get away from it; so in giving advice to others, we should be very cautious how we diverge from the conclusions which have been established by long experience and the general consent of wise men." Such a statement is both weighty and valuable. Let us "inwardly digest" it.

J. R. PALMER.

ART. IV.—THE SUNDAY REST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

IT is a significant fact that whilst in England there is a growing tendency to relax Sunday observances, and many are agitating for the opening of museums and places of amusement on the Lord's Day, in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and other parts of the Continent the public mind is waking up to the necessity and value of a weekly Sabbath. This is especially the case in France; and in a country where materialism and godlessness of every kind are so prevalent it is most satisfactory to find a movement in this direction steadily gaining ground. Not only have societies for the sanctification of the day been established by Roman Catholics and Protestants, which are doing good service, but a wider and more influential agency was started about nine years ago, the "Ligue populaire pour le repos du Dimanche en France." To this we would now invite particular attention. It took its rise at the Paris Exhibition in 1889, and was the practical outcome of the International Congress on the Sunday Question held in September of that year. Leading men of various nationalities and of very different schools of thought there met to discuss the subject, and the French delegates formed themselves into this League to carry out the resolutions then adopted. Seldom has such a heterogeneous assembly met in France. It was indeed a happy family. Statesmen, scientific professors, Socialists, Freethinkers, Roman Catholic priests, Protestant pastors, representatives of large mercantile and manufacturing societies, and others agreed for the nonce to lay aside their religious and political differences, and to combine in one vigorous effort to secure for all classes the advantages of a weekly rest. This, therefore, could not be a directly religious movement; nor does the League advocate the Christian and religious observance of the Lord's Day. The members so disposed can do this privately and through the special agencies for the purpose. At the same time, a common basis is here offered for the advancement of these higher objects, and the strength and effectiveness of the League lie in the combined action of the members so far as they are agreed. Their standard is far from being all that we or earnest French Christians would aim at; but in the present state of the country many rejoice to attain so much. The French are not quickly moved to action except under the sudden impulse of political excitement. They are to a great extent slaves of routine and creatures of habit. It is, therefore, the more surprising that so much has been accomplished by the League in so short a time. In 1896 it numbered 4,750 members, and

each year since has received fresh accessions. It has adherents, and has branches in at least seventeen towns, including the most populous and wealthy centres of trade and manufacture, such as Bordeaux, Marseilles, Lille, Lyons, etc. In all these local committees are seeking, through the press, the pulpit, the platform, and private canvassing, to enlighten and direct public opinion, and to persuade employers and employed to consider each other's welfare, and, as far as possible, secure for all the benefit of Sunday rest. The headquarters of the League are, of course, at Paris, where the central committee, under the distinguished presidency of M. Trarieux and M. Denys Cochin, is composed of men eminent in law, medicine, engineering, and literature, besides the Abbé Garnier, Pastor Mettatol, and others. In the selection of these the utmost care has been taken not to give the movement a clerical colouring, as that would be fatal to its acceptance with very many whose co-operation is especially important. Popular feeling on this point runs so high in France, and happily in England we have no counterpart to it.

Another peculiarity of the movement is that fête-days, religious and secular, must be linked with Sundays in this crusade. A manufactory, office, or shop which closes on Sundays must do so on those days as well if public convenience is to be met. The generality of Frenchmen do not recognise any distinction between them; this is in fact a serious obstacle to the reception of what we as English Christians regard as the special claims of the Lord's Day. The Church of Rome in her catechisms expounds the fourth (or, as she calls it, the third) commandment as applying to Church festivals as well as Sundays. Indeed, some of the former are more strictly kept than the latter. Practically to a great extent Church authority has overshadowed the Divine command. If this paramount Divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath were more distinctly insisted upon, it would be far easier to secure its proper observance. Some, however, of the French clergy have of late years begun to assign it its rightful pre-eminence. The Archbishop of Paris, for instance, when commenting on the notion so common amongst artisans that Sunday laws are an infringement upon their liberty, boldly declared that "the Sunday rest is the charter of freedom for the working classes."

The Abbé Garnier, too, has on many occasions proclaimed the distinctive authority of the Lord's Day. Thus, speaking of the losses which compliance with duty in this matter may involve, he observed that "Even if such results are inevitable, the objection ought never to be urged by a Christian conscience. A thief," he said, "will use the same language. Evil-doers do wrong for the sake of interest. It would be easy to show

that the profits of Sunday work, like those of thieving, are little worth. What is gained by wrong means never profits." The Abbé Lamaire, Deputy for the Nord, not long since said, at a meeting of Christian Democrats, that he claimed for working-men sixty hours of work weekly, and rest from Saturday afternoon to Monday morning. Other equally strong expressions of opinion might be quoted from other eminent French ecclesiastics. Still, such is not the view generally entertained, and this League has no doubt acted wisely in placing fête-days in the same category with the Sundays. It is essentially a popular movement, and its leaders have adopted a wide platform in order to combine opposing elements for a common cause.

It remains for us to briefly inquire what success has hitherto attended their efforts. A few interesting facts out of many may be mentioned. At Bordeaux, where one of the oldest and most prosperous branches is at work, more than half of the shops, and those the most important, now close on Sundays and fêtes. This, however, is felt to be insufficient to insure permanent improvement. The refusal of the rest to follow suit makes it more difficult for even the majority to close without serious loss. Accordingly, two syndicates of the masters and of the employés have made special appeals to their fellow-townsmen to fall in with the general desire for Sunday rest, and with good prospect of success. Similar steps are being taken at Marseilles and other large towns. At the General Assembly of the League at Paris, in 1897, it was stated that there was scarcely a town in France where those employed in business are not moving actively in the matter, and not uniting in the demand for Sunday rest and freedom. In many places of both town and country they had covered the walls with placards appealing to the public in these terms: "Be humane. Buy no longer on Sundays. You will give liberty to the employés." At Tours and Amiens they have sent on general holidays through the streets an advertising car, preceded by trumpeters, to awaken attention to the subject. Nor have these and the like measures been without effect. Not only have private employers in many cases consented to close their houses and shops, and their customers acquiesced in the arrangement, but Government officials, post-office authorities, and railway companies are seconding the movement. In Lille, the Manchester of France, an increasing number of houses of business, offices, shops, etc., now close partially or entirely on Sundays and fête-days. A reduction of the postal deliveries from five to three has also been there obtained, and the municipal council is now proposing to close the post-office after noon. Like measures of relief for the post-

office clerks and carriers have been granted in Paris and elsewhere. In this respect there seems to be a growing disposition to follow the example of London. Great efforts have also been made throughout France to arrange for the closing of the railways' goods-offices, at least of the *petite vitesse*, after 10 a.m., on Sundays and fêtes. Indeed, a general order to that effect was issued not long since by the Minister of Public Works, and although it is evaded by the clerks being kept at work inside, this evil it is hoped will ere long be remedied. In 1893 the largest shop in the world, the "Grand Magasins du Louvre" in Paris, sent out a circular letter to 10,000 of their customers, asking if it would be inconvenient to them should goods bought on Saturdays be delivered on Mondays instead of Sundays, and 9,780 negative answers were received, with expressions of approval of the new arrangement. It is, then, evident that this excellent movement is slowly but surely advancing. The public mind is being gradually educated on the subject, and probably before many years have passed this precious boon and rightful heritage of the sons and daughters of toil will be generally enjoyed. Still, so long as theatres, exhibitions, and places of amusement remain open on the Lord's Day, and excursion trains, trams, and omnibuses carry their hundreds of thousands of passengers on that day, the pleasure of the million must involve the slavery of many. A day of amusement must be more or less a time of grinding labour to a large number.

WILLIAM BURNET.

ART. V.—TESTIMONIES TO THE NATURE OF CHRIST.[1]

"Who is this?"—ST. MATT. xxi. 10.

ON the last occasion when I addressed you, I endeavoured to put before you some thoughts concerning the being and nature of the awful, omnipotent, and omnipresent Spirit, who is antecedent to all things, and in whom all things consist. To-day I wish to ask you whether there is anything theoretically improbable in the belief that this Almighty Power, the Eternal, has concentrated one aspect of Himself into a human intelligence for the instruction, inspiration, salvation, and elevation of those creatures, so marvellously capable of improvement, whom we find inhabiting this earth—the only one, of the million or more of globes which extend

[1] Preached before the University of Oxford, May 8, 1898.

through the starry heavens, of which we have the slightest knowledge. Its size is, of course, very small; it is surpassed to an inconceivable degree in size and splendour by the myriads of glorious suns which flame in the midnight sky, each attended, without doubt, through these terrific spaces by satellites as important and as invisible as our own little planet. But, at any rate, this is the only one of all the rest of which we have any knowledge whatever, except as to their chemical composition. There is not the smallest reason to suppose the conditions of our earth to be rigidly true of all other bodies. There is one Divine Spirit in whom the whole are poised; and He works out His Divine providence according to the varying circumstances of each. As far as we know, there is no more communication between any of the stellar units than there is between the members of our own little system; each is as isolated as ourselves. The Divine Power alone is present at every point. To Him nothing is small, nothing great. In His Divine purpose of surrounding Himself with conscious beings capable of happiness, and made after the likeness of His own mind, there is nothing unreasonable in believing that He could as easily reveal Himself in a human character as that He could roll together the materials for a new constellation.

There is, indeed, an antecedent probability that there would be such a revelation. Just as we ourselves may become partakers of the Divine nature through faith, so we claim that every good gift, every spark of truth, which has shone through human nature, comes down from the Divine Spirit, the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. Abraham, Moses, David, the Psalmists, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the other Prophets, all had inspiration from the Eternal tending towards the establishment of truth; and in a less degree we cannot deny some similar draughts of everlastingness to Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster; to the Greek philosophers, especially to Socrates and Plato; to Cicero, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, and the like. The Hebrew sacred writers had a gift of insight into the nature of God, and of foresight as to a coming personal revelation, which for ever distinguishes them from all other religious and moral teachers, and places their works on a plane entirely by themselves; but the beaming forth of eternal truth through human intelligence, wherever it may be that truth is found, is a fact which cannot be denied. There is therefore an antecedent likelihood that on one rare and unique occasion, in one solitary combination of circumstances, in one supreme, unparalleled and unapproachable human being, the whole glory of God, the full presence of His Divine Word or Reason,

would be revealed in a human being capable of bearing so tremendous a weight. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; and we behold His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father." "Who, being the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His Person, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, being made so much better than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they."

Such an admission was made by the late John Stuart Mill, who from his birth had received an almost irretrievable bias against faith:

"On the hypothesis of a God, Who made the world, and in making it had regard, however that regard may have been limited by other considerations, to the happiness of His sentient creatures, there is no antecedent improbability in the supposition that His concern for their good would continue, and that He might once or oftener give proof of it by communicating to them some knowledge of Himself beyond what they were able to make out by their own unassisted faculties, and some knowledge or precepts useful for guiding them through the difficulties of life."[1]

And Conder, in his "Basis of Faith":

"It is inconceivable that the Parent Mind, if loving men as His offspring and desiring their welfare, should withhold from them that knowledge which must be the noblest, the most desirable, and the most useful—the knowledge of Himself."[2]

Such was the yearning aspiration of the best of the ancients:

"We will wait," says Plato, "for One, be it a God or a God-inspired man, to teach us our religious duties, and to take away the darkness from our eyes." "Oh, if one only might have a guide to truth!" sighs Seneca.

We believe, for a combination of reasons which appear to us to be overwhelming in their force, that this Divine guide has come; that the true Light has shone in the darkness, even though the darkness comprehended Him not; that He came unto His own, even though His own received Him not. It has been true in a ratio increasing every generation, every year, every day, that as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name. It is therefore exactly what we should expect, when we find that the Being whom we have been led to worship as the revelation of God to man has received on all

[1] "Three Essays on Religion," p. 215. [2] "Basis of Faith," p. 295.

sides the profound homage of many who have been unable either from their training to take home His message, or from their imperfect self-control to follow His practice.

There appears to be reason in the tribute of Jean Jacques Rousseau:

"Can a book, at once so sublime and so simple, be the work of men? Can the Person, whose history it relates, be himself but a mere man? Does it contain the language of an enthusiast or an ambitious sectary? What sweetness, what purity in his manners! What affecting goodness in his instructions! What sublimity in his maxims! What profound wisdom in his discourses! What presence of mind! What ingenuity and what justness in his replies! . . . Whence could Jesus have derived among his countrymen this elevated and pure morality, of which he alone has given the precept and example? From the bosom of the most furious bigotry, the most exalted wisdom is heard, and the simplicity of the most heroic virtues honours the vilest of the people. . . . Yes, if the life and death of Socrates are those of a philosopher, the life and death of Jesus Christ are those of a God. Should we suppose the Gospel was a story, invented to please? It is not in this manner that we forge tales, for the actions of Socrates, of which no person has the least doubt, are less satisfactorily attested than those of Jesus Christ. Such a supposition, in fact, only shifts the difficulty without removing it: it is more inconceivable that a number of persons should agree to write such a history, than that one only should furnish the subject of it."[1]

Lessing speaks in the same tone:

"And so Christ was the first certain practical Teacher of the immortality of the soul. . . . Certain, through the prophecies which were fulfilled in Him; certain, through the miracles which He achieved; certain, through His own revival after a death through which He had sealed His doctrine. . . . To enforce an inward purity of heart in reference to another life was reserved for Him alone. . . . For seventeen hundred years past [the New Testament Scriptures] have exercised human reason more than all other books, and enlightened it more, were it only through the light which the human reason itself threw into them."[2]

I would ask you to listen to Fichte:

"It remains certain that we, with our whole age and with all our philosophical inquiries, are established on, and have proceeded from, Christianity; that this Christianity has

[1] "Emilius and Sophia," vol. iii., Bk. IV., pp. 136-139. English trans., 1767.

[2] "Education of the Human Race," pp. 49, 51, 54. English trans.

entered into our whole culture in the most varied forms; and that, on the whole, we might have been nothing of all that we are, had not this mighty principle gone before us in Time."

"Even to the end of Time all wise and intelligent men must bow themselves reverently before this Jesus of Nazareth; and the more wise, intelligent, and noble they themselves are, the more humbly will they recognise the exceeding nobleness of this great and glorious manifestation of the Divine Life."[1]

Richter speaks of our Lord as—

"The holiest among the mighty, and the mightiest among the holy, who has lifted up with His pierced hand empires off their hinges, has turned the stream of centuries out of its channel, and still governs the ages."[2]

It is Goethe who says:

"I esteem the Gospels to be thoroughly genuine, for there shines forth from them the reflected splendour of a sublimity proceeding from the person of Jesus Christ, and of as Divine a kind as was ever manifested upon earth."[3]

"No criticism will be able to perplex the confidence which we have entertained of a writing whose contents have stirred up and given life to our vital energy by its own."[4]

"Let mental culture go on advancing, let the natural sciences progress in ever greater extent and depth, and the human mind widen itself as much as it desires—beyond the elevation and moral culture of Christianity, as it shines forth in the Gospels, it will not go."[5]

Theodore Parker seems constrained in the following passage to admit more than is justified by his position as a Unitarian:

"[Christ] unites in himself the sublimest precepts and divinest practices, thus more than realizing the dream of prophets and sages; rises free from all prejudice of his age, nation, or sect . . . and pours out a doctrine beautiful as the light, sublime as heaven, and true as God." "Try him as we try other teachers. They deliver their word, find a few waiting for the consolation, who accept the new tidings, follow the new method, and soon go beyond their teacher, though less mighty minds than he. . . . Though humble men, we see what Socrates never saw. But eighteen centuries have passed since the Sun of humanity rose so high in Jesus; what man, what sect, what Church, has mastered his thought, comprehended his method, and so fully applied it to life?" And again: "Measure his religious doctrine by that of the time

[1] "Doctrine of Religion," Lect. VI., p. 473. Smith's edition, 1873.
[2] Works, xxxiii., 6, p. 194.
[3] "Conversations with Eckerman," p. 567.
[4] Autobiography, Bk. XII.
[5] "Conversations with Eckerman," p. 568.

and place he lived in, or that of any time and place! Yes, by the doctrine of eternal truth. Consider what a work his words and deeds have wrought in the world. . . . Remember that the greatest minds have seen no farther, and added nothing to the doctrine of religion; that the richest hearts have felt no deeper, and added nothing to the sentiment of religion, have set no loftier aim, no truer method, than his of PERFECT LOVE TO GOD AND MAN. Shall we be told, "Such a man never lived—the whole story is a lie"? Suppose that Plato and Newton never lived, that their story is a lie. But who did their works, and thought their thought? It takes a Newton to forge a Newton. What man could have fabricated a Jesus? None but a Jesus."[1]

It is interesting to remember that it was not a theologian, but Napoleon Bonaparte, who said:

"The Bible contains a complete series of facts and of historical men to explain time and eternity such as no other religion has to offer. Everything in it is grand and worthy of God. Book unique! Who but God could produce that idea of perfection equally exclusive and original?

"The Bible is more than a book; it is a living being, with an action, a power which invades everything that opposes its extension. Behold it is upon this table, this book surpassing all others! I never omit to read it, and every day with new pleasure.

"Everything in Christ astonishes me. His spirit overawes me, and His will confounds me. Between Him and whoever else in the world there is no possible term of comparison; He is truly a being by Himself. His ideas and His sentiments, the truth which He announces, His manner of convincing, are not explained either by human organization or by the nature of things.

"Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, and myself founded empires. But on what did we rest the creations of our genius? Upon force. Jesus Christ alone founded His empire upon love; and at this hour millions of men would die for Him.

"Truth should embrace the universe. Such is Christianity —the only religion which destroys sectional prejudices; the only one which proclaims the unity and the absolute brotherhood of the whole human family; the only one which is purely spiritual; in fine, the only one which assigns to all, without distinction, for a true country, the bosom of the Creator, God."[2]

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[1] "Discourses on Religion," pp. 294, 302, 303, 362, 363.

[2] "The First Napoleon's Testimony to Jesus Christ," R.T.S., Every Week Series, 952.

Still more striking is the deliberate opinion of John Stuart Mill, which, if our premise be admitted, is an admirable illustration of its truth and actuality:

"Whatever else may be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left: a unique figure, not more unlike all his precursors than all his followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal teaching. It is of no use to say that Christ as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of his followers. . . . But who among his disciples or among their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of Galilee . . . still less the early Christian writers. . . . But about the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality, combined with profundity of insight, which . . . must place the Prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this pre-eminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer and martyr to that mission who ever existed upon earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching on this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity; nor even now would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete, than to endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life."[1]

Even Strauss, with all his qualifications so untrue to history, is compelled to declare that our Lord, by embodying the ideal of humanity in His own Person, had given that ideal the most living warmth, while the society that proceeded from Him has secured for it the widest reception amongst mankind.

Carlyle speaks of "the most important event ever transacted in this world—the life and death of the Divine Man in Judæa, at once the symptom and cause of immeasurable change to all people in the world."[2]

And the language of Renan is hardly consistent with the view which he has chosen to adopt, of an entirely human Christ. It seems almost impossible for any conscientious writer to describe the Light of the World in terms far short of the transcendent truth:

"Jesus is in every respect unique, and nothing can be compared with him." "This Christ of the Gospels is the

[1] "Three Essays on Religion," pp. 253-255.
[2] "Heroes and Hero-Worship," Lect. II.

most beauteous incarnation of God, in the fairest of forms, viz., moral man—truly the son of God and the son of Man—God in man." "For long ages yet he is king. What do I say? His beauty is eternal, his reign shall have no end. . . . So long as one noble heart shall yearn after moral beauty, whilst one lofty soul shall be seized with joyful ecstasy before the realization of the Divine, Christ will have worshippers by reason of the part of his being which is truly eternal."[1]

"Be the unlooked-for phenomena of the future what they may, Jesus will not be surpassed. His worship will renew its youth without end, his story will draw forth ceaseless tears, his sufferings will melt the best hearts, all the ages will proclaim that among the sons of men there has not been born one greater than Jesus."[2] "The day when he pronounced these words, he was truly the Son of God. . . . He founded the pure worship, belonging to no special period or country, which in truth all lofty souls shall practise to the end of time."[3] "Noble Initiator, repose now in thy glory! Thy work is finished, thy divinity is established. . . . A thousand times more living, a thousand times more loved, since thy death, than during the days of thy course here below, thou shalt become the corner-stone of humanity, inasmuch as to tear thy name from this world would be to shake it to its very foundations. No more shall men distinguish between thee and God."[4]

Far more consistent with the facts is the delineation of our Lord which is given by Professor Seeley in "Ecce Homo." When asking the question what it was that made men so thankfully worship Christ in all the full claims of the Divine royalty which He maintained, that devout and thoughtful writer says that it was largely His temperance in the use of the supernatural power which they knew Him to possess, that power which touched the hearts of men, and always will touch them. It is a moral miracle superinduced upon a physical. This repose in greatness makes Him surely the most sublime image ever offered to the human imagination. It was this which (as the manifestation of His Divine being) gave Him His immense and immediate ascendency over men. It was partly for His miracles that Christ was worshipped, partly for the great beauty of His teaching, partly for His winning personal character, partly for the persecutions which He endured with such Divine magnanimity, partly for His death for our sakes. Even the resurrection itself, had it stood alone, apart from these other indications of Deity, would not have

[1] "Études d'Hist. Rel.," pp. 175, 213, 214.
[2] "Life of Jesus," chap. 28. [3] *Ibid.*, chap. 14. [4] *Ibid.*, chap. 25.

impressed men in the same degree. It was all these things in part, but none of them separately. It was the inimitable whole, the unexampled unity, which these characteristics made when they were taken together. In other words, it was for this: that He, whose power and greatness, as shown in His miracles, were overwhelming, denied Himself the use of that power, treated it as a slight thing, walked among men as though He were one of them, relieved them in distress, taught them to love each other, bore with undisturbed patience a perpetual hailstorm of calumny; and, when His enemies grew fiercer, continued still to endure their attacks in silence, until, petrified and bewildered with astonishment, men saw Him arrested and put to death with torture, refusing steadfastly to use in His own behalf the power which He held for the benefit of others. It was the combination of this Divine greatness, and this self-sacrifice for the sake of the whole world, which won their hearts; the mighty powers held under a mighty control for one great object, the unspeakable condescension, the Cross of Christ. Our Lord Himself, knowing all things, knew this. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." He would not force men, He would not astonish them merely, He would not confound them; He would attract them. St. Matthew uses Isaiah's words about Him: "He shall not strive, nor cry; neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets." He would win men to love Him. He laid all who knew Him under an obligation which knew no bounds or description. He convinced them that He was a person of a greatness altogether beyond understanding, One who needed nothing at their hands, One whom it was impossible to benefit by conferring on Him riches, or fame, or dominion; and that, being so great, He had devoted Himself of utter loving-kindness and pity to their benefit and salvation. He showed them that for their sakes He lived a hard and laborious life, and exposed Himself to the utmost malice of powerful men. They saw Him hungry, though they believed Him able to turn the stones into bread. They saw His royal claims spurned, though they believed that He could in a moment take into His hand all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; they saw His life in danger, though they believed that, had He willed it, He could have been defended by all the angels of heaven; they saw Him, at last, expire in shame and agonies, though they believed that, had it been His pleasure, the raging priests and Pharisees would have been like the waves and the wind when He stilled them, and that, had He thrown Himself down from the topmost pinnacle of the Temple, He would have been as safe as when He walked on the sea. Witnessing His sufferings, and convinced by the miracles

which they saw Him work that they were endured of His own free will, men's hearts were touched. They believed that He was indeed the Messiah, the Saviour of mankind. They remembered the words of John the Baptist: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." Pity for weakness blending strangely with wondering admiration of unlimited power, an agitation of gratitude, sympathy, astonishment, and belief, such as nothing else could ever excite, sprang up in them; and when, turning from His deeds to His words, they found that this very denial of self which had guided His own life, set forth the principle which should guide theirs, then their gratitude broke forth in joyful obedience; self-denial produced self-denial; and the Law and the Lawgiver together were enshrined in their inmost hearts.

Such is a summary or paraphrase of the argument from "Ecce Homo." It is plain that the writer does not attribute sufficient weight to the fact of the resurrection, which became the foundation-stone of the preaching of all the Apostles; but there is much that is strikingly true and beautiful in his presentation of the character of our Lord, and of its effect on those who saw His glory. Thus we are led on from writer to writer, from homage less full to that which is more complete, from tribute somewhat reluctant to tribute unrestricted and devout, until we reach our own standpoint, that which is alike our inalienable right, our highest privilege, and our most imperative duty, the humble acceptance of the Christ presented to us in Gospels and Epistles—God manifest in the flesh. You remember how Mill asked, and could obtain no satisfactory answer from his point of view, who it was that suggested to the Evangelist the more Divine features of Jesus, or those which have led the kingdom of Christ to take Him for Divine. According to Mill himself, it is the Eternal incarnate, more than the Eternal as known to the Jews, or the Eternal as displayed in Nature, who, being idealized, has taken so great and salutary a hold on the mind of men. We know, of course, that the Eternal as known to the Jews, and the Eternal in Nature, and the Eternal incarnate, are all one and the same Divine Being. But if the Evangelists could not have invented, as he grants they could not, the human Christ, how much less could they have idealized Him into God?

"A history which has led the vast majority of readers in all ages to feel that it was more than human is confessedly beyond human construction. Christian theology itself is baffled when it tries to state in propositions the two natures of Christ and the relation between them. The decrees of councils and the terms of creeds are useful and important, but it will save us much incomplete religion if we remember that they rather exclude

error than grasp the full truth. But here, admittedly, in the narratives of the Evangelists, the impossible is achieved. The living Christ walks forth, and men bow before Him. Heaven and earth unite all through this simplest of all portraiture; power with gentleness, solitary and unapproachable greatness with familiar intimacy, ineffable purity with forgiving pity, unshaken will with unfathomable sorrow. There is no effort in these writers, but the character rises touch by touch, incident by incident, saying by saying, till it is complete and incomparable. It is thus not only truer than fiction and abstraction, but truer than all other history, carrying through utterly unimaginable scenes the stamp of simplicity and sincerity, creating what was to live for ever, but only as it had lived already, and reflecting a glory that had come so near, and been beheld so intently, that the record of it was not only full of grace, but of truth."[1]

We see Him delineated by the different minds of the four Evangelists, by St. Paul, by the writers of the various Epistles; each has touches of his own, but through all shines the same person and life. Never is Christ panegyrized, or the attention called to His merits as in the case of earthly stories: He is simply portrayed as faultless, and we are left to draw our own inferences. We see Him fulfilling in the most natural and direct manner the visions and predictions of the long roll of ancient seers, themselves the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of literature. We see Him coming at a time when all the world was looking for a deliverer, when Plato for the Greeks, and Virgil for the Romans, had been themselves unconsciously prophesying. We see Him confirming the apprehension of men's minds of the poisonous nature of sin, by sacrificing Himself as the propitiation for all rebellion against the moral law. We see Him revealing the wholesome and necessary indignation as well as the love of God. We see Him solitary, walking in darkest shadows; we hear again and again His cry, His groan, the utterance of the deep woe that oppresses His soul; we see His heart filled with human degradations not His own, yet meeting everything with meekness and love; we know that He has bent His head to the stroke of righteousness, and felt that to avert it from His human brothers is the greatest and most Divine of His offices. To read any meaning apart from this into the life of our Lord is altogether uncritical and unhistoric. It is as the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world that He forms the central and predominant figure of the whole literature of revelation.

[1] See Principal Cairns, "Christ the Central Evidence of Christianity," R.T.S., "Present Day Tracts," vol. i.

Thus, the perfect moral example, embracing in its range the whole of the hopes and fears and sorrows of mankind, revealing the will of God, bridging over the separation between God and man, showing man at once how low he has fallen, and yet calming all his fears and giving him complete reassurance about the awful mysteries of the impending future, has an attractive power which nothing can ever diminish. It is a law of human nature that those who act on us with the greatest and most lasting effect are not those in lower moral condition than our own, nor those on our own level, whose ways we know and understand, but the highest and best of our kind. The nobler the character, the more permanent its impression. There is nothing more lovely or beautiful than the character of the Lord Jesus Christ—nothing more thrilling than the assurance that this character is Divine, throned on the right hand of God, ever living to help us to come nearer to God—nothing more touching than the belief that the sorrows He bore in His humiliation were for the forgiveness and reconciliation of the human family. From the time of His ascension to this very hour, the Lord Jesus Christ has looked down with indescribable tenderness on all the outcasts, the sinners, the miserable, the satiated, the dejected, the despondent, the despairing, and has ever stretched out His Divine arms to the suffering crowd; every hour He has been reaching to their level, and making them understand His living power and His message, and has lifted them up from their woes and struggles with those words of calm, unassailable certainty and infinite pity which no other son of man could ever say: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Thus we come unto Christ. We are indeed weary and heavy laden. The times are out of joint, and evils are multiplied all round about us to a degree that is without precedent or parallel. The sceptic laughs at our belief, and cries out at us that we ought to be content with nothing less than knowledge. But Christ is enough for us. We let the world rave and rage; we allow ourselves to be surrounded by its schemes, its pleasures, its journals, its advertisements, its literature. Christ is all the time the real power, the true secret of strength and health and civilization. He is with us; we have His grace; we are glad with His power. Noise and tumult may be about us; doubts and difficulties may make sad the timid, the faint-hearted, the misunderstanding; but we have found rest unto our souls. The oftener we turn to those outstretched arms and that tender voice, the deeper and truer our peace; and the Word of the Lord, which has so often been true, is true once more to-day, and will be true with even greater

truth hereafter: "I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you."

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

ART. VI.—SOME THOUGHTS FROM "THE LIFE OF DEAN BUTLER."

WE have no intention of examining this work in detail. All we purpose doing is to state a few reflections which a careful study of its contents has suggested to us. In many respects the book is exceedingly interesting; we think it may also prove to be instructive, for it seems to give a rather remarkable insight into certain effects of the Oxford or Tractarian Movement, effects which are very visible and palpable to-day. It helps us to trace the development of those effects: it bridges over for us, if we may use the expression, the interval between the position of the first leaders of the movement and that of the extreme High Churchmen at the present time. By its assistance we get a clearer insight into the reasons for the remarkable influence of the movement in some directions, and for its even greater want of influence in others.

The compiler of the Life has been very candid. The story is a plain tale, and plainly told. We can even imagine some of Dean Butler's friends wishing there had been exercised a more judicious reticence. To take a single instance. In a letter written from Bayeux in August, 1885, we read:

"I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of the curé of S. Ouen. . . . He is a most agreeable and intelligent man, one of the few who really understand and enter into the Anglican position. 'Il n'y a qu'un cheveu entre nous.' And when we parted, he loaded us with photographs" (p. 336).

We have given the whole of the letter as printed in the Life. Such words from the Dean of an English Cathedral are certainly startling. It is just possible they may be more suggestive than their writer ever intended them to be. But we cannot help asking ourselves, What was Butler's conception of "the Anglican position"?

Butler was ordained as curate to Charles Dyson, an intimate friend of Keble, Manning, and Henry Wilberforce. He came at once under the influence of these men, and especially under that of Keble. From the position he then accepted he never afterwards swerved. Possibly the strangest feature in the Life is the apparent absence of any *intellectual* development. Of any books that he read, other than a few Catholic devotional works, or of any study into which he entered, there is singularly

little mention. That Butler was capable of intellectual development we feel sure. Before he left Cambridge, though he only took an ordinary degree, he had at least laid the foundations upon which such a development might have been built. His knowledge at the time of his ordination must, indeed, have been far above the average; but of his studies in later life, as we have already said, we hear remarkably little. This is no doubt one key to a note of "narrowness," which, we cannot help feeling, pervades the book. It is surely unnecessary to speak of the advantages of strenuous study in combination with even the hardest and most exacting parochial work, and that for the sake of one's people as well as for one's self. We do not attribute any blame in this matter to the school to which Butler belonged, and most certainly not to its earlier leaders. If their intellectual sympathies were generally narrow, the "scholarship" of many of them was of no mean order.

The real strength of the school has, we believe, lain in its devotion. Were we asked to name one chief reason of its influence, we should point to the devoted lives lived by so many of its members. And this was eminently true of Butler. However much we may dissent from the particular directions in which it was manifested and expended, we cannot but admire its intense thoroughness, its deep reality.

> Si vis me flere, dolendum est
> Primum ipsi tibi.

We are sometimes told that the most popular form of clerical devotedness to-day is witnessed in the creation and maintenance of an elaborate parochial organization; in other words, of a multifarious and complex machinery, the clergyman himself becoming very largely "the power" (we use the technical term) by which the various parts are kept in motion. From Monday morning till Saturday night he is devising schemes, seeking workers, collecting subscriptions, "taking" services, and attending meetings. Though Butler's own parochial organization at Wantage was wonderfully complete, he saw the danger lying beneath the ideal so popular at the present time, and he spoke strongly against "a fussy beating up of recruits and subscriptions, writing reports, and rushing from meeting to meeting." Butler's own devotedness, so we gather from his life, manifested itself chiefly in two directions: (1) In a constant and intense effort to maintain and diffuse in the English Church what he conceived to be "Catholic" truth and practice; (2) in unwearying energy, ever being expended in bringing individuals under their influence. In the accomplishment of this purpose he does not seem to have laid much stress upon preaching; at any rate, compared with the atten-

tion drawn to it in many other ecclesiastical biographies, the importance or power of preaching receives but little notice in Butler's Life. On the other hand, the greatest stress is again and again laid upon the value of "confession."

Of the various chapters in the book, perhaps the most interesting is that contributed by the Rev. F. S. S. Coles, the present head of the Pusey House. It is in this chapter that we find the clearest evidence of Butler's influence forming a connecting link between the earlier phases of the Oxford Movement and the present teaching of those who hold the "Anglican position." It is into this same chapter that the subject of confession most fully enters. The following extracts will suffice to explain Dean Butler's practice and Mr. Coles' views.

". . . The pauses between the departure of one penitent and the entrance of another, when he was hearing confessions, were . . . utilized . . . " (p. 179).

"Every priest who has found himself responsible for a genuine parochial charge, after having formed his convictions on the principles of the Anglo-Catholic Revival, has been compelled to consider what place the doctrine and practice of confession ought to hold in his work. To such a man the value of it will probably be, as it was to the Vicar of Wantage, a matter of happy experience, and the desire to offer to others what has been a great blessing to himself must be very strong" (p. 181).

". . . To hold back a means of grace from his flock, and to relieve his own responsibility by a profitless and harmful defiance of popular opinion, were alike alien to the Vicar's mind" (p. 182).

"He abstained from speaking of confession in his Sunday sermons, or hearing confessions in church. Those most closely connected with his work, Sisters and clergy, he drew to his own practice, and upheld them in it" (p. 182).

". . . When he did use it, his mode of ministration was most thorough and definite. . . ." (p. 182).

". . . He felt that the really pastoral relation, which, as distinct from the forgiveness of deadly sin, is one of the chief advantages of systematic confession. . . ." (p. 183).

"Something has been already said about his views as to confession. Roughly, they came to this: that it was desirable for all who could believe in it, almost indispensable for the perfection of the clerical and the religious life, so desirable for some who had fallen deeply, as to make it necessary to be bold in propounding it. It was only his intensely practical habit of mind which hindered the Vicar from pressing it where he knew it was impossible to carry it, and where he trusted that

the fact of such impossibility pointed to the guidance of the Divine will" (p. 192).

The only comment we would make here upon these extracts is to draw attention to the final words of the last. We fear the phrase "a practical habit of mind" may suggest another description of such a mental state; and we most fully endorse the "trusting," etc. We should go much further, and speak of our "conviction" as to the guidance of the Divine will making anything like a universal use of the practice of private confession impossible.

Another subject dealt with at some length in the same chapter is that of Butler's views upon the "Real Presence."

In the first extract we give, Mr. Coles links this subject with the preceding as follows:

"The two things for the sake of which High Churchmen have been forced to sacrifice opportunities of reaching their fellow-countrymen are the claim of an integral place in the pastoral system for voluntary confession, and the belief in the reality of the inward part of the Holy Sacrament apart from reception. On both these points it was the advantage as regards success, the weakness as regards consistency, of Bishop Wilberforce to be, perhaps, at the verge of it, but still undoubtedly on the popular side . . ." (p. 192).

After contrasting the views of the Vicar of Wantage with his Bishop on confession, Mr. Coles proceeds:

"Far more did his [the Bishop's] position fall short of that to which the Vicar's deliberate conviction had led him on the matter of the Real Presence. The Bishop was, no doubt, in this matter a genuine follower of . . . Hooker's teaching in the fifth book of his 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' Hooker's method was . . . to consider what is the true purpose of the Sacrament, and then to inquire what manner of Presence is necessary to that end. This method would commend itself to a mind like that of the great organizing prelate, who may be pardoned if in so busy and hard pressed a life he sacrificed something of the abstract completeness of truth to the concrete necessities of his flock. But it was a sacrifice which, in this matter, at any rate, the Vicar could never have endured, because the complete truth of the Real Presence had made good an appeal to the needs and instincts of his own heart, and he had been led to see its astonishing power for good in the spiritual life of foreign Churches, and especially of their religious communities. I think it was about the year 1867 that he made a study during his holiday of some of the Jesuit houses in France. . . . He had done the thing thoroughly like everything else. He had gone prepared for controversy, humbly secure that he was doing God's work at home, and that it

was impossible that he could be called to sever his connection with those whom God had taught with and through him, but at the same time with an open mind, *ready to learn all that the sight of principles just reviving at home, but here in France habitually accepted, could teach him"* (p. 194). (The italics are our own.)

We wish to draw particular attention to the words which immediately follow. Mr. Coles proceeds:

"Thus, when his hosts, stimulated to their most eager and demonstrative efforts by the value of one who seemed a possible convert of the first rank, pressed him with *a priori* arguments for the Papal monarchy, he felt an almost amused pleasure in reminding them that the English were never logical, and, strong in his conviction that their theoretical structures would not bear the test of historical fact, bade them grateful farewell, while they stretched after him eager hands, and kept repeating, 'Soyez conséquent, monsieur'" (p. 194).

Here follow some letters written by Butler to his wife during the above-mentioned tour. After these, Mr. Coles continues:

". . . All the while he felt a power among these disappointed Fathers, to the attraction of which his conscience offered no opposition. He saw no reason why he should join them in making the Pope the centre of their system, but he felt that principles he had long accepted would justify him in seeking to imitate the devotion which made the Blessed Sacrament the centre of their life. On his return to England, this thought, if I am not mistaken, was very prominent in his mind and conversation. He did not hesitate to regret the law of the English Church which made reservation impossible, except by what seemed to him a sophistical disobedience. It was, however, at this time that he taught the Sisters to value a pause of some minutes after the Consecration and before Communion, during which special adoration might be offered to our Lord present in His glorified humanity under the sacramental veils" (p. 202).

As we read the above, we would ask, Are we not justified in concluding that there must have been something more than even *similarity* between Dean Butler's views and those of the Jesuit Fathers upon the doctrine of the Real Presence? The conclusion is, no doubt, a startling one, but do the words "Soyez conséquent, monsieur" (which, we presume, refer to the Papal supremacy), point to any other possible interpretation than the following: "You accept so much of our teaching that you must, if logical, accept this also, and become one with us"?

That Mr. Coles is himself in sympathy with Butler's views we conclude from the following sentences:

"[Butler] regretted the introduction of the mid-day choral Eucharist. To him, as to Mr. Bennett, of Frome, it seemed fitting that the Divine Mysteries should not be exposed to the possible irreverence and almost certain unpreparedness of an eleven o'clock congregation. . . . It may be questioned whether the missionary power of the mid-day High Service, the experience of which is, perhaps, the best argument in its favour, ever came under the notice of the Vicar" (p. 206).

"It occurred to my mind during a retreat for the Sisters that, as the number of those who are departed increases, it would be well to commemorate them at one Eucharist during the retreat . . . he [Butler] wrote back very warmly, thanking me for consulting him, agreeing with the appropriate opportunity for such a commemoration, saying that he had intended to have provided for the inscription of the names of the departed on diptychs. Thus my last communication with him referred to that interchange of good offices between the living and departed which satisfies one of our holiest instincts" (pp. 221, 222).

Had space permitted, we should have liked to draw attention at length to the chapter which describes the origin and development of the celebrated Wantage Sisterhood, the institution to which Butler's best energies were devoted for many years, in which he took the deepest interest to the very last, and which will always be regarded as the work most inseparably connected with his name. We must, however, content ourselves with noticing the following points in connection with it:

(1) Butler's original idea in the institution of the Sisterhood, that it should be educational—a means of training teachers for work in the elementary schools (an altogether admirable intention)—was overruled chiefly, it appears, through the influence of Manning, who had not then seceded from the English Church.

(2) The "direction" of the Sisterhood, though it was situated in Butler's parish, seems at first to have been undertaken by Manning.

(3) During the first few years of its existence, two Superiors, besides other Sisters, seceded to the Roman Church.

(4) During more recent years we hear of no more secessions.

We would now ask our readers to bear in mind the following:

(1) Dean Butler's own words respecting his interview with the Roman Catholic curé of S. Ouen: "Il n'y a qu'un cheveu entre nous."

(2) His views upon confession.

(3) The apparent similarity of his views respecting the doctrine of the Real Presence with those of the Jesuit Fathers.

(4) The number of secessions to Rome from Wantage and other High Church parishes in the forties and fifties.

(5) As far as we can discover (though the Roman Catholics deny this), the almost total cessation of such secessions now.

Putting these various deductions from the work side by side, we wish to ask the following questions:

(i.) Have these secessions from the English to the Roman Church been stayed because the teaching and practices which the early seceders desired, and could not obtain there, are *now* to be found *within* the English Church?

(ii.) If this is so, is it well or ill for either the English Church herself, or for the English nation (of which that Church is the accredited representative in regard to religion), that it should be so?

(iii.) Will the Church of England on this account be more or less acceptable to the majority of English people?

The following sentences from Mr. Coles' reminiscences may well be remembered here: "It has often been remarked that he [Butler] succeeded with girls, perhaps with women, better than with men, though this latter statement can only be made with very real qualifications . . . he succeeded pre-eminently with educated women: he did more with working men than with rich men . . . it was on women that his best strength and most constant pains were spent. . . ."

(iv.) While it is well that the limits of doctrine and practice in the National Church be comprehensive, can the teaching advocated in Dean Butler's Life be regarded as naturally *within* those limits?

During the last few months we have heard much of certain inquiries (that there have been any "overtures" we believe has been denied) into the conditions of a possible union between the English and the Romish Churches; we have heard, too, of the somewhat peremptory rejection, on the part of the Romish Church, of all conditions which did not include the full acceptance of the Papal Supremacy.

That many of those holding the so-called "Anglican Position" have desired (if they have not exactly looked forward with much hope to) a union between these Churches will not, we think, be denied by anyone conversant with recent ecclesiastical movements.

In the face of the rejection of all terms of reunion on the part of the Romanists—except at the price of the acceptance of the Papal Supremacy, to say nothing of their rejection of the validity of English orders—what can those who are in the doctrinal position of Dean Butler and Mr. Coles do?

They desire an opportunity to teach what they term

"Catholic Truth," and to enjoy what they call "Catholic Practice." They wish to do all this openly if possible. If not—no doubt many of them are, to use Mr. Coles' definition of Dean Butler, men of "a practical habit of mind"! That what such phrases as "Catholic Truth and Practice" mean to them has been made wonderfully clear is, we believe, the chief service rendered to English Christianity by the publication of Dean Butler's Life. Of course, had union with Rome been proved possible on terms they would have accepted, the opportunity they desire would have been theirs in all its fulness. But since such union is impossible, what then? Will they secede to Rome? Have they or their followers been seceding in recent years? On the contrary, they have apparently determined to remain, externally at least, in full communion with the English Church, and in such a position to teach this "Catholic Truth," to carry out this "Catholic Practice."

It is unnecessary to define either this "Truth" or this "Practice." As we have already said, Dean Butler's Life sheds a flood of light upon the meaning of both.

W. E. CHADWICK.

REASON, A HEAVEN-SENT GUIDE TO TRUTH.

OUR adaptation of means to an end is proof that we have reason, and can use it aright. The fact and use are miniatures of that grandest use and largest application of intelligence which we discern in the universe and intimate relation of every part. The smallest and largest organic or inorganic structures are so fitted to, and work with, the innumerable universal combinations that they become the master argument as to the existence, throughout time and space, of an intelligent, all-ordering Providence. Not to accept this truth pours contempt on our faculties, and deprives existence of reason.

Our power to apprehend the connection of processes working out a purpose; the linking of nature and art, of light and the eye, of sound to the ear, of invisible fashionings toward outward form; witness that we can and do greatly know the relations of the universe to God and man. We are not in darkness; and, though an atheist goes one point beyond the devil, God-given reason is that heaven-sent light and power by which we may all see, desire, and attain the elements of future perfection.

By experiments we, so to speak, obtain science as to the other side of things, and have greatly broken down the barriers separating metals from the non-metallic elements. We prove that the solid, liquid, gaseous states of matter merge into one another. We are able to condense every sort of gas and air into a liquid. We know that solid metals are not inert masses, but vibrating things of great complexity. By instruments, we, in a manner, get up to the sun, and find that the metals in his atmosphere seem sentient things, are strangely life-like in their behaviour. We are beginning to learn about growing processes of the inorganic world, not less majestical in their progress than those prevalent in organic nature; and that in a solid mass there are particles which have a freedom of motion characteristic of gaseous molecules. Disciplined reason shows that the centre and cause of all is Eternal Power, who arranges the universe and its worlds with all guidances for our life, even more than the sun rules the planets, than its light tinges every blade of grass and colours all the flowers. This Eternal Power manifests Himself in life, in wisdom, in love. The degree of reason in a man to apprehend and serve God is the correct measure of that man, and will lead him to a thousandfold more beauty in nature; and, as he listens to the universal psalm, he will learn greater and diviner consecration than that of the ancient Jewish Temple, though God was the true light there.

PREBENDARY REYNOLDS.

Review.

Divine Immanence. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1898. Price 7s. 6d.

IT would be surprising indeed if a book by the author of "Personality, Human and Divine"—the Bampton Lectures for 1894—did not contain material worthy of our best consideration. "Divine Immanence" is, indeed, a sequel to the lectures; and we have found it full of suggestiveness, replete with subtle thought, and bearing everywhere the marks of a highly trained and devout Christian philosopher. For there is no reason, in the nature of things, why philosophy and Christianity should not be mutually compatible. Nay, we may go farther, and assert with confidence that as in Christianity philosophy has found its completest reason and justification, so in the truest philosophy Christianity must ever behold its noblest champion and aid.

True, from earliest days men have been prone to believe—more's the pity!—that between Christianity and philosophy is fixed a great and impassable gulf, to the detriment both of the science of thought and the truth of doctrine. And of this school of divines, Tertullian, if not the earliest, is one of the powerfullest leaders. But although the tendency of Latin Christianity has, from a variety of causes, helped to exalt

doctrine and faith at the expense of philosophy, let us not forget that to the great Alexandrian divines of the third century we are indebted for an admirable presentation of the just view in which the claims both of Faith and Reason are to be regarded and interpreted. If Tertullian ("De Præscr.," 7) insists upon our considering Philosophy as the mother of heresy, let us remember that Clement of Alexandria ("Strom.," i. 5) is equally insistent on our not overlooking the fact that Philosophy was a preparation for the Gospel; and he adds these significant words: *μία μὲν οὖν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδός, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν καθάπερ εἰς ἀέναον ποταμὸν ἐκρέουσι τὰ ῥεῖθρα ἄλλα ἀλλοθεν.*

The present work of Mr. Illingworth is described by himself as "an essay on the spiritual significance of matter." Here is something to arrest our attention at the very outset. We have read every chapter, not always, perhaps, with entire agreement, but at any rate with a growing sense of gratitude to Mr. Illingworth for his noble vindication of the main theme, and of the rights of philosophy in general. It is written less in the interests of analysis, of which we have had enough of recent years, than in the interests of that synthesis, that combination and harmony of philosophical ideas, for which we have often sighed in vain. Spirit is seen to be the final cause of matter; since, though neither matter nor spirit can be known in their ultimate analysis, and therefore cannot be completely known, inasmuch as they represent distinct and distinguishable phases of our own human experience, yet they may be known and realized in their combined action and reaction; for is not spirit that which thinks, and wills, and loves, and matter that which moves and energizes itself in space and time? Such is, in briefest compass, the main motive of the first chapter; and the remaining chapters are an elaborated commentary on this primary thesis.

The fault of the philosopher has been—and perhaps increasingly is—that he strives to behold all things through a pure thought-medium, a colourless atmosphere of single identity, without difference, through which all real existences pass like intellectual phantoms, coming nowhence, progressing nowhither. The scientist (the materialist, so to speak, in accurate usage of the term) sees everything through a medium of gross matter, which is incapable, *in itself*, of rapidity or movement. Both are in error, because they deal with abstractions. Neither in thought-for-itself nor matter-for-itself, but in the larger world of actual experience, of life, of reality, can Truth expatiate and find a home. In this fulness of life alone is a real content adequately and profoundly realized. Hence we shall arrive at the just deduction that the spirituality of matter, so far from being a mere inference, is an experience; and the unique value of personality lies in the simple fact that (as Illingworth shows, p. 68) it exhibits spirit and matter in combination, so that the transcendence of God and His immanence are become a dual aspect of one vital fact.

As regards the miraculous element in Christianity—a persistent and notable "crux" to many—it may be worth remarking here that miracles have been of peculiar value in teaching us, when we dare to face the stern realities of Nature and natural law, that, as there have been occasions when God has sanctioned the suspension of natural laws for the higher manifestation of the spiritual order that underlies them, there exists, therefore, a Divine influence behind and beyond the logic of facts, to control those facts in the interest of man's spiritual and moral life. Consequently, "matter" and "law" are no longer incalculable entities in the phantasmagoria of human existence, but positive agents in the disclosure of Divine love, whereby, however mysteriously, all things are made to work together for good unto them that trust God.

This appeal to love, which affects man's heart, and therefore probes the deepest recesses of his constitution as a rational being, involves his

personality; for only through love can man be finally governed. Love is, therefore, in the words of Tennyson, "Creation's final law," and our notion of God Himself must (to use Illingworth's own impressive words) "include the capacity for influencing persons, who can only be influenced by love."

It is beyond the scope of this notice to touch further on those important questions of doctrine and destiny which are handled with singular lucidity by Mr. Illingworth in the pages of his book. But enough has been said, perhaps, to indicate our belief that this work is one of that rare class of books which not only stimulate thought, but profoundly influence and modify both life and conduct.

Sandwich. E. H. BLAKENEY.

Short Notices.

The Early Days of Christianity. Quiver Edition. By Dean FARRAR. Cassell and Co. 1898. Pp. 664.

THIS work was issued first in 1882. The present is a cheap, handy, well-printed edition. It consists of five books, the first dealing with the condition of the world at the time of the coming of Christ; the second with St. Peter and the Church Catholic; the third with Apollos, Alexandrian Christianity, and the Epistle to the Hebrews; the fourth with Judaic Christianity and St. James; and the fifth with the earlier life and writings of St. John. The Dean has dealt so fully with the life of St. Paul in another work that he does not come within the scope of the present volume. It is a fascinating and interesting subject, and the vast knowledge and wide reading of the writer have thrown a light over the whole work which makes it an extremely readable and valuable compendium of that thrilling and important period of the world's history.

A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. By Dr. MCGIFFERT. International Theological Library. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, Pp. 680. Price 12s.

An able and temperate account of the origin of Christianity from the Naturalistic or Unitarian point of view. Unitarianism, however, does not satisfactorily account for the phenomena of Christ's life. If He consciously stepped into the position of Messiah without really being Messiah, it is extremely improbable that He could have influenced His followers to the degree of founding the Christian Church in His name. Dr. McGiffert accounts for this influence by the reappearances of Christ after His death; but if they were real, they imply just the very fact of Deity which Christianity has always asserted.

A Five Years' Course of Bible and Prayer-Book Teaching: Fifth Year. Prayer-Book, the Rev. J. W. GEDGE. New Testament, the Rev. H. D. S. SWEETAPPLE. Old Testament, the Rev. J. WAGSTAFF. S. S. Institute. Pp. 198.

These subjects are skilfully interspersed so as to give greater variety to the Lessons than is given by the usual fifty-two Sundays' course. The Lessons are interesting, and faithful to the standpoint of the Reformation.

The Lives of the Saints. December. By S. BARING GOULD. Pp. 425. J. C. Nimmo.

In this volume we have St. Ambrose, St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Thomas, St. John the Divine, and St. Thomas à Becket. The legends are told in an easy, pleasant style.

The Hope of Immortality. By the Rev. J. E. C. WELLDON. Seeley and Co. Pp. 350. Price 6s.

We give a cordial welcome to this valuable treatise. Mr. Welldon had already been asked to write a book on the subject when he was appointed Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge, and so he took this as his topic. He has gathered together all the best thought of the ancients about this ennobling belief. The evidence which he adduces, treated with the grasp of a clear and powerful mind, has a strongly encouraging and hopeful effect upon the mind. He treats of the nature, history and value of the belief, the external and internal evidences for it, and the consolidation of it under the influence of the Christian Revelation. He says very little about the resurrection of the body, and his view of the need of more pious remembrance of the dead in this country is poetical rather than theological. The work does not intend to be exhaustive, but it is eminently readable and satisfactory, and will be a help and comfort to many.

The Land we Love. By the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK. *Home Words* Office. Pp. 138. Price 2s.

This is a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Gladstone, and is well illustrated. The title is taken from Mr. Gladstone's farewell words when leaving Bournemouth. The book embodies a life sketch; an account of his religious principles; tributes from Parliament; pulpit voices; incidents and anecdotes; the Rock of Holy Scripture; Vaticanism, etc. Without being a biography, it contains much about Mr. Gladstone that many will like to know.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Joel and Amos. R. S. DRIVER, D.D. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 244. Price 3s. 6d.

Professor Driver inclines on the whole to think that Joel prophesied after the return from the Captivity. He does not think his prophecies were fulfilled in the letter, but rather in the spirit. "Joel, in striking imagery, sets forth some of the eternal principles of Divine righteousness and human duty, and draws pictures of the ideal blessedness, spiritual and material, which, if man would but adequately respond, God would confer on the human race; but, as is the case with the prophets generally, these truths are set forth under the forms of the Jewish dispensation, and with the limitations thereby imposed, which even the most catholic of prophets were rarely able to throw off."

Amos is evidentially one of the most important of the prophets. He prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam II. (B.C. 790-749). He refers to many incidents and institutions in the history of Israel, burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, statutes, the Book of the Covenant, the Law of Holiness (Leviticus), and even has apparent references to Deuteronomy. An interesting sermon might be preached on pp. 113, 114, 115. Professor Driver treats Amos with sympathy and fairness.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. A. B. DAVIDSON, LL.D., D.D. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 139. Price 3s.

Dr. Davidson is Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh, and has given an able and interesting account of these three somewhat obscure pre-exilic prophets. He inclines to the more conservative view in criticism, and sees little reason for rearrangements of text or theories of interpolation. His comments throw satisfactory light on the meaning of the various passages, which often in the works of these shorter and more fragmentary prophets have little consecutive connection.

The Month.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury, in opening his Diocesan Conference at Lambeth Palace, referred to the agitation prevailing in the Church. Whilst disbelieving that any of the clergy desired to go over to the Church of Rome, he admitted that irregularities were practised in the Church, and said the Bishops were bound to look into them. Infraction of the Rubrics could not be allowed, and he trusted the clergy would seek counsel with their Bishops, and thus settle any dispute in a peaceable way.

Canon Bartram, Vicar of St. George's, Ramsgate, has been elected one of the proctors for the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury, in the place of the late Canon Whitehead; and Prebendary Hodgson, Rector of Handsworth, is the new Archdeacon of Stafford.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has offered the vicarage of Folkestone to the Rev. Erskine William Knollys, at present Vicar of St. Mary's, South Norwood. Mr. Knollys, who has accepted the offer, is well known in the district, having been diocesan inspector.

The Ritual question is very much to the front just at present, and a great many letters are being published in the press, professing to deal with the subject. Notably, the *Times* has opened its columns for the discussion of lawlessness in the Church of England; and several letters of extreme interest and importance have made their appearance there of late. Mr. Frederick Greenwood—a writer of considerable weight—writes as follows to the *Pall Mall Gazette:* "Whom we arraign we do not blame as Catholics teaching Catholicism in Catholic homes and temples, nor as Catholics engaged in the lawful propagation of their faith. They are blamed as feigning English Churchmen, bent upon sowing Roman Catholic doctrine in Anglican homes and churches, meanwhile eating the bread of the community they betray."

The *London Review* states its own conclusions thus: "Our own view of the situation is that the extreme views of bigoted men in either direction must give way to the common-sense of the moderate men, who are the vast majority, and that, if the present disciplinary action of the Church—the mildest form of control that ever a Christian Church was governed under—is not sufficient to check mischievous abuses, the power of the Bishops must be enlarged by Parliament."

Among other items connected with the subject, we have to chronicle the reply to the Bishop of London, signed by seventy-three of his incumbents. The Church Association, too, has issued an appeal to the people of England, and is promoting a Bill to suppress illegal practices. The Bishop of Winchester has made a formal request to his clergy to be given an opportunity of making an inspection of all added forms and offices used in their churches. The Bishop of Worcester makes for peace with the discreet statement that he did not think the way to prevent lawlessness was to proceed against it. In Liverpool a mass meeting enthusiastically carried Canon Hobson's resolution against ritualism. In Manchester the "Protestant Thousand" have addressed a memorial to all the Bishops, urging them to preserve the Protestant character of the Church. It is increasingly evident to thoughtful people, who cannot and dare not shelve certain issues, that the ultimate hope for the Church of England will lie in the formation of a *Religious Party* therein—religious in the vital sense.

It will, says the *Rock*, be a great shame, almost a national disgrace, if the Palestine Exploration Fund is not at once placed in a position to go on with its intensely interesting and valuable work. The July *Quarterly Statement* is full of interest. A letter has been received from H.B.M. Consul of Jerusalem stating that the Irade, sanctioning the excavations which they propose to carry out, has been duly communicated through the Minister of Public Instruction. The income of the society for the last quarter was only £330 13s. 11d. It is obvious that full advantage cannot be taken of the Irade just obtained, with such an income as this.

On Saturday, July 9, in the parish church of Beaconsfield, a memorial tablet to Edmund Burke was unveiled by the Earl of Rosebery. A large congregation assembled to do honour to the memory of the great orator and man of letters. Lord Rosebery's speech was in his happiest vein on this occasion. A report of the proceedings—which had their religious side, one is glad to note—will be found in the *Guardian* for July 13.

The Lord Mayor and Mayoress gave the usual annual banquet at the Mansion House on July 6 "to meet the Archbishop and Bishops." There was a large gathering, and the Archbishop of Canterbury took the opportunity of adverting to the recent ritual disputes in the Church. While fully recognising that the zeal of some of the "extreme" men outran their discretion, which has resulted in mischievous irregularities—"and these, mind you, must be corrected," added the Archbishop—he pointed out that enough time and toleration ought to be granted the Bishops "to enable them to make whatever they call upon the clergy to do sweet to the clergy; and also make the clergy feel that, though there are things which we [the Bishops] cannot allow, yet that our hearts are with them in their work."

Poor Clergy Relief Corporation.

The annual meeting of the Poor Clergy Relief Corporation was held in June at Sion College, Victoria Embankment. In consequence of the Bishop of London being obliged to attend Convocation, the chair was taken by Archdeacon Sinclair, one of the vice-presidents. Among those present were Canon Benham, Canon Hunt, the Hon. Waldegrave-Leslie, Colonel Hardy, Dr. Freshfield, and Mr. Mandeville Phillips (secretary). The report of the committee emphasized the great need of the society, having regard to the fact that, of all the educated professions, the clergy of the present day belonged to the poorest. Help was afforded to necessitous clergy without reference to party complexion or schools of thought. The financial statement showed that the income last year amounted to about £15,000, and that £5,912 was absorbed in money grants to clergymen, widows, and orphans, £551 in holiday grants, and that clothing of the estimated value of £2,994 was distributed, leaving a surplus of, roughly, £6,000 to be carried to the capital account. The chairman, in moving the adoption of the report, said that there were something like 14,000 benefices in England and Wales, and of these no fewer than 5,900 were of less value than £200 a year, the annual income of 1,341 of them being under £100. He knew of numerous cases where small parishes might be united with advantage, but the difficulties in the way of doing so were enormous. Nothing less than a Royal Commission, with statutory powers, would be required. There was, however, no idea of anything of the sort being done at present, and so they must take these poor benefices into account. Owing to the rapid growth of popula-

tion, many new parishes were coming into existence from year to year without adequate endowments. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners used to provide £300 a year for all new parishes created, but they were no longer able to do so, having got to the end of their resources. Out of 13,688 incumbents in England and Wales, more than one-half were computed to be in receipt of less than £180 a year. How was it possible for the clergy to properly perform their manifold duties and educate their children on such a pittance? The distress of the clergy was very real, as members of the committee could tell from the applications made to the Corporation. It was a fact that many parsonages were without a fire during much of the cold weather; that in many parsonages meat was not eaten more than once or twice a week; and that many clerical families were almost wholly clothed from charitable resources.

BEQUESTS.

Mrs. Georgiana Willis, widow of the Rev. R. Willis, of Mitcheldean, Gloucestershire, and last surviving daughter of the late Rev. William Allen, formerly of Ilfracombe, by her will practically gives the whole of her property, real and personal, estimated at £15,000, to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, to be applied by them for the augmentation of the benefice of the parish of Ilfracombe. The executors estimate the increase in value of the living to between £400 and £500.

The Bishop of London has paid over £2,000 from the Marriott Bequest to the Missions to Seamen as an endowment of its operations in the Metropolis, as defined by the terms of Mr. Marriott's will. The society has four chaplains and thirteen lay-workers employed in the port of London, who are supplied with two seamen's churches and institutes, and this is the first item of an endowment received for its London work.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The C.M.S. has just issued its 99th annual report, and a mere glance at it will suffice to show how widely extended are its operations. The Society's income last year was close upon £340,000, and no less than 1,096 European missionaries are in its employ. One of the most notable facts connected with its work is the immensely increased scope of its medical activities. Some idea of this may be gathered from the fact that no less than 590,074 out-patients were treated during the year.

The Colonial Secretary has sent the C.M.S. a pleasing recognition of the services rendered to English officers by Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Fry in Abeokuta. These ladies have not only given hospitality to the officers who were passing through to the Hinterland, but have nursed them in serious, and even dangerous, sicknesses. Their kindness has actually saved the Government considerable expense by averting the necessity of bringing invalids down to the coast. As an acknowledgment of the benefit thus conferred, Mr. Chamberlain has written to inform the society that he has permitted the local authorities to make a grant of £100 towards the erection of the church which is being built as a memorial of the late Rev. J. B. Wood, who spent forty years of his life as a missionary in Yoruba.

Mr. Cruddas, M.P., has given £1,000 to the Centenary Fund of the C.M.S.

The first meeting in connection with the C.M.S. centenary (which is to be celebrated next year) took place on Sunday, July 3; Sir John Kennaway presided. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke at the meeting, which was attended by a large and representative audience.

Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

The anniversary of Dr. Barnardo's Homes was celebrated on Saturday, July 9, at the institution in Stepney Causeway. After a short thanksgiving service in the new chapel, a series of displays was carried out in the yard, including military exercises, musical drill, swimming competitions, and a parade of emigrants about to leave for Ontario and Manitoba. Lord Brassey, who presided at the meeting in the afternoon, said that in thirty-three years these institutions had rescued 34,000 boys and girls, and nearly 5,000 were always under Dr. Barnardo's care, being trained and educated with most gratifying success. Emigration, carefully organized, and carefully carried out in all its details, had been the keynote of the success of these institutions. In all 9,556 boys and girls had been sent to Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, and it was very gratifying that over 98 per cent. had turned out well. About 700 were being sent out every year, and they had with them that day 250 who would sail for Canada the following Thursday. The general income last year had been £137,336, against £134,697 in 1896, but the special receipts for buildings had fallen from £12,343 to £6,671. Canon Fleming moved a resolution highly commending the work to the sympathy of the public. It was, he said, about the most economic work being done for England, even from the political and prudential point of view.

LITERARY ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Oxford University Press has nearly finished printing the first part of the "Oxyrhynchus Papyri," which is being edited by Messrs. B. F. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt for the Egypt Exploration Fund. The volume, which will appear almost immediately, contains 158 texts, thirty-one being literary, and including the early fragments of St. Matthew's Gospel, Sappho, Aristoxenus, Sophocles, and of other lost and extant classics. The remainder is a selection of official and private documents dating from the first to the seventh century of our era, many of them of exceptional interest. The texts are accompanied by introductions, notes, and in most cases by translations. There are eight collotype plates, illustrating such of the papyri as are of principal literary and palæographical importance.

The Letters of Benjamin Jowett, edited by Professor Lewis Campbell and Mr. Abbott, are announced by Mr. John Murray as nearly ready for publication.

Obituary.

WITH the death of Sir E. Burne-Jones, we have lost a man who, for the past thirty years, has been universally recognised as one of the leaders of British art. And this, too, not least in the sphere of ecclesiastical art. Some of the finest stained-glass windows that our modern churches possess are his handiwork. No artist of this generation has more faithfully striven to incorporate the ideal into all his work, to emphasize the typical and the permanent, and to eliminate the merely transitory and individual elements. Herein lay the secret both of his mastery and his success. Imbued with the fine spirit of the early Italian painters, he was romantic in the most vital degree; and his best work is a commentary in colour, as in design, of Wordsworth's aphoristic line—a line which seems to sum up the three romantic passions in briefest possible space—"We live by Admiration, Hope, and Love." E. H. B.