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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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NOVEMBER, 1892.

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ART. I.—THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOSPELS.

PART I.

THE existence of the four Gospels is a literary phenomenon of great significance. No one knows with certainty how they were written, or when they were written, or by whom they were written. They have certain features in common, and they have certain features which distinguish them each from the other. The similarity is greatest in the three first, and the difference is greatest in the fourth. Doubt has been thrown on the three first because of their resemblance, and the fourth has been doubted because of its difference. It is the fact of their correspondence and their disagreement which constitutes the insoluble problem of their composition. It is no part of my object to attempt to solve that problem, but rather to point to certain inferences which seem to follow from the facts of the problem itself.

There are four narratives which have come down to us that give an account of the life, actions, teaching, and death of the Lord Jesus Christ. These narratives have secured a position which separates them absolutely from all other narratives of a like kind which purport to treat of the same subject-matter. It is needless to take account of the so-called apocryphal Gospels, because no one denies that our canonical Gospels stand on an entirely different footing from them. Whether in themselves trustworthy or not, they are not for a moment to be compared with the others.

But if the problem of the likeness and the unlikeness of the four Gospels is insoluble, there is fortunately no need to attempt to solve it. The Gospels are here; we have them in our possession. We can inquire into their genuineness, but we cannot discover their origin; nor is it necessary to do so, any

more than it is necessary to discover the origin of mankind or of the world in which we live. As practical men we have to deal with facts, and these are facts which are sufficiently patent and obvious, however hopelessly they may elude our investigation. It would be interesting to know how mankind first came into existence and how the universe was first made, but it is too much to suppose that any researches or investigations of ours will ever discover. And yet it is on inquiries of this kind that the ingenuity of mankind has been wasted, because the exercise of the ingenuity of man is always a phenomenon of intense interest to himself. And the inquiry into the origin of the Gospels is a matter of the same kind as these.

The first question that suggests itself is the relation between the several Gospels. Does one evangelist borrow from another, or does each write independently of the rest? With regard to the three synoptical Gospels, each in turn has been supposed the earliest, and each to have been the source from which the other two have borrowed, and this in every case by the advocates basing their conclusions mainly upon the phenomena presented by the text. But on any supposition of priority, the difficulty arises on what principle and with what object the particular selection has been made by those who are supposed to have written later. In the case of St. Mark, for example, though his narrative is the briefest, it is in many respects the fullest with regard to incident and circumstance in those matters which he relates in common with the others. If he wrote later than they, and supplemented their narrative with these minute additions, why did he omit so much which they had recorded? And if he wrote before them, why did they omit so much that he had related of incident and circumstance? St. Luke has given long narratives unknown to St. Matthew and St. Mark. What was his authority for these? and why are they peculiar to him? These are questions to which replies may be suggested, but none of them can be regarded as sufficient or satisfactory.

It must be borne in mind that any four persons who undertook to give an account of a certain series of events in the life of any individual would undoubtedly present many differences of detail, however in the main they all might agree. And most certainly in one respect they would unconsciously and inevitably differ, and that would be in the general impression they would convey as to the character of the person whose life they depicted. Now, nothing is more certain than that the character of the person depicted by the synoptical evangelists is identically the same. And even in the case of St. John, the impression conveyed by his narrative

is essentially the same with that produced by the synoptics. The Christ of St. John is not in character and person to be distinguished from the Christ of the other three evangelists, notwithstanding the conspicuous differences that characterize his Gospel. This, then, is an additional feature that has to be accounted for.

If, however, the several evangelists did not borrow from each other, it has been supposed that they borrowed from a common source. It has especially been conjectured that there was an original St. Matthew or St. Mark. All we can say is that no vestige or trace of such a document has ever been discovered elsewhere than in the brain of the critic. Of course, it is open to us to frame any conjectures we please, and the more so in proportion to the non-existence of the evidence. For conjectural purposes, *nowhere* furnishes a yet wider and more promising basis than *anywhere*, because less open to the correction of fact.

But let us suppose that such an original mine of reference did at the first exist, whatever may have been its origin. Then, seeing that on the hypothesis each of our four Gospels was directly indebted to this source, it is clear that each evangelist must have highly esteemed it. How, then, did it come to pass that they did not combine in their efforts to preserve this original source intact, instead of agreeing together to supersede it by their several efforts? Or how is it that some one of the four did not use his efforts in this direction with the object of proving his own Gospel preferable to theirs of whom he was apparently a rival competitor. In the absence of any particle of evidence to show the existence of any such document, it is surely lawful and reasonable to take note of the actual difficulties which would undoubtedly have resulted from its existence. Had such a common document ever existed, it is not one whit less difficult to account for the way in which the several evangelists selected that which each has preserved and left that which his fellows preferred, and possibly rejected much which no one has cared to take. But, after all, the antecedent difficulty of the entire and absolute disappearance of the supposed document, when it would plainly have been to the general advantage to be able to appeal to it against any or all of the four, is the difficulty that requires to be explained.

If, therefore, it is not a promising thing to postulate a common original document, which has wholly and absolutely perished, and left no record of its existence, what are we to say to the other hypothesis which conceives of a vast original mass of oral teaching as the actual source on which the evangelists were dependent for their several narratives? If the written document did not exist, is it possible to conceive

of any such oral fund as being available, or, indeed, as having any existence?

It is a well-known fact that the several differences in the Gospels are to be found chiefly in the narrative parts. There is a remarkable identity in the sayings and discourses of our Lord. Now it would seem to be exactly these discourses that it would be so difficult to preserve in a merely oral form. Take for example the Sermon on the Mount, though it is peculiar to St. Matthew, how is it conceivable that that should have been preserved by oral transmission? We must bear in mind that in all probability some of our Gospels existed before the year sixty; that is to say, thirty years after the death of Christ. But let us try to estimate the difficulty of reproducing any speech, however striking and remarkable, three or four years after it was uttered, and how inconceivable the effect of reproducing such a discourse as the Sermon on the Mount immediately after it was delivered, or five years afterwards, or ten or twenty years afterwards! It is wholly inconceivable. But the idea that this discourse was preserved from any notes or report taken at the time, is even more preposterous. And yet here, in the nineteenth century after Christ, is the very discourse Christ delivered to His disciples when sitting on the mount, and that, be it remembered, some time before, as it would seem, the disciple to whom we are indebted for it was called to be a disciple. Now in the face of these facts we are driven to conclude either that the discourse is more or less the ideal composition of the Apostle based on his recollection of various discourses of his Master, or that otherwise it is the result of a process which we cannot understand, or account for, or explain. And the more manifestly is this the case, according as we are at liberty to suppose that we have, in the Sermon on the Mount, the actual words of our blessed Lord. How many of us at the present time could repeat this discourse verbatim, or write it out correctly, though we have heard it and read it many hundreds and perhaps thousands of times? To suppose that among the listeners at the time there was present anyone who could have remembered it, and that St. Matthew recorded it on his authority, is to suppose that which, to say the least, is barely conceivable, if it is not wholly impossible. But if we are warranted in saying so of the Sermon on the Mount, how much more certainly must we say the same of the long and transcendental discourses in St. John! By common consent his Gospel is the latest of all. To place its composition fifty years after the death of Christ, would be commonly thought to place it too early. What then are we to say of these discourses? There is a strong tendency in the present day to

regard them as highly idealized, and to ascribe them without hesitation to the invention of St. John, to conceive of them as personal reminiscences, but as reminiscences which have been cherished so long in the mind of the writer as to have absorbed the colour of his mind and the flavour of his thought. Personally I cannot adopt this view. I believe it is perilous to do so; for in that case we should be believers in John rather than in Jesus, and we could not be sure that we had not got hold of St. John when we supposed that we were retaining Jesus. Personally, I believe, we may implicitly trust the conversation with Nicodemus, and the Paschal discourses, and the last prayer of the great High Priest; but then, how about the natural, matter-of-fact means by which the memory of those sublime discourses was preserved? And yet, if these various discourses are genuine, and not imaginary or invented, *ecce miraculum!* without any shadow of doubt, they absolutely defy explanation. The longer we suppose them to have lain dormant in the Apostle's mind, the more difficult it is to understand their production, and yet, if they were from the first committed to writing, why have we not earlier evidence of the existence of this Gospel, or of the source from which it was derived?

It is, I conceive, with the discourses of our Lord that the chief difficulty lies, and it is with respect to the discourses as given in the synoptics that we discover an almost identical sameness. If there is a difficulty in supposing one to have remembered them, how much more difficulty is there in supposing three to have done so? And on the hypothesis of a common oral fund, how much is that difficulty enhanced by supposing that all were agreed as to the recollection of them. I can neither imagine any original written document nor any common oral tradition which can have formed the basis of such a document.

Then with regard to the narrative portions of the Gospels, we know how exceedingly difficult it is to obtain a consistent account of any important transaction in which three independent persons were concerned. With no desire to exaggerate or to misrepresent, is it not certain that the accounts of any three persons concerned in it would materially differ, at all events in form? But take the narrative of the feeding of the five thousand, of which we have four independent accounts, and mark their consistency and their unanimity, which in this case is not the least conspicuous in the matter of the estimated number of the five thousand. And yet here each evangelist has contributed his own individual quota to the general narrative, which at once shows his independence and his originality. It is not possible to call in question a narrative so circumstan-

tially related and so individually and independently vouched for. And yet how stupendous the issue with which that narrative is fraught!

There is, of course, nothing remarkable in the fact that one evangelist should relate incidents or discourses omitted by another, but a real difficulty seems to arise where two or more evangelists give different versions of what may appear to be the same story. And there are several instances of this kind; for example, the history of the temptation as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke, the miraculous draught of fishes as told by St. Luke and St. John, the cleansing of the temple as related by St. John and the other evangelists, the case of the demoniac and of the blind man at Jericho, the anointing of the Saviour's feet, and other similar cases. And with regard to these we must bear in mind that similarity is not identity. There was a general similarity between the feeding of the five thousand and the four thousand, and yet the same evangelist, and he the most minute and graphic of all, has recorded both. We are compelled to believe, therefore, that they were different occurrences. Again, if St. John has recorded a cleansing of the temple at a passover not mentioned by anyone else, it is arbitrary to infer that the evangelist has confounded two different occasions, separated by an interval of three years. Once more, if St. Luke, as early as his fifth chapter, has recorded a miraculous draught of fishes, it is wholly gratuitous to assume that one who professes to have written "in order," should have made such a mistake as to confound this event with one that happened after the resurrection, and yet there is undeniably a general similarity in the incidents. The inference, therefore, which, as I conceive, we are bound to draw, is that we may expect and must be prepared to find several instances of repetition in our Lord's life, and more especially may this be the case with regard to His miracles. We are given by all the evangelists to understand that multitudes of cures were wrought by Him. The five and twenty or thirty cases which have been recorded constitute undoubtedly but a very small portion of those which were actually wrought. There will, therefore, be nothing unreasonable in supposing that miracles which have certain broad features in common, may, after all, not be the same, and that if in the context we can discover differences, we shall do some credit to the evangelists' accuracy and fidelity if we decide that the incidents were different.

For instance, St. Matthew records the healing of a leper immediately upon our Lord's coming down from the mountain. St. Mark and St. Luke tell us of a like case when he was in a certain city. Now, as a leper, except under special circum-

stances, would not be found in a city, and in St. Matthew there is no mention of any city, but only of a mountain, it is possible that we may be gainers to a considerable extent if we infer that we have in them the record of another case of cure of leprosy different altogether from St. Matthew's, more especially as we know that many lepers were healed by Christ in the course of his ministry. If, again, St. Luke's account of the anointing our Lord's feet is to be identified with that in St. Matthew, we can only say that any historian who should so misplace an event in the narrative of the life of his subject would be guilty of a great delinquency, which would disqualify him from being a trustworthy biographer, if it did not altogether ruin his credit as an evangelist.

I take it, therefore, that we must decide upon the amount of credit with which we shall approach the study of the Gospels; we must determine whether they are substantially true, or whether they may be trusted circumstantially. Those who advocate their substantial truthfulness are undisturbed by any such discrepancies as those to which I have alluded, only then in that case it may be doubted whether they do not open the door to very grave difficulties in the apparently conflicting details, *e.g.*, of the crucifixion and the resurrection. In such a matter as that of the resurrection, it would seem more than ever desirable that we should have a trustworthy and consistent narrative, whereas it is precisely here that the adversary is most triumphant, and ready to affirm that it is impossible to reconcile the several accounts of the resurrection. We may well ask, then, what sort of substantial truth can that be in a narrative of which the details are hopelessly irreconcilable? Must not the four witnesses have been too confused and vague in their observation or their recollection to make their accounts of any value? Is it possible that we can implicitly rely upon their substantial truth, if their narratives are circumstantially so conflicting? But is not the resurrection the very point of all others in which their statements, if true at all, must be true to the letter, for otherwise will not the fact of the resurrection be in danger of becoming as insubstantial as a vision, or a dream, or an hallucination? I think, therefore, we cannot be satisfied with holding that the narrative of the evangelists is not more than substantially true. And certainly the claim made by St. Luke in his preface would seem to warrant us in expecting more than this. He tells us that he had taken pains to ascertain the truth of the things about which he writes, and he implies that the person for whose benefit he primarily writes may rely upon the certainty of his narrative. If, then, this is the case, we may



expect to find him not only substantially true, but also circumstantially accurate.

And certainly when we examine a narrative like that of St. Mark, we are led to believe that he has striven to be most careful as to his detail. The minute and delicate touches which characterize his Gospel show that he was habitually given to precise and accurate observation, and we do him wrong to suppose that he was regardless of the sequence of events and indifferent to the requirements of chronology. One link of the very opposite kind he alone has supplied us with in recording that our Lord began His ministry with distinct reference to time, whatever the note of time may have been from which he computed when he said, "The time is fulfilled." This may either be understood vaguely with reference to the general fitness of things, or it may have, as it probably has, a far more exact reference to the completion of the prophetic seventy weeks of Daniel. This is rendered the more probable from its immediate connection with the words "the kingdom of God is at hand," a phrase which derives its full significance from, and can only be understood as referring to, Daniel's prophecy of the fifth or final kingdom.

If, then, it is unwise and unfair to overlook these slight indications in the evangelists of a circumstantial particularity in their narrative, it is not a very rash inference if we give them credit for minute and intentional accuracy, and on the supposition that each evangelist adhered to the true sequence of events, we arrive at certain principles in the study of them which may guide us to important results. The choice apparently will be between doing this, and supposing the four writers to have been entirely indifferent to the order of time, and to have adopted some other order which must be more open to conjecture, and concerning which we cannot be certain that we have discovered it. Moreover, that there is a certain order of events which not only each evangelist has followed, but that all alike have followed in common, admits of no reasonable doubt; for example, each evangelist does not scruple to say that such and such an event happened after such and such another. These notes of time perhaps are more definite and distinct in St. John, but we shall see that they can equally be discovered in the synoptics. For instance, St. John makes mention of a passover and a visit paid to Jerusalem which no one else alludes to, but which both St. Matthew and St. Mark must have been aware of and had in mind, though they have not recorded it. The incidents of this visit are given by St. John alone; one would suppose that he must have accompanied his Master on that occasion, as he probably

would have done. But after this passover, and the events which followed it, such as the discourse with Nicodemus, and the like, we are distinctly told that "John was not yet cast into prison." We read, however, as early as Mark i. 4, and Matt. iv. 12 in the Authorised Version, that "John was put in prison," and "cast into prison," which greatly disturbs the order of events as given by St. John. In the Revised Version, as also in the Authorised margin of St. Matthew, the true rendering is preserved, viz., that "John was delivered up." Now, delivering up and putting in prison are two different things, and it is hardly likely that a violent imprisonment like that of John by Herod would be spoken of as a delivering up; much more likely is it that in consequence of the priests and Levites continuing to inquire into the action of John the Baptist, in the way the fourth Gospel tells us, he was delivered up either by Herod, or more probably by the treacherous among his own followers, to the ecclesiastical authorities at Jerusalem, and that they "did unto him whatsoever they listed," which, however, was altogether distinct from the vindictive punishment of him by Herod. It is the scribes of whom our Lord is speaking in this place, and He significantly adds, "Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them," *i.e.*, the scribes. Matt. xvii. 12, Mark ix. 13.

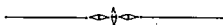
We see, then, according to St. John that there was a passover kept by Jesus at Jerusalem with other attendant circumstances, and a period very probably of some months, during which Jesus tarried in Judea while John was baptizing at Ænon, near to Salim, while John was not yet cast into prison. Also it is perfectly plain that, if we may trust St. John, not only was the passover in chap. ii. distinct from the last, at which Christ suffered, but also that another passover occurred about the time of the feeding of the five thousand; and probably another, to which allusion is made in chap. v. 1. Thus St. John notices four passovers. Can we trust him, or must we do violence to his narrative to bring it into harmony with the others?

Now it is remarkable that though the synoptical Gospels only make mention of one passover, they distinctly imply the existence of others, and this is very important. For instance, we have the fourfold narrative of the feeding of the five thousand. This we know from St. John was just before a passover. Therefore, if he is to be relied upon, the three evangelists, no less than he does, imply the occurrence of, at all events, two passovers during our Lord's ministry. But they imply also a third, for all three of them relate an occasion on which Jesus was walking with His disciples through the corn-fields, and the corn was in ear; this, therefore, would be at the passover

season. But between this occasion and the feeding of the five thousand there occurred sundry miracles, a conspiracy of the Pharisees and the Herodians to destroy Him, the delivery of all the parables preserved in St. Matt. xiii., the ordination of the twelve Apostles, and the death of John the Baptist—events amply sufficient to occupy a year. Therefore we conclude that the synoptical Gospels imply, at all events, three passovers during our Lord's ministry. St. John alone tells us of the fourth, or, rather, of the first. But now when we turn to St. Luke, at a period subsequent to the feeding of the five thousand, that is, the third passover, we find our Lord saying in a parable, "These three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree and find none. Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?" And the dresser of the vineyard replies, "Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it; and if it bear fruit well, and if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down." Can anything be more evident than that, from these considerations, the three first Gospels imply a ministry of at least three years, which St. John confirms by indications of part of a fourth, and it is only when the Gospels are read carelessly, as if the writers meant no more by what they said than their careless readers understand them to mean, that they give any countenance to a one year's ministry, or even seem to be in conflict with St. John.

*(To be continued.)*

STANLEY LEATHES, D.D.



## ART. II.—THE SERVANT OF CHRIST.

### NO. XI.—CONVERSION.

**I** WISH to discuss the question whether all conversions must be sudden: whether we must be able to register their day and hour.

No such doctrine is to be found in the Bible. It is best to go at once to the Fountain of all Wisdom, our Divine Lord Himself, and He will set the question at rest for ever. No, He says: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." You may be the wisest man alive. You may be the most learned theologian. You may be the most touching and eloquent preacher. But the Spirit of God will beat you. You will no more be able to measure His coming or His going, or say when He began to influence such a person, or where His influence came from, or how it worked, than you can say

that the wind started in Africa, and it went to the North Pole, and after turning round in a hurricane it went to India or Australia. The wind is an invisible force, acting through causes which you cannot number or explain; you cannot say whether it will come loud or soft, violent or gentle, rushing with mighty and irresistible power, or low and sweet, breathing of love and peace. So is the Spirit of God acting on the human heart. You cannot say when it began, or how it came, or what it did. All that you can do is to see that it has been there, and to join in the choirs of the angels as they rejoice over one sinner that repenteth.

What we have to think of first is that when, after the creation, God looked down at human nature as He had made it, behold, it was very good. The human heart in the beginning had desires after good, and not after evil; it had relationship with God, and not with devils. It had the power implanted in it of seeing truth, and beauty, and purity, and goodness, and not merely of seeing them, but of loving them too. But because in the perfection which God had given man it was necessary that he should be able to choose for himself, so it was possible for man to be tempted, and possible for him to fall. He was tempted, and he did fall. But not entirely was his sympathy for truth and beauty and purity and goodness wiped out by that fall. None of his children, indeed, nor his children's children, could be born without that sinful inclination when it was once established in the race; but, still, they had this wonderful spiritual eye, this wonderful spiritual likeness to God, in which they had been created, and which made them able to love things that were God-like and lovely. The Spirit of God had not deserted man altogether. Still around his heart, however dark, ignorant and wicked it might be, lay the Spirit of God, like a mighty sea with a powerful tide beating against the barriers of that heart, and ready to burst in and cleanse it out as soon as ever the opposing doors should give way. The Spirit of the Father and of the Word was given to every man that was born into the world in his conscience, as a light to lighten him through life, if he would only look to it. Thus, in countless instances, from the very beginning of the world down to the sacrifice on Calvary for the sins of the whole earth, both amongst the chosen people and among the heathens, the wicked man had been turning away from his wickedness that he had committed, and was doing that which was lawful and right. Conversion had been going on. Souls were being saved. As the coming sacrifice of the Lamb of God stood in good stead for the Jew who lived by faith, so also it stood in good stead for the heathen.

Then came that mighty revolution in the spiritual history of the world. The Son of God died and rose again, and liveth for evermore. He put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. He poured out of His Spirit upon all flesh.

Now, while He was alive, conversions were not instantaneous. The twelve Apostles whom He gathered about Him did not by any means see Him all at once as their Saviour, or become new creatures, so to speak, at a blow. It was only very gradually that they overcame their doubts, their earthliness, their narrowness, even while they were companying with Jesus. It was not till the Holy Spirit came as a rushing mighty wind on the day of Pentecost that they were finally and completely made new men. So it was with all our Lord's disciples. They were gradually, slowly, attracted, won over and converted. And the different degrees of faith which they showed is abundantly seen in the different characters of the miracles of healing which He wrought. Some had high, clear, commanding faith, like the centurion who got his servant healed at a distance. Others had hardly courage to make themselves known at all, like Nicodemus, who came by night, like the poor woman who did but touch the hem of His garment and was made whole.

When the Spirit had been poured out, then came the time for instant conversions. On the first day were added 3,000 souls through the preaching of Peter. After the death of Ananias and Sapphira multitudes, both of men and women, were added to the Lord through the signs and wonders worked by the Apostles in Solomon's Porch. About the time of the ordination of the seven deacons, the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith. At the dispersion which came through the persecution caused by Saul of Tarsus, the people of Samaria, with one accord, gave heed to the things which Philip spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did. Saul himself was the most glorious instance of sudden conversion on record, and, naturally, his whole after-ministry was full of it.

All this, in the early days of Christianity, was likely to be the rule rather than the exception. The Gospel was complete, the Gospel was new, the Spirit had been poured out, and was ready to be poured out on each new case. It was, as St. Paul said, a change from darkness into marvellous light. There were a few to whom the revelation of Christ came only as the crowning glory of a whole life of devotion. Such was Lydia, the seller of purple, who had before been fearing God, and gladly received the knowledge of His Son. Such were evidently Lois and Eunice, the mother and grandmother of Timothy.

Such was Timothy himself; from a child he had known the holy Scriptures, and had evidently loved them and profited by them. Such was Cornelius, the devout centurion, to whom the visit of Peter was granted as a reward for his alms and his prayers. Such, doubtless, were the aged Simeon, the prophetess Anna, Mary, the mother of our Lord, and the exemplary Zacharias and Elizabeth. Such were the devout women at Athens. But most of St. Paul's converts were from among the pagan Greeks, and to them, no doubt, the change seemed generally very startling and sudden, as it did to the jailer of Philippi, who came in trembling and crying, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?"

Yet all the while, even in the very places where Christianity was being preached and where these sudden conversions were taking place, in those very places and at those very times the older and slower and less certain way of salvation and conversion were going on. Christianity did not become like a little land of Goshen, where the sun shined, while all the rest of the country was wrapt in black night. No, Christianity was not limited to one place or to one set of places, nor did it win all who were in one particular place or one particular set of places. It had a few converts here, and a few converts there, and a few converts somewhere else; but it was everywhere side by side with the pagans and the heathens, sharing the same life with them and breathing the same air. It would have been impossible even for St. Paul to convert all the people in a town of 10,000 inhabitants. It would have taken him months and years, whereas he had to move quickly from place to place and sow the good seed in as many soils as he could visit, content to leave the growth to God. It does not follow that all who did not believe at once in any particular town where he went were eternally condemned. Not all could have heard him. Prejudice and ignorance for which they were not answerable may have prevented hundreds and thousands. Not all were prepared to believe. With multitudes God would be content that the old slow, uncertain way of conversion and salvation, that by obedience to the conscience, benefiting without knowing it in the general redemption of the world by Christ, should be sufficient. It does not follow that because the nation of the Jews as a whole rejected Christ, that every individual Jew alive at that time would perish.

And then when once one whole generation of suddenly converted Christians had lived and died, and brought up their children as far as they could in the fear of God and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus, there would be besides the sudden conversions more of what we may venture to call conversions by education and training. These suddenly converted

parents would have brought their children to be baptized. Whatever baptism did or did not for them, at any rate it would do this : it would bring those children to Jesus in obedience to His command ; it would place them in His arms for His blessing ; it would offer them with prayer to Him ; it would make them members of the Christian society, with its responsibilities and privileges ; it would give Almighty God the opportunity of pardoning the sinfulness with which they were born, and it would ensure that they would be Christianly and virtuously brought up. Some of those children would not answer the expectations formed for them, and would be led captive of the devil. But with many it would be different. They would grow up with an abhorrence of sin, they would hate their own sins, they would be all on the side of goodness, beauty, truth, justice, and virtue ; they would believe in the Lord Jesus to the saving of their souls ; they would have the witness of the Spirit in their hearts, and it would show forth its fruits and graces in their lives. So from their earliest childhood to their latest breath, in spite of weaknesses, temptations, and falls, they would continue children of God, members of Christ, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. Some would have less difficulty in this career of quiet Christian growth than others. Some would need arousing again and again. Some, perhaps, would fall for a time and be recovered. But perhaps none of this sort would be able, like St. Paul and the earliest Christian converts, to name the day and the hour when they first saw Jesus to the saving of their souls.

All this gives us a very wide and grand view of the working of the Spirit, and of the breadth and length and height and depth of that God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers ; of that God who, being Himself infinitely various and manifold, makes Himself known to the human heart in more ways than one. It shows us that the ways of conversion are infinite. We see first the old way, the way that was slow and uncertain and dark and dim, but which for some people to whom the Gospel has not been made known in the way that it has been made known to us is still going on, the light lighting every man that cometh into the world ; the Gentiles, having not the law, doing by nature the things contained in the law, and being a law to themselves, showing the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another. We see also sometimes those rare and beautiful natures on whom Satan seems to have no power, and who answer to the description given by our Lord of the just persons who need no repentance. Their conversion is very gentle and very gradual, like a sweet breeze in

a summer day. We see also the great mass of Christian people who have been born of Christian parents, in a Christian land, with the Christian privileges in their hands, nurtured in Christian education: we see some of them rejecting all these unspeakable blessings, but we see many of them growing from their earliest childhood with unwavering faith more and more unto the perfect day. Those of them who have fallen in the race we often see the lovingkindness of God using many different means to bring back again to Himself. Sometimes they may be even won, St. Peter tells us, by the conversation of a good wife, without being preached to at all. The baptism of the Spirit is needed for all. Now, indeed, coming as a fire burning in men's hearts, consuming the chaff of sin, while He purifies and stores up all that is good and true; now coming as in a moment, and arresting a man in a course of evil, revealing the iniquity of sin and giving the power to reform; now coming as the gradual dawning of day upon the youthful soul who has never been wholly without it; here in a sermon or a prayer, there in the lesson of childhood; now by the example of a noble life or the lessons of history; again, in the study of Scripture or the truths written on the page of nature—the Spirit breatheth where it willeth. Every man who comes to the wide kingdom of heaven has been born again somehow by that blessed Spirit. It is not for us to limit His action. Some even seem to be converted, as it was epigrammatically said by one, over and over again, again and again drinking from the fount of living waters, again and again dedicating themselves anew to God.

However the critical life-giving change may have come, it fixes the mind on the Saviour of the world; it makes us see He can and will make all things right for us both as to the past and as to the future; it convinces us that amid all the mysteries of life there is one mystery which God has allowed us to penetrate in Him, and that is the redemption and restoration of the world through His Son. It makes us able to discriminate between what is brutish and what is spiritual; it makes us aware of the ugliness of what is brutish and the evil consequence which cannot help following brutish behaviour; it makes us see the quiet, reasonable, persuasive beauty of the Christian pattern, and draws us ever more and more towards it. The struggle between the brutish and the spiritual may be long, we may not be able to rid ourselves all at once, or even after protracted struggles, from the influence of the old brutish nature within us; we may fall and struggle, and have much to regret and lament again and again, but when the new birth has come to life in us we do, on the whole, love light rather than darkness; our consciences do continue to accuse us



when we go wrong, we do listen to them, even if sometimes unwillingly ; we do love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity ; we do reflect on our conduct when it is not after His example ; we are open to conviction and improvement on any point where we need discipline ; we do feel that we are making some progress, however halting and feeble ; we *are* sure that we have principles to live by ; we do try to live by faith ; we are not altogether strangers to the love of our fellow-men through our Saviour ; we do look forward with steady hope to the future beyond the grave. Such is the new birth in its broad outlines. We do not know how it is, but we pray that we may not be presumptuous in hoping that it is really ours.

"*Marvel not,*" says our Lord, "*that I say unto thee, Ye must be born again.*" Few who know that they are sinners will wonder that we need to be changed. Take some average Christian congregation : what a mass of sins belongs to us in our natural state ! If our misdoings were to rise up in palpable form like some grim array of ghostly apparitions, what a state of things they would present ! How ashamed we should each be for others to see our own particular accusing memories ! Is there no fragile, tender mother in that array with mute, appealing look, her heart broken by the furious, ungovernable ill-temper, wanton waywardness, obstinate, selfish wilfulness of that child whom she brought with such joyful anguish into the world, who was once her darling, whom she fondled at her knees, over whom she prayed so often, and on whom she fixed her proudest hopes ? Is there no venerable father bowed down with sorrow and disappointment at the ingratitude of the offspring whom he had cherished, or at the shattering of his buoyant expectations ? Is there no weeping girl whose affections have been trifled with, whose soul has been treated as the plaything of the hour, and who has been cast aside for other interests ? Is there in that procession from the dim regions of the irreparable past that we are imagining no companion who has been led astray by encouragement, suggestion or example, no lie that has been told and which cannot now be unsaid, no cruelty perpetrated, no harsh, rude speech spoken, no anger stirred up by hastiness, no foolish, idle, improper words that have been uttered, the very echoes of which we should now be ashamed to hear ? Are there no still more ignoble memories of interest centred on our brutish nature, of thoughts encouraged which should have been expelled, of wantonness and lasciviousness ? Have we no image before us, as we look back, of foolish pride, inflated vanity, contemptuous conceit that made us either detested or ridiculous, devouring ambition which made us unscrupulous or dishonest, or that engrossing selfishness which takes all the sunshine out of life,

destroys the chance of sympathy with others, and maims and deforms our souls as if by some fatal catastrophe? Or even if we do not look back, but summon the influences of the present to confront us, is there not much to make us sad, much that we wish to alter? The longer we live in the Christian life the more we see how much there is of which we ought to be rid. The more we look at the example of our Lord, the more deeply we feel our own utter unworthiness to be named in the same breath with Him, how immeasurably far we are behind what He was. Does no vision of inconsistency come into our thoughts, of states of mind and temper and feeling and inclination most entirely incompatible with our religious pretensions? As we read the Word of God or hear its sentences, are there not whole fields of Christian practice revealed to us where we have never so much as set foot? Does it not make us loathe our weakness, our worldliness, our coldness, deadness and hypocrisy?

We cannot, indeed, marvel that Christ says to us, "*Ye must be born again.*" Of such as we are, who can be surprised at being told that we want a new nature? Believing, as we do, that the new birth is a change and a process, we shall never be content or think we are sufficiently new already. That would be like a beggar who, when once clothed by some kind, generous hand, were to fancy that he would never want any new clothes as long as he lived. It would be like a man who, when he was once washed, should imagine he need never think about water again; like one who supposed that his carriage would never wear out or his horse never grow old. It is, perhaps, the past that makes us feel most deeply the need of the new nature: foul, we wish to be clean; selfish, we wish to learn self-denial; proud, we long to be humble; foolish, we wish for wisdom; passionate, we ask to be temperate; inconstant, we have to grow steady; untruthful, sly or cunning, we know we must be taught candour. But we can never rest satisfied with the present. Faith will always show us some fresh height to be gained before we can look down into the far and beautiful country of the future beyond. Some would tell you that as long as you have one thought or wish not in captivity to the Cross of Christ you are not new-born. I do not say so. I know too well the deceitful nature of our hearts. I know too well that just as the natural birth is a slow, a tedious, a painful process, so is the spiritual. I prefer to recognise with St. John the probability of all coming short, not seldom, before the goal is reached, and saying, 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.'

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

## ART. III.—SOCIALISM AND THE PAPACY.

NO doubt a good many people were startled when they noticed that, in May, 1891, Pope Leo XIII. had issued an encyclical on the condition of workmen. In the first place, the very fact of his appearance in the arena of bitter present-day politics was somewhat of a novelty. The recluse of the Vatican was supposed to be yearning after his temporal possessions, and to possess no interest in political affairs beyond his own "rights." Certainly Pio Nono would never have thrust out his head to speak to the proletariat. But, besides this, it became manifest that the Pope was dangling his sympathy, if not altogether his support, before the eyes of the workers, and they were adjured to believe that the traditional claims of Christianity to uphold the cause of the oppressed would be still maintained, and would be set in motion by the whole power of Romanism. Language was used that spoke with all the magic of a mystic authority to assure the plebeians that what they had been vainly struggling for would be only possible with the co-operation of the See of Peter, and, further, would be attained if that alliance were adopted. This from Rome—the traditionally conservative Rome! It is true that "we are all Socialists now," even the German Emperor; but still, that the great Church which was imagined to remain like a column unmoved amid all the dust and breezes of successive political strife should thus, by her official mouthpiece, pay deferential respect to the supposed subverters of law and order, was to some minds little short of astounding.

Yet really the thing is capable of very easy explanation. We might imagine that the acute Italian would not publish his sympathy unless the time were fully ripe, nor declare anything that could be unequivocally construed in a sense adverse to himself. What the Pope says, he says from many reasons, and with many meanings. We propose to examine the causes that led up to the encyclical, and to discuss the propositions that it contains, when it will be seen, we think, that the Pope could hardly help writing it, and that it really means very little.

Perhaps the first pressing appeal to the Papacy on this question came from France. Twice in this century has Paris knocked at the gates of Rome to demand its aid in the reform of social matters. We should expect this, for anyone in France who wishes to be heard must speak with a proletarian accent; and when Romanists, who love their Church and love their country too, wish to see them reconciled, they must of

necessity adopt the cause of democracy in politics, in order to get the democracy in return to adopt their creed in religion. We need neither deny to many of these "Liberal Catholics" a sincere belief in the righteousness of the workers' cry. If it was policy with some, it was certainly conviction with others.

The first to claim the help of the Roman Pontiff for the working classes was Saint-Simon. It is true he did not speak as an ardent Roman Catholic, but he wished for a social reformation, and he believed that the Roman Church could effect it. In his "Nouveau Christianisme" he demonstrated to the Pope that to keep his empire over the poor he must obtain the management of the great social reform which was in store.

But where Saint-Simon was heard with distrust, Lamennais and his school were listened to with affection, at all events in the early part of their movement. In his opinion the success of the New Catholicism would be assured if it were allied with the New Democracy. He urged the Pope to set himself at the head of both, in his "Essai sur l'indifférence." We know that the Papacy was not yet primed to receive such counsels, and Lamennais had to choose between the priest and the Socialist. He chose the latter, but for long he bankered after his old ideal, which found a tumultuous vent in the "Paroles d'un croyant." His friends followed him afar off. The traces of his democratic teaching always remained in Lacordaire's preaching. "Passons aux barbares et suivons Pie IX.," wrote Ozanam. Montalembert declared himself ready to descend into the arena to claim entire political and social liberty. Gratry wrote, with almost feverish hope, of the abolition of poverty. It is true that Pius IX. after 1848 would have nothing to do with these Utopians. His heart was filled with distrust of the democracy which had taken away his temporal power. They required a new pope and a new Rome, but meanwhile they had spoken.

Later on, the impulse to Rome came from other quarters. In fact, Rome was not pushed, but dragged. Many of her sons did not wait for her word of command, but marched off. In Germany Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence, entered into social questions with fervour and in a practical spirit alike. To meet the *Kulturkampf* the Romanists were obliged to make common cause with the workers of Westphalia and Silesia, and by their aid alone Windthorst defeated his foe of Friedrichsruhe. In America Cardinals Ireland and Gibbons upheld the "Knights of Labour." In our own country the astute Manning constituted himself the dockers' champion, and in France, again, Cardinal Lavigerie is telling the Romanists "not to be afraid to sing the Marseillaise, or put the 'R. F.' on their houses."

All these different voices have been calling to Leo XIII., some of them very imperiously, and though, no doubt, the mere fact of their summons would not be in itself sufficient, yet when he looked around on the state of affairs, to judge for himself, what would he see?

The interests of princes and the interests of popes seem no longer to hang together. Kaisers and czars, monarchs and chancellors, do very little for St. Peter's See nowadays. If it were the democracy of Italy that upset the Pope, they put the King at the head of the movement. The old days when the Bishop of Rome was a temporal sovereign, courting alliance with, and conferring favours upon, his brother kings, are gone never to return; and so far are the conditions changed that, except, perhaps, in Austria and the Spanish Peninsula, European monarchs regard the Papacy with either indifference or hostility. But besides this, what scruple can affect the Holy See in raising social questions when she perceives kings themselves engage in discussing them in order to refurbish the paling lustre of their crowns? We have in Germany a monarch of mechanics—why not in Italy a pope of proletarians? If it is worth trying for the young Kaiser, it ought to be for the old Pope; and momentous as the experiment is for the temporal ruler, it is more so for him who would combine with the temporal sovereignty a spiritual one as well. For there seems little doubt that by the democracy of the various countries the power of the Papacy must stand or fall. It is simply a question of counting heads. If the "wild mob's million feet" do not combine to kick the Pope from his pedestal, it is difficult to assign any period to his power; and *vice versa*, the moment the people of different nationalities pronounce against it, it is gone. Kings can at least combine with each other, but there is only one pope, and the kings seem no longer to regard him as one of their number. Such would be the upshot of his reflections.

Well, then, granting that the conditions no longer exist under which the Pope could look to the reigning monarchs of Europe as his natural allies, to whom must he look for support? It can only be to the democracy. Sovereigns are either indifferent or hostile, and besides that, there is no denying that according to that elusive but very real factor, the "spirit of the age," the power of things has shifted to the proletariat. That has long been the case in France, Switzerland, and the United States; it is so now in our own country, Italy, and, more or less, in all European states but Russia, which is out of the question as far as Romanism is concerned. The "old order" is still, in a sense, master of the situation, owing to prestige, wealth, and that *start* which comes from

centuries of previous power; but it is slowly changing, and the race will be to the new. Who is quicker to see the sign of the times than the subtle Roman? All "personages" are endeavouring to ingratiate themselves with the democracy—the Papacy must not be eclipsed.

Of course, it has been very different in times past. Then the Pope was a kind of Superintendent of Police for the district of Europe, and his clergy were "policemen in cassocks." Kings and all existing powers regarded the Roman Church as a watch-dog keeping a jealous eye over the masses on their behalf. Rome fulfilled the function well, and the democracy now, if it cared to read history, would find how she always repressed any generous outburst from beneath, and smothered any efforts at independence; so completely, in fact, that her present *volte-face* would rightly inspire a keen distrust. Unfortunately, the democracy do not read history, and the Papacy forgets it—when necessary. So now the very Church which stood as a sentinel before thrones aims at becoming a demagogue. What more striking proof could we have of the way in which power has shifted?

Since then this change has taken place, and that, too, to a degree of which we cannot yet even estimate the results, from the standpoint of policy the issue of the Papal encyclical was a good move on behalf of the Roman Church. It answers the ardent wishes of the most earnest of her sons; it cannot alienate crowned heads more than at present, and it may succeed in propitiating that unwieldy monarch whose strength lies hidden in the future.

So far so good—but we must ask ourselves, What does the Pope mean by Socialism? It is a truism to say that that word conveys different ideas to different people. It is a word that covers a multitude of meanings. In our own country it ranges through successive stages, from the anarchism which is happily almost non-existent, through democratic federations, Radical clubs, Fabian societies, drawing-room discussions, to Lord Salisbury's latest development, that of giving the nation a State-paid education of all its children. But through most of these ideas (and there is as yet no authoritative definition of Socialism) there runs one prominent feature. It is that of the State acting on behalf of the people. Let us examine three definitions by very different writers. Though they are English, yet the same idea is characteristic of Continental Socialism: "Socialism is a desire that the capricious gifts of nature may be intercepted by some agency having the power and the good-will to distribute them justly according to the labour done by each in the collective search for them. The means to its fulfilment is the social democratic state" ("Socialism,"

p. 4). This is the opinion of the comparatively moderate Fabian Society. Next let us take the view of an independent and by no means milk-and-watery Socialist: "The logical terminus (of Socialism) is the completion of the process of socialization, *i.e.*, the *complete* socialization not only of production but of exchange as well" ("Ethics of Socialism," p. 37).

We may close with the opinion of an unbiased and independent inquirer: "Such a system means the democratic control of government, central and local, and the co-operative control of industry by the free, intelligent, industrious people. In short, Socialism means democracy in politics; unselfishness, altruism, or Christian ethics; in economics, the principle of co-operation or association" ("Enquiry into Socialism," Kirkup, p. 185).

We have been thus particular in quoting passages to prove the fundamental idea of Socialism—the interference of a democratic State in everything on behalf of the people, which no doubt our readers were perfectly well acquainted with already—because we wish to show that the Pope means a very different thing by that "Socialism" which commends itself to him. And here we would acknowledge our obligation to a recent work<sup>1</sup> by the well-known French writer on economics, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. It originally appeared, in three different parts, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; and the author, writing from the standpoint of a moderate and liberal Roman Catholic, labours to convince his co-religionists that the time need never come for them to be pounded between the mortar of spiritual authority and the pestle of the new democracy. Into this we need not follow him, our aim being only to examine the teaching of the Pope in his encyclical.

The Encyclical of Leo XIII., "De conditione opificum," is of course in Latin throughout. It is not formally divided into divisions or chapters; that is not customary with these Papal pronouncements. None the less clearly does it fall into four natural divisions, without reckoning a rapid introduction and a short conclusion. The first part is devoted to the examination of Socialism; the second, to the social action of religion, and the consequent solution of the question by that means. (Of course everyone will understand that throughout the document the expression "religion" is arrogantly made synonymous with the action of the Roman Catholic Church.) The third section discusses the question of the part to be

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<sup>1</sup> "La Papauté, le Socialisme, et la Démocratie," par A. Leroy-Beaulieu. Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1892. This has been ably translated by Professor O'Donnell of Dublin, and published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall, since this article was written.

played by the State: its intervention by means of social legislation; holidays; duration of working hours; wages, and so forth. The fourth and last division treats of industrial associations and corporations. It will be seen that, as regards practical matters apart from theological, historic, or academic questions, the crux of the encyclical lies in the third part. It is there that Socialists must turn to see what is given, and their opponents to learn what is withheld.

In the first part the Pope examines theoretic socialism, but only to condemn it. If his teaching have any sort of infallibility as regards social questions, it is difficult to understand how any Papist can henceforth call himself Socialist also. By Socialism he understands collectivism—that is to say, he accepts the word in perhaps its most usual meaning, of sacrificing individual rights to the general interest of the aggregate. In fact, he begins by a very clear definition that “Socialists pretend that possession of private property ought to be abolished, that all things ought to be had in common, and their administration entrusted either to the municipality or the State.”<sup>1</sup> Some would urge that this explanation is too harsh and crude, but, such as it is, it is certainly the one adopted by Leo XIII., and in any case it is interesting to observe his opinion, if merely as that of a trained intellect with unusual facilities for grasping the situation.

If, therefore, any of the leaders of the movement in England fondly imagine they have the power of the Papacy at their back, it would seem that they are grievously mistaken. For having first defined, he goes on to shatter this system of collectivism. The right of private property has never enjoyed a more vigorous champion. He upholds alike the possession of capital, in opposition to Marx, and of land, in opposition to Henry George. Naturally the arguments and details of this part of the encyclical are philosophical and academic. There is nothing unusual about them, certainly nothing new or brilliant, almost what one would expect to find in an essay against Socialism read at a mutual improvement society. We cannot, for questions of space, examine all the points in detail, and indeed it is unnecessary, but it is interesting to quote the closing remark of what we have termed the Pope’s inquiry into Socialism. We translate:

From all these reasons it is manifest that the Socialist theory of collective property is absolutely to be condemned (*omnino repudiari oportere*), as it is injurious to the very people whom it is sought to benefit, contrary to the natural rights of individuals, and dangerous to good government and the public tranquillity. Let it, therefore, be

<sup>1</sup> *Socialista quidem, evertere privatas bonorum possessiones contendunt oportere, earumque loco communia universis singulorum bona facere; procurantibus viris qui aut municipio præsint, aut totam rempublicam gerant.*



established that when the improvement of the people is desired the foremost thing to be considered is the inviolability of private property.

There cannot be much doubt about *this*, and one could wish that some of our impulsive English writers, who are always prating about the "generous Socialism" of the "Catholic" Church, in contradistinction to the hard individualism of the Established Church in England, would take the trouble to find out what the sovereign Pontiff really does think—and say. Whether the leading ethical idea of modern Socialism—the holding of goods by all for the advantage of each—be a Divine dream, or a hideous delusion, and it is not within the scope of this article to discuss the question, no one could more sharply define it as the latter than the head of the Roman Church.

But the Pope admits the social evils of to-day: paints them, indeed, in colours which to many minds would seem exaggerated. Therefore he proceeds to discuss how best they may be remedied, and with the treatment of this question we arrive at the second division of his encyclical. Now there is no denying that here he treads common ground with most of us. He finds, as indeed all Christian people do, the true medicine for the sickness of the times in a better adoption and a wider extension of Christian principles. Much of his language, no doubt, is vague and misty, written, so it seems, with an eye for effect. All of the ideas are the common property of Christianity, though, of course, in the encyclical there is no such thing as Christianity outside of Romanism. The magnificent works of Protestantism in Germany, the piety, zeal, and devotion of the Anglican Church, the fervour and spirituality of the great Nonconforming bodies—all these might never have existed. All is Rome. Vain it is to issue solemn and pompous declamations about finding the surest means of healing social plagues by restoring the Christian ideal among the people while such a spirit obtains. It is no use to say, "Go to Christ and you will be healed," when it is meant, "Go to the Pope."

Again, we may content ourselves with quoting the concluding sentence of this section. After speaking of the alleviation of misery that can be affected by Christian charity, the following assertion is made:

The Church alone possesses the virtue of Christian charity, because it can only be derived from the sacred heart of Jesus Christ; but whoever is outside of the Church is wandering far away from Christ.

No doubt such teaching as this is repellent, not only to the Christian who shrinks from participating in Roman error, but to the mere man of the world, or the "honorary member of all religions." Yet, apart from such a stain, there is a good deal that is profitable and useful in this section, simply because

there is much, as we have said, that is the universal heritage of Christianity, and is well and forcibly expressed. The Pope, moreover, in beginning his next division, gives clear expression to a doubt which he shares with most thoughtful Christians. That is, how far will people in the mass accept Christian morality? Even though it may be conclusively proved that the Gospel is the best remedy for existing social evils, how far has the Gospel, as urged by man, the power to enforce itself? Obviously it has none, except over Christians, and Scripture expressly informs us that these will be the few, not the many. Therefore, though Christian morality is the only safeguard, who is to enforce it? If the world will not submit voluntarily to justice, who is to compel it? That is the great problem of our time, and expressed in different words it is this: How far is the State to interfere with the people?

Now, there is not one of us who does not recognise the right of the State to intervention in a certain degree. Setting aside such questions as the regulation of adult labour, distribution of wealth, possession of property, it is evident that no one refuses to the State its right of watching over and maintaining the privileges of all. It is not only its right but its duty to protect all, and especially those who are less capable than others of protecting themselves. The Pope accepts this principle:

The State, he says, must protect all classes of citizens, and that in the full exercise of its right (*idque jure suo optimo*), and without having to fear the reproach of interference, for by the very virtue of its office the State must serve the common interest.

Such is his general principle. And such, too, is ours, but it is only philosophical for most of us. Here theory is less important than practice. If the State has the right of intervening, what must be the conditions, and what ought to be the limits, of her intervention? In reality that is the whole question, for very few argue against the right, or, rather, the duty, of the State to protect the welfare of all classes. No man is an individualist out and out. All that separates him from the Socialist is the measure and amount of State interference. Now, as we have seen, the cardinal Socialist dogma is the control of the State in everything—politics, economics, and ethics. How does the Pope treat this?

Very cavalierly indeed. After having established the right of the State to intervention, he hastens to limit the right. This intervention must be exercised only where it is absolutely indispensable, where there is no other means of grappling with the evils of society, only as a last, and dangerous, resource. What are his own words?

If, then, the general interest, or the interest of one class in particular,

be either injured or threatened, and that it is impossible to remedy them or prevent them in any other way (*quod sanari aut prohiberi alia ratione non possit*), it is necessary to have recourse to public authority.

This is only a spirit of *pis-aller*, and it would be difficult indeed to claim the Pope in any way as a partisan of State authority. He is in direct antagonism to the leading formula of Socialism—what is termed the “providential State.” So far from regarding public government as a father to whom all classes should trust themselves, as being in the same family, the Pope regards it with dire suspicion. The encyclical proceeds to justify this opinion by many arguments. The individual, the family, private societies, are defended from absorption by the central authority. The language on this point is equally clear with that of the first section. There, Socialism in theory, *i.e.*, the possession of common property, is denounced; here, Socialism in practice, or entire State control, is no less vigorously condemned. But in what points, then, does the Pope recognise the interference of the State? If that should only be allowed when necessary, under what circumstances is it necessary? This is the next problem. Here, however, the subject is very cautiously handled. The pressing practical questions of capital and labour fall into two divisions, time of work, and rate of wages. The Pope glides very carefully over these dangerous points. The “three eights” of the labour programme will be some time before they can claim his patronage. When he can afford to give the working man a cheap encouragement, no words are spared. Thus there is only one point on which he gives a really clear definition; that is, the day of weekly rest. It must not be forgotten that the English Sunday is unknown abroad, and it is instructive to find that Continental Socialists are clamouring for it. Here the Pope is on sure ground. What they ask is not an innovation of modern times, but a return to antiquity. It is the first article of the old social code promulgated for all nations from Sinai’s heights, and, therefore, all will give their sympathy to the Roman Church in endeavouring to maintain this great possession of Christianity.

On hours of work the Pope is very guarded. He claims limitation of hours, indeed, for children. But he is much less categorical on behalf of women, and gives no indication at all as to men. His teachings are no more explicit as regards wages. On this point, as on many others, he contents himself with laying down general principles, and carefully refraining from entering into details of application. He maintains that the salary should be sufficient to assure the existence of the workman and his family. He claims that the wages should respond adequately to the work done. He declares that when

“a workman, constrained by necessity, accepts unduly harsh conditions, which he cannot refuse, he undergoes a violence against which justice protests.” But once he has laid down these theoretical statements he stops short. He retreats before the idea of government interference. He appeals to associations, to corporations. In fact, though we do not enter into details, the Pope accepts State control with great reserve, and certainly under greater restrictions than is the case in England. As for the Socialist—there is no hope for him. Leo XIII. ends up in everything by discouraging State intervention, and when he does admit it it is only grudgingly, as a *pis-aller*.

The fourth section of the encyclical need not be discussed here, as it does not treat of Socialism proper. In it the Pope advises co-operation as a remedy. No doubt it is, in theory; but unfortunately, so far, practical co-operation has met with but indifferent success. We may note in passing that he condemns trade unions and upholds free labour.

In conclusion it might be asked, with what feeling should English Churchmen treat the encyclical as likely to affect in any way their position in the large towns? We think, with indifference. There is no doubt but that the Pope issued it as a bid for the popular breath. We have seen that this action was almost forced upon him by various considerations. Nothing else could have been expected. But it may also be inferred that no particular results will follow. The encyclical cannot appease the Socialists. We have seen that in every point where it is not vague it is opposed to their teachings. And on the Continent Socialism and the democracy are almost beginning to coincide. Therefore, as a bid for the regaining of temporal power, which, without wishing to be uncharitable, we may safely assign as a potent factor in its composition, the encyclical will fall flat. As an academic disquisition it may prove of interest to the pious “sons of the Church.” The English clergyman, however, can draw one lesson, when he observes the failure the Pope has made in his attempt to sit upon two stools. It is the lesson well enforced by Professor Sanday:<sup>1</sup>

If, then, a clergyman is to keep at the high level of his calling; if he is to preach Christ and the mind of Christ, I think that he will hesitate much to mix himself up in such things as trade disputes and agitations.

These great economic movements will work out their own progress without any unsought-for interference on the part of the minister of religion. All that he can do is to privately influence the actors therein. In other words, he should have little to do with Socialism, but a great deal with Socialists.

W. A. PURTON.

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<sup>1</sup> “Two Present-day Questions,” by Prof. W. Sanday.

ART. IV.—CURIOSITIES OF PATRISTIC AND  
MEDIÆVAL LITERATURE.

## No. II.

IT is not for the sake of mere curiosity that these literary curiosities are set before the readers of the CHURCHMAN.

The former paper of this series aimed at showing how the doctrine of the Eucharist must have been changed between the fourth and the sixteenth centuries. Such a change is the only reasonable way of accounting for the fact that a distinct statement of Augustin in his own *ipsissima verba* was hastily marked with the brand of heresy by a Romish divine in 1608.

It was the figurative interpretation of our blessed Lord's words concerning eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, which was taught by the great Bishop of Hippo, and denounced by the Papist De Villiers.

In the present paper also we shall have to do with the question of the figurative or representative character of the sacramental elements.

We shall have to mark how in the eighth century the consecrated elements were asserted by some, and denied by others, to be *images*, or *figures*, or *representations*,<sup>1</sup> or types of the Body and Blood of Christ.

There is a very remarkable *curiosity* connected with the use of the word *antitypes* (and the like) as used by the earlier Fathers, and as affording a bone of contention between two Councils (both summoned as *Œcumenical*) in the latter half of the eighth century, which may well afford another most important lesson of instruction concerning the growth of Eucharistic doctrine in the advancing ages of the Church's history.

These councils belong to a period in ecclesiastical history which is not, perhaps, very often carefully studied; and it may probably be assumed that many of the readers of the CHURCHMAN are not familiar with it. It will be desirable, therefore, to give something of an outline of such portions of this history as are important for the purpose which we have in view.

But first it will be necessary to say a word for English readers concerning the meaning of the word *antitype*.

The sense it bears in our modern language is here altogether out of sight. It is true that before this date occasional examples of such a sense may be found. But such examples are quite exceptional. All readers of the Greek Testament

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<sup>1</sup> On the distinction drawn by some between the terms *image*, *figure* *representation*.—See "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 279, 280.

know that this word is used in the Epistle to the Hebrews to signify "the man-made *figures* of the true" most holy place in the heavens—not the truth or reality in heavenly things which correspond to the earthly representations. The antitype is nothing but the earthly representation or sign of that which is the heavenly and the true. The *ἀντί* here is not the *ἀντί* of correspondence or *συστοιχία* in heavenly things, but it is the *ἀντί* of substitution or proxyship. And the *ἀντίτυπον* is thus the earthly type which *stands* to represent the original or the reality in things above.

The period of history to which we are about to direct attention should be viewed in connection with the life of a very remarkable man, which terminated about the time of its commencement. John Mansour, commonly known as Joannes Damascenus, appears to have been born at Damascus towards the close of the previous century—the son of a Christian father who may probably be identified with the treasurer to the Caliph Abdulmelek. And John himself was at an early age called to the court, and became vizier to the then reigning Caliph. It was in the year 726 that the Byzantine Emperor, Leo the Isaurian, put forth an edict against image-worship, simply forbidding the adoration of images and paintings. This was followed in 730 by a second edict ordering the destruction of all such objects of worship. John of Damascus straightway stood forth as the champion of the images or icons, and sent forth two polemics against the action of the Emperor. But the most important of the works of Damascenus is his well-known book *De fide Orthodoxa*, which, as the first complete body of divinity which is known to us, has made its influence felt in the West as well as the East, and may probably have been before the Lombard when he prepared his famous "Sentences." In this work we have, for the present, only to notice one particular. Our attention must be confined to his dealing with the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He strongly insists that the bread and wine are not a *type* of the Body and Blood of Christ. "God forbid," he says, "but (they are) the very deified Body of the Lord itself" (*μη γένοιτο ἀλλ' ἀντὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον*), "since the Lord Himself said, *This is My*, not a type of My Body, *but My Body*; and not a type of My Blood, but *My Blood*" (lib. iv., cap. xiii., Op. tom. i., p. 271, edit. Le Quien). And a little further on he declares that if any had called the bread and wine antitypes (*ἀντίτυπα*) of the Body and Blood of the Lord, as Basil the Saint spake, they spoke it not after the consecration, but so named the oblation itself only before it had been consecrated (p. 273). In this matter Damascenus was following the lead of Anastasius of Mount Sinai, who had

taught in the seventh century that what Christians receive in the Eucharist is not an antitype (*ἀντίτυπον*) of Christ's Body and Blood. This Anastasius may perhaps be looked upon as "the first inventor" (to use the words of Waterland, vol. v., p. 195) "of the spiritual *bread-body*, or first founder of that system," though Waterland questions its having so early a date.

What all this has to do with our history will appear very shortly.

It is not to be wondered at that in this century a strong and determined opposition should have set in against the superstition and idolatry of image-worship. It is sad indeed to think that, at this date, Christianity should have become so deeply corrupted. "Images," we are told, "were selected to be god-parents; part of the colouring with which they had been painted was scratched off and mixed with the sacramental wine: the consecrated bread was first laid upon images, that so the faithful might receive from the hands of these saints the Body of the Lord" (Kurtz, "Hist. of Ch. Church," edit. Edersheim, vol. i., p. 252). Yet the monks and the populace, filled with superstitious zeal, were united in their opposition to the edicts of the Emperor. And in their resistance they were supported by the aged Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople. Conflicts with the military, tumults, and bloodshed followed. Pope Gregory II. spoke of the Emperor "as if he had been a silly, naughty boy;" and Gregory III., in a synod held at Rome in 732, "pronounced an anathema against all opponents of image-worship" (Kurtz, p. 253).

In 741 Leo the Isaurian died, and was succeeded by his son Constantinus V., commonly called in derision Copronymus. By him an *Œcumenical Council* was summoned to support him in his endeavours to put down this superstition. This synod met at Constantinople A.D. 754. There were present 350 bishops, but Rome sent no legates. And no patriarch came from Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem, cities which were now under the domination of the Saracens. Moreover, the See of Constantinople was then vacant. The Council showed itself quite ready to do the Emperor's bidding. It manifested no lack of zeal in carrying out the purpose for which it had been assembled. It pronounced "the most sweeping condemnation against every kind of reverence paid to images" (Kurtz, p. 254). We need not dwell now on the barbarous cruelty with which its decrees were enforced, nor on the dreadful anathema which followed, issued by Pope Stephen III., A.D. 769, against all opponents of images.

But we are concerned with the language of this Council. It is important for our purpose to notice how it speaks of the elements of the Holy Communion. In its desire to condemn

the likeness of images, and the idolatry which they encouraged, it insists that Christ ordained that the oblation should be of the substance of bread which does not resemble the form of a man, and this in order that there might be no room for idolatry to be brought in by a side wind (*ἀρτον οὐσίαν προσέταξεν προσφέρεισθαι, μὴ σχηματίζουσιν ἀνθρώπου μορφῆν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῆ*, Mansi., tom. xiii., c. 264). It states that no other form or type (than bread) was chosen by Christ as capable of representing His Incarnation (*ὡς οὐκ ἄλλου εἶδους ἐπιλεχθέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν, ἣ τύπον, εἰκονίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ σάρκωσιν δυναμένου, Ibid.*). And it calls this the Divinely-delivered image of His Flesh (*ἡ θεοπαράδοτος εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*); and, again, names it the true image of the Incarnate dispensation of Christ our God (*ἀψευδῆς εἰκὼν τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*).

So much for the *dicta* of this would-be Œcumenical Council. The Emperor died, and the wind changed. We pass over a period of thirty-three years. An Empress now sits on the throne. She is on the side of images. She is labouring to undo the work of the iconoclasts. Another Council is summoned. And this synod has been allowed to rank as œcumenical. The Pope is represented at this second Council of Nicæa, A.D. 787.

Here homage to images and prostration before pictures (distinguished from *λατρεία* due only to God) is allowed and approved.

But here again, for our present purpose, we are concerned with the language of this Council with respect to the elements of the Eucharist. At this synod were read the words of the synod of 754, and this reading was followed by the reading of its own words of reply and condemnation. Strong and vehement is the repudiation of what had been decreed by the previous Council—decrees which had been approved by some of the very Bishops<sup>1</sup> who now sat in judgment upon them. But what have they to say in reply to the contention that the Eucharistic elements are the only sanctioned representations of the Body of Christ?

It alleges that the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople, in turning away from the truth concerning the making of images, had been carried on in their error into another extreme madness of frenzy (*εἰς ἑτέραν ἐσχάτην ἀποπληξίας μανίαν*). They meet the assertion of the Eucharistic bread

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<sup>1</sup> An account of the humiliating conduct of the Bishops who had previously belonged to the party of the Iconoclasts may be seen in Canon Robertson's "Church History," vol. iii., p. 134.



being an image of Christ's Body by distinct denial. They assert that not one of the holy Apostles (the trumpet voices of the Holy Ghost), and not one of our illustrious Fathers, ever spoke of our unbloody sacrifice which is made for the remembrance of the Passion of our God and of His whole dispensation as an image of His Body. For they had not received of the Lord so to speak, or so to profess their belief (οὕτως λέγειν ἢ ὁμολογεῖν). In support of their assertion they quote from our Lord's words in John vi., and from the words of institution, noting that our Lord did not say, "Take, eat the image of My Body" (οὐκ εἶπε Λάβετε, φάγετε τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματός μου). Then, after further quoting from St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi., they conclude that "it is manifestly evident, as regards the unbloody sacrifice offered by the priest, that nowhere is it called an image or type, by the Lord, or by the Apostles, or by the Fathers, but the Body itself, and the Blood itself." And they add that indeed before the perfection of the consecration (πρὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τελειώσεως) it had seemed fit to some of the holy Fathers piously to name them *antitypes*. They mention by name Eustathius (who on Prov. ix. 5 had said, διὰ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἄρτου ἀντίτυπα τῶν σωματικῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κηρύττει μελῶν) and Basil (who ἐν τῇ ἐνχῆ τῆς θείας ἀναφορᾶς used these words θαρρόυντες προσεγγίζομεν τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου). They contend that in the case of Basil the context makes clear that his meaning is—that the elements are called antitypes before their consecration, but that afterwards they are called (and are, and are believed to be) simply the Body and Blood of Christ (μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἁγιασμόν σῶμα Κυρίου καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ λέγονται), Mansi, tom. xiii., c. 265.

It is believed that Damascenus had died in the interval between the Council of Constantinople and this second Council of Nicæa. But it is obvious to remark how his assertion concerning the use of the term *antitypes* is reproduced by the Fathers of the latter Council.

We have assuredly here a strange curiosity of Christian literature. It is strange, indeed, that two Councils, separated by so short an interval of time, should have left on record such different views of the Eucharistic service: that the first should, apparently without doubt or question, have regarded the elements as a figure or type, or image of Christ's Body and Blood; and that the second should have repudiated such an idea, and pronounced the language which speaks of the consecrated bread and wine as antitypes to be a contradiction of the faith and language and the tradition of the whole Christian Church. It seems almost as if the Council summoned by Irene

would fain have anticipated the action of De Villiers, and set its mark of *dicet hæreticus* against the doctrine maintained by the Council summoned by Copronymus. But in so doing it would certainly, like De Villiers, have made heretics of more than it meant, and of more than it could have dared thus to brand for denunciation.

Was the assertion of Damascenus<sup>1</sup> true—was the contention of the Council defensible, that none of the earlier Fathers of the Church has named the consecrated elements the antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ? A marginal note by the Greek scholiast stands to correct the error of the Council (and therein, also, of Damascenus); allows that it was *not true*; declares that after consecration the holy gifts are *often* called *antitypes*.

In a treatise on inductive logic, the argument of the Council might well be stated as a remarkable instance of inductive fallacy. Two or three examples are cited in support of the Council's contention that the consecrated elements are not spoken of as an image, and the conclusion is drawn as incontrovertible (*οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται*) that *nowhere*, by Apostles or Fathers, are they ever so designated; that any Fathers who used the term *antitypes* meant it only as applicable to the unconsecrated oblation.

The fallacy may easily be shown. It has been abundantly exposed. The mistake is now acknowledged by all. The misstatement is not defended by Romish controversialists.

But the reader may be glad to see a few examples of the use of the term *antitypes*, which was denied by the Council:

Τὴν προσφορὰν τελέσαντες ἐκκαλοῦμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅπως ἀποφήνη τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες τούτων τῶν ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΩΝ, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν (Irenæus, "Fragm.," Op. ed. Migne, c. 1253; No. xxxvii.).

This is one of the Pfaffian fragments, which since the loss of the Turin MS. cannot be verified. But the remarkable agreement with the liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions, as pointed out by Canon Heurtley ("Sermons on Recent Controversy," pp. 53, 54), leaves little doubt as to its being a genuine Patristic writing. The reader will observe that here the elements are spoken of as antitypes during their reception by the communicants.

Τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ ἡμῶν θυσιαστηρίου ἐπιτελούμενα ἀγιάζει

<sup>1</sup> Waterland justly observes (vol. v., p. 198): "Had he said just the reverse, viz., that the Fathers had never so called them *before* consecration, but *always after*, he had come much nearer the truth."

τὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σκεύη, *ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΙΑ* γὰρ εἰς τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος (Origen, as quoted by Julius Cæsar Bulenger, "Diatribæ contra Casaubonum," iii., p. 166).

Here the reader should mark how the table and vessels are said to be sanctified by the antitypes of the Lord's Body, which could only be after they had themselves been consecrated.

These examples are selected from many others as abundantly sufficing to disprove the assertion of the Nicene Council (see "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 287-292). To estimate their importance as bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist, they should be viewed in connection with another assertion of this Council, to the effect that if the sacrament is an image of the Body of Christ, it is not possible to be the Divine Body itself. [*Ἐἰ εἰκὼν τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶ, οὐκ ἐνδεχέται εἶναι αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον σῶμα* (Labbæus, tom. vii., c. 449.)] In this saying, the Council is only echoing the voices of many other witnesses (see "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 298, 299).

So then we have the Constantinopolitan Council regarding the Eucharistic bread as an image (figure or sign) of the Body of Christ, and therein following the examples of a multitude of earlier Fathers of the Church, Western as well as Eastern. And then a generation later we have the Nicene Council pronouncing such views to come of the delirium of madness, denying the truth that the Fathers had used such language aforetime, and affirming that such expressions cannot be reconciled with what they maintain to be the only truth of the Eucharist, that it is the very Body and Blood of Christ.

Here then, at first sight, we seem to have the same conflict of doctrines as that which we observed between the views of Augustin on the one side, holding the figurative sense of our Lord's words of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, and those of De Villiers and the modern Romish controversialists on the other side, rejecting such figurative interpretations of the words which speak of the Lord's Body and Blood in the Eucharist, and condemning as heretics all who deny the oral manducation of the very Body and Blood themselves.

But we should greatly err if we should hastily assume that the two cases are parallel because they appear so similar.

Of these two Councils we can scarcely perhaps identify the views of the first with those of Augustin. And the views of the second must be clearly seen to be very far removed from those of the Council of Trent.

(1) First, as regards its Constantinopolitan doctrine. Notwithstanding its use of the word *image* (which it uses to exclude all other images or icons), this synod uses language which, in its natural sense, would seem to teach a supernatural change wrought by consecration in the elements themselves,

*extra usum*—the Holy Ghost so coming upon them as to constitute a miracle corresponding (in some sense) with the mystery of our Blessed Lord's Incarnation, and making the true image to be also (in some sense) the Divine Body (*θεῖον σῶμα*).<sup>1</sup>

It may perhaps appear doubtful to some whether St. Augustin's teaching does not sometimes seem to go beyond the meaning which our Reformers meant to be conveyed by the language which speaks of the elements as "effectual signs," and truly "exhibitive" of that which they signify.<sup>2</sup> But it is doubted whether in Augustin's language any example can be found to show that Eucharistic doctrine had ever in his teaching approached the point which it seems to have attained in the teaching of the Council of Constantinople in 754.

(2) But it is far more certain and far more demonstrable that the teaching of the Nicene Council was something quite distinct from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation and the real Presence. And this distinction needs to be emphasized by those who would view aright the stages of progress by which in ages of ever-increasing corruption the doctrine of the Eucharist attained at length to its full growth of superstition and idolatry.

It has not, perhaps, been sufficiently recognised how widely the thought of the Eastern Church was influenced by the doctrine, or something like the doctrine, which has sometimes been designated by the name of the "Augmentation" doctrine. We have seen the Nicene Council following in the wake of the great doctor of the East, Joannes Damascenus. Nowhere, we believe, is to be found a clearer statement of the Augmentation doctrine than in his writings. The reader may be referred again to his treatise "De fide orthodoxa," lib. iv., cap. xiii. There he will see how the author, comparing the mystery of the Eucharist with the mystery of the Incarnation, insists that

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<sup>1</sup> It may be questioned whether the doctrine of the Constantinopolitan Synod has not been somewhat minimized by Waterland (Works, vol. v., p. 201 *sqq.*). But his view of the meaning of its language is supported by the following quotation, which he makes from the Emperor Copronymus, as it has been preserved by Nicephorus, who was Patriarch of Constantinople from 800 to 815. Ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς ἀγίοις μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, παραδοῦναι δι' οὗ ἡράσθη πράγματος τύπον εἰς σῶμα αὐτῶν. Ἴνα διὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀναγωγῆς, κἀκεῖ ἐκ μετοχῆς καὶ θέσει γίνηται, λάβωμεν αὐτὸ, ὡς κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, σῶμα αὐτῶν. (In Notis ad Damascen., tom. i., p. 354.) For the sense of *κυρίως* he refers to "Albertinus de Euch.," p. 461; and "Claude," Part II., p. 76.—As to the use of the term "Deification," see "Albertinus," p. 914; and Robertson's "History of the Christian Church," vol. iii., p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Sayings, however, of Augustin and others, which, in their ambiguities may have a doubtful sound, may fairly claim a favourable interpretation to bring them into harmony with statements, more distinct and decisive, made elsewhere.—See "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 317, 318.

the bread and wine are changed into the Divine Body and Blood (*μεταποιούνται εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα θεοῦ*). This he regards as the result of the supervention of the Holy Ghost effecting that which surpasses human conception (*Πνεῦμα ἄγιον ἐπιφουτᾶ, καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὰ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοϊαν*). He deprecates investigations as to the mode (*ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἀνεξερεύνητος*); but ventures on this much of explanation: that as bread which is eaten, and wine and water which are drunk, are changed (*μεταβάλλονται*) into the body and blood of him who eats and drinks, and becomes not another body different from the body which he had before; so the bread and wine, by the invocation and supervention of the Holy Ghost (*διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφουτῆσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*), are supernaturally changed (*ὑπερφύως μεταποιούνται*) into the Body and Blood of Christ, not making two bodies, but one and the same Body (*καὶ οὐκ εἰσι δύο, ἀλλ' ἓν, καὶ τὸ αὐτό*).<sup>1</sup>

The language of Damascenus here is very instructive. To the reader who studies it carefully two observations occur almost inevitably. *First*, the reader can hardly fail to observe how a remarkable similarity of language is paving the way for a farther advance of superstition, making easy the approaches to the full doctrine of the Council of Trent. And *secondly*, he cannot help noting how, notwithstanding this, the idea of Damascenus is entirely separate and distinct from that of the subsequent stages of doctrinal advance.

There is nothing here to be compared to the teaching of the same Body being at the same time in more places than one. Superstition has not yet come near to the point—the writer seems rather to regard as inaccessible and impossible to be contemplated the position—on which violence is to be done

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<sup>1</sup> Much more to the same effect might be quoted from the Greek Fathers. Some form of this doctrine, or some approximation to it, appears to have very widely extended itself in the East. It would be out of place to argue the point here. But much evidence to this effect will be found in Claude's "Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist," Part I., book iii., ch. xiii., pp. 227-239. So far as the Eastern doctrine (which mainly insists on the virtue and efficacy of the Body and Blood of Christ, see Claude, Part I., pp. 223-228, and Waterland's Works, vol. v., p. 190 *sqq.*), took any definite form, it seems generally to have assumed something of this shape—the same similitudes and very much the same forms of expression frequently recurring, and the teaching of Damascenus ranking among them as oracular. (See Claude, Part I., Book III., ch. xiii., p. 221-340.) It may be that in some cases the view may have amounted to a conception of the hypostatical Union of Bread with the Divine Logos. But it is believed that very generally it may have fallen short of this. (See Claude, p. 238.) And, perhaps, it may be open to question whether those who used the language of *adoption*, *assumption*, *augmentation*, etc., would have been prepared to follow up their teachings to their logical conclusions.

to the simplest intuitions of common-sense by teaching faith to believe that, at the same moment, the same Body of Christ is in heaven at God's right hand, and on ten thousand separate altars on earth. With Damascenus, indeed, the bread is changed, and made into one and the same Body; not, however, by any Real Corporal Presence of Christ's Body in the form of the bread, but by the bread being added and incorporated (through the operation of the Spirit) into the one Body of Christ by way of augmentation or increase, as a mere human body incorporates into itself its natural food and sustenance. The idea conveyed is certainly not the idea conveyed by Romish doctrine. The two ideas may clothe themselves in language almost identical, yet they are separate one from another *toto calo*.

And this distinction explains what Rabanus Maurus in the next century is supposed to have written to Egilus when attempts were being made to put the wine of a *new* doctrine into the old bottles of this earlier language. He regards the Paschasian doctrine as a thing unheard of. He says (if Mabillon is right in thinking that he has recovered his letter in an anonymous MS. See "Romish Mass and English Church," p. 66), "Illud in hoc libro mihi prius fateor *inauditum* reperiri sub nomine sancti Ambrosii, quod non sit hæc alia caro Christi, quam quæ nata est de Maria, et passa in Cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro." (See Op. Rabani Mauri, Edit. Migne, tom. vi., c. 1513.)

But the Augmentation doctrine must not be supposed to be a peculiarity of Damascenus.<sup>1</sup> We believe that some sort of indefinite approaches to it were early made in the Eastern Church. And something more or less cognate to it seems afterwards to have prevailed very widely. Moreover, in the Western Church also, it largely made its influence to be felt.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> After the time of Damascenus the same or similar views seem to have exercised considerable influence also in the West. Notwithstanding Dr. Pusey's argument to the contrary ("Real Presence from the Fathers," pp. 5-9) the language of Rupertus Tuitiensis can hardly be understood in any other sense than as supporting some similar form of doctrine. But Rupert was by no means alone among the Westerns in propounding this doctrine. See "Romish Mass and English Church," p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Waterland says, "Before the end of the ninth century the *Eastern* innovations, introduced by Anastasius and Damascen, and established by the Nicene Council, spread wide and far, both among Greeks and Latins" (Works, vol. v., p. 204). "The old notion of a *sacrament*, as importing a *sign* and a *thing signified*, wore off apace; and now all the care was, how to make out that *very body and blood*, by some subtle evasions, or newly devised theories." (*Ibid.*)

These theories Waterland regards as reducible perhaps to *five*: 1. The elements literally becoming the same *personal* Body [Anastasius, Damascen and the Nicene Fathers]. 2. The elements containing the same body.

After reading the language of Damascenus it is obviously impossible to argue that the language of the second Nicene Council indicates the doctrine now held by the Church of Rome. The language of the Council is to be read in the light, not of subsequent developments of Eucharistic doctrine, but of what we gather of earlier and contemporary Christian thought on the subject.

It is probable, at least, that the language of the Council is intended to convey a meaning similar to that of Damascenus. The form of doctrine which he upheld may have admitted certain not inconsiderable varieties of phase, and may have found expression in slightly varying terms. The Constantinopolitan Council held that the *εἰκὼν* was the Lord's Body, *θέσει*, which has been translated sometimes by the Latin *adoptio*ne (Mansi, tom. xiii., c. 263), sometimes by *positio*ne (*ibid.*, c. 679). Perhaps the best English rendering would be "by appointment or institution." And though this language is ridiculed by the Nicene Council (Mansi, tom. xiii., c. 265), and though it conveys an idea which falls far short of *augmentation*, it may possibly have been intended to indicate a doctrine diverging indeed from that which was held by the Fathers of that Council, yet not so far removed from it as at first sight may have appeared.

Every form of this doctrine which thus speaks of the elements as the very Body and Blood of Christ, regarding them as made so to be, whether (1) by appointment or adoption, into union with the true Body of Christ, or (2) by way of augmentation and incorporation into His Body, attributing this change to the advent and supervention of the Holy Ghost, should be viewed in connection with the Eastern doctrine of the consecra-

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[Paschasius?]. 3. The elements becoming *another* personal Body [Rupertus Tuitiensis? Odo Cameracensis?]. 4. The elements containing another personal Body [Ratramn?]. 5. The elements being or containing a *true* and *proper* Body of Christ, distinct and different from a *personal* Body [Remigius of Auxerre, Pseudo-Alcuin "De Divinis Officiis"]. See "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 294, 295 and 297.

These all (except No. 2) seem to be slightly varying modifications of the same general view, according to which the language of the earlier Fathers is to be rejected, and the consecrated elements are to be regarded (not as *signs*, or *figures*, or *antitypes* of the Body and Blood, but) as the very Body and Blood of Christ, in virtue of their being, in some way, spiritually united to the person of the Logos, or to the Body of Christ.

It is scarcely needful to say that this view is quite distinct, and indeed very far removed, from that of the Real Presence of Romish or Lutheran doctrine.

When sayings of the Fathers are adduced, which *sound like* the Real Objective Presence, and seem to present difficulties which cannot be solved by the interpretative *dicta* of Augustin and others, it will be found, if we mistake not, that they can, for the most part, be easily understood, as expressing or implying some (perhaps very indefinite) form of, or some approximation to, this view.

tion, which attributes the change (not as the Western) to the words of institution, but to the invocation of the Holy Spirit. This is an interesting subject, but one which space will not permit us to dwell upon.

But this augmentation doctrine should also, and especially, be viewed in connection with the teaching of our own incorporation, by the operation of the one Spirit into the one mystical Body of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Does it not seem to rest on the mistaken assumption that as the medium of our spiritual participation of Christ, the sacrament must first itself be all that it can make us, by its reception, to be<sup>2</sup> that if, by being partakers of the one bread (1 Cor. x. 17), we are made to be partakers of the one Body, the bread itself must first be converted into that Body, and be made Divine by the indwelling of the Spirit, even as 'the receivers are Divinely united to the living Christ and made to drink into one Spirit?

This is a mistake, and a mistake which (like other forms of Eucharistic error) arises from a forgetfulness of the truth, that in the Eucharist we have to do primarily and immediately and directly with the atonement of the death of Christ, with His Body and Blood as given for us, and separate in death for our sins, and that our spiritual union with the glorified Christ is that which *follows upon* our communion and partaking of the sacrifice of the death of Christ.

And our history has shown us how, when this mistaken notion has taken hold of men's minds, it tends to repel and reject the language which, in earlier and purer times, regarded the consecrated elements as *antitypes*, and spoke of them as images, figures and signs of the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus it is that this first step in departure from the teaching of Scripture was preparing the way for the incoming of Paschasian and then of Tridentine doctrine.

And may we not see here also how needful it was that our Reformation should take us back to the earlier and purer

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<sup>1</sup> The Fathers frequently set side by side, and in connection one with another, the two sayings (1) that the Sacrament is the Body of Christ; (2) that the Church is the Body of Christ. See examples in "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 317-329. But they recognised also the truth that by Baptism we are incorporated into the Body of Christ; and this (notwithstanding later superstitions of the East) without the water being made to be the Body and Blood of Christ. Leo's saying, "Ut corpus regeuerati fiat caro Crucifixi" (De Pass. Dom. Serm. xiv. In Heptas. Præsalum, p. 62) is but the expression of a truth universally recognised.

<sup>2</sup> See especially the language of Nicholas of Methone, "De Corpore et Sanguine D." in Migne's P. G., tom. cxxxv., c. 512, language which in part is borrowed from Chrysostom. See also "Eucharistic Worship," p. 317 *sqq.*



teaching, to the doctrine which did not hesitate to call the elements *figures* and *antitypes*?<sup>1</sup> And may we not see also how needful it is for us, if we would uphold the truth taught by our English Reformation, that we should earnestly contend for the doctrine which bids us to regard the elements as *effectual signs*, signs, indeed, truly effectual for the real communion of the Body and Blood of Christ to the exceeding comfort and health of our souls, but still *signs*—*signs* which, though rightly bearing the names of those things of which they are effectual conveyances, cannot possibly be themselves the signs and the things signified? True faith does no violence to sanctified reason and intelligent common-sense. And sanctified common-sense, rejecting many statements of the Nicene Council, willingly accepts from it this one *dictum*: 'Ἐν εἰκῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔστι, οὐκ ἐνδεχέται εἶναι αὐτο τὸ θεῖον σῶμα.

N. DIMOCK.

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#### ART. V.—PALESTINE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

WHEN I was permitted to address the readers of the CHURCHMAN in May last, on "Palestine as a Field of Missions," I had no idea of the intense interest that would be awakened in the hearts of many in the land and its people in so short a time. But it is a feature of these days that events move rapidly. And in nothing is this more clearly seen than in the things that are happening in connection with God's people Israel.

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting and instructive to compare the faith of the Syrian Christians of Malabar as represented by the Romanists at the Synod of Diamper, A.D. 1599. It appears to have been alleged against them: "They held that the true Body of our Lord is not in the holy sacrament of the altar but only a figure thereof, that the holy Eucharist is only the image of Christ, and is distinguished from Him as an image is distinguished from a true man; that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is not there nor anywhere else but in heaven, at the right hand of the Father; that under the element of bread is only the body of Christ without Blood, and under the element of wine the Blood without the Body, and that in this sacrament there is only the virtue of Christ but not His Body and Blood. Further, the priest seemed to call on the Holy Ghost to come down from heaven to consecrate the elements, 'whereas in truth it is the priest that does it, though not in his own words, but in the words of Christ.'" (Rae's "Syrian Church in India," p. 236.) Again, "The Syrians lacked 'the healthful use of pictures'; they maintained that images are filthy and abominable idols, and ought not to be adored." (*Ibid.*, p. 238.)

For many years past there has been a gradual amelioration of the state of the Jews in nearly all the countries in which they have settled, and the consequence has been that they have prospered in a remarkable manner, and have learnt to look upon their adopted country as their home, in which they may rest in ease and comfort. Their wealth has rapidly increased, and mingling with the nations they have laid aside many of their distinctive features, while they have still remained a separate people, and have not amalgamated with those among whom they have lived. With this ease and prosperity they have lost much of the feeling that they are an exiled race, and their hearts have been weaned from the home of their fathers, the land which God had promised to Abraham and his seed for ever. But it did not accord with the purposes of God that they should thus settle down in ease and comfort in the lands in which He had scattered them. He has used, therefore, the very prosperity which caused them to rest to stir up the envy and jealousy of those whom they had outstripped in the race for wealth, and out of whom they had in many cases made their wealth. Out of this arose the hatred displayed in Germany against them, and the bitter words that were spoken and written by some who were leaders of religious thought in that land. By this mild form of persecution, as we now esteem it, God stirred them up and made them feel that that was not their rest. And under this many of the Jewish papers began to speak of Palestine as the only land in which their race could hope to find a resting-place and a home. We, living in this country, reading these things in the Jewish papers and hearing them spoken about, began to make up our minds and to prepare for the coming of some larger numbers than had arrived for some time, though the annual increase has been very considerable for the last eight years. But we were not prepared for what was about to happen. The awful outbreak and dreadful cruelties in Russia, before which even Bulgarian atrocities pale, came upon all suddenly, and a feeling of indignation was roused creditable to civilization and Christianity, but which can never restore the sense of security from which the Jews were awakened. Nor can anything which may be done by Russia or by all nations ever make them feel as they had learnt to feel by many years of peace and quietness. They had come to the conclusion that modern civilization had eradicated the old spirit of persecution, and that it would never be able to take root again. From this conclusion they have been driven by such terrible events that they can never again consider themselves secure in any country except their own. They have learnt that no civilization can hold in check popular fury. If once the dam is burst the

pent-up waters rush headlong down, carrying everything before them in their furious haste.

In their perplexity their eyes turn to Palestine, the land of their fathers, the home of their religion, and now their only place of refuge. At once friends and well-wishers form grand schemes of colonization, which carry their own condemnation and secure their own rejection. The land of Gilead is to be peopled by them; large tracts of land are to be bought, and a mass of people placed upon them. But the Porte has suffered too much from national sentiment and from race attraction to allow any such thing to be carried out.

Then come two great plans: emigration to America, the scheme of the Mansion House committee, and emigration to Northern Syria, the plan of Lady Strangford and Lord Shaftesbury. Supposing these two plans to be exceptionally successful, what will even then be done? By the former 10,000 have been sent to America, at a cost of over £100,000. We hear that by the latter forty-five families have just been sent off. And yet there remain in Russia some 4,000,000: those best able to protect themselves are taken away; the most helpless are left behind to care for themselves as best they may; the vast majority are untouched.

And in both cases the sentiment of home and fatherland is left out of account, and in neither place can they be sure of even toleration for any length of time. Moreover, such assisted emigration does not produce the best emigrants, for they always feel that those who have brought them are in some way responsible for their success, and if they do not succeed they will expect some further help. But, as has been said, supposing that both these schemes should succeed, the vast mass of Jews in Russia remains altogether untouched, a mass which cannot be ignored, and which has its anxieties, its longing for a place of safety, and its desires for its fatherland, as well as the more favoured ones that are helped to reach a place of safety.

And so they turn to Palestine, and not without reason. For even as it is, under Turkish rule, it affords to them greater safety than any other country in the world. Despite a large amount of ill-feeling between Mahometans and Jews, there has been less of persecution and ill-treatment in the Turkish dominions for the poor Jew than in other places.

Then the sentiment above referred to, if it may not be called a reason, is a power that strongly draws them to this land.

But a reason, perhaps weightier than either of these, is that they would be able to reach Palestine, in most cases, by the disposal of such goods as they possess. The passage is not

long, and in most seasons of the year can be made on deck. And so they set their hearts on reaching Palestine. But they are told (1) that they will not be allowed to colonize. They think, however, that though the decree has gone forth it will not be carried out, as there is a vast difference between Turkish law and Turkish practice, and if they come in small numbers they believe that no notice will be taken of them. And they are not wrong. Then they are told (2) they will starve, as they will not be able to cultivate the land, and the trades are overstocked. But they are persuaded that they can cultivate the land. And we are daily proving in the strong health of the men we employ in outdoor labour that they are quite right. Moreover, they say they cannot be worse off than they are, and they may be better, and so, having lost nearly all they had, they determine to try their fortune. There must be some place for them, even for the humblest, and this seems to be the likeliest; and so they come, in small numbers of from ten to thirty families, and they are allowed to land and to disperse themselves about the country, and if only the Jews of the country would let them alone they would not be interfered with. But while the Turks are unconcerned about them, as they expected, the Jews, as they did not expect, are bitterly opposed to their coming, and spare no means to prevent their settlement.

*And why is this?*

1. The new comers are not Talmudists, and are, therefore, not so strictly bound by all their ceremonies, but in manners and dress are much more like the Europeans among whom they have lived.

2. The resident Jews fear that the supplies of Haluka, or alms, will be stopped, while the new arrivals will soon want to share it with them.

3. And chiefly because they will fall into the hands of the Christians, and be influenced by them.

No doubt all these reasons are true, and they cannot but operate strongly in the minds of the Jews here to stir them up to do their very utmost to prevent any such settlement of these people here. But of the three reasons given above the third is the most powerful, as it is also the most true. They cannot help falling into the hands of the Christians, but chiefly by the action of the Jews themselves.

These poor immigrants land in a most wretched state, many of them almost starving, or reduced to a very low condition, their funds nearly, if not quite, exhausted. But the thought that they have come to the home of their race, and that they will be met and welcomed by their own people, buoys them up to the last moment.

The disillusion speedily comes, sometimes even before they land. The Jews of the country in some cases have sent men on board the steamers to prevent their landing, even by the employment of force. In one case a Jew made an agreement with the boatmen, and when the boat was filled with the new arrivals, and they had got away from the ship, he announced to them that the Government would not allow them to land unless they first gave him 300 roubles. Some of them had money, but they refused to listen to any such demands, and the poor creatures were kept out in the blazing sun nearly the whole day, until at last they were compelled to yield, and the money was paid over to the inhuman monster. But, fortunately, the men who had paid had some sense and courage in them, and the next day they appealed to the Chaimakam, who compelled the wretch to disgorge his ill-gotten booty. But even if they get to land with something like comfort, they soon find that they are in a wretched plight. There is no kind friend to meet and advise them, or to take them and give them a lodging, and they find that the cheapest shelter they can get is with one of their own people, who charges them half a franc a night for each person, in a miserable, wretched place not good enough for pigs. And if they want advice, they find there is no one disinterested enough to tell them what they should do or to help them in any way. All want to gain something by them, or they will advise them according to their own interests, really caring nothing for the interest of those who seek advice. They are thus cast off by their own people, and compelled to look somewhere else. Soon they hear that there are some who know the country, and who are disinterested enough to give them the best advice, and at any rate some help towards obtaining a little more comfort. What matters it to them that they are Christians? In spite of the persecution which has come upon them they know that they have had very good neighbours among the Christians, and so they are led to try what these can do for them. They find that as many as can be accommodated, who are really poor, are welcome to a clean shelter in tents or in a wooden shed, without any charge, and, indeed, with some food where necessary, and they receive disinterested advice as to their future movements. They find, indeed, that all is discouraging at present, but they see some faint rays of hope, and they are cheered by genuine sympathy. Many of them, finding there is no work to be had in Jaffa, come on to Jerusalem, and having already experienced some Christian kindness, they soon find their way to the missionaries here. For a large number some work is provided, which, though it brings very little pay, yet keeps them from actual starvation.

The very contrast between this treatment and that which they have received at the hands of their co-religionists makes them ask what is the cause of the difference, and they find that after all these Christians are nearly all their own brethren according to the flesh, but that they believe in Jesus as their Messiah, and that love to Him impels them to do all that lies in their power to help those who are in need. It is a Hebrew Christian Church that meets them. They are attracted; many become inquirers, and all learn to respect a religion and its professors which they had been taught to hate and to despise. The inquirers are admitted into one of our institutions, and are there taught a trade which will enable them to keep themselves in a very short time. Some families are assisted to set up households and to commence business, upon which they will be able to live. We have thus, in connection with our work at the present time, in schools, institutions, outdoor labour, etc., more than two hundred and fifty persons, now Jews, but who will, in all probability, become Christians, though it must be distinctly understood that such temporal help as we are able to give is bestowed simply on the ground of poverty, and with no conditions of a religious nature attached in any way whatsoever.

This, then, is the state of affairs in Palestine at the present moment, and it not only taxes the energies of the missionary staff to the very utmost, but it calls for most serious consideration as to what must be done in the future in the spiritual interest of these people.

There are certain facts to be borne in mind as we approach this consideration :

1. We have not brought these immigrants here either by advice or help, although some of the Jewish papers accuse us of having written to invite them, an accusation that needs no refutation. They come, as many of themselves think, and as we firmly believe, because God is driving them here—stirring up their nests that they may be restored to their own land.

2. We find ourselves here, established through many years of patient labour by our predecessors, through many prayers of God's saints, as missionaries to these very people, to whom no one has yet preached the Gospel, the country where they have been living being closed against our work. But for this very reason they are the more open to the reception of the truth. And though so-called Christians have been their persecutors, they are not slow to learn the difference. They soon perceive that the religion of Jesus is not that which has prompted their persecutors. And as they are not Talmudists they find themselves in more accord with Hebrew Christians

in their mode of life than with Jerusalem Jews, who are of the most bigoted type. So that there is before us an open door.

3. For the present we have an overwhelming number of applications for temporal relief from those whose wants can only be met by special efforts.

And our institutions are filled with inquirers and catechumens, and numbers have to be provided for outside these.

What is to be done now, and in the future ?

The time, long foretold, of Israel's restoration has begun, as it seems to those who are on the spot.

In spite of Turkish prohibitions, of obstacles thrown in their way by their co-religionists, of coldness and indifference on the part of many who might be expected to help, the return of the Jews has commenced and is going on week by week. No doubt we may expect some slackening of the tide when the winter sets in, but it will only be to begin again with greater force. That they come in unbelief, that they arrive in great misery, is only in accordance with prophecy. But what then ? These two things give the great opportunity to the Christian Church. To relieve distress is to follow the example of the Master, and to find hearts opened thereby to the reception of the truth, is to have something of the experience of Christ and His Apostles.

But can nothing be done to help forward the return and to place the people in their own land with some hope of prosperity ? It can hardly be said that the land is open to them, for the Turks forbid anything like colonization by the purchase of large tracts of land ; but this may possibly be soon changed if only some influence is exerted on their behalf. But even as things are now much may be done. Individuals, or even companies, may purchase land from private owners, and many are already doing so. But there is another way open. The land is chiefly in the hands of the Fellahin, certain tracts being attached to certain villages. As a rule these Fellahin have to borrow money for seed, for cattle, and even for sustenance, to be repaid out of the following harvest. The rates of interest paid are most exorbitant, and consequently they become poorer and poorer year by year, and large portions of the land remain uncultivated. Now, if emigration societies, started to help these Jews, would turn their attention to this fact, much might be done for the Jews and the Fellahin at a far less cost than by the methods they are now carrying out. If ten or twelve families, most of whom would have some trade represented, were to be supplied with small capitals, at first a common fund, and were to be placed in one of these villages,

they would supply the capital needed, earn something in trade, and, having their proper share of the harvest, would be able to live in comparative comfort, which would improve year by year, and there would be no need to purchase land. And those who had no trade would be able to work in the cultivation of the land.

The question has often been asked, Can these Russian Jews do outdoor work in the heat of Palestine ?

And this question has been answered differently by the various authorities. Some who might be supposed to know answer with a decided negative. We have to some extent worked out an answer. All through the hot summer months we have had a band of men of all ages, varying in numbers from ten to fifty, at work with pick and spade in our sanatorium grounds, and though some came to us as miserable objects as could be imagined, they are now healthy and strong, and there have been scarcely any cases of illness amongst them, while those in the town have suffered very much. It seems, then, that with ordinary care they will be able to do all the farming operations required. Any money, then, that may be raised to help these poor refugees in this their time of distress will be best spent in directing and assisting those who find their way to this country.

Immense benefits may be conferred by comparatively small means if only judiciously used by responsible and sympathetic persons on the spot ; not by the missionaries certainly, but by those who will work in accord with the missionaries, for this ought to be distinctively a work of the Christian Church. And what then should we set before us as our aim ? To relieve distress in the first place as a Christian duty ; to win souls to Christ in the second, but chief place, as that which all believers are called upon to do as their duty and their delight.

And the means to this end are in part provided. The Jewish Mission with its institutions needs to be strengthened and expanded, and it will then be able to do its work. Larger schools are needed, in the first place, for we can have numbers of children. An enlarged Inquirers' Home, again, for the reception of inquirers when they first come. A larger House of Industry as a home for those who have to learn a trade, while they are being instructed in Christianity ; a Training School, or upper division of the House of Industry, for training schoolmasters for different parts of the country ; and also an upper class for schoolmistresses in connection with the Girls' School. These things can all be done at a very small additional expenditure, and will enable us to leaven the whole Restoration with Christianity by sending Christian committees side by side with the Jewish settlers, and so witnessing for Christ amongst His



restored people. Assisted by Christian philanthropy, enlightened by the lives of Christian neighbours, many will be led to rejoice in a Messiah already come, while they watch and wait for His Second Advent. And this is the work of the English Church. No other is working in this land amongst the Jews, and no other will attempt it if she will only do it earnestly and faithfully. But it *must be done*, and without delay. Our great difficulty is to make people in England realize the extent and importance of the work going on, and therefore we have but a feeble response to our appeal. We can only pray that our God would stir up the whole Church to assist in the work. The Jews' Society has been at work here for more than fifty years, and much good work has been accomplished and many souls saved; but it has been, after all, a time of preparation, working, waiting, and praying for the time of blessing to come. That time has now begun; the cloud was but as a man's hand, but it is now spreading and giving promise of showers of blessing. And is this a time to slacken effort? Rather must we gird up our loins to do the glorious work to which we are called, with all our energies, with redoubled prayers, putting forth all our powers, and using all the machinery of our Church, that so we may have a Hebrew Christian Church in the midst of the restored Hebrew nation. For though we do not expect to convert the nation, we do believe that Christianity must be known through the whole land.

Yes, the work *must* be done, even if other parts of the field are abandoned. Here in Jerusalem, in Palestine, the chief attacks on Talmudism and Rabbinism must be made, and the people be led to the pure religion of their father Abraham, who rejoiced to see the day of Christ—who saw it and was glad. Surely this is the manner in which we are to prepare the way of the Lord, that when the nation is restored, and perhaps the temple and its worship again established, according to the latter chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy, there may be in Jerusalem, and throughout the whole land, the offering up of a pure worship in the spiritual temple in the name of the great Messiah, the Lord Jesus Christ.

A. HASTINGS KELK.

CHRIST CHURCH, JERUSALEM.



## In Memoriam.

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THE death of the Founder and Editor of this Review is an event which requires more than a passing notice. Walter Purton was born in 1833. He received his university education at Cambridge, graduating from St. Catherine's College in 1859. His first curacy was with the Rev. Charles Holland, at Petworth in Sussex, where he worked with much success for six years, from 1859 to 1865. After a short period of duty at Blackpool, Lancashire, he returned to Sussex in 1866 as Rector of Coombe. Four years later he became Rector of Kingston-by-the-Sea, in the same county; and in 1888 he accepted the Crown parish of Poynings, a beautiful place on the north slope of the South Downs, containing in its boundaries the celebrated hill and ravine known as the Devil's Dyke. He was also at one time chaplain to the illustrious philanthropist, Anthony, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, and took a prominent part in the Chichester Diocesan Conference. The *Times* adds that although holding a country living he exercised for a large number of years a widespread influence, particularly through the religious press, for he was a man of considerable literary ability. He held successively three editorships, and published several devotional and other works.

<sup>1</sup> More than sixteen years have passed since Mr. Purton, mainly influenced, as he wrote, "by a deep conviction that work especially ministerial was that to which he should devote himself," resigned the editorship of the *Record*, an office which he had filled with credit and success for nearly eight years. It is a long time; long enough to throw into obscurity the events and to blur the details of his *régime*, but not long enough to efface the impression left in the minds of those who worked beside him, of his interesting personality. That impression is one of a frank, manly, genial nature; of a man with a hearty liking for his work, which he despatched with whole-heartedness and a bluff good-humour that commanded the affectionate admiration of his colleagues and assistants. For a short time after he became editor he continued to reside at Coombe, near Lancing, of which place he was Rector. Some indication may be gained of the increased demands made upon editors by modern enterprise when it is seen that it was then possible for Mr. Purton to transact a portion of his duties at Coombe, while the other part was done in London, to which he travelled three or four days a week, mastering the morning's news in the rail-

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<sup>1</sup> The notes on the editorship of the *Record* are contributed by an old member of the staff.

way carriage and formulating there the views which, upon reaching his office, he would with briskness and energy throw into the form of a leading article for that day's issue.

Between the duties of all editors there is a strong family likeness. To say nothing of the routine work in which there can be little scope for variety, there comes to all alike a quickened interest in current events and in the men who mould them as well as an intimacy, pleasant at once and enlightening, with the chiefs of the side represented. There comes also to all but the most exceptional some burning question in which the editor discerns the test of his principles and ability, which is said to come once to every man. Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the Dis-establishment of the Irish Church was Mr. Purton's most serious moment. There are many who will remember the strong line taken by the *Record* in support of the Irish Establishment, which in a series of powerful articles it defended by the argument, then less familiar than now, that it was one of the out-works of the citadel, the English Established Church, the demolition of which was aimed at by the enemies of all Establishments whatever. Among other questions upon which Mr. Purton, in consultation with the proprietors, had to formulate the policy of the paper, were Mr. Forster's Education Bill, the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, the Lectionary Bill and the Burials Bill, all of which he treated with characteristic energy and thoroughness. Not long before the termination of his career with the *Record*, Mr. Purton completed his journalistic course by that least pleasant of editorial experiences—an action for libel. A vexed author of a set of biographies of Church dignitaries, whose book had been reviewed fairly and honestly enough, but at a length and with a completeness that would delight some writers, took the *Record* and its editor into court, where, in person, he set forth his case before Mr. Justice Lindley with copious and persistent eloquence. When the aggrieved author had finished his vigorous speech, and Mr. Webster (now Sir Richard and ex-Attorney-General) rose to open the defence on behalf of the *Record*, Mr. Justice Lindley turned to the jury and put to them the question whether in their opinion the articles showed more than a fair criticism of the book. "If," said the learned judge, "you doubt it we must hear the other side. If you think the fair limits of criticism have been exceeded you can say so." The jury briefly considered, and the foreman said: "I think we are all agreed, my lord. We believe there was nothing beyond fair criticism. We think no good can be gained by going on in the matter." Mr. Serjeant Parry, who with Mr. Webster appeared for the *Record*, said that after hearing that expression the gentlemen who are the proprietors of the *Record* were willing to forego

their claim to any costs from the plaintiff. A verdict for the defendant was then recorded without costs. Subsequently the plaintiff made an application to the Court of Queen's Bench sitting *in banco* for a new trial, on the ground of misdirection by the judge, but failed. So Mr. Purton and his contributor, who had expected to be haled into the witness-box, returned home with peace and honour, and with as much satisfaction as any *dénouement* to a libel action can be expected to afford. Thus good-humouredly ended the most dramatic incident in Mr. Purton's editorship of the *Record*.

Mr. Purton really led two lives.<sup>1</sup> One was that of the hard-worked man of letters, mingling with the stir and activity of the world; the other was that of the quiet country presbyter. These two lives existed side by side, and it would be hard to say in which he delighted most—serving his Church by his influence and pen, or ministering to the handful of Sussex hinds amongst whom he dwelt. In most respects he was the ideal of a country clergyman: full of tact (for he knew that Sussex peasants “wunt be druv”), courteous to the humblest, tolerant to those who differed from him, and kindly to all. His sermons, far more skilful in their simplicity and shortness than many an ornate discourse, went straight to their hearts. “We like his preaching,” they used to say, “because he means it, and we understand what he says.” No one, whether Churchman or Dissenter, ever went to the rectory for advice in vain. He felt that the Church was the National Church, and he himself was the parish minister. So, at Poynings, bit by bit the children who formerly attended the Baptist Sunday-school sought that of the Church. Gradually the Dissenters dropped away too; the Baptist farmer paid the voluntary church-rate, the local preacher came to learn at church. Kindness and sympathy will always tell, and no rural pastor ever exercised them more. And at his funeral in the little churchyard at Kingston from far and wide came the Sussex peasants to do him honour. They tramped over the downs, and toiled along the roads, and stood round his grave in a mute grief that showed they knew they had lost one who understood them, and was a friend. Although Mr. Purton was only four years in his last incumbency, a great deal was done for the parish. The beautiful old church was thoroughly restored, at the cost of several hundred pounds; cricket, clothing, and musical clubs were started; a flourishing night-school was held in the winter months; Sunday and day schools were rendered thoroughly efficient; extra services were held

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<sup>1</sup> The passage on his domestic and parochial life is supplied by one who can speak with authority on the subject.

in church; the choir was greatly improved; and, above all, the village learnt to see in their rector not merely their ecclesiastical superior, but their minister in the best sense of the word.

As regards Mr. Purton's family life, without trenching on its private sanctity, all who knew him saw in him the wise and tender parent. Few men were more happy in their home-life than he was. It is no exaggeration to say that he always thought of his children first and himself last. The loss of his wife at a comparatively early age, leaving him seven young children, was a tremendous blow; but with his sister's devoted aid they were brought up with such care and tenderness that perhaps they hardly missed a mother's love. For the last five years he underwent much suffering with complete faith and singular sweetness of disposition.

The surrounding clergy often, in their own troubles, sought his advice and aid. Full of practical sagacity, he was always at the service of his brethren, and they all esteemed and loved him. He was on unflinching terms of cordiality and friendship with the country gentry.

Mr. Purton died at Poynings on the 17th September. As was his life, so was his end, entirely trustful, and full of reliance on the Lord he served. Much could be written, but nothing higher said of him, than that in him passed away a sincere and humble "imitator of God."

A friend wrote of him: "We had always looked upon him as a singularly consistent and encouraging specimen of a true, faithful, and humble Christian man. To me personally he was of the most signal service and comfort at the most trying period of my life. I consider him as one of the means used by God in His mercy to arrest me in a protracted life of careless indifference to what sin really is, and the Saviour. I shall never cease to think of him with the deepest gratitude for his kindly, sympathetic, and able advice. I am quite sure that many others can bear testimony of a similar sort, for his congregation contained many thoughtful and God-fearing people. What his old neighbours thought of him was manifest to anyone who attended his funeral. All present seemed to feel that they had lost a friend; but they also knew that he had gained what had been his desire for many years."

It is hoped that the able staff of well-known writers that he had gathered round him will show their respect for his memory and their gratitude for his ability and courtesy by continuing to characterize this Review by moderation, sound learning, impartiality, and loyalty to the National Church.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR,  
Archdeacon of London.

## Review.

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*The Church: Invisible, Visible, Catholic, National.* The Second Charge of the Ven. Archdeacon SINCLAIR. London: Elliot Stock. 1892.

WHATEVER view may be taken of this charge, it must be admitted that the Archdeacon has the courage of his opinions, and does not hesitate to express them. He does so, however, quietly and calmly, without displaying any undue animus, and for our part we thank him most sincerely.

In opening up the subject matter of the charge "the absolute freedom of communion between the soul and God" is strongly affirmed. "The charter is perfectly clear: 'Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out'; 'Let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely,'" etc. From the relation of the individual to the Head the transition is easy to the linking together of one and another, "under the Divine guidance," into a society which "would have officers and rules of faith and conduct," and which would necessarily lead to the formation of national churches.

As to the Church and its nature, the distinction between the visible and invisible Church is clearly insisted on. The teaching of Hooker is at once invoked as justifying this distinction. It is true that Hooker does not use the term "invisible"; still, it may be said to be implied in the expression "mystical" in the following passage: "For lack of diligent observing, the difference first between the Church of God mystical and visible, then between the visible, sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less; the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed." In pressing into his service Dr. Thomas Jackson, a learned divine of the seventeenth century, the Archdeacon has a writer after his own heart. His words are explicit: "Such as most use these terms"—viz., visible, invisible—"mean no more by them than we have said, to wit, what persons of the militant and visible Church be true denizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, or city of God, is to us invisible or unknown. . . . Ordinarily the live members of the Holy Catholic Church, or of that part of it which is to us invisible, are members of some visible Church, but not *e contra*; for neither all nor most part of any visible Church in latter ages are true and live members of the Holy and Catholic Church, part of which we believe to be here on earth, though it is to us invisible." The judgments of Field, Pearson, and Schaff as to the Church are also brought under review; but we must pass from them to consider the able words of the late Dr. Boulton. He is led to write on a point which is often utterly ignored—the difference between our own times and those of the Ante-Nicene Fathers—and thus addresses himself: "We have arrayed against us the vast bulk of the Western Church . . . which has overlaid, added to, and corrupted the ancient faith, and abandoned the rule of faith in Scripture. We are severed by almost as serious differences from the varied sections of the Eastern Church. And there have grown up amongst us (from the reformed Continental and Scottish Churches, where, through the cruelty of the Roman Catholic bishops, a strict episcopacy could not be obtained) communities of Christians differently organized and often opposing our action, and yet for the most part readily acknowledging the same creeds and doctrinal articles. There is no parallel to this state of things in antiquity." And shortly after the doctor well adds: "Ignatius might truly say, speaking of the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, 'Apart from

these there is no Church.' It was an unquestionable fact in that age. Apart from them there might be Jew, heretic, or gnostic, but not the Church. But to take these sayings of old (which have no warrant in Holy Scripture), and to force their application dogmatically to a condition of the Church (forced on us by the wickedness and apostasy of the Western Church in the Middle Ages), of which the venerable martyr had not the faintest glimpse, must surely be unjust to his memory and untrue to his faith." This quotation is somewhat lengthy, but it is so much to the point that we are sure our readers will excuse it.

On the rise and independence of national churches we have some well-considered remarks. Each bishop at first had liberty to frame his own liturgy; but in process of time, when the Church became coincident with the kingdom, a national liturgy would be the result. But for many centuries there was no attempt made to force a universal liturgy; indeed, Gregory the Great wisely gave counsel to Austin, the monk, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the following words: "Whatever you find, either in the Roman or Gallican or any other Church, which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, I think it best that you should carefully select it and settle it for the use of the English Church newly converted to the faith."

Later on in his charge the Archdeacon brings under review the existing state of Christendom, and most truly remarks: "When we repeat in our Creed our belief in the Holy Catholic Church, how heartrending it is to remember the deep dividing lines which cut the members of Christ asunder!" He then, giving the estimate of the members of Churches reformed and unreformed, adds: "Split up by these wretched mistakes and quarrels, we Christians stand this day before Almighty God, after nineteen centuries of storm and sunshine, of sin and forgiveness, side by side with eight millions of Jews, one hundred and seventy millions of Mohammedans, and the appalling aggregate of eight hundred and sixty-six millions of heathens. To Him who has left us in His Holy Word that message of gracious peace, 'Be ye all of one mind' . . . we cannot but cry with bowed head and broken voice, 'Almighty and most merciful Father, we have erred and strayed from Thy ways like lost sheep. . .'" The inquiry is next pursued as to our duty—(a) *As to Rome*: "There are in Great Britain some two millions of Roman Catholics. We do not grudge them their own organization. We can co-operate with them in all good works where we are not asked to compromise our principles. But we must not be blind to their mistakes both in morals and doctrines. And while we patiently hope and humbly pray that this, so immensely the largest section of the Christian Church, will in God's good time be brought to a better mind, we cannot properly forget that by them we have been absolutely and entirely excommunicated." (b) *As to Nonconformists*: This naturally is dwelt upon very fully. It is one of the primary questions of our day, and we need to be reminded, as is well done in the charge before us, that the Continental and Scotch reformers were very unwilling to abandon episcopacy. What drove them from it was "the cruelty and wickedness of the Catholic bishops abroad and in Scotland at the time of the Reformation; the attitude they were compelled to adopt then has become a time-honoured tradition, and, naturally enough, just like the Roman Catholic Church, has its representatives in this country." As to the position of our own Nonconformists, with the exception of alluding to the Methodists, very little is said with respect to their status. It would not, however, have been hard to point out that the difficulty of obtaining orders in the Church on the part of those who held what were termed Methodist or evangelical opinions was exceeding great. No friendly hand was ever

held out to them such as induced the present Bishop of Chichester to ordain Dr. Octavius Winslow ; indeed, it is related of one bishop that he had a series of questions entitled "Cobwebs to catch Calvinists." But as to the duty of endeavouring to cultivate a friendly spirit the charge is very strong, and the following words are weighty, and ought to have a telling influence : " My brothers, there are important differences of doctrine which divide us from the orthodox Nonconforming Christians of England ; but they are small compared with our bonds of union in one faith, one Lord, one baptism, in the face of the gathering clouds of infidelity, secularism, atheism, ignorance, sin, and vice. What are questions of Church government, however important in themselves at their own place, at their own time, compared with the evidences of a holy life and the indwelling of the Spirit of God ? "

On the question of episcopacy, and whether it is of the *esse* or *bene esse* of the Church, the Archdeacon has much to say ; and we owe him a debt of gratitude for bringing prominently to the front the opinion of some of the standard divines of the English Church, such as Laud, Cosin, Andrewes, Hall, Bancroft, and others. His remarks have special value in respect of the questions which have been raised of late with reference to the Grindelwald Conference. On this and other matters of the charge we must not linger, but will simply add the closing sentences of the last paragraph with relation to our Church : " Shall not we, her sons and servants, by patience, by forbearance, by mutual understanding, by sternly checking our own whims and fancies, and enforcing only the principles of Christ, by the discriminating study of history, by common participation in all good works, by unwearying perseverance in putting ourselves into the place of others, by a more zealous and entire following of our Lord's example in all things, once more unite, at any rate in one spirit, even if not in one outward organization, all those in our country who hold to the one invisible body, the one Spirit, the one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all ? ' I beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' "

W. E. RICHARDSON.

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## Short Notices.

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*Revelation by Character, illustrated from Old Testament Lives.* By ROBERT TUCK, B.A. London : Elliot Stock.

THE titles given to the several chapters will best explain the character of this work. Thus we have "Righteous Abel," "Patient Noah," "Meek Moses," "Pious David," "Wily Joab," "Fretful Jonah," and many others, in all twenty-four. The book abounds with sensible remarks, of which we give the following : " There is, indeed, in the present day a great danger of exaggeration. The wit, the caricaturist, and the comedian are over-praised and over-sought in current literature and social life. But this fact need not press any man to take another extreme and exaggerated view and altogether deny the Divine ministry of humour."

*The Schism between the Oriental and Western Churches.* By the Rev. G. B. Howard. London : Longmans, Green and Co.

A valuable contribution to a subject especially important at the present time.



## THE MONTH.

THE Folkestone Church Congress has, on the whole, enjoyed a marked success. The tone of dignity and fairness which was set by the president at the beginning of the proceedings was maintained all through the debates, with one or two exceptions. This fairness was noticeable under many aspects; in political questions, in treating of canon law, and especially in social theories and problems. Indeed, the consideration with which the speakers treated the claims of labour was most marked, and if it is only brought under the notice of the working classes, cannot fail to disabuse their minds of many misconceptions. Accounts of the devotional meeting are at variance; some regarding it as the best yet held, others as "unspiritual." The one regrettable feature of the Congress was the discussion on vivisection, which caused much heat, and has produced unpleasant correspondence in the daily press. It is difficult to see what advantage would be gained by the inclusion of this or similar topics in Congress proceedings, that would at all correspond with the acrimony that is evoked.

Matters with regard to Uganda are in a critical state. Lord Rosebery has undertaken to assist the I.B.E.A. Co. to remain in the country up to March, 1893; but then the company will evacuate, and, unless some steps be taken, all those who know the country intimately prophesy terrible scenes of anarchy and bloodshed. An important deputation waited on Lord Rosebery on October 20 to lay these views before him. He held out hope, as an individual—but as a cabinet minister he was mute. • The *Record* published a very timely supplement on Uganda, which should do much good, and meanwhile Captain Lugard, Mr. Stanley, the *Times*, and all the Church papers, are urging on the Government the desirability of retaining the country. Probably, if the Government see that the English people desire this, it will be done.

Greater Britain has lost its poet. Tennyson died on October 6; on the 12th he was buried in Westminster Abbey with demonstrations of respect that are probably unparalleled in recent times. A critical review of the great poet's writings will shortly appear in THE CHURCHMAN.

A proposal of very great practical importance has been brought forward by the Bishop of Chester. His object is to improve the licensing laws. Briefly speaking the scheme is this: the trade in intoxicating liquors instead of being conducted by private enterprise, is to be placed in the hands of companies under State control, which have no interest in promoting the sale of drink.

The return of a Unionist for the Cirencester Division reduces Mr. Gladstone's majority to 38. The Gladstonian poll was greatly diminished in South Leeds and the Luton Division.

We regret to note the death of Prebendary Tilney Bassett, a valued and frequent contributor to these pages.

Canon Luckock succeeds the late Dean Bickersteth as Dean of Lichfield.