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THE
CHURCHMAN

MARCH, 1902.

ART. I.—FURTHER NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP
OF THE PENTATEUCH.

OUR task in dealing with P draws rapidly to a conclusion. The extracts from it supposed to be embodied in the remainder of Genesis are few and are not often important. P's narrative, as separated by Kautzsch and Socin, proceeds as follows from Gen. xxxvii. 1 to xlvi. 34:¹ "And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings, in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh King of Egypt. And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob and all his seed with him; his sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt." Kautzsch and Socin, however, differ rather seriously from Professor Driver here. They only assign chaps. xxxvii. 1, xli. 46, and xlvi. 6, 7, to P.²

Our next point is that once again, as the most cursory glance at P's narrative, given above, will suffice to show, considerable and important omissions are found in that narrative here. It speaks of Joseph as in Egypt, but we are not told how he got there. It says that "they"—who "they" are we are not told—"took their cattle and their goods, which they had gotten in Canaan, and came into the land of Egypt." *Why* they came, P does not tell us. Yet surely he must have explained the reason in some way, unless his narrative was the most extraordinary collection of scraps ever dignified with the name of history. The only rational conclusion is that

¹ It will be seen that it is not particularly intelligible.

² The Rainbow Bible does not altogether agree with either. I have pointed out in my article in the January number that an infinitesimal difference in the assignment may have infinite effects on the results.

once more P's narrative does not stand before us *in extenso*, although criticism affects to have discovered that it does so. Then we are left to conjecture whether P corroborates or contradicts JE here, and, if he contradicts him, why the redactor follows JE in preference to P. There would be no occasion to assign this passage at all to P, but for the phrase רכוש אשר רכשו, which has been asserted to be a characteristic of his style. Once more, therefore, the facts are derived from the theory; the theory is not built upon the facts. Then, again, in the genealogy which follows we have not the word הוליד, which has been alleged to be a characteristic of P, but instead of it we have "the sons of," a form of expression which, so far as it goes, tends to support Kautzsch and Socin's theory that here we have the words of the redactor, not those of P. Once more, too, we have several times the expressions "she bare" (as in vers. 15, 18, 25) and "were born" (vers. 22, 27). The first expression is found repeatedly in the genealogy in chap. xxxvi., assigned by Kautzsch and Socin to the redactor. On critical principles, as accepted by the German school, Kautzsch and Socin are undoubtedly right. "She bare," on those principles, is obviously characteristic of some one who is neither JE nor P. But, then, to whom is the expression "was born," found in vers. 22, 27, to be assigned? The most delicate and elegant development of the new criticism would naturally find another hand here—neither JE nor P, nor the redactor, but the same hand which we find at work in Gen. iv. 18—not the whole passage, vers. 16-24, which Kautzsch and Socin have clumsily assigned to J (!), but just this one particular verse. We may, therefore, fairly ask, Are the critical methods sound, or are they not? If sound, why are they only employed where it suits the critic, and cast aside when he finds them inconvenient? If not, can we build any satisfactory conclusions whatever upon them?¹

The next point to which I would ask attention is the peculiar and accurate use of the word "Hebrew" in the narrative in Genesis. It means those who have come over from some other land—Chaldæa, for instance—and it is used simply and solely when the Hebrew race were spoken of by outsiders. It is not confined to P. It occurs first, when the fugitive from Sodom came to tell Abram of his nephew's captivity, in Gen. xiv. 13. Joseph is spoken of as an Hebrew by Potiphar's wife, chap. xxx. 9, 14, 17; Joseph speaks to Pharaoh of the "land of the Hebrews," chap. xl. 15. He is once more spoken of as "a young man, an Hebrew," chap. xli. 12. In chap. xliii.

¹ See my last article in the *Churchman*, January, 1902.

32 the word is used in a way which corresponds with the utmost subtlety to the thought of the writer when describing the Egyptian view of the Israelite foreigner. The same phenomenon occurs in Exod. i. 15, 16, 19; ii. 6, 7; iii. 18; v. 3; vii. 16; ix. 11, 13; x. 3; and again in 1 Sam. xiii., xiv., where the word is either put in the mouth of the Philistines, or is used where there is a subtle indication of the thoughts of the Philistine host.¹ The only places where the word occurs elsewhere are Deut. xv. 12, and Jer. xxxiv. 14, where the passage in Deuteronomy is quoted. The phrase is to be found in JE and in the supposed author of Gen. xiv. In Deuteronomy it would seem that the same idea of distinction between the Israelite and the foreigner was in the writer's mind. Now, if the narrative had not been drawn up from contemporary records, but was an attempt to record the ancient history of the race in the eighth and ninth century B.C., it would have been impossible that this most strikingly characteristic expression should have been used. The mode of describing foreign sojourners and slaves natural in the mouth of an Egyptian would not have occurred to the Israelite writer some ten centuries later than the events recorded, some five centuries, at least, later than the Exodus. The writer would have used the word "Israelite" as a matter of course, unless we are to postulate a manner of writing which has only lately been brought to perfection in a writer who lived some 2,500 years ago.

Our investigation, though mainly, is not exclusively confined to P. I may therefore note the fact that the moral principles assumed in the narrative of chap. xxxviii. are almost precisely those of the Jewish law. So far, then, from the Jewish institutions having gradually developed until some time after the return of the Jews from Babylon, this chapter represents them as having been handed down from patriarchal times. The institution of "raising up seed unto a dead brother" is regarded as coeval with the sons of Jacob. The punishment of the harlot is even more severe than that denounced in Lev. xxi. 9. And if we are forbidden to draw any inferences as to the early customs of the Hebrews from a writer of the eighth or ninth century B.C., we are at least permitted to note the fact that his narrative presupposes the existence of such laws and moral principles. In the eighth or ninth century B.C., therefore, and probably much earlier, the custom of raising up seed to a deceased brother was in existence, and among the Jews in Palestine, in marked contrast to their Phœnician neighbours, harlotry was already regarded as

¹ Compare Gen. xliiii. 32.

an abominable crime. The moral and legal code, then, of the Hebrews, as far back, possibly, as the tenth or eleventh century B.C., already differed *toto cælo* from that of their Canaanitish neighbours, from which, we are told, it was gradually evolved, and the account of it here handed down falls in admirably with the historical details of the Book of Joshua. Another touch of Nature meets us in Judah's vehement condemnation in the case of his daughter-in-law of what he permitted in himself. No writer composing or compiling a history to support a preconceived system of doctrine and morals would have allowed such conduct on the part of a patriarch to appear in his narrative. Far less, if possible, can he be supposed to have invented it. The shortcomings of the patriarchs, as here related, are therefore evidences of the transparent truth of the narrator.

It has often been argued that the minute acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Egyptians displayed in Genesis and Exodus proves incontestably that these books were written by one well acquainted with Egypt—I will refer my readers to Rawlinson's researches and those of Tomkins in support of this point—but I may remark that Gen. xli. 8 (JE) and Exod. vii. 11, 22 (P) verbally agree on the fact that the Egyptian kings were accustomed to surround themselves with "magicians" and "wise men." Both writers, if indeed there be really two writers, speak of the *הַרְטָמִים* and the *הַכַּמְיִים*. As the one writer is not supposed to be copying the other here, we derive from this fact a very strong evidence for the contention that the writer of Gen. xli. and of Exod. vii. is one and the same, and that he was a man who, by reason of his long residence in Egypt, was familiar with Egyptian life in all its details.

Once more, the description of Joseph as one in whom the Spirit of God is, though it occurs in JE, corresponds in language and idea with P's description of Bezaleel in Exod. xxxi. 3 and xxxv. 31. Another indication this of common authorship. It will be observed, and it strengthens the argument, that the words do *not* occur in a very similar passage in 1 Kings vii. 14. The phrase "to require blood," again, occurs in chap. ix. 5 (P) and in chap. xlii. 22 (JE). It does not occur elsewhere, save in Ezek. xxxiii. 6. The most probable inference here is that the phrase belongs originally to the early author of the Pentateuch, and that Ezekiel, the influence of the Pentateuch on whose mind is indisputable, borrows it from him. Then we have *סָחַר* with an accusative in chap. xxxiv. 10 (P) and in xlii. 34 (JE) in the sense to traffic or trade in a land.¹

¹ Without an accusative, the word only occurs in Gen. xxxiv. 21, and once in Jeremiah.

This word is very probably, therefore, characteristic of the author of the Pentateuch. Again, in chap. xlv. 2 (JE) and in Numb. xiv. 1 (P) we have to "give forth the voice in weeping," another phrase peculiar to the Pentateuch.

Another indication of the authenticity of the history is to be found in the trait of Jacob's character manifested in chaps. xxxii. 13, and xliii. 11—namely, his habit, when in a position of danger, of endeavouring to propitiate his real or supposed adversary by a present. It is true that both these passages are assigned to JE, but they lead the inquirer with a mind free from preconceived ideas to the conviction that here we have not legend, but real history. These striking signs of individuality point, not to legendary invention, but to a real and definite historical character.

When we analyse chap. xlvi. 8-27, we find (1) that it follows the narrative of JE, and sometimes quotes it verbally, and (2) that it has additional information. Whence was that information derived by the redactor?—for we must bear in mind that, according to Kautzsch and Socin, though not according to Professor Driver, the redactor is the author of these verses. If, as Wellhausen thinks, the materials were taken by the redactor from P, then P had JE before him, for the account of Jacob's children agrees with the latter to the minutest detail. But if P had JE before him, then all his alleged departures from JE are deliberate. We need, therefore, before the question of authorship is settled, an exhaustive inquiry into these alleged deliberate contradictions of JE by P, their cause, and the authorities followed, if any. Be it noted, moreover, that where the redactor here quotes chap. xli. 50 verbally, Kautzsch and Socin assign that passage also to the redactor. There is no reason whatever for such assignment, no breach of continuity in the narrative, and there are no traces of interpolation. Thus the assignment once more seems to be the result rather of the necessities of the theorist than of the invincible logic of facts.¹

The next extract from P (or the redactor) after the genealogical tables in chap. xlvi. commences oddly enough (ver. 56) with the word "saying." For an explanation of who is "saying" this we must turn to the other narrative, or what is supposed to be such. The redactor has given us (out of J, according to Kautzsch and Socin) a description of the meeting of Jacob and Joseph, and of the subsequent interview between

¹ Wellhausen says ("Die Composition," etc., p. 53): "The material certainly of this detailed catalogue (vers. 8-27) of the seventy souls is taken from Q [P], but it appears to be by a later hand." But chap. xlvi. 6-8 are "unquestionably P's." This is the usual "proof."

Joseph and Pharaoh. This is brought down to the words, "And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph." An ordinary mortal would have gone on to copy from the authority he was following what Pharaoh said. But, as we have often been reminded before, the redactor is *not* an ordinary mortal. So he breaks off from one of his MSS., seizes on the other, and tells us from *that* what Pharaoh said. One naturally would like to know why he did this. It is not, on the face of it, a very intelligible course. But, as usual, our only guidance is the maxim "Faith believes, nor questions how." "Scholars are agreed," and so the redactor takes his narrative from one source and the speeches from another. Not even that, however, for he returns to JE in the middle of ver. 6. Truly, the redactor must have been an extraordinary person.¹ Then, again, as the extract from P begins with the word "saying," P must have contained a parallel narrative of Joseph's interview with Pharaoh, and, therefore, presumably of Jacob's descent into Egypt. Once more, then, P is not before us *in extenso*, nor have we the slightest clue to the grounds of the redactor's selections from his authorities here, nor of his strange propensity—according to the critics—for involving himself in the most unnecessary and absurd contradictions. That P must have contained a narrative of Jacob's journey is clear from the words, "Thy father and thy brethren have come down unto thee." Why was it left out? Another strange thing, and one of which it appears reasonable that some explanation should be given, is that the extract from P, which begins most amazingly in the middle of ver. 5, should end as amazingly in the middle of ver. 6, and that the redactor, after copying from P the words, "in the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell," should suddenly fling aside P, go back to JE, and copy from it the words, "in the land of Goshen let them dwell; and if thou knowest any able men among them, then make them rulers over my cattle," after which P is once more allowed to take up his parable, and continue it till the end of ver. 11. Then a verse is taken from E, after which J is allowed to go on in peace till he is mingled, like the feet of Daniel's image, with P in the transcription of ver. 27.

There is absolutely no reason for this. No argument is adduced to support it. There are no signs of want of continuity in the story, no signs of incoherence or want of coherence in the style. It flows on as evenly and naturally as possible. There seems no reason whatever why the redactor should abandon one authority and betake himself

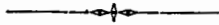
¹ See below.

to another; why the redactor should make J (or JE) tell us that "Pharaoh spake to Joseph," and not allow JE to tell us what he said; why JE, and JE only, should be allowed to mention the land of Goshen. Nor are we told how JE managed to obtain such a minute acquaintance with Egyptian customs as enabled him to say that "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." We may conclude our study of chap. xlvii. with the remainder of P in that chapter. It will be placed in brackets: "And Israel dwelt [in the land of Egypt] in the land of Goshen [and they gat them possessions therein, and were fruitful, and multiplied exceedingly; and Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years: so the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were an hundred forty and seven years]." The words "in the land of Egypt" hung, to use Wellhausen's felicitous simile, "like a man suspended by his own waistband." We don't exactly know, again, who "they" are who "gat them possessions therein." And as we have been frequently reminded in these papers before, so again here the canons adopted by the German critics are *not* those of "ordinary historical and literary investigation," but canons invented *pro re nata*—canons accepted in Scripture investigation alone. Of course, "gat them possessions," and "were fruitful and multiplied," are expressions regarded by the critics as characteristic of P. But here, once more, there is no real trace of dislocation, either of style or narrative; nothing, therefore, to show that the critic has not arbitrarily fixed, with the aid of a Hebrew concordance of the Old Testament, on certain expressions as characteristic of the authors he has chosen to invent.

One trifling point occurs to me on re-reading Gen. xlvii. Criticism has sharply noted that JE speaks of the Israelites as settling in the land of Goshen, while P locates them in the land of Rameses. Two remarks seem necessary here. The first is that the redactor could hardly have failed to note such a contradiction within six verses, and to have corrected it, more especially if we are to find such frequent traces of his hand as Kautzsch and Socin suppose. The second is that in P Pharaoh is said to "have commanded" that Israel should settle in the land of Rameses—that is to say, he not only ordered that the Israelites should be located in the "best of the land," but he specified where that land was. He does precisely the same in ver. 6. He not only commands that the Israelites should be "made to dwell in the best of the land," but once more he states where it is. Criticism, however, assigns the first half of ver. 6 to P, and the second to JE, because instead of the "land of Rameses" we have there "the land of Goshen." Is not the evidence decisive here on two

points—(1) that the two verses are by the same pen, and (2) that the land of Goshen *was* the land of Rameses ?¹

J. J. LIAS.



ART. II.—THE CEREMONY OF CONFIRMATION, AND THE LINK BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

THE earlier comments upon the Confirmation of Dr. Gore, and the proceedings which arose out of it, showed that the majority of English Church-people, including a large proportion of those who write in the press (religious as well as secular) knew very little about the history of the ceremony and its constitutional significance. Most people seem to have thought that it has always been a ceremony which in some way protected the rights of the Church as against the State, and was, therefore, a very precious relic, which ought to be preserved in all its reality. That is a view which was advanced in the Hampden case, but could not then be established.

Let it be remembered that the Popes long fought for the right of being the person to confirm the election of a Prelate. When the Pope got that power into his own hands, was it a triumph for the English Church or a victory for a foreign potentate? As a matter of fact, it was the victory of a foreign potentate over the English Crown and the English Church. When, at the Reformation, Henry VIII. recovered for himself the power which the Pope had held, was that a victory for the English Church or for the English Crown? There is a sense in which it was a victory for the Church, but in a more definite way it was a victory for the Crown. The relation between Church and State then returned to that which it had been the steadfast aim of the Papacy to overthrow.² By

¹ Hommel, "Ancient Hebrew Tradition," p. 230, note, takes this view. So also Sayce, "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," pp. 227, 239. Wellhausen separates between the "best of the land" and "the land of Goshen," because Pharaoh would have acted foolishly in giving them the best of the land if they only wanted pasture for their cattle!

² The circumstances are thus stated in the judgment of the Lord Chief Justice: "From about the year 1316 down to the passing of the statute in 1533, a period of over two hundred years, an entirely different state of things seems to have prevailed. At one time the Popes were insisting upon the right not only to confirm, but to select; at another the Crown was resisting the Papal claims. Sometimes the struggle would appear to have been between the Pope on the one side and the Metropolitan or the electing corporation, be it dean and chapter, or abbot and convent, on the other. Confirmations at times took place at Rome, at times in England under Bulls from the Pope, and during the last fifty years immediately preceding the statute some authorities state that the King

so much the Church gained; but there was to be no mistake about the reality of the power which had supplanted that of the Pope. A Dean and Chapter might refuse to elect the nominee of the Crown for a vacant see. But if they did, what then? For their contumacy they might come under the penalties of *Præmunire*. Boyd, Dean of Exeter, was, at the time of the excitement over Dr. Temple's appointment to that see in 1869, urged by a great Evangelical leader of the day to be valiant, to oppose Dr. Temple's election, and rather to suffer the spoiling of his goods than have part in the choice of a Bishop who had contributed to *Essays and Reviews*. If he had, what then? The Dean and Chapter might have suffered, but nobody else would. They would have made their protest and cleared their consciences, but they would have effected nothing. For under King Henry there was no intention to suffer obstruction in this way. If the Dean and Chapter failed to elect, then the King could go on to appoint his man by letters patent. In like manner any failure by the Archbishop to confirm and consecrate also lays him open to the penalties of *Præmunire*. In both cases it seems that the obstructing Chapter and the obstructing Primate are to be treated as though they were opposing the King's Majesty in the interests of the Church of Rome.

In conformity with this it will be observed that new sees formed since the break with Rome are appointed to by letters patent. There is no election and no confirmation. So, then, if Dr. Gore had been sent to the See of Manchester, or Ripon, or Truro, or Liverpool, instead of to Worcester, there would have been no trouble. The King would have used his power in a constitutional way, and the Church would have had to make the best of the situation.

In fact, the trouble connected with the appointments of Dr. Hampden, Dr. Temple, and Dr. Gore have been useful at least in this—that they have forced upon thoughtful minds one of the disabilities attaching to the link between Church and State. The Church does not appoint its own chief ministers. The very persons whose influence is most powerful in the Church, who can do most to mould the views of the clergy, and through them of the laity also, are selected by laymen who may or may not be members of the Church, and are appointed by the King.

had successfully defended his claim to nominate independently of any interference by the Pope (see Green's 'History of the English People' and Stubbs's 'Constitutional History'). In my opinion, during the period of more than two hundred years prior to 1533, there was no recognised practice at all, but it is sufficient to say that there is no evidence of any such normal practice as that which was contended for by the counsel who supported the rule."

Here let it be at once admitted that the attitude of Bishops is not final and decisive as to the movements within the Church. The Evangelical Movement came into being without their sympathy, and flourished in the face of their opposition. The Oxford Movement was able quite early to find Episcopal encouragement, and that from very strong men. But it was long before its principles could claim to have the sympathy or open toleration of a majority amongst the Prelates. Nevertheless, it throve, just as the tendency to grow more and more Roman in doctrinal teaching and in the adaptation of foreign ritual develops year by year, in spite of the fact that only a very small minority of the Episcopal Bench appear to like either the one or the other.

But with all allowance for this, it would be absurd to question the greatness of a Bishop's power in influencing the type of clergy in his diocese. An interesting illustration of this may be found in the changes which are understood to have come over the Diocese of York since the rule of Archbishop Thomson was exchanged (after the brief and unimportant interlude of Dr. Magee) for that of Archbishop Maclagan. It is but natural that an Archbishop or a Bishop should feel the ordinary influence of human nature, and should cherish the conviction that men who hold his own views are after all the best persons, as a rule, to be entrusted with the work of parishes, and to receive those interesting little distinctions which it is in the power of a Bishop to distribute.

Now, it is easy to see that the difficulties which arose in the cases of Professor Hampden, Dr. Temple, and Canon Gore represent a type of case which might happen in a much more exaggerated form. Let us suppose, however much the suggestion may be displeasing to some minds, that Mr. Chamberlain became Prime Minister. Mr. Chamberlain is understood to be a Unitarian. Or let us imagine that, as a result of a great Radical reaction, Mr. Morley was entrusted by the King with the duty of forming a Ministry. Mr. Morley is understood to be an Agnostic.¹ Both, we may be sure, would exercise their

¹ It may not be unprofitable to observe that the mind of the Liberation Society seems to be powerfully influenced by possibilities of this kind. The following passages occur in a leading article in its monthly organ, the *Liberator*, for February: "The nomination by the Crown is a farce, the real Bishop-maker being the head of the dominant political party, who may be a Catholic, or a Unitarian, or an Agnostic. . . . The control of the State is not the control of the nation or of its representatives, but the control of a Minister of the Crown whose position depends upon almost anything but ecclesiastical considerations. The patronage of the State is at the arbitrary disposal of a man who may be the wisest of statesmen and yet utterly unfit by natural disposition, or moral conduct,

ecclesiastical functions in the most conscientious way, but how strange, how galling in some of its aspects would be the situation thus created! But it is even possible that under circumstances less extreme than those grave difficulties might very well arise. What, for example, would happen if a Prime Minister recommended and a King appointed (by letters patent) to one of the modern sees one of the distinguished clergy (I refrain from suggesting names) whose published opinions in regard to the Bible seem absolutely incompatible with the formularies of the English Church? Is it not probable that the feeling of a Premier, whose own attitude towards faith was not, to put it delicately, that of the English Church or of orthodox Christianity, would run in the direction of appointments such as these? It may be urged, and urged reasonably, that there is the force of public opinion to be counted with. That is so, and no doubt this fact has availed hitherto to restrain, in some measure, the personal predilections of Prime Ministers. But it has to be borne in mind that the opinion of the Church is not absolutely united; that the opinion of the Church is not by a very long way co-extensive with the opinion of the nation; and that in the event of a Radical reaction any endeavour of the Church to set itself in opposition to the constitutional powers of the Crown would be certain to produce an anti-clerical feeling, such as already exists in some Continental nations. One thing at least we may take for granted, and that is that any such opposition would be seized upon by the Liberationist party of the time, and would give them in the country the very impetus their cause would need in order to bring about the separation of Church and State.

There is, then, a possibility that the choice of the Bishop by the Crown might under circumstances not at all difficult to imagine precipitate a conflict between Church and State. Such a conflict could have but one end—the victory of the State, and the separation of the Church under such conditions and at such cost to the Church as the victorious element in the electorate might determine. That is a possibility which ought to be kept in mind. It may be that the political conditions of the present render such possibilities remote, and suggest that speculation on such topics must be profitless; but the Church is not for to-day or to-morrow only, and the political conditions prevailing just now ought not to settle our conduct as to the future.

or religious belief, to exercise such an influence on the Church. It is only an accident that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury were strong Churchmen. The staunchest believers in apostolical succession would shudder at the idea of Nero appointing a successor to St. Peter, but at some not distant day England may be ruled by a statesman as alienated from Christianity as a pagan Roman Emperor" (pp. 25, 26).

Something, surely, should be done. But here it will doubtless be alleged that the choice of Bishops by the Crown has upon the whole worked very well. This is true so far as in the last century the avoidance of scandal or grave distress to the Church is concerned, so far as it applies to a general average of high capacity and personal fitness amongst the clergy selected for the office, and so far as the details merely of ecclesiastical government in the dioceses are concerned. There has been in the past no lack of Bishops who neglected their diocesan responsibilities—Bishops who were worldly rather than spiritual, Bishops of a type which we never see now. But their choice may fairly be ascribed to the character of the times. It is not so certain that if the Prelates of those periods had been chosen by the clergy alone, or by representative bodies of clergy and laity acting together, the results would have been very different.

In the last century we have seen the choice of Bishops reflect the personal feelings of the Prime Minister or of his advisers in ecclesiastical affairs, but we have seen no clergy chosen of whom it could be said that lack of personal piety, of zeal for their work, or of distinction of one sort or another, disqualified them quite obviously for their high office. It is a more or less familiar fact that Premiers take advice as to the exercise of their patronage, that Archbishops have repeatedly been asked to provide lists of men suitable for the Episcopate, and that the choice of men for submission to the Sovereign is a matter of grave anxiety to the Sovereign's advisers.

But whilst admitting all this, it would nevertheless seem that the Church is in some danger of finding itself on the verge of conflict with the State in this matter, and that in the eyes of a considerable part of the nation it does really suffer from the complete subordination in this particular to an authority which is practically external. The answer, however, to all complaint is that this is one of the disabilities attending the union of Church and State, that it is part of the price which the Church must be prepared to pay for certain privileges which are presumed to be of value to it.

Now, are Churchmen bound to acquiesce in this view? Must we agree that the appointment of Bishops by representative Church bodies is a change which can only be brought about by Disestablishment? It is convenient for the opponents of the link between Church and State to put it in that way, and perhaps even to see without regret this disability made as galling as possible to Churchmen. But we need not accept that view. The movement towards autonomy is a distinct assertion of the belief that the Church can remain the National Church, and yet as a Church be left (within well-

defined limits) to manage its own affairs. It would be no unfair or unreasonable extension of the claims so far advanced. There are some who regard those claims as already impossible of attainment, and would deem any enlargement of them only as an increase of folly. But attempts at progress have always had to pass through this stage. No reform in Church or State has yet been won which was not at first received in this way; nor was any great reform ever reached which did not boldly advance its real demands, and not try to creep towards the attainment of its ends. Let us be frank, and say that the control of the Church's affairs by the Church implies the choice of the Bishops by the Church. Concession of this would imply a break with the past, and yet also a return to the past. But if Parliament can be brought to allow any measure of autonomy worth possessing, we are entitled to believe that it would allow this also.

STAMFORD MCNEILE.

ART. III.—ON THE COURSE OF PROTESTANT
THEOLOGY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

II.

LET us proceed to consider the manner in which the cardinal principles of the Reformed Theology, indicated in the previous article, affected in the course of their development the general system and the ordinances of the Church. Of course, they had at once the momentous effect of removing any sense of necessary dependence on the Hierarchy for the highest of all spiritual blessings—that of peace with God, and for eternal salvation. If peace with God was recognised as open for Christ's sake to everyone who would seek it and accept it by faith, it followed that no one was dependent for his salvation upon Pope, Bishop, or Priest. It was the removing of this apprehension from the popular mind, by means of the primary principle of the Reformation, which rendered it possible to effect reforms opposed by the Hierarchy. If, in any sense, the Pope, with the clergy under his jurisdiction, held the keys of Heaven, then, although they might be resisted, yet, in the last resort, it was impracticable to disobey them; and it was this apprehension which lay, like a paralysis, upon the nations of Europe for some centuries. Episcopal and priestly organization might be indispensable to the best welfare of the Church; and Melancthon, in his signature to the Smalcaldic Articles, expressed his willingness even to recognise the Primacy of the Pope, as a matter of human

order, if only he would allow the Gospel to be preached. But for the salvation of individual souls, and consequently for the existence of a community of "those that were being saved," here and hereafter, neither Pope nor Bishop was essential. In the familiar language of English divines of the Stuart period, Episcopacy might be of "the *bene esse*," but not of the *esse* of a Church. The Roman idea of a Church was that it was a visible body in communion with the Roman See, and in which the ministers derived their whole authority through that See. For this conception the reformed principle substituted at once the idea which is expressed in the Augsburg Confession, and, in very similar terms, in our own Nineteenth Article, that the visible Church is a congregation of faithful or believing men, "in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that are of necessity requisite to the same." It was also recognised in all reformed Churches, including the English Church as represented even by such men as Laud and Cosin, that Episcopal Orders, however desirable, were not essential for that due ministrations. On all hands, therefore, within the Reformed Communion, whether in Germany, Switzerland, France, or England, it was acknowledged that a true Church might subsist, although the immediate and regular connection of its ministry with the ancient episcopal succession was broken.

This momentous conclusion involved one danger which, perhaps to the great advantage of the Reforming Movement, was soon made apparent. If, without sacrificing the highest interests of their spiritual salvation, men could be independent of one external organization, why not of all external ceremonies? Why not of the Sacraments, or of the Scriptures themselves? Why could they not be saved by the simple, immediate operation of the Spirit of God upon their souls, working in them faith in Christ, and bringing them into union with Him? This was the Anabaptist tendency, which broke out very early in the course of the Reformation, and led not merely to grievous religious fanaticism, but to violent social and civil tumults, which had to be suppressed by fire and sword. The effect was to lead Luther and his fellow reformers to reassert with the utmost energy the principle, on which they had insisted from the first, that the external agencies of God's Word and the Sacraments were, by God's ordinance, indispensable to spiritual life, to the very existence of a Church, and consequently to the saving efficacy of the Gospel. The main principle of this assertion is put by Luther with characteristic practical force in his observations on Baptism in

his larger catechism. "Our wiseacres," he says,¹ "with their modern ideas, make out that faith alone will save us, and that work and outward things cannot effect anything. Our answer is that assuredly nothing works in us but faith, as we shall see from what follows. But these blind leaders will not see that faith must have something to believe—that is, to which it can cling, on which it can stand and rest. So faith clings to the water, and believes that Baptism confers salvation and life, not through the water (as has been sufficiently said), but because it embodies God's Word and command, and because His name is attached to it. Now, in believing this, what else do I believe but on God, as on Him who has added His Word to it, and given us this outward sign, so that we may understand what a treasure we possess in it?"

"But there are some people mad enough to separate faith from the sign to which the faith is joined and attached, because it is an outward thing. Yea, it is and must be outward, in order that we may grasp it with our senses and understand it, and thus have it impressed on our hearts, just as the whole Gospel is an outward sermon by word of mouth. In brief, whatever God does and effects in us He accomplishes through such outward means; and, whenever He speaks, and wherever and through whatsoever He speaks, let faith look to and hold fast to it."

So again, in a classical passage in his treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets, concerning Images and the Sacrament," he says:² "God of His great goodness has again given us the pure Gospel, the noble and precious treasure of our salvation; and upon this gift must follow inwardly Faith and the Spirit in a good conscience. . . . But the matter goes thus: When God sends His Holy Gospel to us, He deals with us in two ways. In the first place, externally; in the second place, internally. Externally He deals with us through the spoken Word of the Gospel, and through corporal signs, such as Baptism and the Sacrament. Inwardly He deals with us through the Holy Spirit and faith, with other gifts; but all in due measure and order, so that the external things should and must come first, and the inner ones come afterwards and through the external ones; so that He has resolved to give no man the internal things except through the external, and He will give no one the Spirit or faith without the external word and sign which He has appointed."

Thus in Luther's view, with which all the great Reformed Churches were in harmony, it is an unalterable Divine

¹ "Luther's Primary Works," edited by Wace and Buchkeim, p. 134.

² "Luther's Works," Erlangen edition, vol. xxix., p. 208.

ordinance that spiritual life and Salvation, and the faith which lays hold upon them, are bound up with the use of the Word of God, and of the Sacraments which were instituted by Christ. The continuity of the Church, from its foundation by our Lord to the present day, is thus guaranteed by these external ordinances, which, from the first, have been the essential means by which the spirit and life of Christ have been passed on from generation to generation. That continuity does not depend upon the succession of a special order of individuals, but upon the perpetual succession of a Society all the members of which are marked by these seals, of the Word of God and the Sacraments.

This consideration points to the reason why special emphasis was given, in all the Reformed Churches, to the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It arose, not from a depreciation of the Sacramental idea, but from the very opposite cause—the exaltation of the conception of a Sacrament as a Divine Ordinance. The primary impulse at work, as shown in the previous article, was to bring men into direct communion with God, to awaken in their minds the sense of that communion, and to induce them to live in reliance on it. For this purpose a solemn ceremony, expressly established by Christ Himself, and expressly ordered by Christ Himself to be repeated to all time, appeared of the highest conceivable value. Baptism in Christ's name, and by Christ's authority, conveyed a direct message from Christ, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the words in which our Saviour instituted it, the offering to the faithful, by His express command, of the sacred gifts which He promised with those words, could not but have the supreme value of a direct message and offer from Him.

It is here that there was, from the first, a cardinal difference between the school of the Swiss Reformer Zwingli and the main body of the Reformed Communions, whether Lutheran or Calvinistic. Zwingli's mind, like that of his countrymen in general, was plain and practical, and indisposed to the more mysterious aspects of the Christian revelation. Luther, on the contrary, was marked by the deep sense of mystery characteristic of the highest German mind; and while Zwingli would bring down heaven to earth, within the compass of the intelligence of a Swiss citizen, Luther clung to those aspects of Christian truth which lifted men above themselves, into spiritual and heavenly spheres of thought and faith. The Swiss confessions, indeed, under the constantly-increasing influence of Calvin, approximated to the other Reformed Churches in their general view of the Sacraments; but Zwingli's own disposition of mind towards them was of a far lower character, as

may be illustrated from his treatise "De Vera et falsa Religione."¹ "A Sacrament," he says, "can be nothing else than an initiation or public consignation, and can have no power to set the conscience free; for the conscience can only be set free by God, for it is only known to Him, and He alone can penetrate into it; . . . so that it is an utter error to suppose that the Sacraments have a purifying effect. . . . They are signs or ceremonies by which a man approves himself to the Church as a candidate or soldier of Christ, and it is the Church which they assure of your faith rather than yourself. . . . Christ has left us two Sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—and by these we are so consecrated that by the one we bestow a Christian name; by the other, in memory of the victory of Christ, we approve ourselves to be members of His Church. In Baptism we receive a symbol that we will frame our life according to the rule of Christ; in the Lord's Supper we give evidence that we trust in the death of Christ, when we are thankfully and joyfully present in the assembly of those who are rendering thanks to the Lord for that benefit of redemption which He bestowed on us by His death." The Spirit, he maintained, needs no medium, and the Sacraments, therefore, should not be regarded as channels of Spiritual grace.

Some question has been raised of late as to the real nature of Zwingli's views on this subject, and attempts have been made to vindicate for him a higher conception of the office of the Sacraments than is generally assigned to him. He gave way, it may be, from time to time, to the loftier views which were pressed upon him in the course of his controversies with the German Reformers. But the tendency of his thought is clearly indicated in such a passage as that just quoted. The truth is, Zwingli had never gone through Luther's intense spiritual experience. He was a humanist rather than a theologian, and his mind was more congenial with Erasmus than with Luther. He was asserting his countrymen's independence of the Pope in much the same spirit in which his ancestors had vindicated their independence of the House of Austria. He was earnestly and honestly desirous of getting rid of the superstitions and abuses with which in his native country the Roman Church was discredited; but he does not exhibit that profound religious impulse towards reviving a personal relation with God which was the moving impulse of the German Reformation. Consequently the Sacraments are to him only external signs and symbols which must be freed of superstitious accessories; but

¹ Op. iii. 229-231.

they have no special preciousness in his eyes. To Luther—and to Calvin also in a great degree, but to Luther above all—they, with the Word of God, are the most precious things on earth. They are the very touch of God's hand, the direct message of Christ. Where they are administered, and two or three are gathered together in His name, there is He in the midst of them, dispensing His grace, offering forgiveness, or bestowing His very flesh and blood to be the food of the soul. They are, in the first instance, acts of God, not acts of man. It is not we who offer anything to God in them; it is He who offers every spiritual blessing to us.

But this being so, no ceremony which does not rest upon a similarly direct appointment of Christ could be admitted on a level with the two Sacraments which did rest upon that appointment. A state of life allowed in the Scriptures, a ceremony due to the appointment of the Apostles, such as Confirmation, could not for a moment be admitted as similar in authority and importance to ceremonies which had Christ's express word for them and with them. The distinction, therefore, between the two Sacraments and "those five commonly called Sacraments," which is characteristic of all the Reformed Churches, will be deemed of importance, just in proportion as it is felt to be of importance to assert that principle of direct relation to God, which lies at the root of the Reformation. Under the Romish conception, and others allied with it, the Sacraments are channels through which a mysterious spiritual force or grace is derived into the soul; and, according to the Roman system, that force or grace may be so derived by the mere operation of the ceremony, without any apprehension by the recipient of his personal relation to Christ and to God. Under that view, the conception of a Sacrament may be indefinitely extended, and there seems no reason in the nature of things why they should be restricted to the number of seven. But the moment you regard it as essential to the idea and the blessing of a Sacrament that it should be a direct pledge and message from Christ to the individual—an act continually repeated by His express command and in His name—then the restriction of the number of ceremonies properly called Sacraments to two becomes no arbitrary arrangement, but a witness to one of the highest Christian privileges. To put the matter in another form, which is eminently characteristic of Luther's thought, the two Sacraments are ceremonies which embody words or promises of God. They contain the whole word of God, the whole Gospel in brief, and whoever believes the promises they bring assuredly receives the grace so promised. God speaking to men and giving to men, and men receiving in thankfulness

and faith—this is the gracious reality which, according to the reformed theology, the Sacraments exhibit.

It is unnecessary to follow out this view in detail in respect to the Sacrament of Baptism. It is sufficiently illustrated by the brief passage from Luther's larger catechism which has been already quoted, and it is a happy circumstance that, if we put aside the purely Zwinglian view and the exceptional case of the Anabaptists, we may say that there was no material controversy among the reformers with respect to the blessing conveyed in baptism, or the means by which it is received. Baptism gave rise, at all events, to none of that intense division which was occasioned by the controversies respecting the Lord's Supper. That sacred ordinance divided the Churches of the Reformation at least as much as, alas! it now divides ourselves. The controversies of those days are still alive among us, and it is important to have some clear conception of the chief views which were then maintained.

Now, there was one point on which all the Reformed Churches were agreed, and that was that this Sacrament did not bear that character of a sacrifice, in some sense propitiatory, offered to God, which the Roman Church assigned to it. That a sacrifice is offered in it was, indeed, admitted, but it is a "sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies," and there is no sacrifice of a propitiatory character in the act of celebration. That is the point at which the vital question respecting the sacrificial character of the Eucharist arises. Is the act of consecration a sacrifice? To say that there is a sacrifice of thanksgiving connected with the celebration is one thing, and is not denied; it is distinctly admitted in the "Apology for the Augsburg Confession." But what is denied is that the ceremony which our Saviour instituted, and in which His words are employed, has a propitiatory, or semi-propitiatory character as a Sacrifice. Melancthon's statement in that authoritative document affords, perhaps, the clearest exposition of the teaching of the best Reformed Churches on the subject: "Sacraments," he says, under the Twelfth Article on the Mass, "are signs of the goodwill of God towards us, and are not simply signs of men among one another, and the Sacraments of the New Testament are rightly defined as signs of grace. And there being two things in a Sacrament—the sign and the word—the word of the New Testament is the promise of grace—the promise of the remission of sins. As our Lord said, 'This is My body, which is given for you; this cup is the New Testament in My blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' The word, therefore, offers the remission of sins, and the ceremony is like a picture of the word, or seal It was instituted that the exhibition of it to our eyes might

move our hearts to faith . . . and to this end Christ instituted it, when He bids us do this in remembrance of Him. For to remember Christ is not the idle celebration of a spectacle, nor was such a celebration instituted as a mere example . . . but it is to remember the benefits of Christ, and to accept them by faith, that we may be renewed by means of them . . . Then comes the sacrifice. After the conscience, raised up by faith, is sensible from what terrors it has been liberated, then it earnestly returns thanks for the benefit and passion of Christ, and uses the ceremony to the praise of God, and by its obedience shows its gratitude, and testifies that it magnifies the grace of God; . . . and so the ceremony becomes a sacrifice of praise." This is in harmony with the cardinal idea respecting the Sacraments which we have been reviewing, that they are acts of God towards us rather than acts of ourselves towards God. In the Holy Communion we "show forth the Lord's death till He come," recalling and exhibiting to the congregation the memorials of His death and passion, and so assuring them of His love and forgiveness, in order that they may lay hold of that forgiveness and love with ever-increasing faith and fervour. That is one great object of the Holy Communion. By showing forth Christ's death it proclaims in the most solemn manner the remission, for His sake, of the sins for which He died, and encourages us to plead His merits and rest upon them in seeking that remission from God. The ceremony with the accompanying words brings from Christ Himself an assurance that His body was given and His blood shed for us; and it is our part thankfully to believe and to accept that assurance, and in return for it to offer our whole souls and bodies to His service.

Such is the first gift, according to the reformed theology, bestowed in the Holy Communion; but there is another, which is the chief subject of controversy among the Churches of the Reformation—that of the Saviour's Body and Blood. In what sense is that gift given? Here again we may put aside Zwingli, as falling much below the level of the views accepted by the Reformed Churches generally, even in his native Switzerland. The real question lies between the teaching of Luther and his followers on the one side, and that of Calvin and his school on the other. The cardinal point to which Luther held, in spite of all temptations and all opposition, was that the very Body and Blood of Christ were exhibited "in, with, and under," the forms of bread and wine. Of the manner of the Presence he would say nothing, except that Transubstantiation is unnecessary as an explanation, and is unscriptural. He is concerned only with the fact that the sacred Body and Blood are verily present, verily given, verily

received, by the mouth. He can only say it is not a local Presence, but a Presence beyond human understanding, which he can only call "Sacramental." That latter word, however, used in this connection, is but an evasion of the difficulty. It simply says that the Presence in the Sacrament is such a Presence as is possible in a Sacrament, and it does not take us one step further.

The formal teaching of the Lutheran Church may, perhaps, best be learned from the "Formula Concordiæ," which was published in 1580. That formula was occasioned by the fact that grave disputes arose, after Luther's death in 1546, between the divines who regarded themselves as the special custodians of his teaching and others who followed Melancthon. The tendency of Melancthon had for some time been to soften down the vehement statements of Luther on this mysterious subject, and practically to assimilate the teaching of his Church more and more to that of Calvin. The "Formula of Concord" expresses the understanding arrived at by the Lutheran divines in view of this and other controversies respecting the main points in dispute. It thus embodied the final result of these controversies, and has ever since been one of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church.

The following, then (quoting with occasional abridgment), are the affirmative principles which it lays down. "We believe and teach," it says, "that in the Supper of the Lord the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and substantially present, and are truly distributed, and taken together with the bread and wine. We teach that the words of Christ's Testament are to be no otherwise received than as they sound to the letter; so that the bread does not signify the absent body of Christ, nor the wine the absent blood of Christ, but that by virtue of a Sacramental union the bread and wine are really the Body and Blood of Christ. As to the consecration, we teach that no human work, nor any pronouncement by the minister of the Church, is the cause of the Presence in the Supper of the Body and Blood of Christ; but that this is solely to be attributed to the omnipotent power of our Lord Jesus Christ. At the same time, we are unanimous in teaching that the recitation of the words of institution should be maintained. . . . Further, the foundations on which we rest in respect to this Sacrament are as follows: (1) That our Lord is true God and Man; (2) that the right hand of God at which He sits is everywhere, and that in respect of His human nature, as well as His Divine, He rules and governs all things; (3) that the Word of God is not deceitful; (4) that God knows various modes by which He is able to be present anywhere, and is not bound to that particular mode of presence which

the philosophers are wont to call local or circumscribed. We believe, accordingly, that the Body and Blood of Christ are received with the bread and wine, not merely spiritually and by faith, but actually by the mouth; not, however, in a Capernaïtic manner, but in a supernatural and heavenly manner, by means of a sacramental union; and that not only those who truly believe in Christ, but even the unworthy and the unbelieving, receive the true Body and Blood of Christ, so, however, that they receive neither consolation nor life therefrom, but judgment and condemnation, unless they repent. We condemn the opinion which maintains that the Body of Christ is so included in heaven that it can by no means be present simultaneously in many, or in all, places where the Supper of the Lord is celebrated. We deny that the external elements of bread and wine in the Sacrament are to be adored. Finally, we reject and condemn the Capernaïtic manducation of the Body of Christ, which the Sacramentaries maliciously allege of us, as though we taught that the Body of Christ was torn by the teeth, and digested, like other food, in the human body. For we believe and assert, according to the clear words of the Testament of Christ, a true, but supernatural, manducation of the Body of Christ, as there is a true but supernatural drinking of the Blood of Christ. But this is a truth which no one can understand by the human senses or by reason; wherefore in this matter, as in other articles of faith, we submit our intellect to the obedience of Christ. For this mystery is revealed in the Word of God alone, and is comprehended solely by faith."

We cannot fail to be reminded, in perusing these statements, of the suggestion made by the present Archbishop of Canterbury in his recent Charge, that the views asserted by a certain school in our Church at the present day are really Lutheran in their character. But it will be observed that this statement asserts neither Transubstantiation nor Consubstantiation; and it is important to remember that Consubstantiation is not the formal doctrine of the Lutheran Church. For instance, one of the most authoritative manuals of that Church, for a long period after 1610, when it was published, was Leonhard Hutter's "Compendium"; and in answer to the question, "In what way are the Body and Blood of Christ exhibited and received with the bread and wine in the Sacrament?" Hutter explicitly states: "Not certainly by Transubstantiation . . . nor does it come to pass by Consubstantiation, or the local inclusion of the Body and Blood of Christ in the bread and wine, nor by any durable conjunction, apart from the actual use of the Sacrament. But it comes to pass by Sacramental union, which, by virtue of the promise of

Christ, provides that, when the bread is offered, the Body of Christ is simultaneously present and truly exhibited; and when the wine is offered, there is simultaneously truly present and exhibited the Blood of Christ."

Now, certain important points will be observed in this doctrine which distinguish it broadly from every other upon this subject. In the first place, as contrasted with all other doctrines of the so-called Real Presence, it has this important characteristic: that, as Hutter states, no *durable union* is conceived to exist between the bread and wine and the sacred Body and Blood. They are really present, but only in the act of reception. There could, therefore, under this doctrine, be no question of reservation of the elements, for there is nothing permanently attached to the elements to be reserved. The sacred food is present in the act of giving and receiving, and in that alone. In the next place, although no attempt is made to explain the nature of the conjunction at that moment, yet it is deemed to be dependent on a belief, very difficult to apprehend, respecting some sort of ubiquity, or ubiquitous influence, of the Body of our Lord, derived from its intimate conjunction with His Divine nature in the hypostatic union. Luther was solely concerned to assert the fact that the bread and wine, according to the literal sense of Christ's words, were His Body and Blood; and in the defence of that belief he was led to dwell, in a manner which is in many respects instructive, on the intimate relation between the Divine and the human natures of our Lord. There can be little doubt, however, that the ubiquitarian view has a dangerous tendency in a Eutychian direction; and its close association with the doctrine of the Real Presence, as taught by Luther, exposed that doctrine to further attacks from the Swiss and French Reformers.

Calvin accordingly propounded another theory, which is far more profound than that of Zwingli, and which closely approaches, in practical effect, the Lutheran view, without involving its ubiquitarian difficulties. He started from the declarations of our Lord in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, which he recognised as clearly teaching that a participation of our Lord's Flesh and Blood is essential to eternal life, and he felt that the words in which our Lord instituted the Lord's Supper must have been meant to declare that it was a special means for that participation. But he considered that such participation might be effected by spiritual means, and that the virtue of the glorified Saviour's Body and Blood might be communicated to the soul by the action of the Holy Spirit, in conjunction with the participation of the sacred

elements. "The Flesh of Christ," he says in the "Institutes,"¹ "is like a rich and inexhaustible fountain, which transfuses into us the life which is supplied by His Divinity to itself." "I confess," he says elsewhere, "that our souls are fed by the substance of the flesh of Christ." He denied that faith constituted the actual eating of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, and considered the eating to be rather the effect and fruit of faith. More particularly he says:² "We cannot doubt that, in accordance with the unalterable nature of the human body, our Lord's finite being is contained in heaven, where it was, once for all, received until He returns to judgment, and consequently it seems inadmissible to suppose that He Himself is contained under these corruptible elements, or that He can be regarded as universally present in His human nature. Nor is this necessary in order that we may enjoy the participation of Him, for our Lord bestows this benefit upon us by His spirit, so that we become one with Him in body, soul, and spirit. The link, accordingly, of that conjunction is the Spirit of Christ, by which we are conjoined with Him, and His Spirit is, as it were, the channel by which is derived to us whatever Christ is or has." Calvin, therefore, taught a real participation of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the Holy Communion, by means of the supernatural operation of the Spirit of God, in conjunction with the participation of the Sacrament; and this is a doctrine which may well be regarded as receiving countenance from the prayer in the ancient Liturgies, by which the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Elements was invoked, "that they may become unto us" the Body and Blood of our Lord.

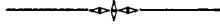
But, however this may be, it is evident that the result of the controversies respecting the Holy Communion during the sixteenth century in the teaching of Calvin and of Luther, who between them were predominant throughout the Reformed Communion, was to assert in the strongest manner the fact that the Holy Communion is a special means ordained by our Lord for the participation of His Flesh and Blood, and that it is thus a perpetual witness and for maintaining that intimate union with Him and His Father, which, as we saw, was the cardinal motive and object of the Reformation. The effect, with respect to the Sacraments, was to restore to them, in a degree which they had not enjoyed in the later practice of the Church, the character of means of communion with God. Communion had ceased to be, in the Roman Church, the predominant characteristic of the Mass. It had become an offering from man to God, less than a means by

¹ iv., 17, 3, 5, 8, 9.

² § 12, p. 101.

which God imparted Himself to men. The theology of the Reformation re-established the aspect of the Sacraments as a means of union and participation with the person and nature of our Lord, and thus supplied a practical guarantee of the reality of that union and communion.

HENRY WACE.



ART. IV.—THE AGE OF ORDINATION IN RELATION TO THE SUPPLY OF CANDIDATES.

THE ordination statistics published by the *Guardian*¹ show that there has again been a fall for the whole of the year 1901. The Deacons ordained in 1901 were 562, in 1900 they

¹ January 22, 1902. The diocesan distribution of the Advent candidates is there given as follows, the figures in brackets being those of last year :

	Deacons.	Priests.	Total.
Canterbury	3 (4) ...	6 ...	9 (10)
York	— ...	4 ...	4 (5)
London	19 (12) ...	18 ...	37 (38)
Durham	18 (9) ...	12 ...	30 (34)
Winchester	9 (14) ...	9 ...	18 (22)
Bangor	2 (2) ...	1 ...	3 (4)
Bath and Wells	4 ...	3 ...	7 (5)
Bristol	8 (6) ...	6 ...	14 (7)
Carlisle	8 (9) ...	11 ...	19 (16)
Chester	2 (8) ...	6 ...	8 (14)
Chichester	4 (4) ...	3 ...	7 (11)
Ely	1 (4) ...	4 ...	5 (6)
Exeter	6 (7) ...	6 ...	12 (15)
Gloucester	3 (2) ...	4 ...	7 (4)
Hereford	2 (1) ...	2 ...	4 (4)
Lichfield	— ...	14 ...	14 (11)
Lincoln	10 (9) ...	7 ...	17 (18)
Liverpool	4 (8) ...	18 ...	22 (8)
Llandaff	6 (10) ...	13 ...	19 (17)
Manchester	12 (20) ...	31 ...	43 (46)
Newcastle	6 (9) ...	9 ...	15 (14)
Norwich	5 (3) ...	6 ...	11 (10)
Oxford	7 (4) ...	3 ...	10 (10)
Peterborough	4 (11) ...	12 ...	16 (14)
Ripon	1 (1) ...	— ...	1 (1)
Rochester	15 (14) ...	27 ...	42 (33)
St. Albans	4 (5) ...	5 ...	9 (12)
St. Asaph	1 (2) ...	3 ...	4 (7)
St. Davids	5 (2) ...	5 ...	10 (8)
Salisbury	7 — ...	5 ...	12 (5)
Sodor and Man	— ...	2 ...	2 (4)
Southwell	7 (6) ...	5 ...	12 (18)
Truro	4 (2) ...	2 ...	6 (5)
Wakefield	5 (4) ...	4 ...	9 (7)
Worcester	4 (10) ...	— ...	4 (20)
For the Colonies	4 (2) ...	2 ...	6 (2)
Totals	196 (204)	273	469 (465)

were 594. The Priests ordained were 605, and the grand total for 1901 was 1,167, against 1,194 for last year. The fall at Advent was in Deacons only, the number being 196 Deacons, as against 204 Deacons ordained in Advent, 1900.

Unhappily, too, the proportion of Oxford and Cambridge graduates continues to grow smaller. Of the 469 men ordained at Advent rather more than 62 per cent. were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, as against nearly 65·6 in 1900. Of the grand total for the year the percentage was only 55·5, as against 58·8 in 1900.¹ This is a long way the lowest percentage of the last ten years, and the fall is the heaviest known for some time. In 1893 the percentage was as high as 62·70. We are, in fact, getting perilously near the period at which only every other man ordained will be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and that at a time when the proportion of Nonconformist ministers who are graduates

¹ The *Guardian* gives the following analysis of the educational antecedents of the Advent candidates :

Oxford	...	...	...	147	...	Non-graduate	2
Cambridge	...	...	...	148	...	" "	
Dublin	...	...	...	22			
Durham	...	...	...	40	...	Non-graduate	14
London	...	...	...	11	...	" "	1
St. Davids, Lampeter	...	...	...	18	...	" "	3
Owens College	...	...	...	2			
University College, Liverpool	...	...	...	1			
University of North Wales	...	...	...	1			
Royal University of Ireland	...	...	...	7	...	Non-graduate	2
Melbourne University	...	...	...	2			
King's College, London	...	...	...	12			
London College of Divinity	...	...	...	8			
St. Aidan's, Birkenhead	...	...	...	5			
Chichester Theological College	...	...	...	2			
Gloucester	"	"	...	1			
Lichfield	"	"	...	2			
Lincoln, Scholæ Cancellarii	...	...	...	12			
St. Michael's, Aberdare	...	...	...	1			
Manchester, Schol. Episcopi	...	...	...	9			
Salisbury Theological College	...	...	...	1			
Bishop Wilson Theological School	...	...	...	1			
Truro, Scholæ Cancellarii	...	...	...	1			
Queen's, Birmingham	...	...	...	2			
St. Stephen's House, Oxford	...	...	...	1			
Denstone	...	...	...	1			
St. Nicolas, Lancing	...	...	...	1			
Mildenhall	...	...	...	2			
St. Augustine's, Canterbury	...	...	...	2			
C.M.S. College, Islington	...	...	...	2			
St. Boniface, Warminster	...	...	...	1			
Literate	...	...	...	3			

of the older Universities is higher than ever and shows a tendency to rise.

The facts witnessed to by these figures are at last receiving some attention. Several of the Bishops, by founding Theological Halls under their own immediate attention, doubtless hope to attract an increasing number of graduates. In the meantime the non-graduate theological colleges are not idle, and the aim of the memorial to the late Rev. A. Peache is the very practical one of reducing the fees at St. John's Hall, Highbury, and offering exhibitions to worthy men. Such agencies as the Ordination Candidates' Exhibition Fund are endeavouring to enlarge their work, and there are some welcome signs that private endeavour is also being fruitfully employed.

But we can hardly feel surprised if many thoughtful Churchmen regard these measures as unlikely to do all that is needed just now. It must be remembered that it is not enough to stop the falling off in the provision of candidates. That is only one step. For years the supply has been unequal to the demand, not only to the demand from incumbents, but to the demand of the population. There are also the needs of the colonies and the needs of the mission-field to be kept in mind. What we have to aim at, therefore, is not merely a return to the figures, let us say, of 1892—although that would mean an increase at once of no fewer than 166 Deacons—but such an advance as would help to make up for the shortage of the intervening years. The population has gone on steadily increasing; the total number of the clergy has steadily declined.

Now, is there any reasonable hope that the existing endeavours can, within a year or two, or even more, bring us to this point or to anything like it? Surely there is none. The most that can, at the present, be hoped for is that we may "stop the rot," and keep up with the totals of the last year or two. But, even if that were done, we should still be going behind. We should have overtaken no arrears, have got no nearer to catching up the population. Is it, then, enough to rest content with the means at present employed to meet the difficulty, to hope that the unexpected may conveniently come to our aid, and that, for reasons not very apparent, and in ways not easily traceable, the necessary men at last may somehow come to us? The innate conservatism of the English mind and of the English Church may make such a policy attractive, but it is not the policy which will long be possible. More than this is obviously needed. What can be done?

It is a little curious that more attention has not by this time been given to the age of ordination as an important

factor in the problem which fathers with sons who think of entering the ministry have to face. Is it not time to ask how far the lowering of the age for the Diaconate would procure a larger supply of men, and whether, if it be probable that it would, such a lowering of the age would be wise and justifiable?

Happily the subject is one which can be considered with perfect freedom. There is nothing in Holy Scripture which suggests any difficulty in lowering the age. The light thrown by the New Testament on the primitive Diaconate in no way suggests an office for which the maturity of twenty-three as compared with the youth of twenty-one is essential; neither does Catholic tradition embarrass us with a fixed age. At present our Church is at one with the custom of the Church of Rome as settled for the latter by the Council of Trent, but in the Greek Church the age is fixed at twenty-five. The Reformation settlement in no way suggests difficulties, but rather invites action. The first Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. in its Ordinal required a Deacon to be twenty-one. So did the Second Prayer-Book of Edward; so did the Prayer-Book of Elizabeth. Nor yet is the question in any way prejudiced by a unanimous agreement amongst the Church of our day. We agree with Rome in putting the age for the Diaconate at twenty-three; but the American Church and the Scottish Church return to the earlier age of twenty-one. It is clear, therefore, that the subject is more or less open. The age is to be determined by practical considerations, and there is no reason why the limit of one century should necessarily be the limit of the next.

What are the practical considerations which suggest the lowering of the age?

They are mainly, no doubt, financial. The cost of sending a son into the ministry of the English Church is in any case considerable. At its best it implies an expenditure upon training successively at a public school, at a University, and at a theological college or hall. The sum total so expended varies enormously, but even with the greatest care it means much unless the candidate is well fitted out with school and college scholarships. Now where the strain is most felt is towards the end, for a young man may very well take his degree at twenty-one. What is he to do until he is full twenty-three? The ideal is that he should address himself to the serious study of theology, either taking it as a second School at Oxford or Tripos at Cambridge, or by entering a theological college, or by reading at a foreign University. But whilst the son is earning nothing it is only the few parents who can stand this additional strain. It is probable

that the colleges and clergy schools will soon offer inducements in the way of exhibitions more freely than is now the case, but although this will do something it will not do all.

Instead of the ideal training, we know what often happens: a certain number of young men spend a year or two at home. They are supposed to be "looking around"—a desultory occupation not without its special temptations. In practice it comes very near that "loafing" which preparatory and public schoolmasters had so pertinaciously fought against. These men do a little reading for Orders, but until the Bishop's examination is within sight it is usually very little; it is mainly undirected, unsystematic, and as a result of very uncertain and variable advantage. Others take for a time to teaching—not a bad preparation if seriously regarded. But, as the candidate knows he does not mean to be a schoolmaster, he very rarely does take it seriously, and for this reason he does not for the most part obtain much advantage from it. As, however, assistant-masters are not, as a rule, underworked, his time is fully occupied, and he has little or no opportunity of seriously reading theology. Thus it happens that a year or two years which might be of inestimable value to a man both with the means and the inclination to use them well are very often wasted. The candidate is in no real sense a better candidate than he was at twenty-one or twenty-two; perhaps, indeed, something of the freshness of his resolve has been lost.

Now let us suppose that the age for the Diaconate were twenty-one instead of twenty-three, the age for the Priesthood remaining unaltered at twenty-four. At the son's age of twenty-one something of the burden may be lifted from the parental shoulders. I say "something" because it could not be expected that under such conditions the stipend of a Deacon should be upon the same scale as prevails at present. The stipend assigned to a younger Deacon might not be enough for him to live on, but, whatever it was, by so much would the cost to the parent be relieved.

That is one side of the question. There are other aspects of the subject which must receive due consideration before any definite conclusion can be reached.

1. There is the question of the candidate's call. There are some who fear that ordination to the Diaconate at twenty-one might mean the wide acceptance of men before their characters were formed. Men, it is urged, would enter the ministry without due forethought, trusting, perhaps, to a passing impulse, or relying upon convictions which would not stand the test of closer contact with the world. The result, if that were so, would be a greater proportion of men who, in entering

the ministry, mistake their vocation—men who all their lives are more or less confessed failures—men who are the Church's bad bargains.

There may be some danger in this; but is it not the case even now that the majority of men who take Holy Orders in the normal way had made up their minds before they reach twenty-one? Parents, as a rule, are anxious that their boys should come to some decision as to their profession or calling as early as possible. A boy who is going into the navy must know his own mind by twelve or thirteen; he can wait a little longer before deciding about the army. The law and medicine can also be held in suspense. Business or a branch of science cannot too soon be settled on. In like manner it is fairly certain that a considerable number of the candidates for Holy Orders will always be those who from boyhood have looked forward to such work. In their case is there any ground for the fear that their final decision at twenty-one would be less trustworthy than their decision at twenty-three?

2. There is the question of spiritual fitness. This raises the question of the work which the Deacon has to do. It is hardly to be expected that a young Deacon of twenty-one should be competent to instruct from the pulpit congregations whose spiritual experience and general mental equipment may be far greater than his own. The same complaint has been made about the Deacon of twenty-three, and, for matter of that, about the Priest of twenty-four also. A Deacon's work should be strictly confined within the limits assigned in the Ordinal, and, if he may not preach, it is at least possible that the congregation will derive as much profit from hearing him read a printed sermon by another hand. The way in which the distinction between Deacon and Priest is more than half obliterated under present circumstances is responsible for a good deal of the objections urged under this head.

3. The question of mental equipment is a little more difficult. It is an undoubted and regrettable fact that, under our existing circumstances, a Deacon is too often assumed by the incumbent to have completed his education. He is not expected or invited to work seriously at his books, save in so far as they refer to the Bishop's requirements for the Priesthood. Some of the Prelates are doing their best to counteract this evil by requiring Deacons to attend certain courses of lectures. It is a prudent arrangement which might be extended with great profit to the junior clergy. But in spite of this Deacons under the present system spend too little time on their books. Now if, with ordination at twenty-one, it were to be assumed that the young Deacon's opportunities for systematic study were to be no more than they are at present, such a change would indeed be disastrous. The standard of

learning amongst our clergy is not even now what it should be; under the new order that standard would be very greatly lowered, unless due care were taken.

But why should not care be taken?¹ The incumbent would pay a lower stipend, and expect less in return. Would it not be fair that the period between Deacons' and Priests' Orders should be regarded as a time during which every young clergyman was expected to undertake solid and systematic study? Why should it not be the business of the Bishop's examining chaplain to direct their study, or of one of the cathedral Canons to help the men in it? If this view of the Diaconate were accepted, instead of such change tending to lower the educational standard of the clergy it might rather help to raise it. Possibly such a plan might have the additional advantage of leading more of the clergy to continue habits of reading, and that all who have considered the intellectual side of modern clerical life will agree would be a very genuine boon to the Church.

4. There remain some practical considerations. It may be urged that clergy would not give a title to a man who could not for two or three years get Priest's Orders. There is something in that. In some parishes where there is only one Curate an incumbent will gladly put himself to the inconvenience of having only a Deacon with him for one year, who might be unable to face the prospect of having only a Deacon for three. On the other hand, there are incumbents who at present find it extremely difficult to get a Curate at all. Would they also decline to look at a younger Deacon because it would be so long before he reached Priest's Orders? Against this doubt we might perhaps put the possibility of a new class of Curacy rising up. There might be incumbents who have not the work for, and incumbents who have not the stipend for, a Deacon or a Priest under present conditions. But they might be glad to have just so much aid as a younger Deacon could give, and be able well enough to pay a proportionate stipend. Perhaps, too, some of them would feel a peculiar pleasure in training a young mind in the opening days of its ministry.

Doubtless other difficulties would be raised, and it is possible that other advantages might also emerge. Balancing the arguments for and against the change it seems at least certain that a case is made out for inquiry. No one would ask that a reform of so serious a character should be carried into effect without adequate thought and the fullest considera-

¹ The *Bristol Diocesan Magazine* for February, commenting on such a proposal, says: "We should think that such a plan might be worked in a way not inconsistent with attendance at a Theological College for the usual period" (p. 40).

tion of the subject from all points of view. But as inquiry and consideration must of necessity occupy some time, they cannot too soon begin. It is not a subject which can be left merely to the energetic support of the Church's volunteer advisers. It is one of these cases in which Convocation, if it were so minded, could be of real service. I say "if it were so minded," for it must be confessed that the high hopes expressed at the revival of Convocation have hardly been borne out. If the two Lower Houses had, for example, to show cause why they should not again be relegated to silence, and to prove by actual work done a right to continue in active existence, they would not find the task an easy one. Now here is a new opportunity for them—a possibility of rendering very real service to the Church, and through the Church to the nation. Let the two Lower Houses—and the two Lay Houses also, if they will—examine fully the propriety and wisdom of lowering the age for the Diaconate, and let them do it as speedily as possible.

In truth, the whole question of the supply of candidates for Orders is so urgent, and present methods offer so little hope of effectively changing the situation, that any reasonable project calls for attentive and respectful treatment.

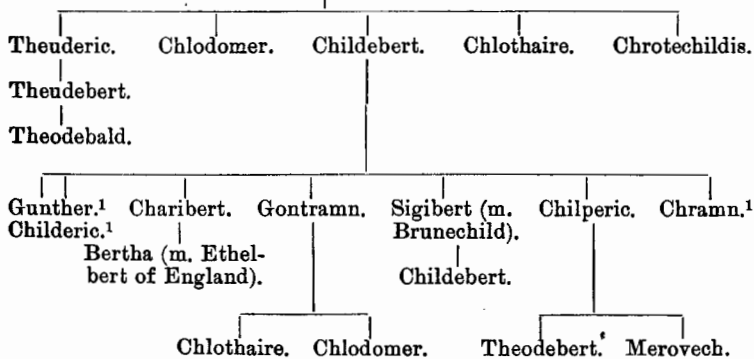
L. C. H. STOWELL.

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ART. V.—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GREGORY OF TOURS.

I.

Chlovis (died 511).



GUIZOT, writing on the "Civilization of France" in the sixth century, describes Gregory of Tours as being "always, without his knowing it, the truest painter of the manners and

¹ Died during the lifetime of their father.

events of this epoch." Perhaps it would be more correct to say that Gregory supplies us with the requisite colours, but that they have to be mixed with our own brains in order to produce a lifelike portrait of the period. He is our chief, almost our sole, authority for constructing a history of the Franks, but his history has no chronological order. He sat down, indeed, with the intention of recording events in the order in which they happened, but the resolution soon failed him, and his history quickly becomes a mere collection of records without any system or proportion. His is a *national* history written from a *personal* standpoint. Things which interested and concerned the author are assumed to be those which were of the most importance to his nation and of the greatest interest to posterity. Moreover, if at times the colours are crude, we must console ourselves with the reflection that we are dealing, not with Roman or Byzantine civilization, but with Frankish, not with the nineteenth but the sixth century. For instance, there may be *otium*, but certainly not combined *cum dignitate*, in Gregory's story of the Bishops being invited to dinner by the Frankish King, Gontramn, and after dinner being requested to sing a song. To save appearances, their lordships demurred, but when they saw the King was firm and even threatening, each Bishop sang his song, as Gregory says, *ut potuit*. Christianity amongst the Franks was "a rough diamond." Its manners, its literature, its doctrines, do not present us with that purity and refinement which we associate with the religion of the Son of God. Society was a loose confederation of Gaulish, Roman, Gothic, Frankish, Jewish, Christian elements, out of which emerged the French nation, and Gregory of Tours supplies us in his writings with the constituents of the subsequent amalgamation.

Odo was born¹ after 539 and before 544 in Auvergne. His full name was Georgius (after his grandfather), Florentius (after his father), Gregorius (after his great-grandfather, Bishop of Langres). His mother, Armentaria, was granddaughter of this Bishop. By birth he had connection with municipal and ecclesiastical life. His father and grandfather were of senatorial rank. His uncle Gallus was Bishop of Auvergne, and through his grandmother, Leocadia, he traced his descent back to Vectius Epagas, the first of the martyrs in Gaul, described by his neighbours² as *παράκλητος*

¹ Odo, his biographer, places his consecration in 573, and he was *nearly* thirty years old then. But in "De Mir. S. Mart.," iii. 10, he writes: "Tempore quo (mater) edidit me, dolorem in uno tibiæ musculo incurrit. Post ordinationem meam advenit Turonis, . . . discessit dolor . . . qui per triginta quatuor annos feminam fatigaverat."

² Eus., "Hist. Eccles.," v. 1.

Χριστιανῶν. All but five Bishops of Tours were of his family, so that the position might be regarded almost as hereditary. Auvergne, the birthplace of Gregory, occupied so secluded a position among the mountains that it had been little influenced by the Roman occupation of the country, nor by those hordes which swept on from the East to the richer prizes in Spain and Italy. It seems, from the frequency with which the statement is made by ancient biographers of eminent men, that it was an established principle amongst them that there can be in childhood no spiritual piety unless it be accompanied by physical infirmity, and that this infirmity must be cured in a miraculous manner, thus furnishing testimony to the invalid's piety. Gregory, according to his biographer, was no exception to this auspicious conjunction. His health breaking down under his studies, he was carried to the tomb of St. Illidius, where he promises to take Orders if cured. Considering that all his education was conducted from the very beginning with a view to ordination, this narrative intended to bring out at once the piety of Gregory and the goodwill of the saint, may justify us in regarding with suspicion both the vows and the cure. His studies were entrusted to Gallus, and on his death to Avitus, and he describes them as follows: "Not the flight of Saturn, nor the rage of Juno, nor the lusts of Jupiter, and the other abominations do I remember. Despising all these things as those which quickly ruin, let me apply myself rather to things divine and evangelical, for I do not desire to be bound and entangled in my nets." Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that he was utterly ignorant of profane literature. At the time of his writing his history he had read the Epistle of Sidonius, the songs of Prudentius and Orosius, Virgil and Sallust in part, Pliny and Aulus Gellius. But we must postpone further observation on the literature of the age, sacred and profane.

In 573, when he was about thirty years old, Gregory was consecrated Bishop of Tours, in succession to Bishop Euphronius. Here we may conveniently pause to make one or two remarks upon the system of orders in the Frankish Church. According to strict rule, a man must have been a reader ten years, subdeacon five years, deacon fifteen years, and priest twenty years before he was qualified to become a Bishop. But these periods could be shortened in consequence of extraordinary sanctity or illustrious deeds, miracles, or the favour of the King. All these "exceptions to the rule" combined to bring about the rapid promotion of Gregory. Again, we may ask, How were Bishops elected amongst the Franks? In view of present controversies on Church reform, the in-

quiry is one of considerable interest. The election was made by the clergy and people of the city. The Bishop-elect or a deputation of the electors took the instruments of election to the King, who, if he approved, signified his assent by letter to the Metropolitan. He was then consecrated by the Metropolitan (or his commissary) and the Bishops of the province.¹ But it would be too much to expect that in those disturbed times the rules would be scrupulously observed by all parties. When the electors were not unanimous, or when the Bishop-elect was displeasing to the King, the latter would send his own nominee to the Metropolitan with a certificate of his fitness, and the consent of the citizens would be obtained as a mere matter of form, *after* the consecration, upon the Bishop's first entrance into the city. This uncertain exercise of their respective functions led to constant friction between Church and State; even an appeal to the Bishop of Rome as arbiter gave the King the pull over the Church, inasmuch as it could only be made *licentia regis*. The power of the Metropolitans declined, councils were less frequent under the Franks, and Bishops applied direct to the King for the settlement of their disputes. For instance, Leontius, Metropolitan of Bordeaux, convened and presided over a council at Saintes (A.D. 563). This council deposed Emerius, Bishop of Saintes, because he had entered upon his see on the appointment of King Chlothaire, and without the Metropolitan's benediction (Chlothaire was now dead, being succeeded by his son Charibert). The Council had elected Heraclius in place of Emerius, but on Leontius approaching Charibert to confirm the deposition of the one and the appointment of the other, the King was furious, and replied: "Thinkest thou there remaineth none of the sons of Chlothaire to defend the actions of their father, because these Bishops have, without our assent, ejected him whom his will elected?" Leontius was fined a thousand gold pieces, and the other offending Bishops in proportion.

Where so many were allowed to have "a finger in the pie," it naturally offered a strong temptation for each party to get the largest share. Hence, intrigue and wire-pulling were frequently resorted to. For instance, upon the death of Gallus, Bishop of Auvergne, Cato was elected *by the people*,

¹ Council of Orleans (A.D. 549), Canon 10: "Cum voluntate regis, juxta electionem cleri et plebis, sicut in antiquis canonibus tenetur scriptum, a metropolitano, vel quem in vice suo præmiserit, cum comprovincialibus pontifex consecratur." Confirmed by Council of Paris (c. A.D. 558), Canon 8: "Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem *populi et clericorum* electio plenissima quæsierit voluntate; non principis imperio, neque per quamlibet conditionem contra metropolitani voluntatem vel episcoporum comprovincialium ingeratur."

and at once entered upon his duties. But the Bishops, who had come to the funeral of Gallus, felt their authority had been slighted, and offered to uphold Cato only on condition that he would accept consecration at their hands. They pointed out that the King (Theodobald), being a minor, the nobles might elect a rival to the see. Cato coldly replied: "I have ascended the clerical ladder according to canonical law. I was ten years a reader, five years I ministered in the subdiaconate, fifteen years I served as a deacon, and twenty years I have enjoyed the honour of the priesthood (*presbyterii*)." Thus rebuffed, the Bishops departed *in eum vanam gloriam execrantes*. However, the Archdeacon Cautinus secretly went to the King, announced the death of Gallus, and persuaded the King to appoint him to the vacancy. In the struggle for possession which ensued Cato eventually emerged the victor; but we can well imagine that the defeated party, especially in those undisciplined times, would not receive their "father in God" with becoming cordiality, nor that the plotting and scheming, charges and counter-charges, would conduce either to the dignity of the office or the loyalty of the people.

Gregory, however, entered upon his episcopate in peace. He found plenty of work demanding his attention. A great fire had devastated Tours, and many churches, baptisteries, and basilicas were destroyed. Euphronius, the predecessor of Gregory, began the work of restoration, and Gregory carried it on with great energy. He devoted special attention to the Church of St. Martin, built by the saint himself. It was 160 feet long, 60 broad, and 45 high, having 120 columns and 52 windows. His energy was not satisfied with rebuilding. He adorned it with gold and silver, and decorated the walls with pictures illustrative of the saint's life; he enriched it with relics which were indispensable. These relics were put into jars and placed in the very structure of the "altar." It was forbidden to place the relics *on* the "altar." The tomb of St. Martin, like other tombs of saints, was covered with a pall. Drinking cups and *fredæ* were arranged upon it in the form of a pyramid. Usually this was surmounted with a cross, a dove being an additional embellishment. St. Martin's, however, was distinguished with a crown. The Church of St. Martin was the most celebrated "sanctuary" for criminals, sharing the privilege with St. Hilary's of Poitiers and St. Remigius' of Rheims.

But the times were too disturbed to favour the arts of peace. A Bishop of Tours could not, even if he would, stand apart from secular affairs. When Charibert died in 567, his three brothers divided the kingdom between them, Gontramm, the eldest, fixing his capital at Orleans, Sigibert, the second

brother, at Rheims, and Chilperic, the youngest, at Sens. Chilperic became dissatisfied with his share, and attacked Sigibert by laying siege to Tours and Poitiers in his brother's kingdom while Sigibert was engaged on an expedition against the Gauls. "He burnt the churches, destroyed monasteries, killed the clergy. . . . There was greater lamentation in the churches at that time than in the persecution of Diocletian." In this feud Gregory sided with Sigibert, and for this Chilperic never forgave him. During the lifetime of Sigibert, Chilperic could make no headway, but on his brother's death by assassination in 575 Chilperic became master of Tours, and from that time till the King's death at the Battle of Cala in 584 quarrels between them never ceased. This cordial hatred is very strongly marked in Gregory's summary of his enemy's reign and character, and proportionately discounts its accuracy and worth. He describes him as "the Nero and Herod of our time." He laid waste large tracts of land with fire and sword, and the sight filled him with delight, just as Nero sang tragedies when his palace was burning. He unjustly punished men in order to seize their estates. Very few of the clergy he promoted deserved the episcopate. He composed some weak verses "with no feet to stand upon," and with the "quantities" all wrong. He had also compiled other little works, such as hymns and masses, with no sense in them whatever. He assiduously blasphemed the priests of the Lord, and held up the Bishops to ridicule and jest. He declared his own power in the State was gone, and had passed into the hands of the Bishops. The vows which he had taken in church he broke, and transgressed the precepts of his father. No one could conceive anything in lust or luxury which he did not put into practice. He racked his fertile brain for new ways and means to injure the people. If he found anyone at fault he ordered his eyes to be torn out, and added: "*Si quis precepta nostra contempserit, oculorum avulsione mulctetur.*" Gregory displays very little of that love for your enemy which Christianity demands. Happily, Chilperic's character does not depend solely upon this estimate. Doubtless his bad points were more numerous than his good ones, but something may be said for a man who releases his enemy (Brunehild, widow of Sigibert), and bestows upon her gold and silver; who endows the Church with large gifts; holds friendly intercourse with those who successfully withstood his attack, viz., the citizens of Poitiers; is lenient towards his great enemy (Gregory), and does not avenge slanders against himself, viz., those of Bishop Charterius. Time only widened a breach which Gregory took no pains to reduce. Gontramm, having slain Theodebert, the son of Chilperic, fled in fear of his

father to the Church of St. Martin. Chilperic demanded his surrender; Gregory refused. Fresh fuel was added to the fire by Gregory supporting Merovech against his father in his designs upon Tours. After the death of Sigibert, Merovech married his widow Brunehild. Chilperic commanded his son to take orders, but Merovech refused, and, instead, raised the standard of revolt, and drove out Count Leudastes,¹ whom Chilperic had appointed as Governor of Tours. War was declared between father and son, in which Merovech, like another Absalom, was slain. In this family feud Gregory supported Merovech, and its disastrous issue (for Merovech was Chilperic's only son) would not dispose the King to regard in a friendly manner any who had upheld such unfilial conduct. But the matter did not stop here. Prætextatus, Bishop of Rouen, who had performed the marriage service over Merovech and Brunehild, was charged with having received money from Brunehild, and with having distributed it as bribes on behalf of Merovech, as well as with exacting oaths to support him. Terrified by the threats of the King, the Bishops of the province left him to his fate, and he would have been punished with loss of Orders and anathema had not Gregory interposed and obtained the milder sentence of penance and exile. This only exasperated his enemies, and they conspired to effect his overthrow. Count Leudastes and Subdeacon Riculph, who was aiming at a bishopric, accused Gregory to Chilperic of slandering his wife Fredegund; but the King was too astute not to see its hollowness, and a verdict of acquittal, resulting from an exposure in open court of their hatred and malice, would only strengthen the influence of Gregory with the people. However, Chilperic so far yielded to the entreaties of Fredegund as to submit the case to a Council of Bishops. It was unanimously agreed that the witness of an inferior person against a priest could not be accepted, but that for the sake of concluding the King's business, although contrary to the canons, Gregory, after the saying of Mass, should take an oath at three altars that he was innocent of the charge. Leudastes was banished and Riculph excommunicated. Chilperic and Gregory were so far reconciled that the King invited the Bishop to his palace to dinner, and showed him his wealth (A.D. 580).

We may be pardoned for dwelling longer upon this case of Prætextatus, as it affords a good insight into the manners and opinions of the times. It has been ungallantly said that wherever there is mischief, a woman will be found the cause. It must be confessed that it was so in this instance. Brune-

¹ He had risen from the position of stable-boy.

child, the widow of Sigibert, is described as "elegans opere, venusta aspectu, honesta moribus atque decora, prudens consilio et blanda colloquio." Before her marriage with Sigibert she was an Arian, but love or ambition was stronger than dogma, and she renounced her heresy in favour of the Frankish law, which required that all their princesses should confess the orthodox faith in the Trinity.¹ Of these charms and accomplishments Merovech, became enamoured and although "contra fas legemque canonicam," married her who was both his uncle's widow and his mother's sister.² Prætextatus was cited to appear, and justify himself in having officiated at an illegal marriage. "An ignarus eras, quæ pro hac causa Canonum statuta sanxissent." Other charges were preferred against him. "Hostem filium patri fecisti, seduxisti pecunia plebem, . . . voluisti regnum meum in manum alterius tradere." He was charged with using Brunechild's money to bribe men to assassinate the King. The Frankish nobles were so maddened against him that they wanted to stone him there and then. The trial was held before forty-five Bishops in the Basilica of St. Peter, and it was with difficulty that the sanctity of place and person was preserved. The real, almost the sole, bulwark against his condemnation was Gregory, and this, if possible, the party of Leudastes tried to break down. On the night of the first day of the trial, "when the nightly hymns had been sung," Fredegund sent a message to Gregory, offering him 200 pounds of silver if he would withdraw from defending Prætextatus. He spurned the bribe with the utmost disdain. "Not for 1,000 pounds of gold and silver will I change my mind or act contrary to the Canons." Next morning the Bishops, although the judges, repeated the offer, and it was again haughtily rejected. The trial proceeded. Prætextatus admitted distributing the money, but denied the motives attributed to him. But now a fresh crime was alleged against him. He was accused of pillaging Brunechild's wardrobe! The defendant confessed to having taken two out of the five parcels into which her "things" had been packed, but had had no time to restore them to her. A wordy warfare ensued, in which the King acknowledged himself beaten. The Bishops who were trying the case cut a sorry figure, being afraid either to acquit or condemn. At length it was agreed that Prætextatus should throw himself upon the King's mercy, and it was

¹ This law held true also of Frankish princesses who married foreigners. Bertha, Queen of Ethelbert, when Augustine landed in England, was a Frankish princess, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris, and retained her orthodox faith, though married to a heathen. Hence her favourable attitude to the Roman missionaries.

² Chilperic married Galsuintha, sister of Brunechild. On her death he married Fredegund.

promised him on the part of the King that he should receive a merciful sentence. Throwing himself upon the ground, he cried : " Peccavi in cœlum et coram te, O rex misericordissime : ego sum homicida nefandus : ego te interficere volui." Then the King prostrated himself at the feet of the Bishops, saying : " Audite, O piissimi sacerdotes, reum crimen execrabile confitentem !" Distressed to tears at the sight, the Bishops lifted the King up, who retired to his house, and sent them a book of the Canons, to which he had attached an appendix of his own,¹ " habens canones quasi apostolicos." Amongst these last-mentioned Canons it was laid down that " a Bishop, being convicted of murder, adultery, or perjury, shall be expelled the priesthood." The King demanded that the offending Bishop's robe might be rent, and that Ps. cviii., " qui maledictiones Ischariothicas continet," might be recited over his head. This form of degradation Gregory opposed, as violating the King's promise that nothing should be done contrary to the Canons, and consequently Prætextatus was condemned to imprisonment, to be followed by exile for a short period. This light sentence aroused all the malice of Fredegund's nature, and she resolved to satiate it both upon Prætextatus and Brunecchild. Her first plan, indeed, was a failure, but the failure of it in no way mitigates the fiendishness of its conception. Her scheme was to strike at Brunecchild through the Order to which Prætextatus belonged. Revenge, moreover, must not only punish, and punish in the most stinging manner, it must bring the utmost possible recompense to the avenger. Now, Merovech had been slain in battle, and Merovech had been the only surviving son of her husband Chilperic. His other son had also fallen in battle. Childebert was the only son of Brunecchild ; therefore " eye for eye, tooth for tooth," Childebert for Merovech. But who shall perpetrate the murder ? The assassins must be found amongst those in Holy Orders, because Prætextatus was a Bishop. Actually two clergy were found sufficiently corrupt to accept from the hands of Fredegund " the price of blood " and two poisoned daggers. The plot was happily discovered ; the Queen's dastardly accomplices were tortured and executed. Vengeance, however, if frustrated, was not abandoned. One Sunday in 586 A.D., during the chanting of the Psalms, Prætextatus was stabbed, while sitting in his stall in the Church of Rouen. Some months later a council was summoned to investigate, amongst other crimes, this one in particular. A murder, equal in atrocity to that of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, or of Peter de Castelnau on the bank

¹ " In quo quaternio novus annexus."

of the Rhone at a later age, should have excited throughout Western Christendom the utmost horror and indignation. It is eloquent evidence of the punitive power of the Church at this time that no punishment whatever for this outrage was inflicted either upon Fredegund or her accomplices. Brunehild and Fredegund "are fit heroines for the most sanguinary of the Teutonic sagas, in which they appear much distorted and amidst different surroundings, but with a manifest parentage of fact and suggestion. They were mortal enemies, and it would be hard to say which was the more implacable, but perhaps Fredegund's crimes were the most fiendish and unprovoked. . . . We shall look in vain through history for a woman capable of more deliberate, sustained, and successful murders than those by which she carved her path to the throne, advanced the cause of her husband so long as it suited her that he should live, removed every possible rival to her son Chlothair, and transferred the crown from father to son, as soon as Chlothair had reached what in those days was regarded as the age of militant manhood."¹

H. J. WARNER.



ART. VI.—THE PLACE AND WORK OF EMANCIPATED
WOMANHOOD.

I REMEMBER proposing, as a member of the committee on a Diocesan Conference, certain subjects more or less suitable for discussion, of which one was, "The place of women in Church." A layman, also on the committee, at once thundered out, "Woman's place? In the *back seats!*" To which the reply was obvious: "But if they will not stay there?" And this declares just the state of things with regard to women in the present day. They will not take the back seats, either in Church or anywhere else; they *will* come to the front. We hear continually of woman's emancipation, of woman's claims, of the equality of the sexes. A woman's revolution menaces our ancient Universities, and women have already claimed their right to a share in that *one* only department of "wrangling" which, "before," man's exclusiveness had deemed peculiarly his own. As magistrates and guardians, and even as churchwardens, they "rise with twenty weighty reasons on their tongues, and push us from our stools." Into the domains of coarseness, and even into the Zola preserves of mere filth, the woman-novelist presses. We have lady doctors—in America, "Reverend" ladies—compilers even of a "Woman's Bible,"

¹ "The Franks," by Lewis Sergeant.

in which Eve is complimented for not having rather succumbed to the temptation of beautiful dresses, than to that of godlike knowledge; and in which, as the type of feminine endurance and wisdom, is put forward—the ass of Balaam! Subordination is being disclaimed by wife and daughter, and Gladstone's famous predecessor (I allude, of course, to Ahasuerus), if he, in the present day, were to issue his edict of Home Rule, recorded in the last verse of the first chapter of the Book of Esther, might evoke only derisive defiance. The *Summer Fantasy*¹ of Tennyson, which appeared just fifty years ago, has become in great measure a reality, and women own, nowadays, more than one "College like a man's," though, happily, not yet have they prevailed on "our old Halls to change their sex." And although (at least, in my limited experience) we see not in the lady's colleges

"Prudes for proctors, dowagers for deans,
And sweet girl graduates with their golden hair,"

but rather spectacled severities, and forms and faces dedicated to *Learning*—and not grudged to her by *Love*.

Among the many changes, for worse or for better, of "Great Victoria's golden reign," which began as a monarchy and ended as a monarchical republic, this change in the position and attitude of the woman is one of the most startling. Now, the clergy are deeply concerned in the change. They should be pre-eminently the teachers of the nation, in the exercise of the Master's commission to not only feed (*βόσκειν*), but to "shepherd" (*ποιμαίνειν*) His flock. Their influence should extend not only to religion and morality, but also to decorum and seemliness in those committed to their care, even as St. Paul thought it not beneath an Apostle's dignity to speak of the dress of women, of the fitness for them, in worship, of the veiled head, and of the *adornment* to them of shamefastness and modesty. This being so, it seems right that the clergy should take into consideration what should be their attitude towards this woman's question, what their influence over it. How far it may appear their duty to stem the advancing flood; how far to direct it into proper channels, and, with the setting of proper bounds, to encourage its advance.

In the first place, I think we must own that through man's masterfulness, and, it may be, jealousy and want of true appreciation of the requirements, physical and mental, of women, and of their capacities, women *were*, even sixty years ago, too much kept "in the back seats."

¹ "This were a medley! We should have him back
Who told the 'Winter's Tale' to do it for us."

Princess: Prologue.

So Lilia, in "The Princess," being twitted with the great doings of a heroine of the past, has some right in her retort :

"Quick answered Lilia : ' There are thousands, now,
Such women, but convention beats them down ;
It is but bringing up—no more than that ;
You men have done it ; how I hate you all !
Give us for teaching all that men are taught,
We are twice as quick !'"

And, indeed, woman has her roll-call of celebrities :

"She
That taught the Sabine how to rule, and she
The foundress of the Babylonian wall,
The Carian Artemisia strong in war,
The Rhodope that built the pyramid,
Clelia, Cornelia, with the Palmyrene
That fought Aurelian, and the Roman horde
Of Agrippina."

And sings of woman the woman's Laureate :

"Her privilege, not impotence,
Exempts her from the work of man—
Humbling his proper excellence.
Jean d'Arc led war's obstreperous van,
No part of policy or pride
Does Heaven from her holding grudge ;
Miriam and Anna prophesied,
In Israel Deborah was judge,
How many Christian heroines
Have blest the world, and still do bless ;
The praise their equal courage wins
Is tenfold thro' their tenderness.

"If man, in war, fear none as foes,
Before disease the brave will pale ;
But woman fearless frontage shows,
Headed by Florence Nightingale !

"And, ah ! sad times, gone by,¹ denied
The joyfullest omen ever seen,
The full-grown lion's power and pride
Led by the soft hands of a Queen !"

Women, we may own, were too much kept back in the early part of this century. But certainly we are now brought face to face with the opposite evil. The somewhat over-restrained espalier is in danger now of growing into rank, ungraceful excess of wood, from which the blush of the blossom and the refreshment of the fruit are apt to become conspicuously absent.

The clergy—provided incomes be left them sufficient to make a married clergy still a possibility—should rear in their

¹ Revived in "Great Victoria's golden days."

homes sweet English maidens of the true old strain; physically and mentally healthy, *mens sana in corpore sano*; natural, sweet, and serviceable; acceptable to God and man; wise concerning good, *simple concerning evil*; unseared by foul literature; fearless for the truth; exacting chivalry from mankind¹; without prudishness, yet not cheapening their society; in no least way mannish; with sweet lips, free from smoking and from slang; womanly, yes, *gentle-womanly*. It is a pity that we have taken up the inapt word "lady," which is correlative to "lord," and dropped the sweet feminine of "gentleman." (This Ruskin deplores in his lovely book for youths and girls, "Sesame and Lilies.") We shall wisely allow many things that our fathers disallowed, but we shall guard against *liberty* running to seed in *license*. Good daughters we shall rear; helpful and amiable sisters; women modest and wise in counsel, gentle and firm in rule in *woman's* department—Christian Maidens, thus full of promise to make the perfect Wife. So that with such a one,

"Seeing her so sweet and serviceable,"

it may fare, as fared it with Enid, when Geraint thought and said, seeing Yniol's daughter :

"Here, by God's grace, is the one maid for me!"

But "these are generals," you may complain. "Come to particulars, man!"

Let us consider, then, what should be our ideal, to inculcate, of woman's place (1) in the Church and in the parish; (2) of woman's place in the world at large.

I need not here emphasize, with regard to her, the department of her Home. This is surely, it must be granted, her peculiar sphere. As wife, mother, mistress, she must take her place, and no one can assume her part. The loss of a wife, of a mother, ought to be the severest loss a home can experience. The loss of a wise and judicious father leaves, as Steerforth lamented, a terrible want. But the very nature of his work precludes his constant supervision and superintendence at home. I *have* seen a forlorn old cock on a branch, sheltering under his wings, with rueful expression, a motherless brood. It was a pathetic sight, but the poor old male bird, with his many calls during the daytime, could look neither after the wants nor the behaviour of the giddy young chicks in that daytime, nor guard them from prowling fox or hovering hawk.

¹ See, further, my "Old and New Century Bells" (Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., 1901).

Woman's special sphere, then, is the home. Her function there is that taken by Patmore for the title of his book; she should be "The Angel in the House." She may indeed be an angel of either kind—a Demon of discord, or a Messenger of peace; a factor of dissension, or a minister of love; a maker, or a healer of wounds.

At home indeed she may be and should be—

"The best half of creation's best,
The heart to feel, its eye to see;
The crown and complex of the rest,
Its aim and its epitome."

Indeed, for all that need be said as to woman's place in the home I may refer to Coventry Patmore's poetry, and to the eulogium, never, I trust, to become out of date, of wife, mother, and mistress in the closing chapter of the Book of Proverbs.

In the Church, women are coming out of the "back seats." We hear now of female churchwardens. I own I do not like the idea, nor think it should be encouraged. Better officers they would make, I do not deny, than many of those now installed, caring little for the Church, and, often, not even Communicants. Still, at any rate, if a man can be found apt and fit, I should certainly give the preference to the old custom. We must remember that one of the duties of a churchwarden is to keep order—it may be among brawlers and unruly young men—in the church. This does not seem to my mind to be woman's work.

In one of my curacies a lady sometimes collected the money at the Offertory. I own that it had to me an *unnatural*, if not unseemly, appearance. Why? Well, perhaps because something of a retiring modesty, which we love to see in the woman, or *used* to love to see, seemed incongruous with the open and public solicitation.

Let that pass. I do not see anything that should not be in a vicar's daughter, after a Celebration—while he is attending to the vessels, etc., he having no server—stepping from the vestry through a side-opening into the sanctuary, and taking flagon, alms-bags, etc., to put by so as to save time. I must protest against the idea, which seems with some clergy to obtain, that it is a sort of desecration for a female to enter the Sanctuary. We think of them as far purer than are men, and certainly our Lord in person found no pollution in their ministry nor in their adoring touch. No, not in that of the poor penitent who laved His feet from the fountain of her heart, and dried them with the woman's glory.

We may as well take in any instance that is of kin to our

subject. Should maidens sit in the choir-stalls, and be, in fact, of the choir; and if so, is a special garb for them desirable? Certainly here, if there be without them treble voices sufficient, I would relegate them, at any rate, to the back seats as assessors; but where these trebles are not found I cannot see anything ecclesiastically wrong in maidens assisting to lead congregational singing (which should be our ultimate aim), and sharing the privilege of the other sex in dedicating to God "the best member that we have." And I think a white cloak and college cap might be conceded. Certainly we, with no demur, accept the services of lady organists and lady pre-centors.

The question may here come in, "Are women in our day, contrary to St. Paul's dictum, to be suffered to speak in the Church?" Believing in the permanency of the rules of the Book given to us through Prophets and Apostles, I say, Certainly not. I am aware that a woman modern critic, carrying out the corrective and "probability" criticism of the day, on being reminded of St. Paul's rule, "I suffer not women to speak in the Church," retorted, "Ah yes! But in that place Paul forgot to add, 'I speak as a fool.'"

But, out of the Church's walls, should we set our face against the speaking, lecturing, and teaching of women?

I think that here we must discriminate, hardly, however, venturing to draw a hard-and-fast line. I cannot say that it seems to me *feminine*¹ for a woman to speak from political and secular platforms, and to jostle, on subjects out of her peculiar province, with the man. And this although I own that to the unmarried *femme sole*, owner of estate or farm, it does seem that woman's suffrage should be conceded. It seems absurd for the field-labourer to possess it, in his ignorant unfitness to enjoy the privilege of misusing the vote-power given to him, while his mistress, cultivated and with education, has it denied to her. Nor do I think that personal considerations would more powerfully sway the emotional nature than it does the (in the case of the field-labourer) fallow mental faculty.

But to return to our maidens. With regard to secular platforms, then, I would still apply the old saying of Homer:

"Ill fits it female virtue to be seen,
Alone, indecent, 'mid the haunts of men."

But what shall we say concerning subjects peculiarly within the woman's province, and concerning religious teaching, at any rate, outside the walls of the Church: such teaching in

¹ A word I fain would keep, *pace* the twentieth century.

the school, in the tent, in the mission-room? I think few would be bold enough to forbid the work of a Mrs. Marsh, of an Ellice Hopkins, of those other ladies who are, in our own day, exercising such wonderful influence over our soldiers, militia, and sailors; over our village and town lads, also, in the Bible-class and the night-school. Here, surely, we do allow teaching, even in the form of earnest address and exposition, also the reading of prayers and the leading in thanksgiving and praise. I think, in woman's teaching, a certain *fitness* of things will show the way to the mean between restraint and license.

There are subjects, painful and tainted, whose discussion and treatment yet especially concern woman. There is the unjust unevenness of the balance held by society in its estimate of the deviation from the path of virtue—a deviation regarded, in the one case as ruin, in the other, as more than venial, even as a thing of course. This can hardly be otherwise (from the world's point of view) from the very nature of things. There is, indeed, an implied homage in it to woman; a relic of the worship of the days of chivalry. Man, coarse man! what matters (men ask) a stain more or less on the rough Oak? But on the Lily the case is different. Man we know as man merely. But man's thought loves to place woman among the angels, so that

“When she falls, she falls like Lucifer,
Never to rise again!”

But abstractedly, and from the point of view of the *sin* of it, there seems, and is, an injustice. Should not, then, the woman protest? Now, I maintain that the protest, somewhat unsavoury, of the lip and the pen, may be rendered less necessary by a silent protest, which is entirely in the woman's power. Let her, *as she can* in society, insist on chivalry among men. Let the chartered libertine find no charter from her, as a guest in her home, as a suitor of her daughters—no, not were he ten times a lord or a millionaire.

In truth, we must blame woman's laxity and cheapening of herself—must, I say, blame also, sometimes, the wiles of the woman—for the low standard of chivalry, of purity, at any rate in our country parishes.

There has been much difference of opinion as to woman's work in the parish, especially that of the parson's wife and daughters. Mrs. Creighton would seem to speak of the parish as having almost the first claim on the time of the wife, mother, and mistress. To this I should demur. Others deny that the parish has any claim: a woman does not marry a man to become his curate. For my part,} I

would earnestly advise any zealous young priest who thinks of taking to himself a wife to most carefully avoid the girl who could think or talk of interest in the Master's work, not to speak of its being also that of her husband, in a way so flippant, selfish, and un-Christlike. Let the wife be shunned who would regard with distaste or with indifference the chief and dearest interest in life of her husband. Such a one—whereas a true and sympathetic helpmeet would double his influence for good and incalculably lighten his toil—such a Gallio-wife will do him incredible harm, will hamper and hinder his efforts, will undermine his influence, and, it may be, ere the end, make the man himself half-hearted and a shirk.

Here, again, the truth lies in the mean. Let the wife be

“True to the *kindred* points of Heaven and Home.”

Let the one point of the compass be fixed firmly in the centre. She need not then fear to enlarge the circle embraced by the other.

It is more than time to end. We must not dwell at length generally on what the clergy, what parents should disallow, what permit, in woman's new relation with the world. Here, again, old Horace may help us with his well-worn dicta: “*Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines.*” The line was drawn far too hard and fast, we must, I think, concede, “in the days when we were young.” I remember that it was unfeminine to skate; I have read of the astonishment of the artist, Millais, on seeing a girl playing the violin. It was, I believe, thought an over-fast thing for a woman to be seen in a hansom cab. I know not how our grandfathers would have looked at lawn-tennis or golf for girls. I myself was, I own, together with many who are not quite fogies, yet much set against the bicycle for maid and matron. However, the thing became no longer singular and conspicuous, conditions which (though I grant there must be pioneers) I dislike for women. And since I saw no harm in tricycles for them, it seemed at last an absurdity to hold out as to the number of wheels when once the machine had been adapted to modest feminine attire. It was urged once, I recall, by an indignant matron, “That the Virgin Mary would not have used one.” Well, we don't know! Certainly she would not if they be immodest. But *are* they? I decided *not*.

Then in our day girls whistle; only boys did this, in my time. I disliked the innovation. But before demurring I put to myself the query, “Why not? What is there, *per se*, in the act of whistling unfeminine or objectionable? I really could find no answer, so held my peace.

Against certain attempts of the new woman I set my canon

inflexibly. I like not men in women's places. Still more I dislike the unwomaned woman. Any occupation, any position, any practice, which is unwomanly I condemn. And an innate fitness of things will, I maintain, decide here. Place the statue, side by side of the Farnese Hercules and that of the Venus de Medici, and say whether God meant no distinction to obtain between the functions and department of man and woman. The female soldier or policeman, the female legislator or magistrate, these I cannot allow. The female guardian of the poor I love not to see. Female "cricketers" (I do not include girls playing together in the home field), female footballers—well, I would settle the question, so far as cricket goes, and show the farce by setting Richardson to bowl at them! Man's dress, coming to zenith of horror in the "rational costume" of "women—or what have been those gracious things"—in cycling—of this I wholly disapprove. The fast girl, or the horsy woman; let neither men, nor girls, nor bookmakers endure them. Slang from a girl's cherry lips is odious, unendurable. Smoking! Ah, let not the lips of his lady-love, as she whispers a soft "Yes" into her lover's ear, recall to him the odour of the stale pipe that hangs in the rack in his bachelor-room!

In fine, let the woman remain the woman, the girl the girl. We want to raise us, to help us, and comfort us, something different from ourselves: *the woman*, not a bad and second-hand imitation of *the man*.¹ Let, then, in this woman-question of our day, the influence of the man, especially of the man of God, be

"To clear away the parasitic forms
That seem to keep her up, but drag her down—
To leave her space to burgeon out of all
Within her; let her make herself her own
To give or keep, to live and learn, and be
All that not harms distinctive womanhood."

J. R. VERNON.

¹ "For woman is not undeveloped man,
But diverse: could we make hence the man,
Sweet love were slain; his dearest bond is this.
Not like to like, but like in difference."



GOOD FRIDAY.

THE MIND OF CHRIST.

BACK to the depths beyond the birth of days,
 Ere the world was, and earth's created things,
 Faith flies on reverent Fancy's eager wings;
 And marks heaven's glassy sea with mirrored rays
 (Where the great throne of God in glory stays),
 Stirred as by warning breeze or bursting springs,
 When turned to man, with sympathy's far gaze,
 The loving mind of the blest King of kings.
 From that eternal moment, ever near
 And nearer drew that strange entrancing fear;
 The lowly birth, life's emptying, glory's loss,
 Gethsemane, the Passion, and the Cross!
 To-day He reached, touched, passed the solemn goal.
 And He shall see the travail of His soul!

A. E. M.



The Month.

THE question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister has again been forced upon the attention of Church people. The passage of the Bill through Parliament, if facilities could be obtained for it, is perhaps certain; but that should not keep Churchmen from using all fair methods of opposition as in times past. Recent circumstances have very gravely increased the danger of it being carried into law. The fact that such unions are permitted in some of the Colonies will be increasingly employed as an argument for legalizing them here at home. It is the kind of argument likely just now to weigh heavily with many persons who have no very deep convictions upon the subject. Yet it scarcely seems possible that a change so grave as that of altering our law of marriage should be made in the partial and fragmentary manner contemplated by the present Bill. If Parliament is to attack the question, it should do so at the bidding of responsible ministers, fully, comprehensively, and without regard to personal aspirations or individual anxiety. It is too grave a matter to rest with a private Member, or merely to be tinkered at. Nothing is so likely to inform the people of the country of the true aspects of this controversy as an attempt wholly to reconstruct the marriage laws. The consideration of the subject in the York Convocation Upper House was marked by a discussion which showed that the Bishops are not quite at one in their way of looking at the question.

The session of Canterbury and York Convocations passed over without much work of real importance being done. The Convocations—so far at least as their public proceedings showed—were without any definite information as to the Education proposals of the Government, although it is probable that their members had, like other people, heard some disturbing statements foreshadowing a measure of disappointment. The Southern House of Laymen again usefully considered the question of the lay franchise. No doubt the attainment of the conditions which would create the necessity for a lay franchise is some way ahead, but the time spent on the discussion of the subject is by no means wasted. Some day the franchise will be a reality, and its conditions are surrounded by so many difficulties that it would be the height of folly to defer the consideration of the subject until the day of privilege (or of need) actually arrives. The general tendency of all discussion of the subject is already far more useful than was at first the case.

The objections raised by the Church Association and other Protestant organizations to the confirmation of the Bishop-elect of Worcester (Dr. Gore) resulted in clearing up the doubt which had so long hung over the ceremony. Once more these agencies have rendered real service to the Church by obtaining definite statements of the law. As a matter of fact, few persons who had read the Statute of King Henry VIII. which rules the subject had much doubt as to which way the decision of the Court would go. The case for the objectors was very learnedly and ably put, but in the face of the Statute it was hardly to be expected that the objectors would succeed. It will probably be agreed, however, that so long as there was any doubt as to the right of objectors to appear and be heard, it was just and fitting that they should appear and make their claims. So far as evangelical and moderate Churchmen are concerned, the constitutional principle laid down by the Court is not one to which they gravely object. Some aspects of the position created are discussed by a contributor in the present number of the CHURCHMAN; but there is, on the whole, a disposition to think that the force of public opinion will always be strong enough to avert anything like grave public scandal in the exercise of the Crown's authority. In regard to this it may be useful to cite the reference of the Lord Chief Justice, in his judgment, to this plea. He said: "We have nothing to do in this application with any question of the refusal or unwillingness on the part of an Archbishop executing his high office to refuse to confirm or consecrate; the Archbishop would do so upon his own responsibility, and incurring the risk of *præmunire* contemplated by the statute. No question was or could be raised before us upon the argument of these rules as to the consequences of such an act. I mention this because, both in the argument in Bishop Hampden's case and in the argument before us, what appeared to me to be extravagant suggestions were made of the Archbishop being compelled to confirm as Bishop a man who was not a priest in Holy Orders, a person under the age of thirty, a Jew or Turk, a pronounced infidel, or one having some other obvious disqualifications; and there is a strong passage in the judgment of Mr. Justice Coleridge, page 604 in 11 Queen's Bench, and page 405 in Jebb to the same effect. We are not dealing with any such case, and, in my opinion, these considerations do not assist us. We have only to read the history of the last hundred and fifty years, or of our own time, to know that the choice of persons to fill the high office of a Bishop is a matter of most anxious consideration by the Crown, and that advice is given by those who are most competent to guide in the election of fit persons."

After devoting two afternoons to a full discussion of the subject, the Council of the Church Association decided not to appeal against the judgment of the Court. This decision had been very widely anticipated, and will approve itself to the Church at large.

The annual attack on the Church in Wales was made in the House of Commons this year under circumstances which enabled it to escape with defeat by only a modest majority. But the figures were of no real significance. Mr. Asquith resumed his connection with the subject, but neither he nor any of the speakers had any novelty to urge. It is still true that the proposal to disestablish the four Welsh dioceses is wholly illogical, without support in history, and without excuse in the face of the industry and zeal of the Church to-day. It is usefully pointed out by the *National Church* for February that modern progress in the four Welsh dioceses has been of a very distinct character: "The provision for public worship increased from 423,000 sittings in 1895 to 456,000 in 1900. Communicants rose from 129,000 to 137,000 in the same period, whilst in the five years ending 1900 the Church in Wales raised over £1,290,000 for religious purposes, exclusive of a large amount for hospitals and other philanthropic objects, and in addition to a very considerable aggregate sum composed of individual contributions sent direct by Welsh Churchmen to Central Church Funds, and therefore not included in parochial or diocesan accounts." The organ of the Church Committee for Church Defence and Church Instruction is, however, amply justified in reminding us that the debate and division should severely discourage the complacency into which some Churchmen seem disposed again to fall: "As the leaders of the Imperialist Radicals, no less than those of the Irish Nationalists, together with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his supporters, all voted in favour of the Disestablishment resolution, it would appear that an attack on the Church unites all sections of the present Opposition. A leading Churchman, speaking at a recent Church Extension meeting in the Diocese of Lichfield, concluded his remarks by saying: 'They used to hear a great deal about the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, but now it was dormant, and they might even hope it was extinguished for ever.' The resolution and division in the House of Commons last week must have given a shock to the easy optimism of this gentleman and that of so many other Churchmen and women all over the country. We trust that this feeling has now been shaken, and will soon be entirely dispelled."

The first set of statistics from the forthcoming Year-Book of the Church—those dealing with the voluntary contributions of the Church—reach us too late for adequate discussion in this number. The net result is a gain of about £8,000 on a total reaching nearly £8,000,000. This time the items showing a loss exceed those in which there is a gain. We shall return to the subject when the other tables of statistics are available. In the meantime there is already ground for the protest of the *Record* against the loose way in which the figures of this and other Year-Book returns are used by some Church authorities:—"We honestly believe that in many cases it is because people have not the figures of previous years at hand; but, whatever the cause, the result is the same. People are led to believe that the condition of their Church is very much better than it is, and they act accordingly. It is to be hoped that we shall use our knowledge with more candour, and wrench ourselves free from the tendency to self-deception. The returns give an infinity of trouble to hard-worked clergy, and the cost of the Year-Book must be a heavy strain on the S.P.C.K. If the facts are worth gathering, worth all the labour of

digesting and arranging, and worth the money spent upon them, surely they are also worth the care necessary to their intelligent comprehension and their fair presentation to the minds of others."

There have been no striking developments of the Ritual Controversy of late. It is said with some show of authority that the Bishop of London has personally visited all the churches in his diocese in which reservation is practised, and has "regulated" the custom. It is also understood that the Bishop of Rochester has had some success in dealing with those of his clergy who used extreme practices, and that only one incumbent has wholly refused obedience. At the same time it must be confessed that the position is still so bad as to be almost intolerable. A book compiled for the use of Members of Parliament, and privately printed by the Rev. the Hon. W. E. Bowen, shows by a mass of fresh evidence that within a few miles of the Palace of Westminster the most painful irregularities still prevail, whilst a selection of passages from Ritualistic manuals is equally eloquent as to the doctrines taught at such churches. In some quarters there is a growing conviction that the little band of irreconcilables must before long either join the Church of Rome in a body or found a little schism of their own. One of the Bishops most likely to know something of their temper thinks that the latter alternative is the more likely to be accepted by them. In the interests of the English Church the crisis and its solution cannot come too soon.

The month of February is one in which there is always much talk as to the finances of the great societies. Those which complete their year with December can then say how they stand, and those which end it with March 31 are getting more or less anxious as to the result. There is too much reason to fear that we are face to face all around us with lowered incomes. The C.P.A.S. has received a gift of £10,000 for special work, and the A.C.S. is raising a second Quinquennial Fund of £10,000; but both Societies want a larger annual income. It is always dangerous to forecast the income of the C.M.S., but at least it is safe to say that the Society has so jealously guarded its expenditure that something will be gained that way. The societies which more especially minister to the needs of London have suffered a good deal, and denominational agencies have their sorrows no less than those of the Church. In the meantime the work of raising some large sums of money—such as that for the Peache Memorial in connection with St. John's Hill, Highbury, and the fund for the new premises of the Home and Colonial Training College—goes steadily on.

Reviews.

DEAN SPENCE ON EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM.

Early Christianity and Paganism. By the Very Rev. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D., Dean of Gloucester. London: Cassell and Co., 21s.

Dean Spence is one of those writers whose happy task it is to popularize historical records which might otherwise obtain but little recognition from the general reader. It is a task for which his method and his picturesque style are well adapted, and it is a task which he appears to discharge with real enjoyment. His new book is just the kind of work which men and women, who revolt from Church history, as

presented to them through the ordinary channels, will receive with pleasure and read with great profit to themselves. Dean Spence deals with that astonishing period in which Christianity, from being the faith of a minute and obscure sect, became the faith of the Roman Emperor and Empire. People acquainted with the slow progress of Christian missions to-day often in ignorance assume that it has ever been so. They do not understand the extraordinary story of the first three centuries of the Christian era. Many, too, have heard something of the noble constancy with which Christian men and women within that period died for the faith; but few, perhaps, have been able to survey broadly the field of conflict between oppression and faith. It was the effort of Paganism, which glorified the Present, to crush out the teaching of a new principle which preached the recollection of the Future; it was the struggle of Materialism against the faith which taught that the concerns of the Spirit were of more importance than those of the flesh. Dean Spence usefully shows how keen was the struggle which intellectual Paganism made against the advancing tide of Christianity, and how persecution cannot then, or in later ages, always be traced to the mere enmity of an evil nature for the pure and the good. Dean Spence handles with becoming caution the records of early saints and martyrs, but, without using undue credulity, presents a vivid picture of their testimony to the faith.

This book is handsomely got up and is well illustrated. It ought to find a large circle of appreciative readers.

MR. GALTON ON OUR ATTITUDE TO ROME.

Our Attitude towards English Roman Catholics and the Papal Court. By ARTHUR GALTON, B.A. London: Elliot Stock, 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. Galton's manual is an addition to the promising series entitled "The Church's Outlook for the Twentieth Century." It is the work of one who, as he tells us, "has known English Romanism from within; who accepted the Papal claims in his youth, but who was compelled to reject them by fuller and more accurate information. My experience of English Romanists leads me to the same conclusions which I have gathered from historical investigation. I admire and honour individual English Romanists; I abhor that foreign and mundane organization which, as I think, deceives them by religious pretexts and professions." This passage gives us the keynote of the whole book. It is first and foremost a historical survey, rapid as a matter of course, but still taking in much detail, and marked occasionally by an element of the picturesque. In this survey Mr. Galton is always at pains to mark the distinction between the English Church and the power seated at Rome. Perceiving that distinction in history, he is the better able to sympathize with the modern Romanist in England who, often enough, retains a good deal of the old characteristic distrust of the Vatican, and is occasionally hard pushed to reconcile his loyalty to the throne with loyalty to his spiritual potentate.

If excuse were needed for the publication of such a work as this, it might readily enough be found in the astonishing ignorance as to the relation of the English Church to the Church of Rome which prevails on all sides. Many Nonconformists (and, it is to be feared, some Church-people also) steadfastly hold the theory that down to the time of the Reformation the only Church in England was the Church of Rome; that at the time of the Reformation the Church of Rome was expelled; and that Parliament then set up (with the moneys of the other Church)

a brand-new organization, called for the first time the Church of England. This volume is an admirable corrective to such views. It clearly states the various sources of British Christianity, and as clearly presents for us the early development of the Papal power at Rome. The struggle of the English Church with Rome in pre-Reformation times; the meaning and character of the Reformation; the attempts to overthrow the Reformation and snatch the throne from Elizabeth—these stages of the history of the Church and the nation are lucidly and vividly described. Of the Papacy as it is to-day Mr. Galton entertains no hope; on the contrary, he fears that those parts of the Empire in which it is most powerful will increasingly find how serious an obstacle it presents to the cause of civil liberty and social progress. We have our own object-lesson near at home in Ireland, and certain recent events in Australia suggest that some of our experiences may be repeated there. Mr. Galton has not dealt in any great detail with the position, aims, and methods of the Roman Church in England. Some day, perhaps, he may find time to discuss this aspect of the subject. Meanwhile he has given us a very useful and a very readable volume.

CANON MASON ON CONVERSION.

The Ministry of Conversion. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D. London: Longmans and Co., 2s. 6d. net.

This little volume belongs to a series entitled "Handbooks for the Clergy," the purpose of which is to offer to clergy and to candidates for Holy Orders some help and advice as to their responsibilities and opportunities. Canon Mason's choice of the subject of Conversion is perhaps another reminder of a certain change which is coming over the minds of thoughtful and devout people to-day. Whilst some preachers, High as well as Low, have not ceased to bear witness for the need of repentance and a new heart, there has long been a tendency to neglect these truths—to treat of God as a Father and not as a Judge; to handle the question of sin either with vagueness or tenderness, or both; and, in fine, to adopt a line of teaching which had scant room for a proclamation either of the Law or the Gospel. To this we may fairly attribute something of that weakening of the sense of sin which is now admitted to exist on all sides. In the face of it there is a refreshing tendency to revive older and better methods. Of that tendency we think we see one sign in this volume. For Canon Mason stands boldly for the need of conversion, the conversion not only of the profligate and the sinner whose condemnation is in every mouth, but also the conversion of the religious formalist and of the man who is confident of his own moral position. The relation between Baptism and Conversion is frankly handled thus:

"Can we reconcile the doctrine of the new birth in baptism with the statement that all men need conversion? Yes; there is no conflict between the two things, unless conversion is interpreted after a special and restricted and arbitrary manner. Taken in its broadest sense, as the bringing of the soul into a right relation with God, conversion is necessary if baptism is not to have been received in vain. Baptism is no substitute for conversion. Baptism is a matter of spiritual endowment; conversion is a matter of the will. It does not avail the soul to have received the most rich and priceless of privileges if the will prefers to remain in estrangement from God. What is this but to say, with Hooker, and with all right reason, that sacraments are 'moral means' by which God acts upon us, and not *non-moral* means, which in this instance would really be *immoral* means, bestowing salvation irrespective of character?"

Canon Mason's attitude towards Confession is sympathetic, as would

be expected, but he utters some wise cautions against its undue use, and he says:

"A truly contrite soul, which has found its way to the living Saviour, and felt the touch of His hand, in the sacred privacy of direct dealings with Him, and is walking in His ways within the unity of the Church, has a right to believe itself absolved and justified from past sin and set right with God forthwith. No one may trouble the peace of such a believer or break in upon it with demands of a more outward kind. It is not wholly unnecessary even now to protest against the intrusions of a wrong kind of sacerdotalism, such as would bar the free approach of God's children to their Father, and would question the truth of their forgiveness if it be not dispensed by the hand of the accredited minister. With the utmost earnestness and jealousy we ought to maintain these rights and liberties of the Christian, which are at least as well worth dying for as any of the other rights and liberties which martyrdom has championed."

This is a book which we cannot help thinking should be of much value amongst the members of the school of thought to which its author belongs.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY'S "STUDIES."

The Ministry of Grace: Studies in Early Church History, with Reference to Present Problems. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. London: Longmans and Co.

The Bishop of Salisbury's book is composed of the addresses given during his fifth Triennial Visitation, here revised, and with one considerable addition. His aim has been to consider some of the problems of modern Church-life in the light of ancient history. The Orders and Minor Orders of the Church, the Calendar of the Church, the Celibacy of the Clergy, and the Lord's Day, are some of the topics discussed in detail. The general treatment is, as we should expect, that of sober Anglicanism. The Bishop's attitude in regard to the ministry in its origin is in distinct conflict with the theory which makes episcopacy essential to the being, and not merely to the well-being, of the Church. In regard to the celibacy of the clergy, Dr. Wordsworth brings out, not merely the want of Biblical warrant for such a demand, but also the grave practical disadvantages of the system. The discussion on woman's work is interesting and suggestive, but it may be doubted whether there is any real advantage in more widely extending the distinction of women workers as persons holding ministerial offices of a kind. Dr. Wordsworth proposes a bold and sweeping rearrangement of the Calendar, with recognition of the modern saint as well as of traditional festivals. But his principle of selection seems curious. Here, however, as, indeed, in every part, the book repays the attention of the reader, and will help him to a more judicial consideration of the problems it discusses.

In a Minster Garden. A Causerie. By CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Dean of Ely. London: Elliot Stock.

Dean Stubbs has written a very delightful book—one of those charming contributions which are not easily classed, but are not the less entertaining on that account. Here we may learn much of the Minster which dominates the book, and here of such thoughts and studies as may fitly dwell under its shelter. Here are reminders of those strong feelings in regard to social affairs which we have learned to associate with Dean Stubbs, and here, too, is the thread of a love-story, helping to link these discursive chapters together. Readable as the text is, the illustrations are equally attractive. They give us some striking views of the Minster and the Deanery Garden. The volume is tastefully got up, and should be welcome as a gift-book.