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ECCE HOMO!

(BEHOLD THE MAN).

**T**HESE were the Latin words attributed to Pilate in presenting Christ, crowned with thorns, to the tumultuous assembly of Jews. *See St. John XIX. 5.*



Text Matter

**INTERNATIONAL  
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Reading Course'**



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SPECIAL INTRODUCTIONS BY  
RT. HON. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, K.C.  
SIR GILBERT PARKER, K.T., D.C.L.

**International University Society**

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## INTRODUCTION

### THE WORLD'S MEMORY : BOOKS

**I**F we could look into the minds of men, should we not see them full of longing for expansion, that craving for escape which the wide domain of Bookland, with its gigantic visions of Memory, Wisdom, and Beauty, is so well able to satisfy ?

Think only of the World's Memory : that goddess Mnemosyné, the Mother of the Muses.

There is a form of mental disease by which a man may lose all memory of his own past, and therewith his identity, and become a mere nonsense to himself and his fellows. And so would the world be without this memory of itself. By memory the world exists : without it, if it could exist without it, it would be an inconceivable and meaningless chaos. And though Mnemosyné in a manner includes all knowledge, since she has herself absorbed into herself all her own records and memorials of herself, and dwells retired in the far penetralia of her temple, yet her daughter, the Muse of History has built up the stairways by which that temple can be approached and entered.

And Bookland holds to a man as in a mirror the pictured story of his existence. There are the edifices and ruins of all his works and days, the monuments and sanctuaries of his divine mysteries, the battle-fields of his conquest or defeat. And if in this vast soul-map there are tracts of wilderness, there are also all the homes of his desire : pleasant river-valleys, pastures, and cultivated plains, fair mansions, gay gardens, the dream-paradises of poetry and music ; and linking his populous and laughing cities, stretch the long roads, whereon the great thought-merchants of all time pass to and fro.

Bookland is such a magic land. Give a man " Twenty bookes bound in black and red " and there may be no end to his wanderings. He may pass the bounds of his little planet, and sail among the stars, or go roaming in spiritual spheres, where material conditions melt away, and he knows himself for what he is, a breath of the eternal Being who exists in all things.

Now in that land Thought is self-sufficing : Thought is its own true distraction ; for it leads to reality, to a world free from the accidents of this life ; a world which the great friends of mankind animate with their personalities, omnipresent and immortal, gathering perpetual homage of new beauty from the successive races of mankind.

Where but in Bookland can you talk with Socrates or Montaigne ? What living man can you be so sure of finding alive to-morrow morning as the incomparable Chevalier of La Mancha, or that old leech-gatherer who for ever on the lonely moor evokes the deathless verses which William Wordsworth wrote in his book ?

## PIERRE ABÉLARD

(1079-1142).

**A**BÉLARD'S reputation for oratory and for scholarship was so great that he attracted hearers and disciples from all quarters.

They encamped around him like an army and listened to him with such eagerness that the jealousy of some and the honest apprehension of others were excited by the boldness with which he handled religious subjects. He has been called the originator of modern rationalism, and though he was apparently worsted in his contest with his great rival, St. Bernard, he remains the most real and living personality among the great pulpit orators of the Middle Ages. This is due in large part, no doubt, to his connection with the unfortunate Héloïse. That story, one of the most romantic, as it is one of the saddest of human history, must be passed over with a mere mention of the fact that it gave occasion for a number of the sermons of Abélard which have come down to us. Several of them were preached in the convent of the Paraclete of which Héloïse became abbess,—where, in his old age, her former lover, broken with the load of a life of most extraordinary sorrows, went to die. These sermons do not suggest the fire and force with which young Abélard appealed to France, compelling its admiration even in exciting its alarm, but they prevent him from being a mere name.

He was born near Nantes, A.D. 1079. At his death in 1142, he was buried in the convent of the Paraclete, where the body of Héloïse was afterwards buried at his side.

The extracts from his sermons here given were translated by Rev. J. M. Neale, of Sackville College, from the first collected edition of the works of Abélard, published at Paris in 1616. There are thirty-two such sermons extant. They were preached in Latin, or, at least, they have come down to us in that language.



## THE RESURRECTION OF LAZARUS

THE Lord performed that miracle once for all in the body which much more blessedly he performs every day in the souls of penitents. He restored life to Lazarus, but it was a temporal life, one that would die again. He bestows life on the penitent ; life, but it is life that will remain, world without end. The one is wonderful in the eyes of men ; the other is far more wonderful in the judgment of the faithful ; and in that it is so much the greater, by so much the more is it to be sought. This is written of Lazarus, not for Lazarus himself, but for us and to us. " Whatsoever things," saith the Apostle, " were written of old, were written for our learning." The Lord called Lazarus once, and he was raised from temporal death. He calls us often, that we may rise from the death of the soul. He said to him once, " Come forth ! " and immediately he came forth at one command of the Lord. The Lord every day invites us by Scripture to confession, exhorts us to amendment, promises the life which is prepared for us by him who willeth not the death of a sinner. We neglect his call, we despise his invitation, we contemn his promise. Placed between God and the devil, as between a father and a foe, we prefer the enticement of the enemy to a father's warning. " We are not ignorant," says the Apostle, " of the devices of Satan,"—the devices, I say, by which he induces us to sin, and keeps us back from repentance. Suggesting sin, he deprives us of two things by which the best assistance might be offered to us, namely, shame and fear. For that which we avoid, we avoid either through fear of some loss, or through the reverence of shame. . . . When, therefore, Satan impels any one to sin, he easily accomplishes the object, if, as we have said, he first deprives him of fear and shame. And when he has effected that, he restores the same things, but in another sense, which he has taken away ; that so he may keep back the sinner from confession, and make him die in his sin. Then he secretly whispers into his soul : " Priests are light-minded, and it is a difficult thing to check the tongue. If you tell this or that to them, it cannot remain a secret ; and when it shall have been published abroad, you will incur the danger of losing your good character, or bearing some injury, and being confounded from your own vileness." Thus the devil deceives that wretched man ; he first takes from him that by which he ought to avoid sin, and then restores the same thing, and by it retains him in sin. His captive fears temporal, and not spiritual, evil ; he is ashamed before men and he despises God. He is ashamed that things should

come to the knowledge of men which he was not ashamed to commit in the sight of God, and of the whole heavenly host. He trembles at the judgment of man, and he has no respect to that of God. Of which the Apostle says: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God"; and the Truth saith himself, "Fear not them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but fear him rather who can cast body and soul into hell."

There are diseases of the soul, as there are of the body; and therefore the Divine mercy has provided beforehand physicians for both. Our Lord Jesus Christ saith, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." His priests now hold his place in the Church, to whom, as unto physicians of the soul, we ought to confess our sins, that we may receive from them the plaister of satisfaction. He that fears the death of the body, in whatever part of the body he may suffer, however much he may be ashamed of the disease, makes no delay in revealing it to the physician, and setting it forth, so that it may be cured. However rough, however hard may be the remedy, he avoids it not, so that he may escape death. Whatever he has that is most precious he makes no hesitation in giving it, if only for a little while he may put off the death of the body. What, then, ought we to do for the death of the soul? For this, however terrible, may be forever prevented, without such great labour, without such great expense. The Lord seeks us ourselves, and not what is ours. He stands in no need of our wealth who bestows all things. For it is he to whom it is said "My goods are nothing unto thee." With him a man is by so much, the greater, as, in his own judgment, he is less. With him a man is as much the more righteous, as in his own opinion he is the more guilty. In his eyes we hide our faults all the more, the more that here by confession we manifest them.

### THE LAST ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

"HE came unto his own, and his own received him not." That is, he entered Jerusalem. Yet now he entered, not Jerusalem, which by interpretation is "The Vision of Peace," but the home of tyranny. For now the elders of the city have so manifestly conspired against him, that he can no longer find a place of refuge within it. This is not to be attributed to his helplessness but to his patience. He could be harboured there securely, seeing that no one can do him harm by violence, and that he has the power to incline the hearts of men whither he

wills. For in that same city he freely did whatever he willed to do ; and when he sent his disciples thither, and commanded them that they should loose the ass and the colt, and bring them to him, and said that no man would forbid them, he accomplished that which he said, although he was not ignorant of the conspiracy against himself. Of which he saith to his disciples whom he sends, " Go ye into the castle over against you " ; that is, to the place which is equally opposed to God and to you ; no longer to be called a city, an assembly of men living under the law, but a castle of tyrannical fortification. Go confidently, saith he, into the place, though such it is, and though it is therefore opposed to you, and do with all security that which I command you. Whence he adds, also : " And if any man say ought unto you, say that the Lord hath need of them, and he will straightway send them away." A wonderful confidence of power ! As if the Lord, using his own right of command, lays his own injunction on those whom he knows already to have conspired for his death. Thus he commands, thus he enjoins, thus he compels obedience. Nor do they who are sent hesitate in accomplishing that which is laid upon them, confident as they are in the strength of the power of him who sends them. By that power they who were chiefly concerned in this conspiracy had been more than once ejected from the Temple, where many were not able to resist one. And they, too, after this ejection and conspiracy, as we have said, when he was daily teaching in the Temple, knew how intrepid he showed himself to be into whose hands the Father had given all things. And last of all when he desired to celebrate the Passover in the same night in which he had fore-ordained to be betrayed, he again sent his Disciples whither he willed, and prepared a home for himself in the city itself, wherein he might keep the feast. He, then, who so often showed his power in such things as these, now also, if he desired it, could have prepared a home wherever he would, and had no need to return to Bethany. Therefore, he did these two things intentionally, he showed that they whom he avoided were unworthy of his dwelling among them ; and he gave himself, in the last hours of his life, to his beloved hosts, that they might have their own reception of him as the reward of their hospitality.

### THE DIVINE TRAGEDY

**W**HETHER, therefore, Christ is spoken of as about to be crowned or about to be crucified, it is said that he " went forth " ; to signify that the Jews, who were guilty of so great wickedness against him, were given over to reprobation, and that his grace would now

pass to the vast extent of the Gentiles, where the salvation of the Cross, and his own exaltation by the gain of many peoples, in the place of the one nation of the Jews, has extended itself. Whence, also, to-day we rightly go forth to adore the Cross in the open plain; showing mystically that both glory and salvation had departed from the Jews, and had spread themselves among the Gentiles. But in that we afterwards returned (in procession) to the place whence we had set forth, we signify that in the end of the world the grace of God will return to the Jews; namely, when, by the preaching of Enoch and Elijah, they shall be converted to him. Whence the Apostle: "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part has fallen upon Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles shall be come, and so all Israel shall be saved." Whence the place itself of Calvary, where the Lord was crucified, is now, as we know, contained in the city; whereas formerly it was without the walls. "The crown wherewith his Mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart." For thus kings are wont to exhibit their glory when they betroth queens to themselves, and celebrate the solemnities of their nuptials. Now the day of the Lord's crucifixion was, as it were, the day of his betrothal: because it was then that he associated the Church to himself as his bride, and on the same day descended into Hell, and, setting free the souls of the faithful, accomplished in them that which he had promised to the thief: "Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."

"To-day," he says of the gladness of his heart; because in his body he suffered the torture of pain; but while the flesh inflicted on him torments through the outward violence of men, his soul was filled with joy on account of our salvation, which he thus brought to pass. Whence also, when he went forth to his crucifixion, he stilled the women that were lamenting him, and said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." As if he said, "Grieve not for me in these my sufferings, as if by their means I should fall into any real destruction; but rather lament for that heavy vengeance which hangs over you and your children, because of that which they have committed against me." So we, also, brethren, should rather weep for ourselves than for him; and for the faults which we have committed, not for the punishments which he bore. Let us so rejoice with him and for him, as to grieve for our own offences, and for that the guilty servant committed the transgression, while the innocent Lord bore the punishment. He taught us to weep who is never said to have wept for himself, though he wept for Lazarus when about to raise him from the dead.

## SAINT ANSELM

(1032-1109).

**S**AINTE ANSELM, who has been called the acutest thinker and profoundest theologian of his day, was born in Piedmont about 1032. Educated under the celebrated Lanfranc, he went to England in 1093 and became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was banished by William Rufus as a result of a conflict between royal and ecclesiastical prerogative. He died in 1109. Neale calls him the last of the great fathers except St. Bernard, and adds that "he probably possessed the greatest genius of all except St. Augustine."

The sermon here given, the third of the sixteen extant, is given entire from Neale's translation. It is one of the best examples of the Middle-Ages style of interpreting all Scripture as metaphor and parable. It contains, moreover, a number of striking passages, such as, "It is a proof of great virtue to struggle with happiness."

### THE SEA OF LIFE

"**A**ND straightway Jesus constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him to the other side, while he sent the multitude away." (Matt. xiv. 11.)

In this section, according to its mystical interpretation, we have a summary description of the state of the Church, from the coming of the Saviour to the end of the world. For the Lord constrained his disciples to get into a ship, when he committed the Church to the government of the Apostles and their followers. And thus to go before him unto the other side,—that is, to bear onwards towards the haven of the celestial country, before he himself should entirely depart from the world. For, with his elect, and on account of his elect, he ever remains here until the consummation of all things; and he is preceded to the other side of the sea of this world by those who daily pass hence to the Land of the Living. And when he shall have sent all that are his to that place, then, leaving the multitude of the reprobate, and no longer warning them to be converted, but giving them over to perdition, he will depart hence that he may be with his elect alone in the kingdom.

Whence it is added, "while he sent the multitude away." For in the end of the world he will "send away the multitude" of his enemies, that they may then be hurried by the Devil to everlasting damnation. "And when he had sent the multitude away, he went up in a mountain to pray." He will not send away the multitudes of the Gentiles till the end of the world; but he did dismiss the multitude of the Jewish people at the time when, as saith Isaiah, "He commanded his clouds that they should rain no rain upon it"; that is, he commanded his Apostles that they should preach no longer to the Jews, but should go to the Gentiles. Thus, therefore, he sent away that multitude, and "went up into a mountain"; that is, to the height of the celestial kingdom, of which it had been written, "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall rise up in his holy place?" For a mountain is a height, and what is higher than heaven? There the Lord ascended. And he ascended alone, "for no man hath ascended up into heaven save he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven." And even when he shall come at the end of the world, and shall have collected all of us, his members, together, and shall have raised us into heaven, he will also ascend alone, because Christ, the head, is one with his body. But now the Head alone ascends,—the Mediator of God and man—the man Christ Jesus. And he goes up to pray, because he went to the Father to intercede for us. "For Christ is not entered into holy places made with hands, which are figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us."

It follows: "And when the evening was come, he was there alone." This signifies the nearness of the end of the world, concerning which John also speaks: "Little children, it is the last time." Therefore it is said that, "when the evening was come, he was there alone," because, when the world was drawing to its end, he by himself, as the true high priest, entered into the holy of holies, and is there at the right hand of God, and also maketh intercession for us. But while he prays on the mountain, the ship is tossed with waves in the deep. For, since the billows arise, the ship may be tossed; but since Christ prays, it cannot be overwhelmed. . . .

We may notice, also, that this commotion of the waves, and tottering or half-sinking of Peter, takes place even in our time, according to the spiritual sense. For every man's own besetting sin is the tempest. You love God; you walk upon the sea; the swellings of this world are under your feet. You love the world; it swallows you up; its wont is to devour, not to bear up, its lovers. But when your heart fluctuates with the desire of sin, call on the divinity of Christ, that you may conquer

that desire. You think that the wind is then contrary when the adversity of this world rises against you, and not also when its prosperity fawns upon you. For when wars, when tumults, when famine, when pestilence comes, when any private calamity happens even to individual men, then the wind is thought adverse, and then it is held right to call upon God ; but when the world smiles with temporal felicity, then, forsooth, the wind is not contrary. Do not, by such tokens as these, judge of the tranquillity of the time ; but judge of it by your own temptations. See if you are tranquil within yourself ; see if no internal tempest is overwhelming you. It is a proof of great virtue to struggle with happiness, so that it shall not seduce, corrupt, subvert. Learn to trample on this world ; remember to trust in Christ. And if your foot be moved,—if you totter,—if there be some temptations that you cannot overcome,—if you begin to sink, cry out to Jesus : Lord, save me ! In Peter, therefore the common condition of all of us is to be considered ; so that, if the wind of temptation endeavour to upset us in any matter, or its billows to swallow us up, we may cry to Christ. He shall stretch forth his hand, and preserve us from the deep.

It follows : “ And when he was come into the ship, the wind ceased.” In the last day he shall ascend into the ship of the Church, because then he shall sit upon the throne of his glory ; which throne may not unfitly be understood of the Church. For he who by faith and good works now and always dwells in the Church shall then, by the manifestation of his glory, enter into it. And then the wind shall cease, because evil spirits shall no more have the power of sending forth against it the flames of temptation or the commotions of troubles : for then all things shall be at peace and at rest.

## THOMAS ARNOLD

(1795-1842).

**D**OCTOR THOMAS ARNOLD, the celebrated head master of Rugby, was born June 13th, 1795, at West Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where his father, William Arnold, was a collector of Customs. After several years at Winchester school, he went to Oxford where in 1815 he was elected a fellow of Oriel College. His intellectual bent showed at Oxford, on the one hand, in fondness for Aristotle and Thucydides, and on the other in what one of his friends has described as "an earnest, penetrating, and honest examination of Christianity." As a result of this honesty and earnestness, he became and remains a great force wherever English is spoken. Elected head master of Rugby in December 1827, and remaining in charge of that school for nearly fourteen years, he almost revolutionized and did much to civilize the English system of public education. When he left Rugby, in December 1841, it was to go to Oxford as professor of Modern History, but his death, June 12th, 1842, left him remembered by the English-speaking world as "Arnold of Rugby." He left five volumes of sermons, an edition of 'Thucydides,' a 'History of Rome' in three volumes, and other works, but his greatest celebrity has been given him by the enthusiastic love which his manly Christian character inspired in his pupils.

### THE REALITIES OF LIFE AND DEATH

"God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."—Matt. xxii. 32.

**W**E hear these words as a part of our Lord's answer to the Sadducees; and, as their question was put in evident profaneness and the answer to it is one which to our minds is quite obvious, and natural, so we are apt to think that in this particular story there is less than usual that particularly concerns us. But it so happens, that our Lord, in answering the Sadducees, has brought in one of the most universal and most solemn of all truths,—which is indeed



implied in many parts of the Old Testament, but which the Gospel has revealed to us in all its fullness,—the truth contained in the words of the text, that “ God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.”

I would wish to unfold a little what is contained in these words, which we often hear even, perhaps, without quite understanding them ; and many times oftener without fully entering into them. And we may take them, first, in their first part, where they say that “ God is not the God of the dead.”

The word “ dead,” we know, is constantly used in Scripture in a double sense, as meaning those who are dead spiritually, as well as those who are dead naturally. And, in either sense, the words are alike applicable : “ God is not the God of the dead.”

God’s not being the God of the dead signifies two things : that they who are without him are dead, as well as that they who are dead are also without him. So far as our knowledge goes respecting inferior animals, they appear to be examples of this truth. They appear to us to have no knowledge of God ; and we are not told that they have any other life than the short one of which our senses inform us. I am well aware that our ignorance of their condition is so great that we may not dare to say anything of them positively ; there may be a hundred things true respecting them which we neither know nor imagine. I would only say that, according to that most imperfect light in which we see them, the two points of which I have been speaking appear to meet in them : we believe that they have no consciousness of God, and we believe that they will die. And so far, therefore, they afford an example of the agreement, if I may so speak, between these two points ; and were intended perhaps to be to our view a continual image of it. But we had far better speak of ourselves. And here, too, it is the case that “ God is not the God of the dead.” If we are without him we are dead, and if we are dead we are without him : in other words, the two ideas of death and absence from God are in fact synonymous.

Thus, in the account given of the fall of man, the sentence of death and of being cast out of Eden go together ; and if anyone compares the description of the second Eden in the Revelation, and recollects how especially it is there said, that God dwells in the midst of it, and is its light by day and night, he will see that the banishment from the first Eden means a banishment from the presence of God. And thus, in the day that Adam sinned, he died ; for he was cast out of Eden immediately, however long he may have moved about afterwards upon the earth where God was not. And how very strong to the same point are the words of Hezekiah’s prayer, “ The grave cannot praise thee, Death cannot celebrate thee ; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth ” ;

words which express completely the feeling that God is not the God of the dead. This, too, appears to be the sense generally of the expression used in various parts of the Old Testament, "Thou shalt surely die." It is, no doubt, left purposely obscure; nor are we ever told, in so many words, all that is meant by death; but, surely, it always implies a separation from God, and the being—whatever the notion may extend to—the being dead to him. Thus, when David had committed his great sin, and had expressed his repentance for it, Nathan tells him, "The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die": which means, most expressively, thou shalt not die to God. In one sense David died, as all men die; nor was he by any means freed from the punishment of his sin: he was not, in that sense, forgiven; but he was allowed still to regard God as his God; and, therefore, his punishments were but fatherly chastisements from God's hand, designed for his profit, that he might be partaker of God's holiness. And thus, although Saul was sentenced to lose his kingdom, and although he was killed with his sons on Mount Gilboa, yet I do not think that we find the sentence passed upon him, "Thou shalt surely die;" and, therefore, we have no right to say that God had ceased to be his God, although he visited him with severe chastisements, and would not allow him to hand down to his sons the crown of Israel. Observe, also, the language of the eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel, where the expressions occur so often, "He shall surely live," and "He shall surely die." We have no right to refer these to a mere extension on the one hand, or a cutting short on the other, of the term of earthly existence. The promise of living long in the land, or, as in Hezekiah's case, of adding to his fifteen years, is very different from the full and unreserved blessing, "Thou shalt surely live." And we know, undoubtedly, that both the good and the bad to whom Ezekiel spoke died alike the natural death of the body. But the peculiar force of the promise, and of the threat, was, in the one case, Thou shalt belong to God; in the other, Thou shalt cease to belong to him; although the veil was not yet drawn up which concealed the full import of those terms "belonging to God," and "ceasing to belong to him"; nay, can we venture to affirm that it is fully drawn aside even now?

I have dwelt on this at some length, because it really seems to place the common state of the minds of too many amongst us in a light which is exceedingly awful; for if it be true, as I think the Scripture implies, that to be dead, and to be without God, are precisely the same thing, then can it be denied that the symptoms of death are strongly marked upon many of us? Are there not many who never think of God or care about his service? Are there not many who live, to all appearances, as unconscious of his existence as we fancy the inferior animals to be?

And is it not quite clear, that to such persons, God cannot be said to be their God? He may be the God of heaven and earth, the God of the universe, the God of Christ's Church; but he is not their God, for they feel to have nothing at all to do with him; and, therefore, as he is not their God, they are, and must be, according to the Scripture, reckoned among the dead.

But God is the God "of the living." That is, as before, all who are alive, live unto him; all who live unto him are alive. "God said, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob;" and, therefore, says our Lord, "Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob are not and cannot be dead." They cannot be dead because God owns them; he is not ashamed to be called their God; therefore, they are not cast out from him; therefore, by necessity, they live. Wonderful, indeed, is the truth here implied, in exact agreement, as we have seen, with the general language of Scripture; that, as she who but touched the hem of Christ's garment was, in a moment, relieved from her infirmity, so great was the virtue which went out from him; so they who are not cast out from God, but have anything whatever to do with him, feel the virtue of his gracious presence penetrating their whole nature; because he lives they must live also.

Behold, then, life and death set before us; not remote (if a few years be, indeed, to be called remote), but even now present before us; even now suffered or enjoyed. Even now we are alive unto God or dead unto God; and, as we are either the one or the other, so we are, in the highest possible sense of the terms, alive or dead. In the highest possible sense of the terms; but who can tell what that highest possible sense of the terms is? So much has, indeed, been revealed to us, that we know now that death means a conscious and perpetual death, as life means a conscious and perpetual life. But greatly, indeed, do we deceive ourselves if we fancy that, by having thus much told us, we have also risen to the infinite heights, or descended to the infinite depths, contained in those little words, life and death. They are far higher, and far deeper, than ever thought or fancy of man has reached to. But, even on the first edge of either, at the visible beginnings of that infinite ascent or descent, there is surely something which may give us a foretaste of what is beyond. Even to us in this mortal state, even to you advanced but so short a way on your very earthly journey, life and death have a meaning: to be dead unto God or to be alive to him, are things perceptibly different.

For, let me ask of those who think least of God, who are most separate from him, and most without him, whether there is not now actually, perceptibly, in their state, something of the coldness, the loneliness,

the fearfulness of death? I do not ask them whether they are made unhappy by the fear of God's anger; of course they are not: for they who fear God are not dead to him, nor he to them. The thought of him gives them no disquiet at all; this is the very point we start from. But I would ask them whether they know what it is to feel God's blessing. For instance: we all of us have our troubles of some sort or other, our disappointments, if not our sorrows. In these troubles, in these disappointments,—I care not how small they may be,—have they known what it is to feel that God's hand is over them; that these little annoyances are but his fatherly correction; that he is all the time loving us, and supporting us? In seasons of joy, such as they taste very often, have they known what it is to feel that they are tasting the kindness of their heavenly Father, that their good things come from his hand, and are but an infinitely slight foretaste of his love? Sickness, danger,—I know that they come to many of us but rarely; but if we have known them, or at least sickness, even in its lighter form, if not in its graver,—have we felt what it is to know that we are in our Father's hands, that he is with us, and will be with us to the end; that nothing can hurt those whom he loves? Surely, then, if we have never tasted anything of this: if in trouble, or in joy, or in sickness, we are left wholly to ourselves, to bear as we can, and enjoy as we can; if there is no voice that ever speaks out of the heights and the depths around us, to give any answer to our own; if we are thus left to ourselves in this vast world,—there is in this a coldness and a loneliness; and whenever we come to be, of necessity, driven to be with our own hearts alone, the coldness and the loneliness must be felt. But consider that the things which we see around us cannot remain with us, nor we with them. The coldness and loneliness of the world, without God, must be felt more and more as life wears on: in every change of our own state, in every separation from or loss of a friend, in every more sensible weakness of our own bodies, in every additional experience of the uncertainty of our own counsels,—the deathlike feeling will come upon us more and more strongly: we shall gain more of that fearful knowledge which tells us that "God is not the God of the dead."

And so, also, the blessed knowledge that he is the God "of the living" grows upon those who are truly alive. Surely he "is not far from every one of us." No occasion of life fails to remind those who live unto him, that he is their God, and that they are his children. On light occasions or on grave ones, in sorrow and in joy, still the warmth of his love is spread, as it were, all through the atmosphere of their lives: they for ever feel his blessing. And if it fills them with joy unspeakable even now, when they so often feel how little they deserve it; if they delight

still in being with God, and in living to him, let them be sure that they have in themselves the unerring witness of life eternal :—God is the God of the living, and all who are with him must live.

Hard it is, I well know, to bring this home, in any degree, to the minds of those who are dead : for it is of the very nature of the dead that they can hear no words of life. But it has happened that, even whilst writing what I have just been uttering to you, the news reached me that one, who two months ago was one of your number, who this very half-year has shared in all the business and amusements of this place, is passed already into that state where the meanings of the terms life and death are become fully revealed. He knows what it is to live unto God, and what it is to die to him. Those things which are to us unfathomable mysteries, are to him all plain : and yet but two months ago he might have thought himself as far from attaining this knowledge as any of us can do. Wherefore it is clear, that these things, life and death, may hurry their lesson upon us sooner than we deem of, sooner than we are prepared to receive it. And that were indeed awful, if, being dead to God and yet little feeling it because of the enjoyments of our worldly life, these enjoyments were of a sudden to be struck away from us, and we should find then that to be dead to God is death indeed, a death from which there is no waking and in which there is no sleeping forever.

## SAINT ATHANASIUS

(298-373).

**S**AINTE ATHANASIUS, patriarch of Alexandria, owes his great celebrity chiefly to the controversy with the Arians, in which for half a century he was at the head of the orthodox party in the Church. He was born at Alexandria in the year 298, and was ordained a priest at the age of twenty-one. He accompanied his bishop, Alexander, to the Council of Nice in 325, and when under thirty years old succeeded to the bishopric, on the death of Alexander. His success in the Arian controversy was not achieved without cost, since, as an incident of it, he spent twenty years in banishment. His admirers credit him with "a deep mind, invincible courage, and living faith," but as his orations and discourses were largely controversial, the interest which now attaches to them is chiefly historical. The following was preached from the seventh and eighth verses of the Forty-fifth Psalm.

### THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST

**B**EHOLD, O ye Arians, and acknowledge hence the truth. The Psalmist speaks of us all as fellows or partakers of the Lord, but were he one of things which come out of nothing and of things generated he himself had been one of those who partake. But since he hymned him as the eternal God, saying, "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever," and has declared that all other things partake of him, what conclusion must we draw, but that he is distinct from generated things, and he only the Father's veritable word, radiance, and wisdom, which all things generate partake, being sanctified by him in the Spirit? And, therefore, he is here "anointed;" not that he may become God, for he was so even before; nor that he may become king, for he had the kingdom eternally, existing as God's image, as the sacred oracle shows; but in our behalf is this written, as before. For the Israelitish kings, upon their being anointed, then became kings, not being so before, as David Ezekias, as Josias, and the rest; but the Saviour on the contrary, being God, and ever ruling in the Father's kingdom, and being himself the

Dispenser of the Holy Ghost, nevertheless is here said to be anointed, that, as before, being said as man to be anointed with the Spirit, he might provide for us more, not only exaltation and resurrection, but the indwelling and intimacy of the Spirit. And signifying this, the Lord himself hath said by his own mouth, in the Gospel according to John : " I have sent them into the world, and for their sakes do I sanctify myself, that they may be sanctified in the truth." In saying this, he has shown that he is not the sanctified, but the Sanctifier ; for he is not sanctified by other, but himself sanctifies himself, that we may be sanctified in the truth. He who sanctifies himself is Lord of sanctification. How, then, does this take place ? What does he mean but this ? " I, being the Father's Word, I give to myself when become man the Spirit ; and myself, become man, do I sanctify in him, that henceforth in me, who am truth (for " Thy Word is Truth "), all may be sanctified."

If, then, for our sake, he sanctifies himself, and does this when he becomes man, it is very plain that the Spirit's descent on him in Jordan was a descent upon us, because of his bearing our body. And it did not take place for promotion to the Word, but again for our sanctification, that we might share his anointing, and of us it might be said, Know ye not that ye are God's temple, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ? For when the Lord, as man, was washed in Jordan, it was we who were washed in him and by him. And when he received the Spirit, we it was who, by him, were made recipients of Him. And, moreover, for this reason, not as Aaron, or David, or the rest, was he anointed with oil, but in another way, above all his fellows, " with the oil of gladness," which he himself interprets to be the Spirit, saying by the prophet, " The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me " ; and also the Apostle has said, " How God anointed him with the Holy Ghost." When, then, were these things spoken of him, but when he came in the flesh, and was baptized in Jordan, and the Spirit descended on him ? And, indeed, the Lord himself said, " The Spirit shall take of mine," and " I will send him " ; and to his Disciples, " Receive ye the Holy Ghost." And, notwithstanding, he who, as the word and radiance of the Father, gives to others, now is said to be sanctified, because now he has become man, and the Body that is sanctified is his. From him, then, we have begun to receive the unction and the seal, John saying, " And ye have an unction from the Holy One " ; and the Apostle, " And ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise." Therefore, because of us, and for us, are these words.

What advance, then, of promotion, and reward of virtue, or generally of conduct, is proved from this in our Lord's instance ? For if he was

not God, and then had become God—if, not being king, he was preferred to the kingdom, your reasoning would have had some faint plausibility. But if he is God, and the throne of his kingdom is everlasting, in what way could God advance? Or what was there wanting to him who was sitting on his Father's throne? And if, as the Lord himself has said, the Spirit is his, and takes of his, and he sends him, it is not the Word considered as the Word and Wisdom, who is anointed with the Spirit, which he himself gives, but the flesh assumed by him, which is anointed in him and by him; that the sanctification coming to the Lord as man, may come to all men from him. For, not of himself, saith he, doth the Spirit speak, but the word is his who gives him to the worthy. For this is like the passage considered above; for, as the Apostle hath written "Who, existing in form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but humbled himself, and took a servant's form," so David celebrates the Lord, as the everlasting God and King, but sent to us, and assuming our body, which is mortal. For this is his meaning in the Psalm, "All thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia"; and it is represented by Nicodemus's and Mary's company, when they came, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pounds weight, and they took the spices which they had prepared for the burial of the Lord's body.

What advancement, then, was it to the Immortal to have assumed the mortal? Or what promotion is it to the Everlasting to have put on the temporal? What reward can be great to the Everlasting God and King, in the bosom of the Father? See ye not, that this, too, was done and written because of us and for us, that us who are mortal and temporal, the Lord, become man, might make immortal, and bring into the everlasting kingdom of heaven? Blush ye not, speaking lies against the divine oracles? For when our Lord Jesus Christ had been among us, we, indeed, were promoted as rescued from sin; but he is the same, nor did he alter when he became man (to repeat what I have said), but, as has been written, "The word of God abideth forever." Surely as, before his becoming man, he, the Word dispensed to the saints the Spirit as his own; so also, when made man, he sanctifies all by the Spirit, and says to his Disciples, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." And he gave to Moses and the other seventy; and through him David prayed to the Father, saying, "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me." On the other hand, when made man, he said, "I will send you the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth"; and he sent him, he, the Word of God, as being faithful.

Therefore "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever," remaining unalterable, and at once gives and receives, giving as God's



Word, receiving as man. It is not the Word then, viewed as the Word, that is promoted,—for he had all things and has had them always,—but men, who have in him as through him their origin of receiving them. For, when he is now said to be anointed in a human respect, we it is who in him are anointed; since also, when he is baptized, we it is who in him are baptized. But on all these things the Saviour throws much light, when he says to the Father, “And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given to them, that they may be one, even as we are one.” Because of us, then, he asked for glory, and the words occur, “took” and “gave” and “highly exalted,” that we might take, and to us might be given, and we might be exalted, in him; as also for us he sanctifies himself, that we might be sanctified in him.

But if they take advantage of the word “wherefore,” as connected with the passage in the Psalm, “Wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee,” for their own purposes, let these novices in Scripture and masters in irreligion know that, as before, the word “wherefore” does not imply reward of virtue or conduct in the Word, but the reason why he came down to us, and of the Spirit’s anointing, which took place in him for our sakes. For he says not, “Wherefore he anointed thee in order to thy being God or King or Son or Word,”—for so he was before, and is forever, as has been shown,—but rather, “Since thou art God and King, therefore thou wast anointed, since none but thou couldst unite man to the Holy Ghost, thou the image of the Father, in which we were made in the beginning; for thine is even the Spirit.” For the nature of things generate could give no warranty for this, angels having transgressed, and men disobeyed. Wherefore there was need of God; and the Word is God; that those who had become under a curse, he himself might set free. If then he was of nothing, he would not have been the Christ or Anointed, being one among others and having fellowship as the rest. But, whereas he is God, as being the Son of God, and is everlasting King, and exists as radiance and expression of the Father, wherefore fitly is he the expected Christ, whom the Father announces to mankind, by revelation to his holy prophets; that as through him we have come to be, so also in him all men might be redeemed from their sins, and by him all things might be ruled. And this is the cause of the anointing which took place in him, and of the incarnate presence of the Word; which the Psalmist foreseeing, celebrates, first his Godhead and kingdom, which is the Father’s, in these tones, “Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom”; then announces his descent to us thus: “Wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.”

## SAINT AUGUSTINE

(354-430).

**S**AINTE AUGUSTINE, who is always classed as one of the four great Latin fathers, is generally conceded to be chief among them in natural strength of intellect. Saint Jerome, who excelled him in knowledge of classical literature, is his inferior in intellectual acuteness; and certainly no other theologian of the earlier ages of the Church has done so much as has Saint Augustine to influence the thought of its strongest minds.

Augustine (Aurelius Augustine) was a Numidian by birth. He had a Christian mother, whose devotion resulted in his conversion, as well as in that of his father, who seems to have been a man of liberal mind, aware of the value of literary education. Augustine was well versed in the Latin classics. The extent of his knowledge of Greek literature has been questioned,\* but it is conceded that he knew the language, at least well enough for purposes of comparative study of the Scripture text.

As a young man, his ideas of morality, as we know from his "Confessions," were not severe. He was not extraordinarily licentious, but he had the introspective sensitiveness which seems to characterize great genius wherever it is found, and in his later life he looked with acute pain on the follies of his youth.

Becoming a Christian at the age of twenty-three, he was ordained a priest four years later, and in 395 became Bishop of Hippo. Of his literary works, his book "The City of God" is accounted his masterpiece, though it is not so generally read as his "Confessions." The sermon on the Lord's Prayer here given as an illustration of his style in the pulpit is from his "Homilies on the New Testament," as translated in Parker's "Library of the Fathers."

### THE LORD'S PRAYER

**T**HE order established for your edification requires that ye learn first what to be believed, and afterwards what to ask. For so saith the Apostle, "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." This testimony blessed Paul cited out of the Prophet :

for by the Prophet were those times foretold, when all men should call upon God ; “ Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.” And he added, “ How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed ? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard ? Or how shall they hear without a preacher or how shall they preach except they be sent ? ” Therefore were preachers sent. They preached Christ. As they preached, the people heard ; by hearing they believed, and by believing called upon him. Because then it was rightly and most truly said, “ How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed ? ” therefore have ye first learned what to believe : and to-day have learned to call on him in whom ye have believed.

The Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, hath taught us a prayer ; and though he be the Lord himself, as ye have heard and repeated in the Creed, the Only Son of God, yet he would not be alone. He is the Only Son, and yet would not be alone ; he hath vouchsafed to have brethren. For to whom doth he say, “ Say, Our Father, which art in heaven ? ” Whom did he wish us to call our father, save his own father ? Did he grudge us this ? Parents sometimes when they have begotten one, or two, or three children, fear to give birth to any more, lest they reduce the rest to beggary. But because the inheritance which he promised us is such as many may possess, and no one be straitened, therefore hath he called into his brotherhood the peoples of the nations ; and the Only Son hath numberless brethren, who say, “ Our Father, which art in heaven.” So said they who have been before us ; and so shall say those who will come after us. See how many brethren the Only Son hath in his grace, sharing his inheritance with those for whom he suffered death. We had a father and mother on earth, that we might be born to labours and to death ; but we have found other parents, God our Father and the Church our mother, by whom we are born unto life eternal. Let us then consider, beloved, whose children we have begun to be ; and let us live so as becomes those who have such a father. See, how that our Creator hath condescended to be our Father.

We have heard whom we ought to call upon, and with what hope of an eternal inheritance we have begun to have a Father in heaven ; let us now hear what we must ask of him. Of such a father what shall we ask ? Do we not ask rain of him, to-day, and yesterday, and the day before. This is no great thing to have asked of such a father, and yet ye see with what sighings, and with what great desire we ask for rain, when death is feared,—when that is feared which none can escape. For sooner or later every man must die, and we

groan, and pray, and travail in pain, and cry to God, that we may die a little later. How much more ought we to cry to him, that we may come to that place where we shall never die !

Therefore it is said, "Hallowed be Thy name." This we also ask of him that his name may be hallowed in us ; for holy is it always. And how is his name hallowed in us, except while it makes us holy ? For once we were not holy, and we are made holy by his name ; but he is always holy, and his name always holy. It is for ourselves, not for God, that we pray. For we do not wish well to God, to whom no ill can ever happen. But we wish what is good for ourselves, that his holy name may be hallowed, that that which is always holy, may be hallowed in us.

"Thy kingdom come." Come it surely will, whether we ask or not. Indeed, God hath an eternal kingdom. For when did he not reign ? When did he begin to reign ? For his kingdom hath no beginning, neither shall it have any end. But that ye may know that in this prayer also we pray for ourselves, and not for God (for we do not say, "Thy kingdom come," as though we were asking that God may reign) ; we shall be ourselves his kingdom if believing in him we make progress in this faith. All the faithful, redeemed by the blood of his Only Son, will be his kingdom. And this his kingdom will come, when the resurrection of the dead shall have taken place ; for then he will come himself. And when the dead are risen, he will divide them, as he himself saith, "and he shall set some on the right hand, and some on the left." To those who shall be on the right hand he will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom." This is what we wish and pray for when we say, "Thy kingdom come" ; that it may come to us. For if we shall be reprobates, that kingdom shall come to others, but not to us. But if we shall be of that number, who belong to the members of his Only-begotten Son, his kingdom will come to us, and will not tarry. For are there as many ages yet remaining as have already passed away ? The Apostle John hath said, "My little children, it is the last hour." But it is a long hour proportioned to this long day ; and see how many years this last hour lasteth. But, nevertheless, be ye as those who watch and so sleep, and rise again, and reign. Let us watch now, let us sleep in death ; at the end we shall rise again, and shall reign without end.

"Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth." The third thing we pray for is, that his will may be done as in heaven so in earth. And in this, too, we wish well for ourselves. For the will of God must necessarily be done. It is the will of God that the good should reign, and the wicked be damned. Is it possible that this will should not be done ? But what good do we wish for ourselves, when we say, "Thy will be



done as in heaven, so in earth ? ” Give ear. For this petition may be understood in many ways, and many things are to be in our thoughts in this petition, when we pray God, “ Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth.” As thy angels offend thee not, so may we also not offend thee. Again, how is “ Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth,” understood ? All the holy Patriarchs, all the Prophets, all the Apostles, all the spiritual are, as it were, God’s heaven ; and we in comparison of them are earth. “ Thy will be done in heaven, so in earth ” ; as in them, so in us also. Again, “ Thy will be done as in heaven so in earth ” ; the Church of God is heaven, his enemies are earth. So we wish well for our enemies, that they too may believe and become Christians, and so the will of God be done as in heaven, so also in earth. Again, “ Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth.” Our spirit is heaven, and the flesh earth. As our spirit is renewed by believing, so may our flesh be renewed by rising again ; and “ the will of God be done as in heaven, so in earth.” Again, our mind whereby we see truth, and delight in this truth, is heaven ; as, “ I delight in the law of God, after the inward man.” What is the earth ? “ I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind ? ” When this strife shall have passed away, and a full concord be brought about of the flesh and spirit, the will of God will be done as in heaven, so also in earth. When we repeat this petition, let us think of all these things, and ask them all of the Father. Now all these things which we have mentioned, these three petitions, beloved, have respect to the life eternal. For if the name of our God is sanctified in us, it will be for eternity. If his kingdom come, where we shall live forever, it will be for eternity. If his will be done as in heaven, so in earth, in all the ways which I have explained, it will be for eternity.

There remain now the petitions for this life of our pilgrimage ; therefore follows, “ Give us this day our daily bread.” Give us eternal things, give us things temporal. Thou hast promised a kingdom, deny us not the means of subsistence. Thou wilt give everlasting glory with thyself hereafter, give us in this earth temporal support. Therefore is it day by day, and to-day, that is, in this present time. For when this life shall have passed away, shall we ask for daily bread then ? For then it will not be called day by day, but to-day. Now it is called day by day, when one day passes away, and another day succeeds. Will it be called day by day when there will be one eternal day ? This petition for daily bread is doubtless to be understood in two ways, both for the necessary supply of our bodily food, and for the necessities of our spiritual support. There is a necessary supply of bodily food, for the preservation of our daily life, without which we cannot live.

This is food and clothing, but the whole is understood in a part. When we ask for bread, we thereby understand all things. There is a spiritual food, also, which the faithful know, which ye, too, will know when ye shall receive it at the altar of God. This also is "daily bread," necessary only for this life. For shall we receive the Eucharist when we shall have come to Christ himself, and begun to reign with him forever? So then the Eucharist is our daily bread; but let us in such wise receive it, that we be not refreshed in our bodies only, but in our souls. For the virtue which is apprehended there, is unity, that gathered together into his body, and made his members, we may be what we receive. Then will it be, indeed, our daily bread. Again, what I am handling before you now is "daily bread"; and the daily lessons which ye hear in Church are daily bread, and the hymns ye hear and repeat are daily bread. For all these are necessary in our state of pilgrimage. But when we shall have got to heaven, shall we hear the Word, we who shall see the Word himself, and hear the Word himself, and eat and drink him as the angels do now? Do the angels need books, and interpreters, and readers? Surely not. They read in seeing, for the truth itself they see, and are abundantly satisfied from that fountain, from which we obtain some few drops. Therefore has it been said touching our daily bread, that this petition is necessary for us in this life.

"Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Is this necessary except in this life? For in the other we shall have no debts. For what are debts, but sins? See ye are on the point of being baptized, then all your sins will be blotted out, none whatever will remain. Whatever evil ye have ever done, in deed, or word, or desire, or thought, all will be blotted out. And yet if in the life which is after baptism there were security from sin, we should not learn such a prayer as this, "Forgive us our debts." Only let us by all means do what comes next, "As we forgive our debtors." Do ye then, who are about to enter in to receive a plenary and entire remission of your debts, do ye above all things see that ye have nothing in your hearts against any other, so as to come forth from baptism secure, as it were, free and discharged of all debts, and then begin to purpose to avenge yourselves on your enemies, who in time past have done you wrong. Forgive, as ye are forgiven. God can do no one wrong, and yet he forgiveth who oweth nothing. How then ought he to forgive who is himself forgiven, when he forgiveth all who oweth nothing that can be forgiven him?

"Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Will this again be necessary in the life to come? "Lead us not into temptation," will not be said except where there can be temptation. We read in the book of holy Job, "Is not the life of man upon earth a temp-

tation?" What, then, do we pray for? Hear what the Apostle James saith, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God." He spoke of those evil temptations whereby men are deceived, and brought under the yoke of the devil. This is the kind of temptation he spoke of. For there is another sort of temptation which is called a proving; of this kind of temptation it is written, "The Lord your God tempteth [proveth] you to know whether ye love him." What means "to know"? "To make you know," for he knoweth already. With that kind of temptation whereby we are deceived and seduced, God tempteth no man. But undoubtedly in his deep and hidden judgment he abandons some. And when he hath abandoned them, the tempter finds his opportunity. For he finds in him no resistance against his power, but forthwith presents himself to him as his possessor, if God abandon him. Therefore, that he may not abandon us, do we say, "Lead us not into temptation." "For every one is tempted," says the same Apostle James, "when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. Then lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." What, then, has he hereby taught us? To fight against our lusts. For ye are about to put away your sins in holy baptisms; but lusts will still remain, wherewith ye must fight after that ye are regenerate. For a conflict with your own selves still remains. Let no enemy from without be feared; conquer thine own self, and the whole world is conquered. What can any tempter from without, whether the devil or the devil's minister, do against thee? Whosoever sets the hope of gain before thee to seduce thee, let him only find no covetousness in thee; and what can he who would tempt thee by gain effect? Whereas, if covetousness be found in thee, thou takest fire at the sight of gain, and art taken by the bait of this corrupt food. But if he find no covetousness in thee, the trap remains spread in vain. Or should the tempter set before thee some woman of surpassing beauty; if chastity be within, iniquity from without is overcome. Therefore, that he may not take thee with the bait of a strange woman's beauty, fight with thine own lust within; thou hast no sensible perception of thine enemy, but of thine own concupiscence thou hast. Thou dost not see the devil, but the object that engageth thee thou dost see. Get the mastery then over that of which thou art sensible within. Fight valiantly, for he who hath regenerated thee is thy judge; he hath arranged the lists, he is making ready the crown. But because thou wilt without doubt be conquered, if thou have not him to aid thee, if he abandon thee, therefore dost thou say in the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation." The judge's wrath hath given over some to their own lusts and the Apostle says, "God

gave them over to the lusts of their hearts." How did he give them up? Not by forcing, but by forsaking them.

"Deliver us from evil," may belong to the same sentence. Therefore, that thou mayest understand it to be all one sentence, it runs thus, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Therefore, he added "but," to show that all this belongs to one sentence, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." How is this? I will propose them singly. "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." By delivering us from evil, he leadeth us not into temptation; by not leading us into temptation, he delivereth us from evil.

And, truly, it is a great temptation, dearly beloved, it is a great temptation in this life, when that in us is the subject of temptation whereby we attain pardon if, in any of our temptations, we have fallen. It is a frightful temptation when that is taken from us whereby we may be healed from the wounds of other temptations. I know that ye have not yet understood me. Give me your attention, that ye may understand. Suppose, avarice tempts a man, and he is conquered in any single temptation (for sometimes even a good wrestler and fighter may get roughly handled): avarice, then, has got the better of a man, good wrestler though he may be, and he has done some avaricious act. Or there has been a passing lust; it has not brought the man to fornication nor reached unto adultery—for when this does take place, the man must at all events be kept back from the criminal act. But he "hath seen a woman to lust after her"; he has let his thoughts dwell on her with more pleasure than was right; he has admitted the attack; excellent combatant though he be, he has been wounded, but he has not consented to it; he has beaten back the motion of his lust, has chastised it with the bitterness of grief, he has beaten it back; and has prevailed. Still, in the very fact that he had slipped, has he ground for saying, "Forgive us our debts." And so of all other temptations, it is hard matter that in them all there should not be occasion for saying, "Forgive us our debts." What, then, is that frightful temptation which I have mentioned, that grievous, that tremendous temptation, which must be avoided with all our strength, with all our resolution; what is it? When we go about to avenge ourselves. Anger is kindled, and the man burns to be avenged. O frightful temptation! Thou art losing that, whereby thou hadst to attain pardon for other faults. If thou hadst committed any sin as to other senses, and other lusts, hence mightest thou have had thy cure, in that thou mightest say, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." But whoso instigateth thee to take vengeance will lose for thee the power thou hadst to say, "As we also



forgive our debtors." When that power is lost, all sins will be retained ; nothing at all is remitted.

Our Lord and Master and Saviour, knowing this dangerous temptation in this life, when he taught us six or seven petitions in this prayer, took none of them for himself to treat of, and to commend to us with greater earnestness, than this one. Have we not said, "Our Father, which art in heaven," and the rest which follows? Why after the conclusion of the prayer, did he not enlarge upon it to us, either as to what he had laid down in the beginning, or concluded with at the end, or placed in the middle? For why said he not, if the name of God be not hallowed in you, or if ye have no part in the kingdom of God, or if the will of God be not done in you, as in heaven, or if God guard you not, that ye enter not into temptation ; why none of all these? But what saith he? "Verily I say unto you, that if ye forgive men their trespasses," in reference to that petition, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." Having passed over all the other petitions which he taught us, this he taught us with an especial force. There was no need of insisting so much upon those sins in which if a man offend, he may know the means whereby he may be cured : need of it there was with regard to that sin in which, if thou sin, there is no means whereby the rest can be cured. For this thou oughtest to be ever saying, "Forgive us our debts." What debts? There is no lack of them, for we are but men : I have talked somewhat more than I ought, have said something I ought not, have laughed more than I ought, have eaten more than I ought, have listened with pleasure to what I ought not, have drunk more than I ought, have seen with pleasure what I ought not, have thought with pleasure on what I ought not ; "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." This if thou hast lost, thou art lost thyself.

Take heed, my brethren, my sons, sons of God, take heed, I beseech you, in that I am saying to you. Fight to the uttermost of your powers with your own hearts. And if ye shall see your anger making a stand against you, pray to God against it, that God may make thee conqueror of thyself, that God may make thee conqueror, I say, not of thine enemy without, but of thine own soul within. For he will give thee his present help, and will do it. He would rather that we ask this of him, than any petitions the Lord Christ hath taught us ; and there is scarce found among them one which speaks of daily bread, that all our thoughts may be moulded after the life to come. For what can we fear that he will not give us, who hath promised and said, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you ; for your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things before ye

ask him." "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." For many have been tried even with hunger, and have been found gold, and have not been forsaken by God. They would have perished with hunger, if the daily inward bread were to leave their hearts. After this let us chiefly hunger. For, "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." But he can in mercy look upon our infirmity, and see us, as it is said, "Remember that we are dust." He who from the dust made and quickened man, for that his work of clay's sake, gave his Only Son to death. Who can explain, who can worthily so much as conceive, how much he loveth us?

## ERNEST WILLIAM BARNES

(1874- ).

**E**RNEST WILLIAM BARNES was born on the 1st April, 1874. He received his education at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. Here he proved a brilliant student, gained scholarships, and in 1896 was bracketed 2nd Wrangler.

The year 1897 saw E. W. Barnes President of the Union. About the same year he stood first class first division of the Mathematical Tripos. On becoming Smith's Prizeman he was appointed Fellow of Trinity College.

After taking his Arts degree E. W. Barnes served in various capacities from time to time such as Junior Dean, Assistant Lecturer to Trinity College, Tutor, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff and Governor of King Edward's School. Later after being select preacher for Cambridge, one of the highest distinctions of the realm was conferred on him when he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. He is one of those eminent theologians, who strive hard from day to day to reconcile science with religion. In the words of J. D. Maurice "he dare not be silent because he sees what a mass of unbelief and indifference is congealing in men's minds under a thin coating of apparent orthodoxy."

In 1918 Dr. Barnes became Canon of Westminster, and in 1924 Bishop of Birmingham.

### THE CENTRALITY OF JESUS

(Delivered at Cambridge, 1921).

**I**T may be urged that man cannot have knowledge of such spiritual finality as Christians claim for Jesus, but the objection does not seem to be reasonable. We may legitimately contend that, because man differs from all other animals in that he is aware of, and can create, spiritual values, there is in him something that adumbrates the nature of God. We say that man is not only a part of the evolutionary process. His highest attributes must serve to show its purpose. They reveal the nature and the end of God's plan. A right understanding of man as he

is ought to lead us to a knowledge of what the perfect man should be ; and that knowledge should disclose the nature of God so far as His nature needs to be, or can be, grasped by humanity. Reason and intuition combine to justify the belief that our Lord had a right understanding of what man can become. The centrality of Jesus implies that He gave a sufficient explanation of the spiritual reality to which man's moral and religious instincts are allied ; and that, moreover, in Himself the perfection of moral purpose and religious insight was revealed. Thus it commits us to the view that, as man develops in the way predestined by God, he will continuously approach the standard set by Jesus. Jesus will ever more completely draw men and inspire them because they will the more fully understand that He explains them to themselves. In brief, human thought, as moulded by developed aspirations and accumulated knowledge, will not sweep past Jesus but will circle round Him as the centre where God revealed Himself.

We can only determine whether these contentions are sound by examining how far they are confirmed by our own consciousness and by the nature of man in general as it is revealed by the widest and most searching examination which we can make. Now, most certainly, the Gospel of Jesus continues to be 'good news' in that it gives substance to those hopes which are indubitably an essential element in human personality. Further, we are bound to allow that it is a creative force which is uniquely fertile and valuable because it urges man to progress along the natural and therefore God-ordained path of human development. Moreover, the Gospel cannot be separated from the Cross by which it was sealed. Man serves God and advances towards his divinely-appointed destiny by struggle and pain : and Jesus, in yielding up His life, gave all that a man can give to help others to do God's will. His Person and His Gospel cannot be split apart, for in life and death He was true to His message. He died that the Kingdom might come. We rightly deem Him Lord of the Kingdom of His Father because He was its perfect Servant. All who strive to enter profit by His service : they are to this extent enriched by the redemptive power of His innocent suffering. Since Jesus was crucified Christians have seen in the teaching of the second Isaiah a hint of the significance of His death. That hint they have sought to develop : and in their endeavour many, and sometimes deplorable, theories of the atonement have been advanced. Needless to say, no theory can be wholly satisfactory so long as the problem of evil remains unsolved. But if we agree that the purpose of creation was the ultimate evolution of animals carrying spiritual consciousness, and so of human personality fit when purified for eternal communion with God, then it must be that love is the supreme spiritual principle of the whole process. The love of Jesus,

suffering but triumphant, disclosed the essential nature of man's service to God ; and, in its perfection, revealed the nature of God's response to that service. The Life which was consecrated on the Cross showed how man should love God and how God has purposed to give man Eternal Life through such love : ' God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life.' Thus we conclude that Jesus was central as an example for mankind.

Can we say further that He was central as Redeemer and Saviour ? I think that we are forced to do so if, and only if, we accept St. Paul's identification of the living Christ and the Holy Spirit. Did Jesus show Himself as the risen Lord after His death and burial ? We cannot understand the history of the early Church unless this fact be admitted. The fact, moreover, is congruous with our expectations : with Du Bose I would say that the victor over sin was naturally the victor over death. And, because we cannot for any practical purpose separate the risen Jesus from the Inner Light which is the source of all our religious experience, we identify the Lord with the Spirit.

Modern psychology has not yet reached a stage when we can confidently use its theories to re-state the doctrines of the Holy Spirit and the Incarnation. But it seems certain that there are in our minds regions below manifest consciousness where we receive suggestions from our fellows and whence, unwittingly it may be, we give out suggestions to them. Such suggestions are believed to influence personality more profoundly than any rational process. It may well be that in these regions of the mind we receive divine grace : in them it may be that we have intercourse with the Holy Spirit. Mystics of all types and ages are agreed that such intercourse is impeded by sensuality and self-seeking. ' Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' The purity and unselfishness of Jesus point to the conclusion that His consciousness was separated from God by no such barriers as exist in other men ; and that, when after death His human limitations were transcended, the living Christ became one with the Holy Spirit. Because the Holy Spirit is God redeeming and saving, Jesus Christ is our Redeemer and Saviour. ' He living cleanseth us from all sin.' He is ' the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.'

The picture of the centrality of Jesus as popularly presented is substantially that of St. Paul and St. John. Have we outgrown their thought ? Well . . . religion is personal before it is corporate ; or, if you like, it is a personal response to corporate understanding. In me the objective picture of Jesus portrayed by the synoptists kindles reverence and love. The subjective interpretation

of Jesus made by the first builders of Christian theology I feel to be true : such spiritual understanding as I have leads me along the road they travelled. The authors of such a book as " The Beginnings of Christianity " appear to reach what we may not unfairly term rejective conclusions by an ingenuity of atomic disintegration which a physicist might envy. Yet when the process ended, Jesus still lives great, and unexplained. St. Paul was more than an aggregate of the life-cells of which God secretly fashioned him : patient and painful dissection will not reveal the secret of his Master's personality.

I turn to another region of thought. Has the Paulo-Johannine affirmation of the centrality of Jesus become incredible because we accept the enlarged view of the universe due to modern science ? The New Testament writers thought that the earth was the centre of the universe : we know it to be a minor planet of a solar system which itself does not appear to be of especial importance among the millions which exist in stellar space. We have learnt that life has existed on the earth for at least a hundred million years and that we are the products of its evolution. The matter of which other suns are composed is not essentially different from that of our own solar system.

It is most probable that there are numerous other planets where conditions are, or have been, favourable to the existence of life. We may reasonably infer that the earth is but one of many worlds where life exists : that on other planets of remote solar systems the living cell has led to the evolution of animals, possibly very different from ourselves in physical structure, yet carrying spiritual consciousness. We have to view the Incarnation in the light of such possibilities ; and also to regard it, not as an event which happened some four or five thousand years after man's creation, but as a revelation of God vouchsafed to man after something like a million years of human existence.

Needless to say, facts like these are deemed by many to have seriously compromised the Christian claim. They probably lie behind the popular instinctive assumption that science has made the Christian faith incredible. But, if we examine them patiently, their supposed cogency disappears.

Jesus came in the fullness of time ; and whether that fullness is to be measured by thousands or millions of years matters not at all. Our knowledge of humanity's past, hazy though it be, makes it certain that the stage of human development at which the work of Jesus could have been effective was reached within a few thousand years, at most, of His Advent. The idea on which the older theologians liked to insist, that Jesus came when the preparation for the Gospel was completed, is still entirely reasonable ; and, even if we must multiply by a thousand the

number of human beings who died before His Advent, we do not alter the nature of the old problem of their salvation through Jesus Christ.

As regards the issues raised by the possible existence of other inhabited worlds, our utter ignorance makes discussion largely fanciful. If life on other worlds has led to animals with our spiritual understanding, with our certainty that there are in the Universe absolute values like goodness and truth which indicate the nature of God and are eternal with Him : if such animals know that they ought to be loyal to God and are hindered by manifold temptations ; then, whatever be their physical structure, we may affirm that they were created that they might become finite spirits capable of eternal life with God, and that God will have provided for them some method of realizing their destiny.

It is vain to speculate as to the means by which this grace will be given to those who need it under circumstances of which we know nothing. That throughout the universe He will accomplish His plan we may be assured. For it suffices that on earth ' God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself.' Far more important than any speculation is the fact that it is our duty to make ourselves worthy to receive the gift of Christ revealed in Jesus. If we recognise that duty we make Jesus central. We then acknowledge that the risen Lord has not only an earthly but a cosmic dominion, that in every place and for all time the power of His love will endure.

## ISAAC BARROW

(1630-1677).

**B**ORN in London in 1630, Barrow was educated at the Charterhouse School, at Felstead, and at Cambridge. Belonging to a Royalist family, under Cromwell he left England after his graduation and travelled abroad, studying the Greek fathers in Constantinople. After the Restoration he became Lucasian professor of mathematics at Cambridge—where he taught Newton—and chaplain to Charles II., who called him the best scholar in England. Celebrated for the length of his sermons, Barrow had nevertheless a readiness at sharp repartee which made him formidable on occasion. “I am yours, Doctor, to the knee-strings,” said the Earl of Rochester, meeting him at court and seeking amusement at his expense. “I am yours, my lord, to the shoe-tie,” answered the Doctor, bowing still lower than the Earl had done. “Yours, Doctor, to the ground,” said Rochester. “Yours, my lord, to the centre of the earth,” answered Barrow with another bow. “Yours, Doctor, to the lowest pit of hell,” said Rochester, as he imagined, in conclusion. “There my lord, I must leave you!” was the immediate answer.

### SLANDER

**G**ENERAL declamations against vice and sin are indeed excellently useful, as rousing men to consider and look about them; but they do often want effect, because they only raise confused apprehension of things, and indeterminate propensions to action, which usually, before men thoroughly perceive or resolve what they should practise, do decay and vanish. As he that cries out “Fire!” doth stir up people, and inspireth them with a kind of hovering tendency every way, yet no man thence to purpose moveth until he be distinctly informed where the mischief is; then do they, who apprehend themselves concerned, run hastily to oppose it: so, till we particularly discern where our offences lie (till we distinctly know the heinous nature and the mischievous consequences of them), we scarce will effectually apply ourselves to correct them. Whence it is requisite that men should be particularly acquainted with their sins, and by proper arguments be dissuaded from them.



In order whereto I have now selected one sin to describe, and dissuade from, being in nature as vile, and in practice as common, as any other whatever that hath prevailed among men. It is slander, a sin which in all times and places hath been epidemical and rife, but which especially doth seem to reign and rage in our age and country.

There are principles innate to men, which ever have, and ever will, incline them to this offence. Eager appetites to secular and sensual goods; violent passions, urging the prosecution of what men affect; wrath and displeasure against those who stand in the way of compassing their desires; emulation and envy towards those who happen to succeed better, or to attain a greater share in such things; excessive self-love; unaccountable malignity and vanity are in some degrees connatural to all men, and ever prompt them to this dealing, as appearing the most efficacious, compendious, and easy way of satisfying such appetites, of promoting such designs, of discharging such passions. Slander thence hath always been a principal engine whereby covetous, ambitious, envious, ill-natured, and vain persons have striven to supplant their competitors and advance themselves; meaning thereby to procure, what they chiefly prize and like, wealth, or dignity, or reputation, favour and power in the court, respect and interest with the people.

But from especial causes our age peculiarly doth abound in this practice; for, besides the common dispositions inclining thereto, there are conceits newly coined, and greedily entertained by many, which seem purposely levelled at the disparagement of piety, charity, and justice, substituting interest in the room of conscience, authorizing and commending for good and wise all ways serving to private advantage. There are implacable dissensions, fierce animosities, and bitter zeals sprung up; there is an extreme curiosity, niceness, and delicacy of judgment; there is a mighty affectation of seeming wise and witty by any means; there is a great unsettlement of mind, and corruption of manners, generally diffused over people; from which sources it is no wonder that this flood hath so overflown, that no banks can restrain it, no fences are able to resist it; so that ordinary conversation is full of it, and no demeanour can be secure from it.

If we do mark what is done in many (might I not say, in most?) companies, what is it but one telling malicious stories of, or fastening odious characters upon, another? What do men commonly please themselves in so much as in carping and harshly censuring, in defaming and abusing their neighbours? Is it not the sport and divertisement of many to cast dirt in the faces of all they meet with? to bespatter any man with foul imputations? Doth not in every corner a Momus lurk, from the venom of whose spiteful or petulant tongue no eminency

of rank, dignity of place, or sacredness of office, no innocence or integrity of life, no wisdom or circumspection in behaviour, no good-nature or benignity in dealing and carriage, can protect any person? Do not men assume to themselves a liberty of telling romances, and framing characters concerning their neighbours, as freely as a poet doth about Hector or Turnus, Thersites or Draucus? Do they not usurp a power of playing with, or tossing about, of tearing in pieces their neighbour's good name, as if it were the veriest toy in the world? Do not many having a form of godliness (some of them demurely, others confidently, both without any sense of, or remorse for, what they do) backbite their brethren? Is it not grown so common a thing to asperse causelessly that no man wonders at it, that few dislike, that scarce any detest it? that most notorious calumniators are heard, not only with patience, but with pleasure; yea, are even held in vogue and reverence as men of a notable talent, and very serviceable to their party? so that slander seemeth to have lost its nature and not to be now an odious sin, but a fashionable humour, a way of pleasing entertainment, a fine knack, or curious feat of policy; so that no man at least taketh himself or others to be accountable for what is said in this way? Is not, in fine, the case become such, that whoever hath in him any love of truth, any sense of justice or honesty, any spark of charity towards his brethren, shall hardly be able to satisfy himself in the conversations he meeteth; but will be tempted, with the holy prophet, to wish himself sequestered from society, and cast into solitude; repeating those words of his, "Oh, that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people, and go from them: for they are . . . an assembly of treacherous men, and they bend their tongues like their bows for lies?" This he wished in an age so resembling ours, that I fear the description with equal patness may suit both: "Take ye heed" (said he then, and may we not advise the like now?) "every one of his neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother: for every brother will utterly supplant, and every neighbour will walk with slanders. They will deceive every one his neighbour, and will not speak the truth; they have taught their tongue to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity."

Such being the state of things, obvious to experience, no discourse may seem more needful, or more useful, than that which serveth to correct or check this practice: which I shall endeavour to do (1) by describing the nature, (2) by declaring the folly of it: or showing it to be very true which the wise man here asserteth, "He that uttereth slander is a fool." Which particulars I hope so to prosecute, that any man shall be able easily to discern, and ready heartily to detest this practice.

1. For explication of its nature, we may describe slander to be the uttering false (or equivalent to false, morally false) speech against our neighbour, in prejudice to his fame, his safety, his welfare, or concernment in any kind, out of malignity, vanity, rashness, ill-nature, or bad design. That which is in Holy Scripture forbidden and reprov'd under several names and notions : of bearing false witness, false accusation, railing censure, sycophantry, talebearing, whispering, backbiting, supplanting, taking up reproach : which terms some of them do signify the nature, others denote the special kinds, others imply the manners, others suggest the ends of this practice. But it seemeth most fully intelligible by observing the several kinds and degrees thereof ; as also by reflecting on the divers ways and manners of practising it.

The principal kinds thereof I observe to be these :—

1. The grossest kind of slander is that which in the Decalogue is called bearing false testimony against our neighbour ; that is, flatly charging him with acts which he never committed, and is nowise guilty of. As in the case of Naboth, when men were suborned to say, “ Naboth did blaspheme God and the king,” and as was David’s case, when he thus complained, “ False witnesses did rise up, they laid to my charge things that I knew not of.” This kind in the highest way (that is, in judicial proceedings) is more rare ; and of all men, they who are detected to practise it are held most vile and infamous, as being plainly the most pernicious and perilous instruments of injustice, the most desperate enemies of all men’s right and safety that can be. But also out of the court there are many knights-errant of the poet, whose business it is to run about scattering false reports ; sometimes loudly proclaiming them in open companies, sometimes closely whispering them in dark corners ; thus infecting conversation with their poisonous breath : these no less notoriously are guilty of this kind, as bearing always the same malice and sometimes breeding as ill effects.

2. Another kind is, affixing scandalous names, injurious epithets, and odious characters upon persons, which they deserve not. As when Corah and his accomplices did accuse Moses of being ambitious, unjust, and tyrannical ; when the Pharisees called our Lord an impostor, a blasphemer, a sorcerer, a glutton and wine-bibber, an incendiary and perverter of the people, one that spake against Cæsar, and forbade to give tribute ; when the Apostles were charged with being pestilent, turbulent, factious, and seditious fellows. This sort being very common, and thence in ordinary repute not so bad, yet in just estimation may be judged even worse than the former, as doing to our neighbour more heavy and more irreparable wrong. For it imposeth on him really more blame and that such as he can hardly shake off ; because the charge signifies

habits of evil, and includeth many acts, that, being general and indefinite, can scarce be disproved. He, for instance, that calleth a sober man drunkard doth impute to him many acts of such intemperance (some really past, others probably future), and no particular time or place being specified, how can a man clear himself of that imputation, especially with those who are not thoroughly acquainted with his conversation? So he that calleth a man unjust, proud, perverse, hypocritical, doth load him with most grievous faults, which it is not possible that the most innocent person should discharge himself from.

3. Like to that kind is this aspersing a man's actions with harsh censures and foul terms, importing that they proceed from ill principles, or tend to bad ends; so as it doth not or cannot appear. Thus, when we say of him that is generously hospitable, that he is profuse; of him that is prudently frugal, that he is niggardly; of him that is cheerful and free in his conversation, that he is vain or loose; of him that is serious and resolute in a good way, that he is sullen or morose; of him that is conspicuous and brisk in virtuous practice, that it is ambition or ostentation which prompts him; of him that is close and bashful in the like good way, that it is sneaking stupidity, or want of spirit; of him that is reserved, that it is craft; of him that is open, that it is simplicity in him; when we ascribe a man's liberality and charity to vainglory or popularity; his strictness of life, and constancy in devotion, to superstition, or hypocrisy. When, I say, we pass such censures, or impose such characters on the laudable or innocent practice of our neighbours, we are indeed slanderers, imitating therein the great calumniator, who thus did slander even God himself, imputing his prohibition of the fruit unto envy towards men; "God," said he, "doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil;" who thus did ascribe the steady piety of Job, not to a conscientious love and fear of God, but to policy and selfish design: "Doth Job fear God for naught?"

Whoever, indeed, pronounceth concerning his neighbour's intentions otherwise than as they are evidently expressed by words, or signified by overt actions, is a slanderer; because he pretendeth to know, and dareth to aver, that which he nowise possibly can tell whether it be true; because the heart is exempt from all jurisdiction here, is only subject to the government and trial of another world; because no man can judge concerning the truth of such accusations, because no man can exempt or defend himself from them: so that apparently such practice doth thwart all courts of justice and equity.

4. Another kind is, perverting a man's words or actions disadvantageously by affected misconstruction. All words are ambiguous, and

capable of different senses, some fair, some more foul, all actions have two handles, one that candour and charity will, another that disingenuity and spite may lay hold on ; and in such cases to misapprehend is a calumnious procedure, arguing malignant disposition and mischievous design. Thus, when two men did witness that our Lord affirmed that he “ could demolish the Temple, and rear it again in three days ”—although he did indeed speak words to that purpose, meaning them in a figurative sense, discernible enough to those who would candidly have minded his drift and way of speaking—yet they who crudely alleged them against him are called false witnesses. “ At last,” saith the Gospel, “ came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple,” etc. Thus, also, when some certified of St. Stephen, as having said that “ Jesus of Nazareth should destroy that place, and change the customs that Moses delivered ! ” ; although probably he did speak words near to that purpose, yet are those men called false witnesses. “ And,” saith St. Luke, “ they set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words,” etc. Which instances do plainly show, if we would avoid the guilt of slander, how careful we should be to interpret fairly and favourably the words and actions of our neighbour.

5. Another sort of this practice is partial and lame representation of men’s discourse, or their practice, suppressing some part of the truth in them, or concealing some circumstances about them which might serve to explain, to excuse, or to extenuate them. In such a manner easily, without uttering any logical untruth, one may yet grievously calumniate. Thus, suppose a man speaketh a thing upon supposition, or with exception, or in way of objection, or merely for disputation’s sake, in order to the discussion or clearing of truth ; he that should report him asserting it absolutely, unlimitedly, positively and peremptorily, as his own settled judgment, would notoriously calumniate. If one should be inveigled by fraud, or driven by violence, or slip by chance into a bad place or bad company, he that should so represent the gross of that accident, as to breed an opinion of that person, that out of pure disposition and design he did put himself there, doth slanderously abuse that innocent person. The reporter in such cases must not think to defend himself by pretending that he spake nothing false ; for such propositions, however true in logic, may justly be deemed lies in morality, being uttered with a malicious and deceitful (that is, with a calumnious) mind, being apt to impress false conceits and to produce hurtful effects concerning our neighbour. There are slanderous truths as well as slanderous falsehoods ; when truth is uttered with a deceitful heart, and to a base end, it becomes a lie. “ He that speaketh truth,”

saith the wise man, "showeth forth righteousness, but a false witness deceit." Deceiving is the proper work of slander; and truth abused to that end putteth on its nature, and will engage into like guilt.

6. Another kind of calumny is, by instilling sly suggestions, which although they do not downrightly assert falsehoods, yet they breed sinister opinions in the hearers, especially in those who, from weakness or credulity, from jealousy or prejudice, from negligence or inadvertency are prone to entertain them. This is done in many ways: by propounding wily suppositions, shrewd insinuations, crafty questions, and specious comparisons, intimating a possibility, or inferring some likelihood of, and thence inducing to believe the fact. "Doth not," saith this kind of slanderer, "his temper incline him to do thus? may not his interest have swayed him thereto? had he not fair opportunity and strong temptation to it? hath he not acted so in like cases? Judge you, therefore, whether he did it not." Thus the close slanderer argueth; and a weak or prejudiced person is thereby so caught, that he presently is ready thence to conclude the thing done. Again: "He doeth well," saith the sycophant, "it is true; but why, and to what end? Is it not as most men do, out of ill design? may he not dissemble now? may he not recoil hereafter? have not others made as fair a show? yet we know what came of it." Thus do calumnious tongues pervert the judgments of men to think ill of the most innocent, and meanly of the worthiest actions. Even commendation itself is often used calumniously, with intent to breed dislike and ill-will towards a person commended in envious or jealous ears; or so as to give passage to dispraises, and render the accusations following more credible. 'Tis an artifice commonly observed to be much in use there, where the finest tricks of supplanting are practised with greatest effect; so that *pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes*; there is no more pestilent enemy than a malevolent praiser. All these kinds of dealing, as they issue from the principles of slander, and perform its work, so they deservedly bear the guilt thereof.

## RICHARD BAXTER

(1615-1691).

**R**ICHARD BAXTER, author of "The Saints' Everlasting Rest" and of other works to the extent of sixty octavo volumes, was called by Doddridge "the English Demosthenes." He was born November 12th, 1615, in Shropshire, and was admitted to orders in the English Church in 1638. He refused, however, to take the oath of "Submission to Archbishops, Bishops," etc., and established himself as the pastor of a dissenting church in Kidderminster. He was twice imprisoned for refusing to conform to the requirements of the Established Church. He died in 1691.

### UNWILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE

**B**ELOVED hearers, the office that God hath called us to, is by declaring the glory of his grace, to help under Christ to the saving of men's souls. I hope you think not that I come hither to-day on any other errand. The Lord knows I had not set a foot out of doors but in hope to succeed in this work for your souls. I have considered, and often considered, what is the matter that so many thousands should perish when God hath done so much for their salvation ; and I find this that is mentioned in my text is the cause. It is one of the wonders of the world, that when God hath so loved the world as to send his Son, and Christ hath made a satisfaction by his death sufficient for them all, and offereth the benefits of it so freely to them, even without money or price, that yet the most of the world should perish ; yea, the most of those that are thus called by his word ! Why, here is the reason, when Christ hath done all this, men make light of it. God hath showed that he is not unwilling ; and Christ hath showed that he is not unwilling that men should be restored to God's favour and be saved ; but men are actually unwilling themselves. God takes not pleasure in the death of sinners, but rather that they return and live. But men take such pleasure in sin that they will die before they will return. The Lord Jesus was content to be their Physician, and hath provided the n a sufficient plaster of his own blood :

but if men make light of it, and will not apply it, what wonder if they perish after all? The Scripture giveth us the reason of their perdition. This, sad experience tells us, the most of the world is guilty of. It is a most lamentable thing to see how most men do spend their care, their time, their pains, for known vanities, while God and glory are cast aside: that he who is all should seem to them as nothing, and that which is nothing should seem to them as good as all; that God should set mankind in such a race where heaven or hell is their certain end, and that they should sit down, and loiter, or run after the childish toys of the world, and so much forget the prize that they should run for. Were it but possible for one of us to see the whole of this business as the all-seeing God doth; to see at one view both heaven and hell, which men are so near; and see what most men in the world are minding, and what they are doing every day, it would be the saddest sight that could be imagined. Oh how should we marvel at their madness, and lament their self-delusion! Oh poor distracted world! what is it you run after? and what is it that you neglect? If God had never told them what they were sent into the world to do, or whither they are going, or what was before them in another world, then they had been excusable; but he hath told them over and over, till they were weary of it. Had he left it doubtful, there had been some excuse; but it is his sealed word, and they profess to believe it, and would take it ill of us if we should question whether they do believe it or not.

Beloved, I come not to accuse any of you particularly of this crime; but seeing it is the commonest cause of men's destruction, I suppose you will judge it the fittest matter for our inquiry, and deserving our greatest care for the cure. To which end I shall, 1. Endeavour the conviction of the guilty. 2. Shall give them such considerations as may tend to humble and reform them. 3. I shall conclude with such direction as may help them that are willing to escape the destroying power of this sin. And for the first, consider:—

1. It is the case of most sinners to think themselves freest from those sins that they are most enslaved to; and one reason why we cannot reform them, is because we cannot convince them of their guilt. It is the nature of sin so far to blind and befool the sinner, that he knoweth not what he doth, but thinketh he is free from it when it reigneth in him, or when he is committing it; it bringeth men to be so much unacquainted with themselves that they know not what they think, or what they mean and intend, nor what they love or hate, much less what they are habituated and disposed to. They are alive to sin, and dead to all the reason, consideration, and resolution that should recover them, as if it were only by their sinning that we must know they are alive.



May I hope that you that hear me to-day are but willing to know the truth of your case, and then I shall be encouraged to proceed to an inquiry. God will judge impartially; why should not we do so? Let me, therefore, by these following questions, try whether none of you are slights of Christ and your own salvation. And follow me, I beseech you, by putting them close to your own hearts, and faithfully answering them.

1. Things that men highly value will be remembered; they will be matter of their freest and sweetest thoughts. This is a known case.

Do not those then make light of Christ and salvation that think of them so seldom and coldly in comparison of other things? Follow thy own heart, man, and observe what it daily runneth after; and then judge whether it make not light of Christ.

We cannot persuade men to one hour's sober consideration what they should do for an interest in Christ, or in thankfulness for his love, and yet they will not believe that they make light of him.

2. Things that we highly value will be matter of our discourse; the judgment and heart will command the tongue. Freely and delightfully will our speech run after them. This also is a known case.

Do not those men make light of Christ and salvation that shun the mention of his name, unless it be in a vain or sinful use? Those that love not the company where Christ and salvation are much talked of, but think it troublesome, precise discourse; that had rather hear some merry jests, or idle tales, or talk of their riches or business in the world? When you may follow them from morning to night, and scarce have a savory word of Christ; but, perhaps, some slight and weary mention of him sometimes; judge whether these make not light of Christ and salvation. How seriously do they talk of the world and speak vanity! but how heartlessly do they make mention of Christ and salvation!

3. The things that we highly value we would secure the possession of, and, therefore, would take any convenient course to have all doubts and fears about them well resolved. Do not those men then make light of Christ and salvation that have lived twenty or thirty years in uncertainty whether they have any part in these or not, and yet never seek out for the right resolution of their doubts? Are all that hear me this day certain they shall be saved? Oh that they were! Oh, had you not made light of salvation, you could not so easily bear such doubting of it; you could not rest till you had made it sure, or done your best to make it sure. Have you nobody to inquire of, that might help you in such a work? Why, you have ministers that are purposely appointed to that office. Have you gone to them, and told them the

doubtfulness of your case, and asked their help in the judging of your condition? Alas, ministers may sit in their studies from one year to another, before ten persons among a thousand will come to them on such an errand! Do not these make light of Christ and salvation? When the Gospel pierceth the heart indeed, they cry out, "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?" Trembling and astonished, Paul cries out, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And so did the convinced Jews to Peter. But when hear we such questions?

4. The things that we value do deeply affect us, and some motions will be in the heart according to our estimation of them. O sirs, if men made not light of these things, what working would there be in the hearts of all our hearers! What strange affections would it raise in them to hear of the matters of the world to come! How would their hearts melt before the power of the Gospel! What sorrow would be wrought in the discovery of their sins! What astonishment at the consideration of their misery! What unspeakable joy at the glad tidings of salvation by the blood of Christ! What resolution would be raised in them upon the discovery of their duty! Oh what hearers should we have, if it were not for this sin! Whereas, now we are liker to weary them, or preach them asleep with matters of this unspeakable moment. We talk to them of Christ and salvation till we make their heads ache; little would one think by their careless carriage that they heard and regarded what we said, or thought we spoke at all to them.

5. Our estimation of things will be seen in the diligence of our endeavours. That which we highest value, we shall think no pains too great to obtain. Do not those men then make light of Christ and salvation that think all too much that they do for them; that murmur at his service, and think it too grievous for them to endure? that ask of his service as Judas of the ointment, What need this waste? Cannot men be saved without so much ado? This is more ado than needs. For the world they will labour all the day, and all their lives; but for Christ and salvation they are afraid of doing too much. Let us preach to them as long as we will, we cannot bring them to relish or resolve upon a life of holiness. Follow them to their houses, and you shall not hear them read a chapter, nor call upon God with their families once a day; nor will they allow him that one day in seven which he hath separated to his service. But pleasure, or worldly business, or idleness, must have a part. And many of them are so far hardened as to reproach them that will not be as mad as themselves. And is not Christ worth the seeking? Is not everlasting salvation worth more than all this? Doth not that soul make light of all these that thinks his ease more worth than they? Let but common sense judge.

6. That which we most highly value, we think we cannot buy too dear : Christ and salvation are freely given, and yet the most of men go without them because they cannot enjoy the world and them together. They are called but to part with that which would hinder them from Christ, and they will not do it. They are called but to give God his own, and to resign all to his will, and let go the profits and pleasures of this world, when they must let go either Christ or them, and they will not. They think this too dear a bargain, and say they cannot spare these things ; they must hold their credit with men ; they must look to their estates ; how shall they live else ? They must have their pleasure, whatsoever becomes of Christ and salvation : as if they could live without Christ better than without these : as if they were afraid of being losers by Christ or could make a saving match by losing their souls to gain the world. Christ hath told us over and over that if we will not forsake all for him we cannot be his disciples. Far are these men from forsaking all, and yet will needs think that they are his disciples indeed.

7. That which men highly esteem, they would help their friends to as well as themselves. Do not those men make light of Christ and salvation that can take so much care to leave their children portions in the world, and do so little to help them to heaven ? that provide outward necessities so carefully for their families, but do so little to the saving of their souls ? Their neglected children and friends will witness that either Christ, or their children's souls, or both, were made light of.

8. That which men highly esteem, they will so diligently seek after that you may see it in the success, if it be a matter within their reach. You may see how many make light of Christ, by the little knowledge they have of him, and the little communion with him, and communication from him ; and the little, yea, none of his special grace in them. Alas ! how many ministers can speak it to the sorrow of their hearts, that many of their people know almost nothing of Christ, though they hear of him daily ! Nor know they what they must do to be saved : if we ask them an account of these things, they answer as if they understood not what we say to them, and tell us they are no scholars, and therefore think they are excusable for their ignorance. Oh if these men had not made light of Christ and their salvation, but had bestowed but half as much pains to know and enjoy him as they have done to understand the matters of their trades and callings in the world, they would not have been so ignorant as they are ; they make light of these things, and therefore will not be at the pains to study or learn them. When men that can learn the hardest trade in a few years have not learned a catechism, nor how to understand their creed, under twenty or thirty

years' preaching, nor can abide to be questioned about such things, doth not this show that they have slighted them in their hearts? How will these despisers of Christ and salvation be able one day to look him in the face, and to give an account of these neglects?

## THE VENERABLE BEDE

(672-735).

**T**HE VENERABLE BEDE, "The father of English History," was born about 672 in the county of Durham. The Anglo-Saxons, whose earliest historian he was, had been converted by St. Austin and others by the then not unusual process of preaching to the king until he was persuaded to renounce heathenism both for himself and his subjects. Bede, though born among a people not greatly addicted either to religion or letters, became a remarkable preacher, scholar, and thinker. Professionally a preacher, his sermons are interesting, chiefly because they are the earliest specimens of oratory extant from any Anglo-Saxon public speaker.

Best known as the author of the 'Ecclesiastical History of England,' Bede was a most prolific writer. He left a very considerable collection of sermons or homilies, many of which are still extant. He also wrote on science, on poetic art, on medicine, philosophy, and rhetoric, not to mention his hymns and his 'Book of Epigrams in Heroic and Elegaic Verse'—all very interesting and some of them valuable, as anyone may see who will take the trouble to read them in his simple and easily understood Latin. It is a pity, however, that they are not adequately translated and published in a shape which would make the father of English eloquence, the first English rhetorician, as he was the first English philosopher, poet, and historian, more readily accessible to the general public.

Bede's sermons deal very largely in allegory, and though he may have been literal in his celebrated suggestions of the horrors of hell—which were certainly literally understood by his hearers—it is pertinent to quote in connection with them his own assertion, that "he who knows how to interpret allegorically will see that the inner sense excels the simplicity of the letter as apples do leaves."

Bede's reputation spread not only through England but throughout Western Europe and to Rome. Attempts were made to thrust honours on him, but he refused them for fear they would prevent him from learning. He taught in a monastery at Jarrow where at one time he had six hundred monks and many strangers attending on his discourses.

He died in 735, just as he had completed the first translation of the Gospel of John ever made into any English dialect. The present Anglo-Saxon version, generally in use among English students, is supposed to include that version if not actually to present its exact language. The Authorised Version comes from Bede's in a direct line of descent through Wyclif and Tyndale.

### THE MEETING OF MERCY AND JUSTICE

THERE was a certain father of a family, a powerful king, who had four daughters, of whom one was called Mercy, the second Truth, the third Justice, the fourth Peace ; of whom it is said, " Mercy and Truth are met together ; Justice and Peace have kissed each other." He had also a certain most wise son, to whom no one could be compared in wisdom. He had, also, a certain servant, whom he had exalted and enriched with great honour : for he had made him after his own likeness and similitude, and that without any preceding merit on the servant's part. But the Lord, as is the custom with such wise masters, wished prudently to explore and to become acquainted with, the character and the faith of his servant, whether he was trustworthy towards himself or not ; so he gave him an easy commandment, and said, " If you do what I tell you, I will exalt you to further honours ; if not, you shall perish miserably."

The servant heard the commandment and without any delay went and broke it. Why need I say more ? Why need I delay you by my words and by my tears ? This proud servant, stiff-necked, full of contumely, and puffed up with conceit, sought an excuse for his transgression and retorted the whole fault of his Lord. For when he said " the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she deceived me," he threw all the fault on his Maker. His Lord, more angry for such contumelious conduct than for the transgression of his command, called four most cruel executioners, and commanded one of them to cast him into prison, another to afflict him with grievous torments ; the third to strangle him, and the fourth to behead him. By and by, when occasion offers, I will give you the right name of these tormentors.

These torturers, then, studying how they might carry out their own cruelty, took the wretched man and began to afflict him with all manner of punishments. But one of the daughters of the King, by name Mercy, when she had heard of this punishment of the servant, ran hastily to the prison, and looking in and seeing the man given over to the tormentors, could not help having compassion upon him, for it is the property

of Mercy to have pity. She tore her garments and struck her hands together, and let her hair fall loose about her neck, and crying and shrieking, ran to her father, and kneeling before his feet began to say with an earnest and sorrowful voice: "My beloved father, am not I thy daughter Mercy? and art not thou called merciful? If thou art merciful, have mercy upon thy servant; and if thou wilt not have mercy upon him, thou canst not be called merciful; and if thou art not merciful, thou canst not have me, Mercy, for thy daughter." While she was thus arguing with her father, her sister Truth came up, and demanded why it was that Mercy was weeping. "Your sister Mercy," replied the father, "wishes me to have pity upon that proud transgressor whose punishment I have appointed." Truth, when she heard this, was excessively angry, and looking sternly at her father, "Am not I," said she, "thy daughter Truth? art not thou called true? Is it not true that thou didst fix a punishment for him, and threaten him with death by torments? If thou art true, thou wilt follow that which is true; if thou art not true, thou canst not have me, Truth, for thy daughter." Here, you see, Mercy and Truth are met together. The third sister, namely, Justice, hearing this strife, contention, quarrelling, and pleading, and summoned by the outcry, began to inquire the cause from Truth. And Truth, who could only speak that which was true, said, "This sister of ours, Mercy, if she ought to be called a sister who does not agree with us, desires that our father should have pity on that proud transgressor." Then Justice, with an angry countenance, and meditating on a grief which she had not expected, said to her father, "Am not I thy daughter Justice? art thou not called just? If thou art just, thou wilt exercise justice on the transgressor; if thou dost not exercise that justice, thou canst not be just; if thou art not just, thou canst not have me, Justice, for thy daughter." So here were Truth and Justice on the one side, and Mercy on the other. *Ultima coelicolum terras Astræa reliquit*; this means, that Peace fled into a far distant country. For where there is strife and contention, there is no peace; and by how much greater the contention, by so much further peace is driven away.

Peace, therefore, being lost, and his three daughters in warm discussion, the King found it an extremely difficult matter to determine what he should do, or to which side he should lean. For, if he gave ear to Mercy, he would offend Truth and Justice; if he gave ear to Truth and Justice, he could not have Mercy for his daughter; and yet it was necessary that he should be both merciful and just, and peaceful and true. There was great need then of good advice. The father, therefore, called his wise son, and consulted him about the affair. Said the son, "Give me, my father, this present business to manage, and I will both

punish the transgressor for thee, and will bring back to thee in peace thy four daughters." "These are great promises," replied the father, "if the deed only agrees with the word. If thou canst do that which thou sayest, I will act as thou shalt exhort me."

Having, therefore, received the royal mandate, the son took his sister Mercy along with him, and leaping upon the mountains, passing over the hills, came to the prison, and looking through the lattice, he beheld the imprisoned servant, shut out from the present life, devoured of affliction, and from the sole of his foot even to the crown there was no soundness in him. He saw him in the power of death, because through him death entered into the world. He saw him devoured, because when a man is once dead he is eaten of worms. And because I now have the opportunity of telling you, you shall hear the names of the four tormentors. The first, who put him in prison, is the Prison of the Present Life, of which it is said, "Woe is me that I am constrained to dwell in Mesech"; the second, who tormented him is the Misery of the World, which besets us with all kinds of pain and wretchedness; the third, who was putting him to death, conquered death, bound the strong man, took his goods, and distributed the spoils; and ascending up on high, led captivity captive and gave gifts for men, and brought back the servant into his country, crowned with double honour, and endued with a garment of immortality. When Mercy beheld this, she had no grounds for complaint, Truth found no cause of discontent, because her father was found true. The servant had paid all his penalties. Justice in like manner complained not, because Justice had been executed on the transgressor; and thus he who had been lost was found. Peace, therefore, when she saw her sisters at concord, came back and united them. And now, behold, Mercy and Truth are met together, Justice and Peace have kissed each other. Thus, therefore, by the Mediator of man and angels, man was purified and reconciled, and the hundredth sheep was brought back to the fold of God. To which fold Jesus Christ brings us, to whom is honour, and power everlasting. Amen.



## ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

(1091-1153).

**S**AINT BERNARD is one of the few great orators of the Middle Ages whose eloquence is still self-explanatory. Often, if not generally, in reading addresses, sermons, and homilies translated from Middle Ages Latin into modern languages, we wonder what it is in them that could so have moved men as we know they were moved by them. St. Bernard excites no such wonder, but rather moves us first to assent and then to admiration. He is one of the few great orators and writers whose power can be transferred from one language to another. To read ten sentences of one of the sermons in which he preached the twelfth-century Crusade is to be able to understand the otherwise unaccountable enthusiasm he never failed to excite in his hearers. Other orators of the Middle Ages may have been more admired in their time, but Bernard seems more worthy than any of the rest to rank with the great classical and modern masters of eloquence whose utterances are for all time.

He was born in Burgundy in 1091, and at twenty-two joined a small monastery near Citeaux, being even then so eloquent that he persuaded his two elder brothers to give up the military life they had chosen and follow him into the monastery. What is more remarkable, one of them had a wife and children whom he abandoned in leaving the world, and so many others imitated his sacrifice that it is said "mothers hid their sons, wives their husbands, and companions their friends" to prevent them from following Bernard to become monks.

In 1115 he left the monastery at Citeaux and founded a new one at Clairvaux, which soon became famous throughout Europe. The most notable events in his career of remarkable achievement were the controversy in which he worsted Abélard, his support of Pope Innocent II. against the rival pope, Anacletus II., and his 'Preaching the Crusade.' He died August 20th, 1153.

## PREACHING THE CRUSADE

(From Michaud's "History of the Crusades").

**Y**OU cannot but know that we live in a period of chastisement and ruin ; the enemy of mankind has caused the breath of corruption to fly over all regions ; we behold nothing but unpunished wickedness. The laws of men or the laws of religion have no longer sufficient power to check depravity of manners and the triumph of the wicked. The demon of heresy has taken possession of the chair of truth, and God has sent forth his malediction upon his sanctuary. Oh, ye who listen to me, hasten then to appease the anger of heaven, but no longer implore his goodness by vain complaints ; clothe not yourselves in sackcloth, but cover yourselves with your impenetrable bucklers ; the din of arms, the dangers, the labours, the fatigues of war are the penances that God now imposes upon you. Hasten then to expiate your sins by victories over the infidels, and let the deliverance of holy places be the reward of your repentance.

If it were announced to you that the enemy had invaded your cities, your castles, your lands ; had ravished your wives and your daughters, and profaned your temples, which among you would not fly to arms ? Well, then, all these calamities, and calamities still greater, have fallen upon your brethren, upon the family of Jesus Christ, which is yours. Why do you hesitate to repair so many evils—to revenge so many outrages ? Will you allow the infidels to contemplate in peace the ravages they have committed on Christian people ? Remember that their triumph will be a subject for grief to all ages, and an eternal opprobrium upon the generation that has endured it. Yes, the living God has charged me to announce to you that he will punish them who shall not have defended him against his enemies. Fly then to arms ; let a holy rage animate you in the fight, and let the Christian world resound with these words of the prophet, " Cursed be he who does not stain his sword with blood ? " If the Lord calls you to the defence of his heritage, think not that his hand has lost its power. Could he not send twelve legions of angels, or breathe one word, and all his enemies would crumble away into dust ? But God has considered the sons of men, to open for them the road to his mercy. His goodness has caused to dawn for you a day of safety, by calling on you to avenge his glory and his name. Christian warriors, he who gave his life for you, to-day demands yours in return. These are combats worthy

of you, combats in which it is glorious to conquer and advantageous to die. Illustrious knights, generous defenders of the cross, remember the example of your fathers who conquered Jerusalem, and whose names are inscribed in heaven ; abandon then the things that perish to gather unfading palms, and conquer a kingdom which has no end.

### ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN

**D**O not put forward the empty excuse of your rawness or want of experience ; for barren modesty is not pleasing, nor is that humility praiseworthy that passes the bounds of moderation. Attend to your work ; drive out bashfulness by a sense of duty, and act as like master. You are young, yet you are a debtor ; you must know that you were a debtor from the day you were born. Will youth be an excuse to a creditor for the loss of his profits ? Does the usurer expect no interest at the beginning of his loan ? “ But,” you say, “ I am not sufficient for these things.” As if your offering were not accepted from what you have, and not from what you have not ! Be prepared to answer for the single talent committed to your charge, and take no thought for the rest. “ If thou hast much, give plenteously ; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little.” For he that is unjust in the least is also unjust in much. Give all, as assuredly you shall pay to the uttermost farthing ; but, of a truth, out of what you possess, not out of what you possess not.

Take heed to give to your words the voice of power. You ask, What is that ? It is that your words harmonize with your works, that you be careful to do before you teach. It is a most beautiful and salutary order of things that you should first bear the burden you place on others, and learn from yourself how men should be ruled. Otherwise the wise man will mock you, as that lazy one to whom it is labour to lift his hand to his mouth. The Apostle also will reprove you, saying : “ Thou who teachest another, teachest thou not thyself ? ”

That speech, also, which is full of life and power is an example of work, as it makes easy what it speaks persuasively, while it shows that can be done which it advises. Understand, therefore, to the quieting of your conscience, that in these two commandments,—of precept and example, the whole of your duty resides. You, however, if you be wise, will add a third, namely, a zeal for prayer, to complete that treble repetition of the Gospel in reference to “ feeding the sheep.” You will know that no sacrament of that Trinity is in any wise broken by you,

if you feed them by word, by example, and by the fruit of holy prayers. Now abideth speech, example, prayer, these three ; but the greatest of these is prayer. For although, as has been said, the strength of speech is work, yet prayer wins grace and efficacy for both work and speech.

### AGAINST LUXURY IN THE CHURCH

I AM astonished to see among churchmen such excess in eating, in drinking, in clothes, in bed-covering, in horse-trappings, in buildings. Economy is now stigmatized as avarice, soberness as austerity, silence as sullenness. On the other hand, laxity is called discretion, extravagance liberality, talkativeness affability, silly laughter a happy wit, pomp and luxury in horses and clothing, respectability ; superfluous attention to the building is called cleanliness ; and when you countenance one another in these trifles, that forsooth is charity. So ingeniously do ye lay out your money, that it returns with a manifold increase. It is spent that it may be doubled, and plenty is born of profusion. By the exhibition of wonderful and costly vanities, men are excited to give rather than to pray. Some beautiful picture of a saint is shown, and the brighter its colouring the greater is the holiness attributed to it ; men run eager to kiss ; they are invited to give, and the beautiful is more admired than the sacred is revered. In the churches are placed, not *coronæ*, but wheels studded with gems and surrounded by lights, which are not less glittering than the precious stones inserted among them. Instead of candlesticks, we see great and heavy trees of brass, wonderfully fashioned by the skill of the artificer, and radiant as much through their jewels as through their own lights. What do you imagine to be the object of all this ? The repentance of the contrite, or the admiration of the spectators ? O vanity of vanities ! But not greater vanity than folly.

## WILLIAM BOOTH

(WILLIAM BOOTH, D.C.L. OXON., FOUNDER AND FIRST  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE SALVATION ARMY)

(1829-1912).

**F**OUNDED by William Booth in London in 1878, the Salvation Army was reported in 1910 as at work in fifty-four countries and colonies, with a staff of 20,000 workers wearing its uniform. Although its history is too well known to require review here, it may be said that no other religious movement among English-speaking peoples compares with it in extent since the time of Wesley and his immediate successors. General Booth was born in Nottingham, April 10th, 1829. Educated in theology under a teacher of the Methodist New Connection Church, he began preaching in the open air while still in his minority. After entering the ministry and travelling as an evangelist, he visited London. The crowded condition of the poor in East London gave him the idea of his life work. As the Salvation Army resulted, its wide extension had its impulse from his unusual power as an orator, joined to remarkable ability as an organizer. While during the first quarter of a century of its work, it was thought of as "outside the pale," the change of sentiment toward it was illustrated when Oxford University, supposed under its tradition to be the stronghold of Conservatism, conferred the degree of D.C.L. on General Booth.

### MORAL COURAGE AGAINST RIDICULE

(Address to the Salvation Army, March, 1910 ; Text, Matthew, xxvii., 27-29).

**A** CELEBRATED Frenchman once said, "It is ridicule that kills." The statement is correct. How many benevolent plans and purposes have been laughed off the stage of action—laughed out of existence altogether ! How many holy resolutions and heavenly consecrations have been mocked out of men's hearts and lives, and, as a result, how many of such empty hearts, repossessed by the devil, may be truly said to have been laughed into hell ! Well does Satan know this, and

his power to make the work and warfare of Jesus Christ appear ridiculous is marvellous. The extent to which this is so could not well be believed if the thing were not in such effective and active operation around us.

Ridicule has been one of the most powerful weapons forged against the Salvation Army, and we may say one of the most successful. Deplorably ignorant of the character of practical religion, too idle or too busy to look at us at close quarters, our critics have formed the falsest notions respecting the movement, and then, either out of jealousy or spite, industriously spread their distorted notions abroad. On the one hand we have been described as the merest impostors, juggling with religion for the sake of earthly gain or notoriety, and on the other, while sincerity has been conceded, conducting ourselves and our services in a Mumbo-Jumbo fashion, without either religion or reason, destitute alike of decency, order and sound doctrine.

Yes, ridicule kills. I have no doubt that if we Salvationists were being burned at Smithfield to-day, a portion of this very crowd that now industriously avoids us would be sharing our pain and penalties; but because we are the contempt of a Laodicean Church, or the laughing-stock of a godless world, they go by on the other side, leaving us to struggle forward as best we can.

We used to sing, "There's a cross for everyone, and there's a cross for me." We may vary the statement a little, and make it, "There are thorns for everyone, and there are thorns for me;" that is, if I am faithful to the mission I owe to my Lord.

In the ridicule heaped upon the efforts you make with music, or banners, or processions, or penitent-forms, or anything else, to compel the attention of men to Christ, and to persuade them to accept the benefits He bought for them by His cross; when they skit your uniforms, or mimic your songs, or turn into sport your struggles for your Master's honour and the world's benefit, or curse you generally as a public nuisance, you will have your thorns, and sometimes very sharp thorns they will be.

But enough; there are consolations as well as thorns. In spite of the Frenchman's assertion, and in contradiction of its ordinary effects, ridicule does not kill true blood-and-fire soldiers—in fact, it does not hurt them very much, or for a long time together; nay, if boldly resisted in the spirit and compassion which we have reason to believe the Master gave to the mockery of His thorny coronation, it may become a source of strength.

## LOUIS BOURDALOUE

(1632-1704).

THE member of the old French nobility who is reported to have doubted heaven's ability to damn a gentleman of his quality was not one of Bourdaloue's audience when he preached before Louis XIV. what Madame de Sévigné called his "beautiful, his noble, his astonishing" sermons. But there were present many such, and their presence served to give the great preacher habits of thought and expression which distinguish his style from that of the modern pulpit. He belonged to an aristocratic age, and while he rebukes its vices his sympathy with its habits of thought makes it impossible to judge him by the standard we apply in criticizing a modern pulpit orator who addresses himself not to a select court circle, but to the largest possible number of the people. What is considered Bourdaloue's greatest sermon on the sufferings of Christ was preached before the King whom it so charmed that after the close of the series he said he "loved better to hear the repetition of Bourdaloue than the novelties of any one else." The style which characterizes sermons worthy of this compliment from a king is nobly persuasive; full of dignity, elegance, and sweetness. The worst that can be said in criticism of it is that it is controlled by courtesy,—that even in rebuking the vices of the court the preacher himself is a courtier still. But this does not prevent so poor a courtier as Lord Brougham from ranking Bourdaloue above Bossuet and next to Massillon. We may not accept that judgment as it applies against Bossuet, but no one who reads Bourdaloue's masterly periods will wish to question his place as one of the three great pulpit orators of the French classical period.

He was born at Bourges in 1632, and educated a Jesuit. His genius showed itself in his earliest discourses, and in 1669 his superiors sent him to Paris where for thirty years he kept his place in the affections of the polite world. In his old age, after doing the King's pleasure in preaching in the provinces to reconcile the Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he abandoned his pulpit and worked as what would now be called "a city missionary," in Paris. It is said that his persuasiveness and pathos affected the people as powerfully as the court had been affected by his sermons before the King. He died in 1704.

## THE PASSION OF CHRIST

**T**HE Passion of Jesus Christ, however sorrowful and ignominious it may appear to us, must nevertheless have been to Jesus Christ himself an object of delight, since this God-man, by a wonderful secret of his wisdom and love, has willed that the mystery of it shall be continued and solemnly renewed in his Church until the final consummation of the world. For what is the Eucharist but a perpetual repetition of the Saviour's Passion, and what has the Saviour supposed in instituting it, but that whatever passed at Calvary is not only represented but consummated on our altars? That is to say, that he is still performing the functions of the victim anew, and is every moment virtually sacrificed, as though it were not sufficient that he should have suffered once. At least that his love, as powerful as it is free, has given to his adorable sufferings that character of perpetuity which they have in the Sacrament, and which renders them so salutary to us. Behold, Christians, what the love of a God has devised; but behold, also what has happened through the malice of men! At the same time that Jesus Christ, in the sacrament of his body, repeats his holy Passion in a manner altogether mysterious, men, the false imitators, or rather base corruptors of the works of God, have found means to renew this same Passion, not only in a profane, but in a criminal, sacrilegious, and horrible manner!

Do not imagine that I speak figuratively. Would to God, Christians, that what I am going to say to you were only a figure, and that you were justified in vindicating yourselves to-day against the horrible expressions which I am obliged to employ! I speak in the literal sense; and you ought to be more affected with this discourse, if what I advance appears to you to be overcharged, for it is by your excesses that it is so, and not by my words. Yes, my dear hearers, the sinners of the age, by the disorders of their lives, renew the bloody and tragic Passion of the Son of God in the world; I will venture to say that the sinners of the age cause to the Son of God, even in the state of glory, as many new passions as they have committed outrages against him by their actions! Apply yourselves to form an idea of them; and in this picture, which will surprise you, recognize what you are, that you may weep bitterly over yourselves. What do we see in the Passion of Jesus Christ? A Divine Saviour betrayed and abandoned by cowardly disciples, persecuted by pontiffs and hypocritical priests, ridiculed and mocked in the palace of Herod by impious courtiers, placed upon a level with Barabbas, and to whom Barabbas is preferred by a blind and inconstant people, exposed



to the insults of libertinism, and treated as a mock-king by a troop of soldiers equally barbarous and insolent ; in fine, crucified by merciless executioners ! Behold, in a few words, what is most humiliating and most cruel in the death of the Saviour of the World ! Then tell me if this is not precisely what we now see, of what we are every day called to be witnesses. Let us resume ; and follow me.

Betrayed and abandoned by cowardly disciples : such, O divine Saviour, has been thy destiny. But it was not enough that the Apostles, the first men whom thou didst choose for thine own, in violation of the most holy engagement should have forsaken thee in the last scene of thy life ; that one of them should have sold thee, another renounced thee, and all disgraced themselves by a flight which was, perhaps, the most sensible of all the wounds that thou didst feel in dying. This wound must be again opened by a thousand acts of infidelity yet more scandalous. Even in the Christian ages we must see men bearing the character of thy disciples, and not having the resolution to sustain it ; Christians, prevaricators, and deserters from their faith ; Christians ashamed of declaring themselves for thee, not daring to appear what they are, renouncing at least in the exterior what they have professed, flying when they ought to fight ; in a word, Christians in form, ready to follow thee even to the Supper when in prosperity, and while it required no sacrifice, but resolved to abandon thee in the moment of temptation. It is on your account, and my own, my dear hearers, that I speak, and behold what ought to be the subject of our sorrow.

A Saviour mortally persecuted by pontiffs and hypocritical priests. Let us not enter, Christians, into the discussion of this article, at which your piety would, perhaps, be offended, and which would weaken or prejudice the respect which you owe to the ministers of the Lord. It belongs to us, my brethren, to meditate to-day on this fact in the spirit of holy compunction ; to us consecrated to the ministry of the altars, to us priests of Jesus Christ, whom God has chosen in his Church to be the dispensers of his sacraments. It does not become me to remonstrate in this place. God forbid that I should undertake to judge those who sustain the sacred office ! This is not the duty of humility to which my condition calls me. Above all, speaking as I do before many ministers, the irreprehensible life of whom contributes so much to the edification of the people, I am not yet so infatuated as to make myself thè judge, much less the censor of their conduct. But though it should induce you only to acknowledge the favours with which God prevents you, as a contrast, from the frightful blindness into which he permits others to fall, remember that the priests, and the princes of the priests, are those whom the Evangelist describes as the authors of the conspiracy formed against the Saviour of the world,

and of the wickedness committed against him. Remember that this scandal is notoriously public, and renewed still every day in Christianity. Remember, but with fear and horror, that the greatest persecutors of Jesus Christ are not lay libertines, but wicked priests, and that among the wicked priests, those whose corruption and iniquity are covered with the veil of hypocrisy, are his most dangerous and most cruel enemies. A hatred, disguised under the name of zeal, and covered with the specious pretext of observance of the law, was the first movement of the persecution which the Pharisees and the priests raised against the Son of God. Let us fear lest the same passion should blind us ! Wretched passion, exclaims St. Bernard, which spreads the venom of its malignity even over the most lovely of the children of men, and which could not see a God upon earth without hating him ! A hatred not only of the prosperity and happiness, but what is yet more strange, of the merit and perfection of others ! A cowardly and shameful passion, which, not content with having caused the death of Jesus Christ, continues to persecute him by rending his mystical body, which is the Church ; dividing his members, which are believers ; and stifling in their hearts that charity which is the spirit of Christianity ! Behold, my brethren, the subtle temptation against which we have to defend ourselves, and under which it is but too common for us to fall !

A Redeemer reviled and mocked in the palace of Herod by the impious creatures in his court ! This was, without doubt, one of the most sensible insults which Jesus Christ received. But do not suppose, Christians, that this act of impiety ended there. It has passed from the court of Herod, from that prince destitute of religion, into those even of Christian princes. And is not the Saviour still a subject of ridicule to the libertine spirits which compose them ? They worship him externally, but internally how do they regard his maxims ? What idea have they of his humility, of his poverty, of his sufferings ? Is not virtue either unknown or despised ? It is not a rash zeal which induces me to speak in this manner ; it is what you too often witness, Christians ; it is what you perhaps feel in yourselves ; and a little reflection upon the manners of the court will convince you that there is nothing that I say which is not confirmed by a thousand examples, and that you yourselves are sometimes unhappy accomplices in these crimes.

Herod had often earnestly wished to see Jesus Christ. The reputation which so many miracles had given him excited the curiosity of this prince, and he did not doubt but that a man who commanded all nature might strike some wonderful blow to escape from the persecution of his enemies. But the Son of God, who had not been sparing of his prodigies for the salvation of others, spared them for himself, and would not say a single

word about his own safety. He considered Herod and his people as profane persons, with whom he thought it improper to hold any intercourse, and he preferred rather to pass for a fool than to satisfy the false wisdom of the world. As his kingdom was not of this world, as he said to Pilate, it was not at the court that he designed to establish himself. He knew too well that his doctrine could not be relished in a place where the rules of worldly wisdom only were followed, and where all the miracles which he had performed had not been sufficient to gain men full of love for themselves and intoxicated with their greatness. In this corrupted region they breathe only the air of vanity ; they esteem only that which is splendid ; they speak only of preferment ; and on whatever side we cast our eyes, we see nothing but what either flatters or inflames the ambitious desires of the heart of man.

What probability, then, was there that Jesus Christ, the most humble of all men, should obtain a hearing where only pageantry and pride prevail ? If he had been surrounded with honours and riches, he would have found partisans near Herod and in every other place. But as he preached a renunciation of the world both to his disciples and to himself, let us not be astonished that they treated him with so much disdain. Such is the prediction of the holy man Job, and which after him must be accomplished in the person of all the righteous ; “ the upright man is laughed to scorn.” In fact, my dear hearers, you know that, whatever virtue and merit we may possess, they are not enough to procure us esteem at court. Enter it, and appear only like Jesus Christ clothed with the robe of innocence ; only walk with Jesus Christ in the way of simplicity ; only speak as Jesus Christ to render testimony to the truth, and you will find that you meet with no better treatment there than Jesus Christ. To be well received there, you must have pomp and splendour. To keep your station there, you must have artifice and intrigue. To be favourably heard there, you must have complaisance and flattery. Then all this is opposed to Jesus Christ ; and the court being what it is, that is to say, the kingdom of the prince of this world, it is not surprising that the kingdom of Jesus Christ cannot be established there. But woe to you, princes of the earth ! Woe to you, men of the world, who despise this incarnate wisdom, for you shall be despised in your turn, and the contempt which shall fall upon you shall be much more terrible than the contempt which you manifest can be prejudicial.

A Saviour placed upon a level with Barabbas, and to whom Barabbas is preferred by a blind and fickle rabble ! How often have we been guilty of the same outrage against Jesus Christ as the blind and fickle Jews ! How often, after having received him in triumph in the sacrament of the

Communion, seduced by cupidity, have we not preferred either a pleasure or interest after which we sought, in violation of his law, to this God of glory! How often, divided between conscience which governed us, and passion which corrupted us, have we not renewed this abominable judgment, this unworthy preference of the creature even above our God! Christians, observe this application; it is that of St. Chrysostom, and if you properly understand it, you must be affected by it. Conscience, which, in spite of ourselves, presides in us as judge, said inwardly to us, "What art thou going to do? Behold thy pleasure on one hand, and thy God on the other: for which of the two dost thou declare thyself? for thou canst not save both; thou must either lose thy pleasure or thy God, and it is for thee to decide." And the passion, which by a monstrous infidelity had acquired the influence over our hearts, made us conclude—I will keep my pleasure. "But what then will become of thy God," replied conscience secretly, "and what must I do, I, who cannot prevent myself from maintaining his interests against thee?" I care not what will become of my God, answered passion insolently; I will satisfy myself, and the resolution is taken. "But dost thou know," proceeded conscience by its remorse, "that in indulging thyself in this pleasure it will at last submit thy Saviour to death and crucifixion for thee?" It is of no consequence if he be crucified, provided I can have my enjoyments. "But what evil has he done, and what reason hast thou to abandon him in this manner?" My pleasure is my reason; and since Christ is the enemy of my pleasure, and my pleasure crucifies him, I say it again, let him be crucified.

Behold, my dear hearers, what passes every day in the consciences of men, and what passes in you and in me, every time that we fall into sin, which causes death to Jesus Christ, as well as to our souls! Behold what makes the enormity and wickedness of this sin! I know that we do not always speak, that we do not always explain ourselves in such express terms and in so perceptible a manner; but after all, without explaining ourselves so distinctly and so sensibly, there is a language of the heart which says all this. For from the moment that I know that this pleasure is criminal and forbidden of God, I know that it is impossible for me to desire it, impossible to seek it, without losing God; and consequently I prefer this pleasure to God in the desire that I form of it, and in the pursuit that I make after it. This, then, is sufficient to justify the thought of St. Chrysostom and the doctrine of the theologians upon the nature of deadly sin.

A Saviour exposed to insults, and treated as a mock-king by a troop of feigned worshippers! What a spectacle, Christians! Jesus Christ, the eternal Word, covered with a pitiful, purple robe, a reed in

his hand, a crown of thorns upon his head, delivered to an insolent soldiery who, according to the expression of Clement Alexandrine, made a theatrical king of him whom the angels adore with trembling ! They bowed the knee before him, and, with the most cutting derision, they snatched from him the reed which he held, to strike him on the head. An act too much resembling the impieties which are every day committed, during the celebration of our most august mysteries. Were he to appear in all his majesty, such as he will display at his second coming, you would be seized with fear. But, says St. Bernard, the more he is belittled, the more worthy is he of our respects ; since it is his love, and not necessity which reduces him to this state of abasement. But it appears that you take pleasure in destroying his work, by opposing your malice to his goodness. You insult him, even on the throne of his grace ; and, to use the words of the Apostle, you do not fear to trample under foot the blood of the New Testament ! For, indeed, what else do you do by so many acts of irreverence, and so many scandals which equally dishonour the sanctuary which you enter and the God which it contains ?

Ah, my brethren, I might well ask the greater part of the Christians of the present day, what St. Bernard asked them in his time : What do you think of your God, and what idea have you conceived of him ? If he occupied the rank which he ought to occupy in your minds, would you proceed to such extremes in his presence ? Would you go to his feet to insult him ? For I call it insulting Jesus Christ to come before the altars to unbend ourselves, to amuse ourselves, to speak, to converse, to trouble the sacred mysteries by immodest smiles and laughter. I call it insulting the majesty of Jesus Christ to remain in his presence in indecent postures and with as little decorum as in a public place. I call it insulting the humility of Jesus Christ to make an ostentatious display before his eyes, of all the luxury and all the vanities of the world. I call it insulting the holiness of Jesus Christ to bring near his tabernacle, and into his holy house, a shameful passion which we entertain and kindle afresh there, by bold looks, by sensual desires, by the most dissolute discourses, and sometimes by the most sacrilegious abominations. God formerly complained of the infidelity of his people, addressing them by the mouth of his prophet—"Thou hast profaned my holy name." But it is not only his name that we profane, it is his body ; it is his blood ; it is his infinite merits ; it is even his divinity ; it is all that he possesses that is venerable and great. Nevertheless, do not deceive yourselves ; for the Lord will have a day of reckoning ; and, justly incensed at so many injuries, he will not allow you to escape with impunity ; but he will know how to avenge himself by covering you with eternal confusion !

In fine, Christians, a Saviour crucified by merciless executioners, the last effect of the cruelty of men upon the innocent person of the Son of God. It was at the foot of that cross, where we see him suspended, that the justice of the Father waited for him during four thousand years. Thus he regarded it, however frightful it might seem, as an object of delight ; because he there found the reparation of the Divine glory and the punishment of our offences. But in proportion as this first cross had charms for him, in that same proportion does he feel horror at that which our sins prepare for him every day. It is not, said St. Augustine, the rigour of that of which he complains, but the cruelty and the weight of this appear to him insupportable ! He knew that his cross, ignominious as it was, would be transferred from Calvary, as speaks St. Augustine, to the heads of the emperors. He foresaw that his death would be the salvation of the world and that his Father would one day render his ignominy so glorious, that it would become the hope and the happiness of all nations. But in this other cross, where we fasten him ourselves by sin, what is there, and what can there be to console him ? Nothing but his love despised ! His favours rejected ! Unworthy creatures preferred to the Creator !

If then, the sun concealed himself that he might not give his light to the barbarous action of his enemies who crucified him, sinner, what darkness ought not to cover from view thy wanderings and thy excesses ? For it is by these,—understand it yet once more if you have not sufficiently understood it,—it is by these, my dear hearers, that you incessantly renew all the passion of Jesus Christ. It is not I who say it, it is St. Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews : “ They crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.” As if this great Apostle would explain himself thus. Do not think, my brethren, that they were the Jews only who imbrued their hands in the blood of the Saviour. Ye are accomplices in this deicide. And by what means ? By your impieties, your sacrileges, your obscenities, your jealousies, your resentments, your antipathies, your revenge and whatever corrupts your heart and excites it to revolt against God ! Is it not then just, that while you weep over Jesus Christ you should yet weep more over yourselves, since ye are not only the authors of his death, but your sins destroy all the merit of it, as it respects yourselves, and render it useless and even prejudicial to you ; as it remains for me to prove in the third part.

That there are men, and Christian men, to whom, by a secret judgment of God, the Passion of Jesus Christ, salutary as it is, may become useless, is a truth too essential in our religion to be unknown, and too sorrowful not to be the subject of our grief. When the Saviour from the height of his cross, ready to give up his spirit, raised this cry toward

heaven, " My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? " there was no one who did not suppose but that the violence of his torments forced from him this complaint, and perhaps we ourselves yet believe it. But the great Bishop Arnould de Chartres, penetrating deeper into the thought and affections of this dying Saviour, says, with much more reason, that the complaint of Christ Jesus to his Father proceeded from the sentiment with which he was affected, in representing to himself the little fruit which his death would produce ; in considering the small number of the elect who would profit by it ; in foreseeing with horror the infinite number of the reprobate, for whom it would be useless ; as if he had wished to proclaim that his merits were not fully enough, nor worthily enough remunerated ; and that after having done so much work he had a right to promise to himself a different success in behalf of men. The words of this author are admirable : Jesus Christ complains, says this learned prelate, but of what does he complain ? That the wickedness of sinners makes him lose what ought to be the reward of the conflicts which he has maintained. That millions of the human race for whom he suffers will, nevertheless, be excluded from the benefit of redemption. And because he regards himself in them as their head and themselves, in spite of their worthlessness, as the members of his mystical body ; seeing them abandoned by God, he complains of being abandoned himself ; " My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? " He complains of what made St. Paul groan when, transported with an apostolic zeal, he said to the Galatians : " What, my brethren, is Jesus Christ then dead in vain ? Is the mystery of the cross then nothing to you ? Will not this blood which he has so abundantly shed have the virtue to sanctify you ? "

But here, Christians, I feel myself affected with a thought which, contrary as it appears to that of the Apostle, only serves to strengthen and confirm it. For it appears that St. Paul is grieved because Jesus Christ has suffered in vain ; but I, I should almost console myself if he had only suffered in vain, and if his passion was only rendered useless to us. That which fills me with consternation is, that at the same time that we render it useless to ourselves, by an inevitable necessity it must become pernicious : for this passion, says St. Gregory of Nazianzen, " partakes of the nature of those remedies which kill if they do not heal, and of which the effect is either to give life or to convert itself into poison ; lose nothing of this, I beseech you." Remember, then ; Christians, what happened during the judgment and at the moment of the condemnation of the Son of God.

When Pilate washed his hands before the Jews and declared to them that there was nothing worthy of death in this righteous man, but that the crime from which he freed himself rested upon them ; and that they

would have to answer for it, they all cried with one voice that they consented to it and that they readily agreed that the blood of this just man should fall upon them and upon their children. You know what this cry has cost them. You know the curses which one such imprecation has drawn upon them, the anger of heaven which began from that time to burst upon this nation, the ruin of Jerusalem which followed soon after,—the carnage of their citizens, the profanation of their temple, the destruction of their republic, the visible character of their reprobation which their unhappy posterity bear to this day, that universal banishment, that exile of sixteen hundred years, that slavery through all the earth,—and all in consequence of the authentic prediction which Jesus Christ made to them of it when going to Calvary, and with circumstances which incontestably prove that a punishment as exemplary as this cannot be imputed but to the deicide which they had committed in the person of the Saviour ; since it is evident, says St. Augustine, that the Jews were never further from idolatry, nor more religious observers of their law than they were then, and that excepting the crime of the death of Jesus Christ, God, very far from punishing them, would, it seems, rather have loaded them with his blessings. You know all this, I say ; and all this is a convincing proof that the blood of this God-man is virtually fallen upon these sacrilegious men, and that God, in condemning them by their own mouth, although in spite of himself, employs that to destroy them which was designed for their salvation.

But, Christians, to speak with the Holy Spirit, this has happened to the Jews only as a figure ; it is only the shadow of the fearful curses of which the abuse of the merits and passions of the Son of God must be to us the source and the measure. I will explain myself. What do we, my dear hearers, when borne away by the immoderate desires of our hearts to a sin against which our consciences protest ? And what do we, when, possessed of the spirit of the world, we resist a grace which solicits us, which presses us to obey God ? Without thinking upon it, and without wishing it, we secretly pronounce the same sentence of death which the Jews pronounced against themselves before Pilate, when they said to Him, “ His blood be upon us.” For this grace which we despise is the price of the blood of Jesus Christ, and the sin that we commit is an actual profanation of this very blood. It is, then, as if we were to say to God : “ Lord, I clearly see what engagement I make, and I know what risk I run, but rather than not satisfy my own desires, I consent that the blood of thy Son shall fall upon me. This will be to bear the chastisement of it, but I will indulge my passion ; thou hast a right to draw forth from it a just indignation, but nevertheless I will complete my undertaking.”



Thus we condemn ourselves. And here, Christians, is one of the essential foundations of this terrible mystery of the eternity of the punishments with which faith threatens us, and against which our reason revolts. We suppose that we cannot have any knowledge of it in this life, and we are not aware, says St. Chrysostom, that we find it completely in the blood of the Saviour, or rather in our profanation of it every day. For this blood, my brethren, adds this holy doctor, is enough to make eternity, not less frightful, but less incredible. And behold the reason. This blood is of an infinite dignity ; it can therefore be avenged only by an infinite punishment. This blood, if we destroy ourselves, will cry eternally against us at the tribunal of God. It will eternally excite the wrath of God against us. This blood, falling upon lost souls, will fix a stain upon them, which shall never be effaced. Their torments must consequently never end. A reprobate in hell will always appear in the eyes of God stained with that blood which he has so basely treated. God will then always abhor him ; and, as the aversion of God from his creature is that which makes hell, it must be inferred that hell will be eternal. And in this, O my God, thou art sovereignly just, sovereignly holy, and worthy of our praise and adoration. It is in this way that the beloved Disciple declared it even to God himself in the Apocalypse. Men, said he, have shed the blood of thy servants and of thy prophets ; therefore they deserve to drink it, and to drink it from the cup of thine indignation. " For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink." An expression which the Scripture employs to describe the extreme infliction of Divine vengeance. Ah ! if the blood of the prophets has drawn down the scourge of God upon men, what may we not expect from the blood of Jesus Christ ? If the blood of martyrs is heard crying out in heaven against the persecutors of the faith, how much more will the blood of the Redeemer be heard !

Then once more, Christians, behold the deplorable necessity to which we are reduced. This blood which flows from Calvary either demands grace for us, or justice against us. When we apply ourselves to it by a lively faith and a sincere repentance, it demands grace ; but when by our disorders and impieties we check its salutary virtue, it demands justice, and it infallibly obtains it. It is in this blood, says St. Bernard, that all righteous souls are purified ; but by a prodigy exactly opposite, it is also in this same blood that all the sinners of the land defile themselves and render themselves, if I may use the expression, more hideous in the sight of God.

Ah ! my God, shall I eternally appear in thine eyes polluted with that blood which washes away the crimes of others ? If I had simply to bear my own sins, I might promise myself a punishment less rigorous,

considering my sins as my misfortune, my weakness, my ignorance. Then perhaps, thou wouldst be less offended on account of them. But when these sins with which I shall be covered shall present themselves before me as so many sacrileges with respect to the blood of thy Son ; when the abuse of this blood shall be mixed and confounded with all the disorders of my life ; when there shall not be one of them against which this blood shall not cry louder than the blood of Abel against Cain ; then, O God of my soul, what will become of me in thy presence ? No, Lord, cries the same St. Bernard affectionately, suffer not the blood of my Saviour to fall upon me in this manner. Let it fall upon me to sanctify, but let it not fall upon me to destroy. Let it fall upon me in a right use of the favours which are the Divine overflowings of it, and not through the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, which are the most terrible punishments of it. Let it fall upon me by the participation of the sacred Eucharist, which is the precious source of it, and not by the maledictions attached to the despisers of thy sacraments. In fine, let it fall upon me by influencing my conduct and inducing the practice of good works and let it not fall upon me for my wanderings, my infidelities, my obstinacy, and my impenitence. This, my brethren, is what we ought to ask to-day from Jesus Christ crucified. It is with these views that we ought to go to the foot of the cross and catch the blood as it flows. He was the Saviour of the Jews as well as ours, but this Saviour, St. Augustine says, the Jews have converted into their judge. Avert from us such an evil. May he who died to save us be our Saviour. May he be our Saviour during all the days of our lives. And may his merits, shed upon us abundantly, lose none of their efficacy in our hands, but be preserved entire by the fruits we produce from them. May he be our Saviour in death. And at the last moment may the cross be our support, and thus may he consummate the work of our salvation which he has begun. May he be our Saviour in a blessed eternity, where we shall be as much the sharer in his glory as we have been in his sufferings.

## PHILLIPS BROOKS

(1835-1893).

**P**HILLIPS BROOKS ranks with Henry Ward Beecher in the United States as one of the most admired pulpit orators of the latter half of the nineteenth century. He was less popular than Beecher because he was less emotional and more polished. His style approximates to the simplicity of conversation even when it is most artistic. It has an Attic severity, which, while it ennobles the successful expression of a great thought, requires great thoughts to make it tolerable. And the underlying thoughts which shaped the life of Brooks and made him an orator were great. He sympathized at once with what is weakest and what is strongest in human nature. He is remarkable for restrained force, which, in spite of restraint and the better because of it, moves irresistibly forward, drawing the mind of the hearer with it.

He was born on December 13th, 1835. His father, a Massachusetts merchant, educated him at Harvard. After studying theology for four years in an Episcopal seminary, he entered the ministry of that church. After ten years in Philadelphia, he became rector of Trinity Church, Boston, assuming thus the cure of the souls of the "largest and wealthiest Episcopal congregation in Massachusetts." He was elected bishop of Massachusetts in 1891 and died January 23rd, 1893.

### LINCOLN AS A TYPICAL AMERICAN

(Delivered in Philadelphia as a Funeral Oration).

**W**HILE I speak to you to-day, the body of the President who ruled this people is lying, honoured and loved, in our city. It is impossible with that sacred presence in our midst for me to stand and speak of ordinary topics which occupy the pulpit. I must speak of him to-day; and I therefore undertake to do what I had intended to do at some future time, to invite you to study with me the character of Abraham Lincoln, the impulses of his life and the causes of his death. I know how hard it is to do it rightly, how impossible it is to do it worthily.

But I shall speak with confidence, because I speak to those who love him, and whose ready love will fill out the deficiencies in a picture which my words will weakly try to draw.

We take it for granted, first of all, that there is an essential connection between Mr. Lincoln's character and his violent and bloody death. It is no accident, no arbitrary decree of Providence. He lived as he did, and he died as he did, because he was what he was. The more we see of events, the less we come to believe in any fate or destiny except the destiny of character. It will be our duty, then, to see what there was in the character of our great President that created the history of his life, and at last produced the catastrophe of his cruel death. After the first trembling horror, the first outburst of indignant sorrow, has grown calm, these are the questions which we are bound to ask and answer.

It is not necessary for me even to sketch the biography of Lincoln. He was born in Kentucky fifty-six years ago, when Kentucky was a pioneer State. He lived, as a boy and man, the hard and needy life of a backwoodsman, a farmer, a river boatman, and, finally, by his own efforts at self-education, of an active, respected, influential citizen, in the half-organized and manifold interests of a new and energetic community. From his boyhood up he lived in direct and vigorous contact with men and things, not as in older States and easier conditions with words and theories; and both his moral convictions and intellectual opinions gathered from that contact a supreme degree of that character by which men knew him, that character which is the most distinctive possession of the best American nature, that almost indescribable quality which we call, in general, clearness of truth, and which appears in the physical structure as health, in the moral constitution as honesty, in the mental structure as sagacity, and in the region of active life as practicalness. This one character, with many sides, all shaped by the same essential force and testifying to the same inner influences, was what was powerful in him and decreed for him the life he was to live and the death he was to die. We must take no smaller view than this of what he was. Even his physical conditions are not to be forgotten in making up his character. We make too little always of the physical; certainly we make too little of it here if we lose out of sight the strength and muscular activity, the power of doing and enduring, which the backwoods boy inherited from generations of hard-living ancestors, and appropriated for his own by a long discipline of bodily toil. He brought to the solution of the question of labour in this country not merely a mind, but a body thoroughly in sympathy with labour, full of the culture of labour, bearing witness to the dignity

and excellence of work in every muscle that work had toughened and every sense that work had made clear and true. He could not have brought the mind for his task so perfectly, unless he had first brought the body whose rugged and stubborn health was always contradicting to him the false theories of labour, and always asserting the true.

As to the moral and mental powers which distinguished him, all embraceable under this general description of clearness of truth, the most remarkable thing is the way in which they blend with one another, so that it is next to impossible to examine them in separation. A great many people have discussed very crudely whether Abraham Lincoln was an intellectual man or not ; as if intellect were a thing always of the same sort, which you could precipitate from the other constituents of a man's nature and weigh by itself, and compare by pounds and ounces in this man with another. The fact is, that in all the simplest characters that line between the mental and moral natures is always vague and indistinct. They run together, and in their best combinations you are unable to discriminate, in the wisdom which is their result, how much is moral and how much is intellectual. You are unable to tell whether in the wise acts and words which issue from such a life there is more of the righteousness that comes of a clear conscience, or of the sagacity that comes of a clear brain. In more complex characters and under more complex conditions, the moral and the mental lives come to be less healthily combined. They co-operate, they help each other less. They come even to stand over against each other as antagonists ; till we have that vague but most melancholy notion which pervades the life of all elaborate civilization, that goodness and greatness, as we call them, are not to be looked for together ; till we expect to see and so do see a feeble and narrow conscientiousness on the one hand, and a bad, unprincipled intelligence on the other, dividing the suffrages of men.

It is the great boon of such characters as Lincoln's, that they reunite what God has joined together and man has put asunder. In him was vindicated the greatness of real goodness and the goodness of real greatness. The twain were one flesh. Not one of all the multitudes who stood and looked up to him for direction with such a loving and implicit trust can tell you to-day whether the wise judgments that he gave came most from a strong head or a sound heart. If you ask them, they are puzzled. There are men as good as he but they do bad things. There are men as intelligent as he, but they do foolish things. In him goodness and intelligence combined and made their best result of wisdom. For perfect truth consists not merely in the right constituents of character, but in their right and intimate conjunction. This union of the mental

and moral into a life of admirable simplicity is what we most admire in children ; but in them it is unsettled and unpractical. But when it is preserved into manhood, deepened into reliability and maturity, it is that glorified childlikeness, that high and reverend simplicity, which shames and baffles the most accomplished astuteness, and is chosen by God to fill his purposes when he needs a ruler for his people, of faithful and true heart, such as he had who was our President.

Another evident quality of such a character as this will be its freshness or newness, if we may so speak. Its freshness or readiness,—call it what you will,—its ability to take up new duties and do them in a new way, will result of necessity from its truth and clearness. The simple natures and forces will always be the most pliant ones. Water bends and shapes itself to any channel. Air folds and adapts itself to each new figure. They are the simplest and the most infinitely active things in nature. So this nature, in very virtue of its simplicity, must be also free, always fitting itself to each new need. It will always start from the most fundamental and eternal conditions and work in the straightest even although they be the newest ways, to the present prescribed purpose. In one word, it must be broad and independent and radical. So that freedom and radicalness in the character of Abraham Lincoln were not separate qualities, but the necessary results of his simplicity and childlikeness and truth.

Here, then, we have some conception of the man. Out of this character came the life which we admire and the death which we lament to-day. He was called in that character to that life and death. It was just the nature, as you see, which a new nation such as ours ought to produce. All the conditions of his birth, his youth, his manhood, which made him what he was, were not irregular and exceptional, but were the normal conditions of a new and simple country. His pioneer home in Indiana was a type of the pioneer land in which he lived. If ever there was a man who was a part of the time and country he lived in, this was he. The same simple respect for labour won in the school of work and incorporated into blood and muscle, the same unassuming loyalty to the simple virtues of temperance and industry and integrity, the same sagacious judgment which had learned to be quick-eyed and quick-brained in the constant presence of emergency, the same direct and clear thought about things, social, political, and religious, that was in him supremely, was in the people he was sent to rule. Surely, with such a typeman for ruler, there would seem to be but a smooth and even road over which he might lead the people whose character he represented into the new region of national happiness and comfort and usefulness, for which that character had been designed.

But then we come to the beginning of all trouble. Abraham Lincoln was the type-man of the country, but not of the whole country. This character which we have been trying to describe was the character of an American under the discipline of freedom. There was another American character which had been developed under the influence of slavery. There was no one American character embracing the land. There were two characters, with impulses of irrepressible and deadly conflict. This citizen whom we have been honouring and praising represented one. The whole great scheme with which he was ultimately brought in conflict, and which has finally killed him, represented the other. Besides this nature, true and fresh and new, there was another nature, false and effete and old. The one nature found itself in a new world, and set itself to discover the new ways for the new duties that were given it. The other nature, full of the false pride of blood, set itself to reproduce in a new world the institutions and the spirit of the old, to build anew the structure of the feudalism which had been corrupt in its own day, and which had been left far behind by the advancing conscience and needs of the progressing race. The one nature magnified labour, the other nature depreciated and despised it. The one honoured the labourer, and the other scorned him. The one was simple and direct ; the other complex, full of sophistries and self-excuses. The one was free to look all that claimed to be truth in the face, and separate the error from the truth that might be in it ; the other did not dare to investigate, because its own established prides and systems were dearer to it than the truth itself, and so even truth went about in it doing the work of error. The one was ready to state broad principles, of the brotherhood of man, the universal fatherhood and justice of God, however imperfectly it might realize them in practice ; the other denied even the principles and so dug deep and laid below its special sins the broad foundation of a consistent, acknowledged sinfulness. In a word, one nature was full of the influences of freedom, the other nature was full of the influences of slavery.

The cause that Abraham Lincoln died for shall grow stronger by his death,—stronger and sterner. Stronger to set its pillars deep into the structure of our nation's life ; sterner to execute the justice of the Lord upon his enemies. Stronger to spread its arms and grasp our whole land into Freedom ; sterner to sweep the last poor ghost of Slavery out of our haunted homes. But while we feel the folly of this act, let not its folly hide its wickedness. It was the wickedness of Slavery putting on a foolishness for which its wickedness and that alone is responsible, that robbed the nation of a President and the people of a father. And remember this, that the folly of the Slave power in striking the representa-

tive of Freedom, and thinking that thereby it killed Freedom itself, is only a folly that we shall echo if we dare to think that in punishing the representatives of Slavery who did this deed, we are putting Slavery to death. Dispersing armies and hanging traitors, imperatively as justice and necessity may demand them both, are not killing the spirit out of which they sprang. The traitor must die because he has committed treason. The murderer must die because he has committed murder. Slavery must die, because out of it, and it alone, came forth the treason of the traitor and the murder of the murderer. Do not say that it is dead. It is not, while its essential spirit lives. While one man counts another man is born inferior for the colour of his skin, while both in North and South prejudices and practices, which the law cannot touch, but which God hates, keep alive in our people's hearts the spirit of the old iniquity, it is not dead. The new American nature must supplant the old. We must grow like our President, in his truth, his independence, his religion, and his wide humanity. Then the character by which he died shall be in us, and by it we shall live. Then peace shall come that knows no war, and law that knows no treason; and full of his spirit a grateful land shall gather round his grave, and, in the daily psalm of prosperous and righteous living, thank God forever for his life and death.

So let him lie here in our midst to-day, and let our people go and bend with solemn thoughtfulness and look upon his face and read the lessons of his burial. As he paused here on his journey from the Western home and told us what by the help of God he meant to do, so let him pause upon his way back to his Western grave and tell us, with a silence more eloquent than words, how bravely, how truly, by the strength of God, he did it. God brought him up as he brought David up from the sheep-folds to feed Jacob, his people, and Israel, his inheritance. He came up in earnestness and faith, and he goes back in triumph. As he pauses here to-day, and from his cold lips bids us bear witness how he has met the duty that was laid on him, what can we say out of our full hearts but this—"He fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power."

The *Shepherd of the People!* that old name that the best rulers ever craved. What ruler ever won it like this dead President of ours? He fed us faithfully and truly. He fed us with counsel when we were in doubt, with inspiration when we sometimes faltered, with caution when we would be rash, with calm, clear, trustful cheerfulness through many an hour when our hearts were dark. He fed hungry souls all over the country with sympathy and consolation. He spread before the whole land feasts of great duty and devotion and patriotism, on



which the land grew strong. He fed us with solemn, solid truths. He taught us the sacredness of government, the wickedness of treason. He made our souls glad and vigorous with the love of liberty that was in his. He showed us how to love truth and yet be charitable—how to hate wrong and all oppression, and yet not treasure one personal injury or insult. He fed all his people, from the highest to the lowest, from the most privileged down to the most enslaved. Best of all, he fed us with a reverent and genuine religion. He spread before us the love and fear of God just in that shape in which we need them most, and out of his faithful service of a higher Master, who of us has not taken and eaten and grown strong? “He fed them with a faithful and true heart.” Yes, till the last. For at the last, behold him standing with hand reached out to feed the South with mercy, and the North with charity, and the whole land with peace, when the Lord who had sent him called him, and his work was done!

He stood once on the battlefield of our own State, and said of the brave men who had saved it words as noble as any countryman of ours ever spoke. Let us stand in the country he has saved, and which is to be his grave and monument, and say of Abraham Lincoln what he said of the soldiers who had died at Gettysburg. He stood there with their graves before him, and these are the words he said:—

“We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men who struggled here have consecrated it far beyond our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; and this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

May God make us worthy of the memory of Abraham Lincoln!

## POWER OVER THE LIVES OF OTHERS

**T**ELL me you have a sin that you mean to commit this evening that is going to make this night black. What can keep you from committing that sin? Suppose you look into its consequences. Suppose the wise man tells you what will be the physical consequences of that sin. You shudder and you shrink, and, perhaps, you are partially deterred. Suppose you see the glory that might come to you, physical, temporal, spiritual, if you do not commit that sin. The opposite of it shows itself to you—the blessing and the richness in your life. Again there comes a great power that shall control your lust and wickedness. Suppose there comes to you something even deeper than that, no consequence on consequence at all, but simply an abhorrence for the thing, so that your whole nature shrinks from it as the nature of God shrinks from a sin that is polluting and filthy and corrupt and evil. They are all great powers. Let us thank God for them all. He knows that we are weak enough to need every power that can possibly be brought to bear upon our feeble lives; but if, along with all of them, there could come this other power, if along with them there could come the certainty that if you refrain from that sin to-night you make the sum of sin that is in the world, and so the sum of all temptation that is in the world, and so the sum of future evil that is to spring out of temptation in the world, less, shall there not be a nobler impulse rise up in your heart, and shall you not say: "I will not do it; I will be honest, I will be sober, I will be pure, at least, to-night?" I dare to think that there are men here to whom that appeal can come, men, who, perhaps, will be all dull and deaf if one speaks to them about their personal salvation; who, if one dares to picture to them, appealing to their better nature, trusting to their nobler soul, that there is in them the power to save other men from sin, and to help the work of God by the control of their own passions and the fulfilment of their own duty, will be stirred to the higher life. Men—very often we do not trust them enough—will answer to the higher appeal that seems to be beyond them when the poor, lower appeal that comes within the region of their selfishness is cast aside, and they will have nothing to do with it.

Oh, this marvellous, this awful power that we have over other people's lives! Oh, the power of the sin that you have done years and years ago! It is awful to think of it. I think there is hardly anything more terrible to the human thought than this—the picture of a man who, having sinned years and years ago in a way that involved other souls

in his sin, and then, having repented of his sin and undertaken another life, knows certainly<sup>d</sup> that the power, the consequence of that sin is going on outside of his reach, beyond even his ken and knowledge. He cannot touch it. You wronged a soul ten years ago. You taught a boy how to tell his first mercantile lie ; you degraded the early standards of his youth. What has become of that boy to-day ? You may have repented. He has passed out of your sight. He has gone years and years ago. Somewhere in this great, multitudinous mass of humanity he is sinning and sinning, and reduplicating and extending the sin that you did. You touched the faith of some believing soul years ago with some miserable sneer of yours, with some cynical and sceptical disparagement of God and of the man who is the utterance of God upon the earth. You taught the soul that was enthusiastic to be full of scepticisms and doubts. You wronged a woman years ago, and her life has gone out from your life, you cannot begin to tell where. You have repented of your sin. You have bowed yourself, it may be, in dust and ashes. You have entered upon a new life. You are pure to-day. But where is the sceptical soul ? Where is the ruined woman whom you sent forth into the world out of the shadow of your sin years ago ? You cannot touch that life. You cannot reach it. You do not know where it is. No steps of yours, quickened with all your earnestness, can pursue it. No contrition of yours can draw back its consequences. Remorse cannot force the bullet back again into the gun from which it once has gone forth. It makes life awful to the man who has ever sinned, who has ever wronged and hurt another life because of his sin, because no sin ever was done that did not hurt another life. I know the mercy of our God, that while he has put us into each other's power to a fearful extent, he never will let any soul absolutely go to everlasting ruin for another's sin ; and so I dare to see the love of God pursuing that lost soul where you cannot pursue it. But that does not for one moment lift the shadow from your heart, or cease to make you tremble when you think of how your sin has outgrown itself and is running far, far away where you can never follow it.

Thank God the other thing is true as well. Thank God that when a man does a bit of service, however little it may be, of that, too, he can never trace the consequences. Thank God that that which in some better moment, in some nobler inspiration, you did ten years ago to make your brother's faith a little more strong, to let your shop boy confirm and not doubt the confidence in man which he had brought into his business, to establish the purity of a soul instead of staining it and shaking it, thank God, in this quick, electric atmosphere in which we live, that, too, runs forth.

## SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE

(1857- ).

**S**IR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Keeper of the Assyrian and Egyptian collections at the British Museum, is one of the most eminent archæologists of the day. He has all the thoroughness of the Germans, the insight of the French, and the peculiar faculty of generalisation of the English. It is this combination of qualities which constitute Dr. Budge the equal of Maspero, Sayce and Rawlinson.

Dr. Budge was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he became an Assyrian Scholar and Hebrew Prizeman. He has conducted extensive excavations at Aswan and Gabel Barkal in Egypt, at Semna and other sites in the Sudan, and in the neighbourhood of Nineveh and Der in Mesopotamia. The results of these and other archæological activities have been communicated to the learned societies of Europe and in the majority of cases incorporated in the author's voluminous publications.

"The Book of the Dead," a translation of the Papyrus of Ani, was published in 1895, "Egyptian Ideas of a Future Life" and "Egyptian Magic" 1899, "The Gods of Egypt" 1903, and "A Short History of the Egyptian People," and "The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians" in 1914. In the last two works Dr. Budge has endeavoured to bring the results of modern Egyptological research within the reach of the average man. The subject is shorn of its technicalities, hieroglyphical inscriptions are translated, and the reader is able with a minimum of effort to obtain a clear insight into the history, the life and the literature, of the ancient Egyptian civilisation.

In his official capacity at the British Museum, Dr. Budge has shown a fund of energy, and devoted considerable time to the preparation of popular handbooks and guides to the various departments under his direction. In the Assyrian galleries are the ancient tablets containing the Babylonian story of the Deluge upon which the version in Genesis is based. Dr. Budge's admirable translation of these cuneiform inscriptions is given in the "Babylonian Legend of the Deluge" which follows.

## THE BABYLONIAN LEGEND OF THE DELUGE

THE Babylonian Legend of the Deluge is that which is found on the Eleventh of the Series of Twelve Tablets in the Library of Nebo at Nineveh, which described the life and exploits of Gilgamish, an early king of the city of Erech. The Legend of the Deluge has in reality no connection with the Epic of Gilgamish, but was introduced into it by the editors of the Epic at a comparatively late period, perhaps even during the reign of Ashur-bani-pal (B.C. 668-626). It is necessary to state here that Gilgamish, who was horrified and almost beside himself when his bosom friend and companion Enkidu died, meditated deeply how he could escape death himself. He knew that his ancestor Uta-Napishtim had become immortal, therefore he determined to set out for the place where Uta-Napishtim lived so that he might obtain from him the secret of immortality. Guided by a dream in which he saw the direction of the place where Uta-Napishtim lived, Gilgamish set out for the Mountain of the Sunset, and, after great toil and many difficulties, came to the shore of a vast sea. Here he met Ur-Shanabi, the boatman of Uta-Napishtim, who was persuaded to carry him in his boat over the "waters of death," and at length he landed on the shore of the country of Uta-Napishtim. The immortal came down to the shore and asked the newcomer the object of his visit, and Gilgamish told him of the death of his great friend Enkidu, and of his desire to escape from death and to find immortality. Uta-Napishtim having made to Gilgamish some remarks which seem to indicate that in his opinion death was inevitable,

Gilgamish said unto Uta-Napishtim, to Uta-Napishtim the remote :

" I am looking at thee, Uta-Napishtim.

Thy person is not altered ; even as am I so art thou.

Verily, nothing about thee is changed ; even as am I so art thou.

(Moved is my) heart to do battle,

But thou art at leisure and dost lie upon thy back.

How then wast thou able to enter the company of the gods and see life ? "

Thereupon Uta-Napishtim related to Gilgamish the Story of the Deluge, and the Eleventh Tablet continues thus :—

Uta-Napishtim said unto him, to Gilgamish :

" I will reveal unto thee, O Gilgamish, a hidden mystery,

And a secret matter of the gods I will declare unto thee.

Shurippak, a city which thou thyself knowest,

On (the bank) of the river Puratti (Euphrates) is situated,

That city was old and the gods (dwelling) within it—  
 Their hearts induced the great gods to make a wind-storm,  
 Their father Anu,  
 Their counsellor, the warrior Enlil,  
 Their messenger En-urta (and)  
 Their prince Ennugi.  
 Nin-igi-azag, Ea, was with them (in council) and  
 reported their word to the house of reeds."

(First Speech of Ea to Uta-Napishtim who is sleeping in a reed hut).

"O House of reeds, O House of reeds! O Wall, O Wall!  
 O House of reeds, hear! O Wall, understand!  
 O man of Shurippak, son of Ubara-Tutu,  
 Throw down the house, build a ship,  
 Forsake wealth, seek after life,  
 Abandon possessions, save thy life,  
 Carry grain of every kind into the ship.  
 The ship which thou shalt build,  
 The dimensions thereof shall be measured,  
 The breadth and the length thereof shall be the same.  
 . . . . . the ocean, provide it with a roof."

(Uta-Napishtim's answer to Ea).

"I understood and I said unto Ea, my lord:  
 (I comprehend) my lord, that which thou hast ordered,  
 I will regard it with great reverence, and will perform it.  
 But what shall I say to the town, to the multitude, and to the elders?"

(Second Speech of Ea).

"Ea opened his mouth and spake  
 And said unto his servant, myself,  
 . . . . . Thus shalt thou say unto them:  
 Ill-will hath the god Enlil formed against me,  
 Therefore I can no longer dwell in your city,  
 And never more will I turn my countenance upon the soil of Enlil.  
 I will descend into the ocean to dwell with my lord Ea.  
 But upon you he will rain riches:  
 A catch of birds, a catch of fish  
 . . . . . an (abundant) harvest,  
 . . . . . the prince (?) of the darkness  
 . . . . . shall make a violent cyclone (to fall upon you)."

(The Building of the Ship).

"As soon as (the dawn) broke . . . . .  
 (Lines 49—54 broken away).

The weak (man) . . . . brought bitumen,  
 The strong (man) . . . . brought what was needed.  
 On the fifth day I decided upon its plan.  
 According to the plan its walls were 10 Gar (*i.e.* 120 cubits) high,  
 And the circuit of the roof thereof was equally 10 Gar.  
 I measured out the hull thereof and marked it out (?)  
 I covered (?) it six times.  
 Its exterior I divided into seven,  
 Its interior I divided into nine,  
 Water bolts I drove into the middle of it.  
 I provided a steering pole, and fixed what was needful for it,  
 Six sar of bitumen I poured over the inside wall,  
 Three sar of pitch I poured into the inside.  
 The men who bear loads brought three sar of oil,  
 Besides a sar of oil which the offering consumed,  
 And two sar of oil which the boatman hid.  
 I slaughtered oxen for the (work) people,  
 I slew sheep every day.  
 Beer, sesame wine, oil and wine  
 I made the people drink as if they were water from the river.  
 I celebrated a feast-day as if it had been New Year's Day  
 I opened (a box of ointment), I laid my hands in unguent.  
 Before the sunset the ship was finished.  
 (Since) . . . . was difficult.  
 The shipbuilders brought the . . . . of the ship,  
 above and below,  
 . . . . two-thirds of it.

(The Loading of the Ship).

- " With everything that I possessed I loaded it (*i.e.*, the ship).  
 With everything that I possessed of silver I loaded it.  
 With everything that I possessed of gold I loaded it.  
 With all that I possessed of living grain I loaded it.  
 I made to go up into the ship all my family and kinsfolk,  
 " The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, all handicraftsmen  
     I made them go up into it.  
 The god Shamash had appointed me a time (saying) :  
 The Power of Darkness will at eventide make a rain-flood to fall :  
 Then enter into the ship and shut thy door.  
 The appointed time drew nigh ;  
 The Power of Darkness made a rain-flood to fall at eventide  
 I watched the coming of the (approaching) storm,

When I saw it terror possessed me,  
 I went into the ship and shut my door.  
 To the pilot of the ship, Puzur-Bel (or Puzur-Amurri),  
 the sailor,  
 I committed the great house (*i.e.*, ship), together with the contents  
 thereof.

(The Abubu (Cyclone) and its effects described).

“ As soon as the gleam of dawn shone in the sky  
 A black cloud from the foundation of heaven came up.  
 Inside it the god Adad (Rammanu) thundered,  
 The gods Nabu and Sharru (*i.e.*, Marduk) went before  
 Marching as messengers over high land and plain,  
 Irragal (Nergal) tore out the post of the ship,  
 En-urta (Ninib) went on, he made the storm to descend.  
 The Anummaki brandished their torches,  
 With their glare they lighted up the land.  
 The whirlwind (or cyclone) of Adad swept up to heaven.  
 Every gleam of light was turned into darkness.  
 . . . the land . . . as if . . . had laid it waste.  
 A whole day long (the flood descended) . . . .  
 Swiftly it mounted up . . . (the water) reached to the  
 mountains,  
 (The water attacked the people like a battle).  
 Brother saw not brother.  
 Men could not be known (or, recognized) in heaven.  
 The gods were terrified at the cyclone.  
 They betook themselves to flight and went up into the heaven  
 of Anu  
 The gods crouched like a dog and covered by the wall.  
 The goddess Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail.  
 The Lady of the Gods lamented with a loud voice (saying) :

(Ishtar's Lament).

“ Verily the former dispensation is turned into mud,  
 Because I commanded evil among the company of the gods.  
 When I commanded evil among the company of the gods,  
 I commanded the battle for the destruction of my people.  
 Did I of myself bring forth my people  
 That they might fill the sea like little fishes ? ”

(Uta-Napishtim's Story continued).

“ The gods of the Anunnaki wailed with her.  
 The gods bowed themselves and sat down and wept.



Their lips were shut tight (in distress) . . . .  
 For six days and nights

The storm raged, and the cyclone overwhelmed the land.

(The Abating of the Storm).

When the seventh day approached the cyclone and the raging  
 flood ceased :

—now it had fought like an army.

The sea became quiet and went down, and the cyclone and the  
 rain-storm ceased.

I looked over the sea and a calm had come,

And all mankind were turned into mud,

The land had been laid flat like a terrace.

I opened the air-hole and the light fell upon my face,

I bowed myself, I sat down, I cried,

My tears poured down over my cheeks.

I looked over the quarters of the world—open sea !

After twelve days an island appeared.

The ship took its course to the land of Nisir

The mountain of Nisir held the ship, it let it not move.

The first day, the second day, the mountain of Nisir  
 held the ship and let it not move.

The third day, the fourth day the mountain of Nisir held the  
 ship and let it not move.

The fifth and sixth day, the mountain of Nisir held the ship  
 and let it not move.

When the seventh day had come

I brought out a dove and let her go free.

The dove flew away and (then) came back

Because she had no place to alight on she came back.

I brought out a swallow and let her go free.

The swallow flew away and (then) came back ;

Because she had no place to alight on she came back.

I brought out a raven and let her go free.

The raven flew away, she saw the sinking waters.

She ate, she pecked in the ground, she croaked, she came not back.

(Uta-Napishtim leaves the ship).

Then I brought out everything to the four winds and offered up a  
 sacrifice ;

I poured out a libation on the peak of the mountain.

Seven by seven I set out the vessels,

Under them I piled reeds, cedarwood and myrtle (?) .

The gods smelt the savour.

The gods gathered together like flies over him that sacrificed.

(Speech of Ishtar, Lady of the Gods).

“ Now when the Lady of the Gods came nigh,  
 She lifted up the priceless jewels which Anu had made according  
 to her desire, (saying)  
 O ye gods here present, as I shall never forget the lapis-lazuli  
 jewels of my neck  
 So shall I ever think about these days, and shall forget them  
 nevermore !  
 Let the gods come to the offering,  
 But let not Enlil come to the offering,  
 Because he would not accept counsel and made the cyclone,  
 And delivered my people over to destruction.”

(The Anger of Enlil [Bel]).

Now when Enlil came nigh  
 He saw the ship ; then was Enlil wroth  
 And he was filled with anger against the gods, the Igigi (saying) :  
 What kind of being hath escaped with his life ?  
 He shall not remain alive, a man among the destruction ! ”

(Speech of En-Urta).

Then En-Urta opened his mouth and spake  
 And said unto the warrior Enlil (Bel) :  
 Who besides the god Ea can make a plan ?  
 The god Ea knoweth everything.  
 He opened his mouth and spake  
 And said unto the warrior Enlil (Bel),  
 O Prince among the gods, thou warrior,  
 How couldst thou, not accepting counsel, make a cyclone ?  
 He who is sinful, on him lay his sin,  
 He who transgresseth, on him lay his transgression.  
 But be merciful that (everything) be not destroyed ; be long-  
 suffering that (man be not blotted out).  
 Instead of thy making a cyclone,  
 Would that a lion had come and diminished mankind.  
 Instead of thy making a cyclone  
 Would that a wolf had come and diminished mankind.  
 Instead of thy making a cyclone  
 Would that a famine had arisen and (laid waste) the land.  
 Instead of thy making a cyclone  
 Would that Urta (the Plague god) had risen up and  
 (laid waste) the land.

As for me I have not revealed the secret of the great gods.  
I made Atra-hâsis to see a vision, and thus he heard the secret  
of the gods.

Now therefore counsel him with counsel."

(Ea deifies Uta-Napishtim and his wife).

Then the good Ea went up into the ship,  
He seized me by the hand and brought me forth.  
He brought forth my wife and made her to kneel by my side.  
He turned our faces towards each other, he stood between us, he  
blessed us (saying),

Formerly Uta-Napishtim was a man merely,  
But now let Uta-Napishtim and his wife be like unto the gods  
ourselves.

Uta-Napishtim shall dwell afar off, at the mouth of the rivers."

(Uta-Napishtim ends his Story of the Deluge).

And they took me away to a place afar off, and made me to dwell  
at the mouth of the rivers.

## JOHN BUNYAN

(1628-1688).

**R**EMEMBERED, and, while the English language lasts, always to be remembered, as the author of 'Pilgrim's Progress,' John Bunyan is almost forgotten as the inspired orator whose voice so swayed the English Commons away from the "established order" of the State religion that he was locked up for more than twelve years in Bedford jail.

To understand the power wielded by such a speaker as Bunyan it is necessary to forget dissent from his opinions and to enter with him into the spirit of his theme. Those who do this, either to understand his unconscious art,—and he was a great if an untrained artist,—or for the nobler purpose of understanding both the man and his message, will be richly rewarded. Most of the great English orators, whether of the forum or the pulpit, are Roman in their habit of expression. Bunyan is eminently English. He speaks the language of Alfred the Great,—a language of short sentences, compact, earnest, decisive. The orator, trained in the school of Cicero, may expand a single idea from sentence to sentence, from period to period; but if he is speaking the English of Alfred with the syntax of Bunyan, he must put an idea into every clause. "I will assure you," says Bunyan, "the devil is nimble, he can run apace; he is light of foot; he hath overtaken many; he hath turned up their heels and given them an everlasting fall." Here, in thirty words, we are compelled to witness every stage of what in the mind of Bunyan was the infinite tragedy of the attempted escape of a soul from hell; of the pursuit by the fiend; the loss of ground by the panting fugitive; and finally the very movement of his body as his feet are tripped from under him and he falls,—an everlasting fall. Dante could not have bettered that sentence. Not once, but continually, Bunyan shows this same mastery of English, compelling the unwilling language to accept and bear the burden of his cumulative ideas. "I have married a wife; I have a farm; I shall offend my landlord; I shall offend my master; I shall lose my trading; I shall lose my pride; I shall be mocked and scoffed at: therefore I dare not come!" It is thus that he crowds on the mind the excuses of those he was calling

to better their lives—groaning in himself that they would not because each one had “his vile sins, his bosom sins, his beloved, pleasant, darling sins that stick as close to him as the flesh sticks to the bones.”

Perhaps it is fortunate that no one can have such a control of English who has not with it the earnestness which gave this tinker speaking before street crowds a greater power than Bourdaloue ever had speaking before princes. In oratory as in poetry, the first canon of art is that every idea which comes from the intellect of the speaker must rise through his heart to his lips if it is to reach the hearts of others. Always Bunyan spoke from the heart. He is the prose Dante of England.

W.V.B.

### THE HEAVENLY PALM

(“So run that ye may obtain.”—I. Cor., ix., 24).

**H**EAVEN and happiness is that which everyone desireth, insomuch that wicked Balaam could say: “Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.” Yet, for all this, there are but very few that do obtain that ever-to-be-desired glory, insomuch that many eminent professors drop short of a welcome from God into this pleasant place. The Apostle, therefore, because he did desire the salvation of the souls of the Corinthians, to whom he writes this epistle, layeth them down in these words such counsel which, if taken, would be for their help and advantage.

Firstly, not to be wicked, and sit still, and wish for heaven; but to run for it.

Secondly, not to content themselves with every kind of running, but, saith he, “So run that ye may obtain.” As if he should say, some, because they would not lose their souls, they begin to run betimes, they run apace, they run with patience, they run the right way. Do you so run. Some run from both father and mother, friends and companions, and thus, that they may have the crown. Do you so run. Some run through temptations, afflictions, good report, evil report, that they may win the pearl. Do you so run. “So run that ye may obtain.”

These words are taken from men’s running for a wager: a very apt similitude to set before the eyes of the saints of the Lord. “Know you not that they which run in a race run all, but one obtains the prize? So run that ye may obtain.” This is, do not only run, but be sure you win as well as run. “So run that ye may obtain.”

I shall not need to make any great ado in opening the words at this time, but shall rather lay down one doctrine that I do find in them ; and in prosecuting that, I shall show you, in some measure, the scope of the words.

The doctrine is this : They that will have heaven must run for it ; I say, they that will have heaven, they must run for it. I beseech you to heed it well. " Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one obtaineth the prize ? So run ye." The prize is heaven, and if you will have it you must run for it. You have another Scripture for this in the twelfth of the Hebrews, the first, second, and third verses ; " Wherefore seeing also," saith the Apostle, " that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race this is set before us." And let us run, saith he.

Again, saith Paul, " I so run, not as uncertainly : so fight I," etc. But before I go any further :—

1. Fleeing. Observe, that this running is not an ordinary, or any sort of running, but it is to be understood of the swiftest sort of running ; and, therefore, in the sixth of the Hebrews, it is called a fleeing : " That we might have strong consolation, who have fled for refuge, to lay hold on the hope set before us." Mark, who have fled. It is taken from that twentieth of Joshua, concerning the man that was to flee to the city of refuge, when the avenger of blood was hard at his heels, to take vengeance on him for the offence he had committed ; therefore it is a running or fleeing for one's life : A running with all might and main, as we used to say. So run.

2. Pressing. Secondly, this running in another place is called a pressing. " I press toward the mark " ; which signifieth that they that will have heaven, they must not stick at any difficulties they meet with ; but press, crowd, and thrust through all that may stand between heaven and their souls. So run.

3. Continuing. Thirdly, this running is called in another place, a continuing in the way of life. " If you continue in the faith grounded, and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel of Christ." Not to run a little now and then, by fits and starts, or half-way, or almost thither, but to run for my life, to run through all difficulties and to continue therein to the end of the race, which must be to the end of my life. " So run that ye may obtain." And the reasons for this point are these :—

1. Because all or every one that runneth doth not obtain the prize ; there may be many that do run, yea, and run far too, who yet miss of the crown that standeth at the end of the race. You know

that all that run in a race do not obtain the victory ; they all run, but one wins. And so it is here ; it is not every one that runneth, nor every one that seeketh, nor every one that striveth for the mastery, that hath it. " Though a man do strive for the mastery," saith Paul, " yet he is not crowned, unless he strive lawfully " ; that is, unless he so run, and so strive, as to have God's approbation. What, do ye think that every heavy-heeled professor will have heaven ? What, every lazy one ? every wanton and foolish professor, that will be stopped by anything, kept back by anything, that scarce runneth so fast heavenward as a snail creepeth on the ground ? Nay, there are some professors that do not go on so fast in the way of God as a snail doth go on the wall, and yet these think that heaven and happiness are for them. But stay, there are many more that run than there be that obtain ; therefore he that will have heaven must run for it.

2. Because you know, that though a man do run, yet if he do not overcome, or win, as well as run, what will they be the better for their running ? They will get nothing. You know the man that runneth, he doth do it that he may win the prize ; but if he doth not obtain it, he doth lose his labour, spend his pains and time, and that to no purpose ; I say, he getteth nothing. And ah ! how many such runners will there be found in the day of judgment ? Even multitudes, multitudes that have run, yea, run so far as to come to heaven-gates, and not able to get any further, but there stand knocking, when it is too late, crying, " Lord, Lord," when they have nothing but rebukes for their pains. Depart from me, you come not here, you come too late, you run too lazily ; the door is shut. " When once the master of the house is risen up," saith Christ, " and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us, I will say, I know you not, Depart ! " O sad will the state of those be that run and miss ; therefore, if you will have heaven, you must run for it ; and " so run that ye may obtain."

3. Because the way is long (I speak metaphorically), and there is many a dirty step, many a high hill, much work to do, a wicked heart, world, and devil to overcome ; I say, there are many steps to be taken by those that intend to be saved, by running or walking in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham. Out of Egypt thou must go through the Red Sea ; thou must run a long and tedious journey, through the vast howling wilderness, before thou come to the land of promise.

4. They that will go to heaven they must run for it ; because, as the way is long, so the time in which they are to get to the end of it is very uncertain ; the time present is the only time ; thou hast no more time allotted thee than that thou now enjoyest : " Boast not

thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Do not say, I have time enough to get to heaven seven years hence, for, I tell thee, the bell may toll for thee before seven days more be ended ; and when death comes, away thou must go, whether thou art provided or not ; and therefore look to it ; make no delays ; it is not good dallying with things of so great concernment as the salvation or damnation of thy soul. You know he hath a great way to go in a little time, and less by half than he thinks of, he had need to run for it.

5. They that will have heaven, they must run for it ; because the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell follow them. There is never a poor soul that is going to heaven, but the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell make after that soul. " The devil, your adversary, as a roaring lion, goeth about, seeking whom he may devour." And I will assure you, the devil is nimble, he can run apace, he is light of foot, he hath overtaken many, he hath turned up their heels, and hath given them an everlasting fall. Also the law, that can shoot a great way, have a care thou keep out of the reach of those great guns, the Ten Commandments. Hell also hath a wide mouth ; it can stretch itself further than you are aware of. And as the angel said to Lot : " Take heed, look not behind thee, neither tarry thou in all the plain" (that is, anywhere between this and heaven), " lest thou be consumed" ; so say I to thee, Take heed, tarry not, lest either the devil, hell, death, or the fearful curses of the law of God, do overtake thee, and throw thee down in the midst of thy sins, so as never to rise and recover again. If this were well considered, then thou, as well as I, wouldst say, They that will have heaven must run for it.

6. They that will go to heaven must run for it ; because perchance the gates of heaven may be shut shortly. Sometimes sinners have not heaven-gates open to them so long as they suppose ; and if they be once shut against a man, they are so heavy, that all the men in the world, nor all the angels in heaven, are not able to open them. " I shut, and no man can open," saith Christ. And how if thou shouldst come but one quarter of an hour too late ? I tell thee, it will cost thee an eternity to bewail thy misery in. Francis Spira can tell thee what it is to stay till the gate of mercy be quite shut ; or to run so lazily, that they be shut before thou get within them. What, to be shut out ! what, out of heaven ! Sinner, rather than lose it, run for it ; yea, and " so run that thou mayest obtain."

7. Lastly, because if thou lose, thou lovest all, thou lovest soul, God, Christ, heaven, ease, peace ! Besides, thou layest thyself open to all the shame, contempt, and reproach, that either God, Christ, saints, the world, sin, the devil, and all, can lay upon thee. As Christ saith



of the foolish builder, so will I say of thee, if thou be such a one who runs and misses ; I say, even all that go by will begin to mock at thee, saying, This man began to run well, but was not able to finish.

In the next place, be not daunted though thou meetest with never so many discouragements in thy journey thither. That man that is resolved for heaven, if Satan cannot win him by flatteries, he will endeavour to weaken him by discouragements, saying : " Thou art a sinner, thou hast broken God's law, thou art not elected, thou comest too late, the day of grace is passed, God doth not care for thee, thy heart is naught, thou art lazy," with a hundred other discouraging suggestions. And thus it was with David, where he saith : " I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the loving-kindness of the Lord in the land of the living." As if he should say, the devil did so rage, and my heart was so base, that had I judged according to my own sense and feeling, I had been absolutely distracted ; but I trusted to Christ in the promise, and looked that God would be as good as his promise, in having mercy upon me, an unworthy sinner ; and this is that which encouraged me and kept me from fainting. And thus must thou do when Satan, or the law, or thy own conscience, do go about to dishearten thee, either by the greatness of thy sins, the wickedness of thy heart, the tediousness of the way, the loss of outward enjoyments, the hatred that thou wilt procure from the world, or the like ; then thou must encourage thyself with the freeness of the promises, the tender-heartedness of Christ, the merits of his blood, the freeness of his invitations to come in, the greatness of the sin of others that have been pardoned, and that the same God, through the same Christ, holdeth forth the same grace as free as ever. If these be not thy meditations, thou wilt draw very heavily in the way to heaven, if thou do not give up all for lost, and so knock off from following any further ; therefore, I say, take heart in thy journey, and say to them that seek thy destruction : " Rejoice not against me, O my enemy, for when I fall I shall arise, when I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me." So run.

Take heed of being offended at the cross that thou must go by before thou come to heaven. You must understand (as I have already touched) that there is no man that goeth to heaven but he must go by the cross. The cross is the standing way-mark by which all they that go to glory must pass.

" We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of heaven." " Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." If thou art in thy way to the kingdom, my life for thine, thou wilt come at the cross shortly (the Lord grant thou dost not shrink at it, so as to turn thee back again). " If any man will come

after me," saith Christ, "let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." The cross it stands, and hath stood, from the beginning, as a way-mark to the kingdom of heaven. You know, if one ask you the way to such and such a place, you, for the better direction, do not only say, "This is the way," but then also say, "You must go by such a gate, by such a stile, such a bush, tree, bridge," or such like; why, so it is here; art thou inquiring the way to heaven? Why, I tell thee, Christ is the way; into him thou must get—into his righteousness—to be justified; and if thou art in him, thou wilt presently see the cross; thou must go close by it, thou must touch it,—nay, thou must take it up, or else thou wilt quickly go out of the way that leads to heaven, and turn up some of those crooked lanes that lead down to the chambers of death.

Now thou mayest know the cross by these six things:—

1. It is known in the doctrine of justification.
2. In the doctrine of mortification.
3. In the doctrine of perseverance.
4. In self-denial.
5. Patience.
6. Communion with poor saints.

1. In the doctrine of justification, there is a great deal of the cross in that a man is forced to suffer the destruction of his own righteousness for the righteousness of another. This is no easy matter for a man to do; I assure to you it stretcheth every vein in his heart, before he will be brought to yield to it. What, for a man to deny, reject, abhor, and throw away all his prayers, tears, alms, keeping of Sabbaths, hearing, reading, with the rest, in the point of justification, and to count them accursed; and to be willing, in the very midst of the sense of his sins, to throw himself wholly upon the righteousness and obedience of another man, abhorring his own, counting it as deadly sin, as the open breach of the law,—I say, to do this in deed and in truth is the biggest piece of the cross; and, therefore, Paul calleth this very thing a suffering, where he saith: "And I have suffered the loss of all things (which principally was his righteousness) that I might win Christ, and be found in him, not having (but rejecting) my own righteousness." That is the first.

2. In the doctrine of mortification is also much of the cross. Is it nothing for a man to lay hands on his vile opinions, on his vile sins, on his bosom sins, on his beloved, pleasant, darling sins, that stick as close to him as the flesh sticks to the bones? What, to lose all these

brave things that my eyes behold, for that which I never saw with my eyes? What, to lose my pride, my covetousness, my vain company, sports and pleasures, and the rest? I tell you, this is no easy matter: if it were, what need all those prayers, sighs, watchings? Why need we be so backward to it? Nay, do you not see that some men, before they will set about this work, they will even venture the loss of their souls, heaven, God, Christ, and all? What mean else all those delays and put-offs, saying, "Stay a little longer, I am loth to leave my sins while I am so young, and in health?" Again, what is the reason else that others do it so by the halves, coldly and seldom, notwithstanding they are convinced over and over; nay, and also promise to amend, and yet all's in vain? I will assure you, to cut off right hands, and to pluck out right eyes, is no pleasure to the flesh.

3. The doctrine of perseverance is also cross to the flesh; which is not only to begin but to hold out, not only to bid fair, and to stay: "Would I had heaven," but so to know Christ, put on Christ, and walk with Christ, so as to come to heaven. Indeed, it is no great matter to begin to look for heaven, to begin to seek the Lord, to begin to shun sin; O but it is a very great matter to continue with God's approbation: "My servant Caleb," saith God, "is a man of another spirit, he hath followed me (followed me always, he hath continually followed me) fully, he shall possess the land." Almost all the many thousands of the children of Israel in their generation fell short of perseverance when they walked from Egypt towards the land of Canaan. Indeed, they went to work at first pretty willingly, but they were very short-winded, they were quickly out of breath and in their hearts they turned back again into Egypt.

It is an easy matter for a man to run hard for a spurt, for a furlong, for a mile or two: O, but to hold out for a hundred, for a thousand, for ten thousand miles, that man that doth this, he must look to meet with cross, pain, and wearisomeness to the flesh, especially if, as he goeth, he meeteth with briars and quagmires, and other incumbrances, that make his journey so much the more painful.

Nay, do you not see with your eyes daily, that perseverance is a very great part of the cross? Why else do men so soon grow weary? I could point out a many, that after they have followed the ways of God about a twelvemonth, others it may be two, three, or four (some more, and some less) years, they have been beat out of wind, have taken their lodging and rest before they have gotten half-way to heaven, some in this, some in that sin, and have secretly, nay, sometimes openly, said that the way is too straight, the race too long, the religion too holy,—I cannot hold out, I can go no further.

And so likewise of the other three, to wit: patience, self-denial, communion, and communication with and to the poor saints: How hard are these things? It is an easy matter to deny another man, but it is not so easy a matter to deny oneself; to deny myself out of love to God, to his Gospel, to his saints, of this advantage, and of that gain; nay, of that which otherwise I might lawfully do, were it not for offending them. That Scripture is but seldom read, and seldomer put in practice, which saith, "I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, if it make my brother to offend;" again, "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." But how froward, how hasty, how peevish, and self-resolved are the generality of professors at this day! Also how little considering the poor, unless it be to say, "Be thou warmed and filled." But to give is a seldom work; also especially to give to any poor. I tell you all things are cross to flesh and blood; and that man that hath but a watchful eye over the flesh, and also some considerable measure of strength against it, he shall find his heart in these things like unto a starting horse, that is rode without a curbing bridle, ready to start at everything that is offensive to him—yea, and ready to run away, too, do what the rider can.

It is the cross which keepeth those that are kept from heaven. I am persuaded, were it not for the cross, where we have one professor we should have twenty; but this cross, that is it which spoileth all.

Some men, as I said before, when they come to the cross they can go no further, but back again to their sins they must go. Others they stumble at it, and break their necks; others again when they see the cross is approaching, they turn aside to the left hand, or to the right hand, and so think to get to heaven another way; but they will be deceived. "For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall," mark, "shall be sure to suffer persecution." There are but few when they come to the cross, cry, "Welcome cross!" as some of the martyrs did to the stake they were burned at. Therefore, if you meet with the cross in thy journey, in what manner soever it be, be not daunted, and say, "Alas, what shall I do now!" But rather take courage, knowing that by the cross is the way to the kingdom. Can a man believe in Christ, and not be hated by the devil? Can he make a profession of this Christ, and that sweetly and convincingly, and the children of Satan hold their tongues? Can darkness agree with light, or the devil endure that Christ Jesus should be honoured both by faith and a heavenly conversation, and let that soul alone at quiet? Did you never read that "the dragon persecuted the woman?" And that Christ saith. "In the world you shall have tribulations?"

Beg of God that he would do these two things for thee: First, enlighten thine understanding; and, second, inflame thy will. If these two be but effectually done, there is no fear but thou wilt go safe to heaven.

One of the great reasons why men and women do so little regard the other world is because they see so little of it; and the reason why they see so little of it is because they have their understanding darkened. And, therefore, saith Paul, "Do not you believers walk as do other Gentiles, even in the vanity of their minds having their understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance (or foolishness) that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." Walk not as those, run not with them: alas, poor souls, they have their understandings darkened, their hearts blinded, and that is the reason they have such undervaluing thoughts of the Lord Jesus Christ and the salvation of their souls. For when men do come to see the things of another world, what a God, what a Christ, what a heaven, and what an eternal glory there is to be enjoyed; also, when they see that it is possible for them to have a share in it, I tell you it will make them run through thick and thin to enjoy it. Moses, having a sight of this, because his understanding was enlightened, "He feared not the wrath of the king, but chose rather to suffer afflictions with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. He refused to be called the son of the king's daughter," accounting it wonderful riches to be accounted worthy of so much as to suffer for Christ, with the poor despised saints; and that was because he saw him who was invisible, and had respect unto the recompense of reward. And this is that which the Apostle usually prayeth for in his epistle for the saints, namely, "That they might know what is the hope of God's calling, and the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints; and that they might be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge." Pray, therefore, that God would enlighten thy understanding; that will be a very great help unto thee. It will make thee endure many a hard brunt for Christ; as Paul saith "After you were illuminated ye endured a great fight of afflictions; you took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance." If there be never such a rare jewel lie just in a man's way, yet if he sees it not he will rather trample upon it than stoop for it, and it is because he sees it not. Why, so it is here, though heaven be worth never so much, and thou hast never so much need of it, yet if thou see it not,—that is, have not thy understanding opened or enlightened to see,—thou wilt not regard

at all : therefore cry to the Lord for enlightening grace, and say, " Lord open my blind eyes ; Lord, take the veil off my dark heart, show me the things of the other world, and let me see the sweetness, the glory, and excellency of them for Christ's sake." This is the first.

Cry to God that he would inflame thy will also with the things of the other world. For when a man's will is fully set to do such or such a thing, then it must be a very hard matter that shall hinder that man from bringing about his end. When Paul's will was set resolutely to go up to Jerusalem, though it was signified to him before what he should there suffer, he was not daunted at all ; nay, saith he, " I am ready [or willing] not only to be bound, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." His will was inflamed with love to Christ ; and therefore all the persuasions that could be used wrought nothing at all.

Your self-willed people, nobody knows what to do with them : we used to say, " He will have his own will, do all what you can." Indeed to have such a will for heaven is an admirable advantage to a man that undertaketh a race thither ; a man that is resolved, and hath his will fixed ; saith he : " I will do my best to advantage myself, I will do my worst to hinder my enemies, I will not give out as long as I can stand, I will have it or I will lose my life ; though he slay me, yet will I trust in him. I will not let thee go except thou bless me." I will, I will, I will, O this blessed inflamed will for heaven ! What is it like ? If a man be willing, then any argument shall be matter of encouragement ; but if unwilling, then any argument shall give discouragement. This is seen both in saints and sinners ; in them that are the children of God and also those that are the children of the Devil. As,

1. The saints of old, they being willing and resolved for heaven, what could stop them ? Could fire and faggot, sword or halter, stinking dungeons, whips, bears, bulls, lions, cruel rackings, stoning, starving, nakedness ; " and in all these things they were more than conquerors, through him that loved them," who had also made them " willing in the day of his power."

2. See again, on the other side, the children of the devil, because they are not willing, how many shifts and starting-holes they will have. I have married a wife ; I have a farm ; I shall offend my landlord ; I shall offend my master ; I shall lose my trading ; I shall lose my pride, my pleasures ; I shall be mocked and scoffed : therefore I dare not come. I, saith another, will stay till I am older, till my children are out, till I am got a little aforehand in the world, till I have done this and that, and the other business : but, alas ! the thing is, they are not willing ;

for, were they but soundly willing, these, and a thousand such as these, would hold them no faster than the cords held Samson, when he broke them like burnt flax. I tell you the will is all : that is one of the chief things which turns the wheel either backwards or forwards ; and God knoweth that full well, and so likewise doth the devil, and therefore they both endeavour very much to strengthen the will of their servants. God, he is for making of his a willing people to serve him ; and the devil, he doth what he can to possess the will and affection of those that are his with love to sin ; and therefore when Christ comes close to the matter, indeed, saith he, " You will not come to me. How often would I have gathered you as a hen doth her chickens, but you would not." The devil had possessed their wills, and so long he was sure enough of them. O, therefore, cry hard to God to inflame thy will for heaven and Christ : thy will, I say, if that be rightly set for heaven, thou wilt not be beat off with discouragements ; and this was the reason that when Jacob wrestled with the angel, though he lost a limb, as it were, and the hollow of his thigh was put out of joint as he wrestled with him, yet, saith he, " I will not," mark, " I will not let thee go except thou bless me." Get thy will tipt with the heavenly grace, and resolution against all discouragements, and then thou goest full speed for heaven ; but if thou falter in thy will, and be not found there, thou wilt run hobbling and halting all the way thou runnest, and also to be sure thou wilt fall short at last. The Lord give thee a will and courage.

## JOSEPH BUTLER

(1692-1752).

**J**OSEPH BUTLER stands for a style of oratory which will always have the strongest attraction to minds addicted to directness of thought. In his sermons on "Human Nature," and still more in that on "The Government of the Tongue," he uses plain English as it never can be used except by one whom candour of thought has made its master. Those who hold that the use of language is to conceal thought rather than to express it, would be embarrassed if compelled to use either the language or the syntax of Butler's denunciation of lying, tattling, and slandering.

He was born in 1692 at Wantage in Berkshire, the youngest of the eight children of a linen-draper. His father was a Presbyterian who indulged him in his wish to enter the Church of England. Educated at Oxford, Butler, after entering the Church, became rector of Stanhope, where he published his celebrated work, "The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature." The talent shown in this work recommended him to Queen Caroline, and after her death, in 1737, in fulfilment of her strongly expressed wish, he was made Bishop, first of Bristol, and afterwards of Durham. He died in 1752.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TONGUE

**T**HE occasions of silence are obvious, and, one would think, should be easily distinguished by everybody: namely, when a man has nothing to say; or nothing but what is better unsaid: better, either in regard to the particular persons he is present with; or from its being an interruption to conversation itself; or to conversation of a more agreeable kind; or better, lastly, with regard to himself. I will end this particular with two reflections of the Wise Man; one of which, in the strongest manner, exposes the ridiculous part of this licentiousness



of the tongue ; and the other, the great danger and viciousness of it. " When he that is a fool walketh by the wayside, his wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a fool." The other is, " in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin."

As to the government of the tongue in respect to talking upon indifferent subjects : after what has been said concerning the due government of it in respect to the occasions and times for silence, there is little more necessary than only to caution men to be fully satisfied that the subjects are indeed of an indifferent nature ; and not to spend too much time in conversation of this kind. But persons must be sure to take heed that the subject of their discourse be at least of an indifferent nature ; that it be no way offensive to virtue, religion, or good manners : that it be not of a licentious, dissolute sort, this leaving always ill impressions upon the mind, that it be no way injurious or vexatious to others ; and that too much time be not spent this way, to the neglect of those duties and offices of life which belong to their station and condition in the world. However, though there is not any necessity that men should aim at being important and weighty in every sentence they speak : yet since useful subjects, at least of some kinds, are as entertaining as others, a wise man, even when he desires to unbend his mind from business, would choose that the conversation might turn upon something instructive.

The last thing is, the government of the tongue as relating to discourse of the affairs of others, and giving of characters. These are in a manner the same ; and one can scarce call it an indifferent subject, because discourse upon it almost perpetually runs into somewhat criminal.

And, first of all, it were very much to be wished that this did not take up so great a part of conversation ; because it is indeed a subject of a dangerous nature. Let any one consider the various interests, competitions, and little misunderstandings which arise amongst men ; and he will soon see that he is not unprejudiced and impartial ; that he is not, as I may speak, neutral enough to trust himself with talking of the character and concerns of his neighbour, in a free, careless, and unreserved manner. There is perpetually, and often it is not attended to, a rivalry amongst people of one kind or another in respect to wit, beauty, learning, fortune, and that one thing will insensibly influence them to speak to the disadvantage of others, even where there is no formed malice or ill-design. Since, therefore, it is so hard to enter into this subject without offending, the first thing to be observed is that people should learn to decline it ; to get over that strong inclination most have to be talking of the concerns and behaviour of their neighbour.

But since it is impossible that this subject should be wholly excluded from conversation ; and since it is necessary that the characters of men should be known : the next thing is that it is a matter of importance what is said ; and, therefore, that we should be religiously scrupulous and exact to say nothing, either good or bad, but what is true. I put it thus, because it is in reality of as great importance to the good of society, that the characters of bad men should be known, as that the characters of good men should. People who are given to scandal and detraction may indeed make an ill-use of this observation ; but truths, which are of service towards regulating our conduct, are not to be disowned, or even concealed, because a bad use may be made of them. This, however, would be effectually prevented if these two things were attended to. First, That, though it is equally of bad consequence to society that men should have either good or ill characters which they do not deserve ; yet, when you say somewhat good of a man which he does not deserve, there is no wrong done him in particular ; whereas, when you say evil of a man which he does not deserve, here is a direct formal injury, a real piece of injustice done him. This, therefore, makes a wide difference ; and gives us, in point of virtue, much greater latitude in speaking well than ill of others. Secondly, A good man is friendly to his fellow-creatures, and a lover of mankind ; and so will, upon every occasion, and often without any, say all the good he can of everybody ; but, so far as he is a good man, will never be disposed to speak evil of any, unless there be some other reason for it, besides barely that it is true. If he be charged with having given an ill character, he will scarce think it a sufficient justification of himself to say it was a true one, unless he can also give some further account how he came to do so : a just indignation against particular instances of villainy, where they are great and scandalous ; or to prevent an innocent man from being deceived and betrayed, when he has great trust and confidence in one who does not deserve it. Justice must be done to every part of a subject when we are considering it. If there be a man who bears a fair character in the world, whom yet we know to be without faith or honesty, to be really an ill man ; it must be allowed in general that we shall do a piece of service to society by letting such a one's true character be known. This is no more than what we have an instance of in our Saviour himself ; though he was mild and gentle beyond example. However, no words can express too strongly the caution which should be used in such a case as this.

Upon the whole matter : If people would observe the obvious occasions of silence, if they would subdue the inclination to tale-bearing, and that eager desire to engage attention, which is an original disease in

some minds, they would be in little danger of offending with their tongue ; and would, in a moral and religious sense, have due government over it.

I will conclude with some precepts and reflections of the Son of Sirach upon this subject. Be swift to hear ; and, if thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour ; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth. Honour and shame is in talk.

## JOHN CALVIN

(1509-1564).

**B**EZA writes that Calvin "taught the truth not with affected eloquence but with such solid gravity of style, that there was not a man who could hear him without being ravished with admiration." Another says that he "preached *ex tempore* and that his style is like his character—plain, unartificial, transparent, and practical, verifying the remark of his biographer that the greatest genius is always the most simple."

He was born at Noyon in Picardy, July 10th, 1509, of a family whose real name was "Cauvin," which, after the fashion of his time, he latinized into "Calvinus." He was educated at the College de la Marché at Paris and at the College Montaign, showing an extraordinary capacity for knowledge of all kinds with a special bent towards metaphysics, or, as it was then called, "philosophy." He studied law as well as theology, but his sympathy for the movement inaugurated by Luther determined his choice and the law lost a student whose eminently severe thinking and habits of persistence might have made him a profound lawyer. He settled in Geneva in 1536, engaging thereafter in one great controversy after another during the remainder of his life. The greatest of these was with Servetus, against whom, on his trial for heresy at Geneva in 1553, he appeared as accuser. Coleridge says, however, that the death of Servetus at the stake "was not Calvin's guilt especially, but the common opprobrium of all European Christendom" at a time when burning at the stake was a matter of course in the regulation of opinion.

Calvin's discourse "On the Necessity of Enduring Persecution" was delivered extemporaneously but was published by him at Geneva, and the argument here given from it on "The Necessity for Courage" may be accepted as representing him as nearly as the difference between English and the French in which it was delivered will allow. Beza, in whose arms he died May 27th, 1564, summed up his character in the words: "I have been a witness of him for sixteen years and I think I am fully entitled to say that in this man there was exhibited to all an example of the life and death of the Christian such as it will not be easy to depreciate, such as it will be difficult to emulate."

## THE NECESSITY FOR COURAGE

(A Discourse on Enduring Persecution, Geneva, 1552).

**W**HAT shall be done in order to inspire our breasts with true courage ? We have, in the first place, to consider how precious the confession of our faith is in the sight of God. We little know how much God prizes it, if our life which is nothing is valued by us more highly. When it is so, we manifest a marvellous degree of stupidity. We cannot save our life at the expense of our confession, without acknowledging that we hold it in higher estimation than the honour of God and the salvation of our souls.

A heathen could say that " it was a miserable thing to save life by giving up the only things which made life desirable ! " And yet he and others like him never knew for what end men are placed in the world, and why they live in it. It is true they knew enough to say that men ought to follow virtue, to conduct themselves honestly and without reproach ; but all their virtues were mere paint and smoke. We know far better what the chief aim of life should be ; namely, to glorify God, in order that he may be our glory. When this is not done, woe to us ! And we cannot continue to live for a single moment upon the earth without heaping additional curses on our heads. Still we are not ashamed to purchase some few days to languish here below, renouncing the eternal kingdom by separating ourselves from him by whose energy we are sustained in life.

Were we to ask the most ignorant, not to say the most brutish persons in the world, Why they live ? they would not venture to answer simply, that it is to eat, and drink, and sleep ; for all know that they have been created for a higher and holier end. And what end can we find if it be not to honour God, and allow ourselves to be governed by him, like children by a good parent ; so that after we have finished the journey of this corruptible life, we may be received into his eternal inheritance ? Such is the principal, indeed the sole end. When we do not take it into account, and are intent on a brutish life, which is worse than a thousand deaths, what can we allege for our excuse ? To live and not know why, is unnatural. To reject the causes for which we live, under the influence of a foolish longing for a respite of some few days, during which we are to live in the world, while separated from God—I know not how to name such infatuation and madness !

It were easy, indeed, for God to crown us at once without requiring us to sustain any combats ; but as it is his pleasure that until the end of the world Christ shall reign in the midst of his enemies, so it is also his pleasure that we, being placed in the midst of them, shall suffer their oppression and violence till he deliver us. I know, indeed, that the flesh kicks when it is to be brought to this point, but still the will of God must have the mastery. If we feel some repugnance in ourselves, it need not surprise us ; for it is only too natural for us to shun the cross. Still let us not fail to surmount it, knowing that God accepts our obedience, provided we bring all our feelings and wishes into captivity, and make them subject to him.

When the Prophets and Apostles went to death, it was not without feeling within some inclination to recoil. " They will lead thee whither thou wouldst not," said our Lord Jesus Christ to Peter. When such fears of death arise within us, let us gain the mastery over them, or rather let God gain it ; and meanwhile, let us feel assured that we offer him a pleasing sacrifice when we resist and do violence to our inclinations for the purpose of placing ourselves entirely under his command. This is the principal war in which God would have his people to be engaged. He would have them strive to suppress every rebellious thought and feeling which would turn them aside from the path to which he points. And the consolations are so ample, that it may well be said, we are more than cowards if we give way !

In ancient times vast numbers of people, to obtain a simple crown of leaves, refused no toil, no pain, no trouble ; nay, it even cost them nothing to die, and yet every one of them fought for a peradventure, not knowing whether he was to gain or lose the prize. God holds forth to us the immortal crown by which we may become partakers of his glory : he does not mean us to fight at haphazard, but all of us have a promise of the prize for which we strive. Have we any cause then to decline the struggle ? Do we think it has been said in vain, " If we die with Jesus Christ we shall also live with him ? " Our triumph is prepared, and yet we do all we can to shun the combat.

## ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

(1788-1866).

**A**LEXANDER CAMPBELL was born in the County of Antrim, Ireland, September 12th, 1788. His ancestry was Scottish and he inherited from it the tradition which made him one of the most influential religious teachers of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. After removing to the United States in 1809, he devoted himself to the study of religion. He died at Bethany, West Virginia, March 4th, 1866, after his influence had shown itself in the organization of a new Protestant denomination, now widely represented in the United States. Its purpose is to model its doctrine and practice on those of primitive Christianity. From 1825 until the end of his active life, Mr. Campbell was celebrated as an orator, educator and religious teacher. He helped to reorganize the State Government of Virginia on lines more popular than those of the Colonial period. Crowded audiences attended wherever he spoke. Besides being the organizer of "The Disciples of Christ," he was the founder and head of Bethany College, West Virginia. He was a man of great intellectual force and a most impressive speaker.

### MIND, THE MASTER FORCE

(Address delivered at Miami University).

**A**S there is not one lawless atom in the material universe, so there is not one irresponsible agent in the social system. The order of material nature is, indeed, the outward symbol of the order of spiritual nature, and that is the order of obedient dependence. We shall, then, enter the holy place of moral obligation by passing leisurely through the outer court of physical obligation.

In the material universe all the inferior masses are under law to the superior. One of the sublime designs of the Creator is that all the central masses of the universe shall not only be the largest masses in their respective systems, but also radiating centres to their systems. Thus he has constituted the great masses perennial fountains of beneficence to all

the subordinate masses that move round them. Our own bright orb, representative of all the suns of creation, is an unwasting fountain of life to its own glorious system. No sooner does he show his radiant face than floods of life teem from his bosom upon some thirty attendant planets, which, in sublime majesty and in expressive silence, ceaseless move around him. Light, heat, life, and joy emanate from him. These are the sensible demonstrations of his bounty to his waiting retinue of worlds. What other emanations of goodness he vouchsafes to those who obey him are yet unknown, and perhaps unknowable to us while confined to this our native planet. In the purer and more elevated regions of ether he may perhaps generate and mature the ultimate and more recondite elements of the vital principle, which, combining with our atmosphere, quicken it with all the rudimental principles of animal existence.

In the realms of matter, so far as fact, observation, and analogy authenticate any conclusion, the law is universal; *viz.*, that the minors must be subject to the majors; that the inferior masses shall depend on the superior for all that gives them life and comfort. But that the satellites of all systems and\* of all ranks requite their suns in some way by receiving from them their beneficence, and thereby maintaining, through their respective gravities their central positions and perpetual quiescence, while they all move forward in one grand concert around the throne of the Eternal, in awful grandeur musing his praise, is not to be questioned or doubted by any one conversant with God's grand system of designs. On these sublime though simple principles are suspended the order, beauty, and felicity of the universe. Destroy this, and a scene of disorder, confusion, and destruction would instantly ensue, that would not leave an atom of the universe unscathed.

Such is also the order of the intellectual system. One great mind, nature's spiritual and eternal sun, constitutes the mighty centre around which, in their respective orbits, all pure minds, primary or secondary—angelic or human—revolve. In this system the great minds as certainly govern the inferior as in material nature the large masses govern the less. Now, as the power of mind consists of intelligence, educated mind must as certainly govern uneducated mind, and the more vigorous and talented the less favoured, as the great material masses govern the inferior.

The beauty as well as the happiness of the universe requires inequality. Equal lines, smooth surfaces, and eternal plains have no beauty. We must have hill and dale, mountain and valley, sea and land, suns of all magnitudes, worlds of all sizes, minds of all dimensions, and



persons and faces of divers casts and colours, to constitute a beautiful and happy world. We must have sexes, conditions and circumstances—empires, nations, and families—diversities in person, mind, manners, in order to the communication and reception of happiness. Hence, our numerous and various wants are not only incentives to action, but sources of pleasure, both simple and complex—physical, intellectual, and moral.

Hence the foundation and the philosophy of unequal minds—unequal in power, in capacity, and in taste—unequal in intelligence, activity, and energy. The inequalities of mind are numerous and various as the inequalities of matter. One mind sports with worlds—another with atoms. One man perches himself on Mount Chimborazo and communes with the stars ; another delves into the earth in search of hidden treasures, and buries himself in mines and minerals. One man moves along with the tardiness of the ox in the drudgery of life ; another ascends in a balloon and soars above the clouds. Here we find a Newton measuring the comet's path, a Franklin stealing fire from heaven, a Columbus in search of a new world ; and there a sportsman with his hounds in quest of a fox. One delights in his revelling and song, in riotous living and the giddy dance ; another, in locking up his golden pelf in an iron chest. Talk we, then, of minds equally endowed by nature or improved by art ! No such minds ever composed any community. Varieties, all manner of varieties, are essential to society. The world needs the rich and the poor, the young and the aged, the learned and the unlearned, the healthy and the infirm, the cheerful and the melancholic. These call forth all our energies, open channels for all the social virtues, lay the basis of our various responsibilities, and constitute much of the happiness of this life. They furnish opportunities for communicating and receiving benefits.

To serve a society faithfully, whether as a scavenger of Rome or as a king of the French, is an honour to any man. But to serve society in any capacity promotive of its moral advancement is the highest style and dignity of man. True, indeed, that in the great category of moral improvement there are numerous departments, and consequently many offices. There are authors, teachers of all schools, ministers of all grades, missionaries of all mercies, ambassadors of all ranks, employed as conservators, redeemers, and benefactors of men. These, in the tendencies and bearings of their respective functions, sweep the largest circles in human affairs. They extend not only to the individual first benefited, not only to those temporarily benefited by him, in a long series of generations, but breaking through the confines of time and space, those benefits reach into eternity and spread themselves over fields

of blessings, waving with eternal harvests of felicity to multitudes of participants which the arithmetic of time wholly fails to compute either in number or in magnitude. The whole vista of time is but the shaft of a grand telescope through which to see, at the proper angle, the teeming harvests of eternal blessedness flowing into the bosoms of the great moral benefactors of human kind. To choose a calling of this sort is superlatively incumbent on men of genius. As Wesley said of good music, so say we of good talents. The devil, said the reformer, shall not have all the good tunes ; and we add, nor the law, nor politics, nor the stage, all the good talents.

If men are held responsible, not only for all the evil they have done, but also for all the good they might have done—as undoubtedly they will be ; and if they are to be rewarded, not for having genius and talent, but for having *used* them in accordance with the Divine will and the dictates of conscience, then what immense and overwhelming interests are merged in the question : To what calling should men of great parts and of good education devote themselves ? Taste, inclination, and talent are altogether, and always, to be taken into account in a matter of such thrilling interest. But we are speaking of men of genius in general, and not of a particular class. The historic painter may, like our great West, give us Bible characters and Bible scenes. We may as well have the patriarchal scenes, tabernacle and temple scenes, official personages and festivals upon the walls of our rooms and museums, as the island of Calypso, or the ruins of the Capitol or the Pantheon, or the panorama of Mexico, Paris, or Waterloo. The poet may sing of Zion, and Siloam, of Jerusalem and its King, as well as of the wrath of Achilles, the siege of Troy, or the adventures of Æneas. An orator may as well plead for God as for man, for eternity as for time, for heaven as for earth ; he may as well plead for man's salvation as for his political rights and immunities ; and the same learning and eloquence that gain for a client a good inheritance or a fair reputation might also have gained for him an unfading crown and an enduring inheritance. It depends upon the taste of the man of genius of any peculiar kind to what cause he may supremely devote it. It is his duty, however, to bring it to the best market and to consecrate it to the noblest and most exalted good.

But, finally, it is not only incumbent on men of genius that they cultivate their talents to the greatest perfection, and that they select the noblest and most useful calling, but that they also prosecute them with the greatest vigour, and devote themselves to them with the most persevering assiduity. It is not he that enters upon any career, or starts in any race, but he that runs well, and perseveringly, that gains the plaudits of others, or the approval of his own conscience.

Life is a great struggle. It is one splendid campaign, a race, a contest for interests, honours, and pleasures of the highest character and of the most enduring importance. Happy the man of genius who cultivates all his powers with a reference thereunto, who chooses the most noble calling, and who prosecutes it with all his might. Such a one ultimately secures to himself the admiration of all the great, the wise, the good. Such a one will always enjoy the approbation of his own judgment and conscience, and, better still, the approbation of his God and Redeemer. How pleasing to him who has run the glorious race, to survey from the lofty summit of his eternal fame the cumulative results of an active life, developed in the light of eternity ! How transporting to contemplate the proximate and the remote, the direct and the indirect beatific fruits of his labours reflected from the bright countenances of enraptured myriads, beaming with grateful emotion on him as the honoured instrument of having inducted them into those paths of righteousness which led them into the fruition of riches, honours, and pleasures boundless as the universe and enduring as the ages of eternity !

## THOMAS CARLYLE

(For Biographical Note see Section iv.).

### THE HEROIC IN HISTORY

(First Lecture on Heroes).

**F**AITH is loyalty to some inspired Teacher, some spiritual Hero. And what therefore is loyalty proper, the life-breath of all society, but an effluence of Hero-worship, submissive admiration for the truly great? Society is founded on Hero-worship. All dignities of rank, on which human association rests, are what we may call a *Heroarchy* (Government of Heroes),—or a Hierarchy, for it is “sacred” enough withal! The Duke means *Dux*, Leader; King is *Kön-ning*, *Kan-ning*, Man that *knows* or *can*. Society everywhere is some representation, not insupportably inaccurate, of a graduated Worship of Heroes;—reverence and obedience done to men really great and wise. Not insupportably inaccurate, I say! They are all as banknotes, these social dignitaries, all representing gold;—and several of them, alas, always are *forged* notes. We can do with some forged false notes; with a good many even; but not with all, or the most of them forged! No: there have to come revolutions then; cries of Democracy, Liberty, and Equality, and I know not what:—the notes being all false, and no gold to be had for *them*, people take to crying in their despair that there is no gold, that there never was any!—“Gold,” Hero-worship, *is* nevertheless, as it was always and everywhere, and cannot cease till man himself ceases.

I am well aware that in these days Hero-worship, the thing I call Hero-worship, professes to have gone out, and finally ceased. This, for reasons which it will be worth while some time to inquire into, is an age that, as it were, denies the existence of great men; denies the desirableness of great men. Show our critics a great man, a Luther for example, they begin to what they call “account” for him; not to worship him, but take the dimensions of him,—and bring him out to be a little kind of man! He was the “creature of the Time,” they say; the Time called him forth, the Time did everything, he nothing—but what we, the little critic, could have done too! This seems to me but melancholy work. The Time call forth? Alas, we have known Times *call* loudly enough for their great man; but not find him when they

called! He was not there; Providence had not sent him; the Time, *calling* its loudest, had to go down to confusion and wreck because he would not come when called.

For if we will think of it, no time need have gone to ruin, could it have found a man great enough, a man wise and good enough: wisdom to discern truly what the time wanted, valour to lead it on the right road thither; these are the salvation of any time. But I liken common languid times, with their unbelief, distress, perplexity, with their languid doubting characters and embarrassed circumstances, impotently crumbling down into ever worse distress towards final ruin;—all this I liken to dry dead fuel, waiting for the lightning out of heaven that shall kindle it. The great man with his free force direct out of God's own hand is the lightning. His word is the wise healing word which all can believe in. All blazes round him now, when he has once struck on it, into fire like his own. The dry mouldering sticks are thought to have called him forth. They did want him greatly; but as to calling him forth!—Those are critics of small vision, I think, who cry: "See, is it not the sticks that made the fire?" No sadder proof can be given by a man of his own littleness than disbelief in great men. There is no sadder symptom of a generation than such general blindness to the spiritual lightning, with faith only in the heap of barren dead fuel. It is the last consummation of unbelief. In all epochs of the world's history, we shall find the great man to have been the indispensable saviour of his epoch;—the lightning, without which the fuel never would have burned. The history of the world, I said already, was the biography of great men.

Such small critics do what they can to promote unbelief and universal spiritual paralysis; but happily they cannot always completely succeed. In all times it is possible for a man to arise great enough to feel that they and their doctrines are chimeras and cobwebs. And what is notable, in no time whatever can they entirely eradicate out of living men's hearts a certain altogether peculiar reverence for great men; genuine admiration, loyalty, adoration, however dim and perverted it may be. Hero-worship endures forever while man endures. Boswell venerates his Johnson right truly, even in the eighteenth century. The unbelieving French believe in their Voltaire, and burst out round him into very curious Hero-worship, in that last act of his life when they "stifle him under roses." It has always seemed to me extremely curious, this of Voltaire. Truly, if Christianity be the highest instance of Hero-worship, then we may find here in Voltairism one of the lowest! He whose life was that of a kind of Antichrist does again on this side exhibit a curious contrast. No people ever were so little prone to admire at all as those French of Voltaire. Persiflage was the character of their whole

mind ; adoration had nowhere a place in it. Yet see ! The old man of Ferney comes up to Paris ; an old, tottering, infirm man of eighty-four years. They feel that he, too, is a kind of hero ; that he has spent his life in opposing error and injustice, delivering Calases, unmasking hypocrites in high places :—in short that he, too, though in a strange way, has fought like a valiant man. They feel withal that, if persiflage be the great thing, there never was such a persifleur. He is the realized ideal of every one of them ; the thing they are all wanting to be ; of all Frenchmen the most French. He is properly their god,—such god as they are fit for. Accordingly, all persons, from the Queen Antoinette to the Douanier at the Porte St. Denis, do they not worship him ? People of quality disguise themselves as tavern waiters. The Maitre de Poste with a broad oath orders his postilion, “*Va bon train ;* thou art driving M. de Voltaire.” At Paris his carriage is “the nucleus of a comet, whose train fills whole streets.” The ladies pluck a hair or two from his fur, to keep it as a sacred relic. There was nothing highest, most beautiful, noblest in all France, that did not feel this man to be higher, more beautiful, nobler.

Yes, from Norse Odin to English Samuel Johnson, from the divine founder of Christianity to the withered Pontiff of Encyclopedism, in all times and places, the hero has been worshipped. It will ever be so. We all love great men—love, venerate, and bow down submissive before great men : nay, can we honestly bow down to anything else ? Ah, does not every true man feel that he is himself made higher by doing reverence to what is really above him ? No nobler or more blessed feeling dwells in man’s heart. And to me it is very cheering to consider that no sceptical logic, or general triviality, insincerity, and aridity of any time and its influences can destroy this noble inborn loyalty and worship that is in man. In times of unbelief which soon have to become times of revolution, much down-rushing, sorrowful decay and ruin is visible to everybody. For myself in these days, I seem to see in this indestructibility of Hero-worship the everlasting adamant lower than which the confused wreck of revolutionary things cannot fall. The confused wreck of things crumbling and even crashing and tumbling all round us in these revolutionary ages will get down so far ; no farther. It is an eternal corner stone, from which they can begin to build themselves up again. That man, in some sense or other, worships heroes ; that we all of us reverence and must ever reverence great men : this is, to me, the living rock amid all rushings down whatsoever ;—the one fixed point in modern revolutionary history, otherwise as if bottomless and shoreless.

## ALEXANDER CARSON

(1776-1844).

A LONDON critic, explaining the great eminence of Doctor Carson as a public speaker, said: "He possessed the secret of making every subject interesting. There was great variety in all his addresses; but his chief glory was the Gospel theme. Here he shone out in full lustre; here all the powers of his mighty mind found ample scope; his manly eloquence was at home. Strangers who, from report, had formed high expectations, exclaimed: 'The half has not been told us'—such a torrent of magic thought would be poured forth in a style of burning, blazing, volcanic eloquence."

Doctor Carson was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1776, of Scottish ancestry. Educated at Glasgow University, where he took the highest honours, he was ordained a Presbyterian minister at the age of twenty-two. In 1805 he became a Baptist, and thenceforward until his death, August 24th, 1844, he was a pastor in charge of a church in Tubbermore, founded by people who seceded with him from their former connection. He was an author of books on a wide range of subjects, scientific, philological, theological, and practical. His treatise, the 'Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures,' was used by Doctor Chalmers as a text-book in his theological instructions, and commended in terms of admiration to his students.

### THE GLORIES OF IMMORTALITY

WITH respect to the nature of the glory of the heaven of heavens, the Scriptures do not appear to afford much precise and specific information. It would appear in general, from the Book of Revelation, that the chief employments and happiness of the saints consist in the praises of their ever-blessed Redeemer. On earth, though they have not seen him, they love him above all things. But in heaven their happiness is perfect in the perfect love of him.

The representation of the new Jerusalem is evidently figurative, and therefore we are not warranted to say that any of the specific objects

mentioned in this description actually exist. We ought not to conceive heaven as being really a city, with such walls, gates, pavements, etc. This representation has no doubt an important meaning, but this importance would be infinitely diminished by supposing that it is a literal description. A city thus built would be the most glorious that the imagination could conceive to be made of earthly materials, but it is a faint figure of the glory of the true heaven.

Some have thought that the risen body will not possess any powers of sensation. With respect to sight and hearing this is manifestly false. How much of the pleasure of the heavenly inhabitants consists in the sweet and loved songs of praise to God and the Lamb! And for what is all the glory of heaven, if not to gratify the eye? Light is the most glorious object on earth, and the enjoyment of the light of heaven appears to be among the most eminent felicities.

The angels of heaven are called angels of light—as distinguished from the angels that kept not their first love, who are reserved in chains of everlasting darkness to the judgment of the great day. Now, it appears to me that the former are so called from the light in which they dwell, rather than from their knowledge, or from the nature of their works, as Macknight understands the passage. It would be difficult to point out a distinguishing ignorance in the fallen spirits, and angels of light would be a very indefinite and distant expression to denote that they are continually employed in promoting truth and virtue. Believers may be distinguished from the children of this world, as the children of light, because they are enlightened in that great truth of which the others are ignorant.

God is also said to dwell in light—"who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see." This light is so exceedingly glorious that no man in his present state can approach it. But the time will come when even the eyes of the saints will be able to bear that light for "they shall see God." "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God," but the glorious spiritual bodies of the saints will enjoy it. What must be the brilliancy of the light of heaven when a glance of it now overpowers any of the human race? "At midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth," etc. "And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me," etc.

Some have supposed that God will never be visible and that the promise that we shall see God means only that we shall see the light in which he dwells. It is dangerous to advance too far on such a subject.



But I am not willing even here to limit Scripture language by views of possibility. That one spirit may have a perception of another corresponding to what we call visible is surely not only possible but certain. If so, why may not our spirits have such a perception of God? And that it is impossible for the glorified eye of the saint to have a perception of God is more than I will say. Let it suffice us that "we shall see God." Let us leave the manner of this to Himself. "Take heed," says Christ, "that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven." And if angels behold the face of God, it will not be impossible for us. To behold His face must imply to view Him in His glory; we need not, therefore, confound ourselves by any subtle inquiries about the way of seeing a spirit. God is everywhere: it is possible to make us sensible of His presence, whatever part of space we may at any time occupy. This is an unfathomable subject, but though it represses arrogant inquiries beyond what is written, it opens up a boundless field of expectation as to our future state. Having such a God as a father what may we not expect?

The reward of the saints is frequently exhibited with very animating effect, under the figure of the crowns of the victors in the Grecian games, of the conquerors who obtain a triumph on their return to their country. In these games the greatest men of the times entered as competitors for the glory of victory, and even kings thought themselves honoured by obtaining the prize. The victor was rewarded with a crown of leaves, and was received with unbounded honour by the vast multitudes assembled from all parts of Greece. Now, after all the self-denial of their former lives and unwearied diligence in preparatory exercises; after all the toils, dangers, and sufferings in the arduous struggle, they thought this crown of leaves a high recompense. It raised them upon a pinnacle of glory, to be viewed with admiration by all countries. Yet, as the Apostle says, they had in prospect only a corruptible crown; we have in our view an incorruptible crown. Their crown was the greatest the world could bestow, but it was fading, and is already withered many a hundred years. The crown of the Christian flourishes on his head with unfading freshness, and will bloom through eternity. Its glory will be witnessed not by the people only of one age, but by all the principalities in heaven.

## WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH

(1602-1644).

**P**ROBABLY the most famous preacher and author in the Church of England during the reign of Charles I. was William Chillingworth, pronounced by Tillotson "the glory of his age and nation," by Lord Mansfield "a perfect model of argumentation," and by Locke "a model of perspicuity and right reasoning." A native of Oxford, he graduated in 1620, and obtained a Trinity College fellowship. The most famous of his works "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation," published in 1637, passed through two editions in less than five months, and brought him a succession of preferments the following year. His ardent loyalty carried him into the Royalist army at the beginning of the civil war. He was made a prisoner by Waller at Arundel Castle in December 1643, and died during the following January.

### FALSE PRETENCES

**L**ET a book that treats of the philosopher's stone promise never so many mountains of gold, and even the restoring of the Golden Age again, yet were it no marvel if few should study it ; and the reason is, because few would believe it. But if there were a book extant, and ordinary to be had, as the Bible is, which men did generally believe to contain a plain and easy way for all men to become rich, and to live in health and pleasure, and this world's happiness, can any man imagine that this book would be unstudied by any man ? And why, then, should I not believe that if the Scripture were firmly and heartily believed to be the certain and only way to happiness which is perfect and eternal, it would be studied by all men with all diligence ? Seeing, therefore, most Christians are so cold and negligent in the study of it, prefer all other business, all other pleasures before it, is there not great reason to fear that many who pretend to believe it firmly believe it not at all, or very weakly and faintly ? If the general of an army, or an ambassador to some prince or state, were assured by the king, his master, that the transgressing any point of his commission should cost him his life, and

the exact performance of it be recompensed with as high a reward as were in the king's power to bestow upon him, can it be imagined that any man who believes this, and is in his right mind, can be so supinely and stupidly negligent of this charge, which so much imports him, as to oversee, through want of care, any one necessary article or part of his commission, especially if it be delivered to him in writing, and at his pleasure to peruse it every day? Certainly this absurd negligence is a thing without example, and such as peradventure will never happen to any sober man to the world's end; and, by the same reason, if we were firmly persuaded that this book doth indeed contain that charge and commission which infinitely more concerns us, it were not in reason possible but that to such a persuasion our care and diligence about it should be in some measure answerable. Seeing, therefore, most of us are so strangely careless, so grossly negligent of it, is there not great reason to fear that though we have professors and protesters in abundance, yet the faithful, the truly and sincerely faithful, are, in a manner, failed from the children of men? What but this can be the cause that men are so commonly ignorant of so many articles and particular mandates of it, which yet are as manifest in it as if they were written with the beams of the sun? For example, how few of our ladies and gentlemen do or will understand that a voluptuous life is damnable and prohibited to them? Yet St. Paul saith so very plainly, "She that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth." I believe that this case directly regards not the sex: he would say he, as well as she, if there had been occasion. How few of the gallants of our time do or will understand that it is not lawful for them to be as expensive and costly in apparel as their means, or perhaps their credit, will extend unto? Which is to sacrifice unto vanity that which by the law of Christ is due unto charity; and yet the same St. Paul forbids plainly this excess, even to women—"Also let women (he would have said it much rather to men) array themselves in comely apparel, with shamefacedness and modesty, not with embroidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly apparel." And, to make our ignorance the more inexcusable, the very same rule is delivered by St. Peter also.

How few rich men are or will be persuaded that the law of Christ permits them not to heap up riches forever, nor perpetually to add house to house, and land to land, though by lawful means; but requires of them thus much charity at least, that ever, while they are providing for their wives and children, they should, out of the increase wherewith God hath blessed their industry, allot the poor a just and free proportion? And when they have provided for them in a convenient manner (such as they themselves shall judge sufficient and convenient

in others), that then they should give over making purchase after purchase ; but with the surplusage of their revenue beyond their expense, procure, as much as lies in them, that no Christian remain miserably poor. Few rich men, I fear, are or will be thus persuaded, and their daily actions show as much ; yet, undoubtedly, either our Saviour's general command, of loving our neighbours as ourselves, which can hardly consist with our keeping vainly, or spending vainly, what he wants for his ordinary subsistence, lays upon us a necessity of this high liberality : or his special command concerning this matter ; *Quod superest date pauperibus* "That which remains give to the poor" : or that which St. John saith reacheth home unto it : "Whosoever hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up the bowels of his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him ?" Which is, in effect, as if he had said, He that keepeth from any brother in Christ that which his brother wants, and he wants not, doth but vainly think that he loves God ; and therefore vainly hopes that God loves him.

## SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

(347-407).

**J**OHAN "OF THE GOLDEN MOUTH" came to be the designation of the celebrated Father of the Greek Church, whose eloquence, pure life, and irrepressible fearlessness in the line of duty made him famous and raised him to an official eminence which he avoided as long as he could. As a preacher and prelate at Antioch, the capital of Syria, the fame of his piety and oratory led to his appointment as Archbishop of Constantinople under the Emperor Arcadius. He escaped the undesired promotion the first time by a stratagem, knowing, perhaps, that his conscience and sense of duty would sooner or later bring him under the ban of the court. On the archiepiscopal throne he persevered in his plain, abstemious mode of life, diligently applying to the support of hospitals the revenues his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury. The people of the city learned to love him, but the zeal and eloquence with which he opposed abuses in the Church and sin in high places arrayed against him many powerful enemies, both in court and Church, among them the notorious Empress Eudoxia. A synod packed with his enemies condemned him, on the grounds of contumacy, because he refused to appear before it to answer charges of heresy, and he was arrested and sent to Nicæa, in Bithynia. An uprising of the people so alarmed Eudoxia that he was recalled amid great popular rejoicings. He continued his assaults on the vices of the court, and after the city had been sufficiently garrisoned with barbarian legions to overawe the people, he was accused of insulting the Empress in a sermon with the words: "Herodias is again furious, Herodias again dances; she once more demands the head of John," and, though the accusation was false, it sealed his fate. He was sent a prisoner, first to a little village among the ridges of Mount Taurus, where it was hoped he would fall a victim to the hatred of the monasteries he had rebuked. But his influence still remaining formidable, an order was issued for his removal to the extreme desert of Pityus, and his guards so managed that he died at Comana in Pontus on the journey, September 4th, 407.

## THE BLESSING OF DEATH

**B**ELIEVE me, I am ashamed and blush to see unbecoming groups of women pass along the mart, tearing their hair, cutting their arms and cheeks—and all this under the eyes of the Greeks. For what will they not say? What will they not utter concerning us? Are these the men who philosophize about a resurrection? Indeed! How poorly their actions agree with their opinions! In words, they philosophize about a resurrection: but they act just like those who do not acknowledge a resurrection. If they fully believed in a resurrection, they would not act thus; if they had really persuaded themselves that a deceased friend had departed to a better state, they would not thus mourn. These things, and more than these, the unbelievers say when they hear those lamentations. Let us then be ashamed, and be more moderate, and not occasion so much harm to ourselves and to those who are looking on us.

For on what account, tell me, do you thus weep for one departed? Because he was a bad man? You ought on that very account to be thankful, since the occasions of wickedness are now cut off. Because he was good and kind? If so, you ought to rejoice; since he has been soon removed, before wickedness had corrupted him: and he has gone away to a world where he stands ever secure, and there is no room even to mistrust a change. Because he was a youth? For that, too, praise him who has taken him, because he has speedily called him to a better lot. Because he was an aged man? On this account, also, give thanks and glorify him that has taken him. Be ashamed of your manner of burial. The singing of psalms, the prayers, the assembling of the [spiritual] fathers and brethren—all this is not that you may weep and lament and afflict yourselves, but that you may render thanks to him who has taken the departed. For as when men are called to some high office, multitudes with praises on their lips assemble to escort them at their departure to their stations, so do all with abundant praise join to send forward, as to greater honour, those of the pious who have departed. Death is rest, a deliverance from the exhausting labours and cares of this world. When, then, thou seest a relative departing, yield not to despondency; give thyself to reflection; examine thy conscience; cherish the thought that after a little while this end awaits thee also. Be more considerate; let another's death excite thee to salutary fear; shake off all indolence; examine your past deeds; quit your sins, and commence a happy change.

We differ from unbelievers in our estimate of things. The unbeliever surveys the heaven and worships it, because he thinks it a divinity ; he looks to the earth and makes himself a servant to it, and longs for the things of sense. But not so with us. We survey the heaven, and admire him that made it ; for we believe it not to be a god, but a work of God. I look on the whole creation, and am led by it to the Creator. He looks on wealth, and longs for it with earnest desire ; I look on wealth, and contemn it. He sees poverty, and laments ; I see poverty, and rejoice. I see things in one light ; he in another. Just so in regard to death. He sees a corpse, and thinks of it as a corpse ; I see a corpse, and behold sleep rather than death. And as in regard to books, both learned persons and unlearned see them with the same eyes, but not with the same understanding—for to the unlearned the mere shapes of letters appear, while the learned discover the sense that lies within those letters ; so in respect to affairs in general, we all see what takes place with the same eyes, but not with the same understanding and judgment. Since, therefore, in all other things we differ from them, shall we agree with them in our sentiments respecting death ?

Consider to whom the departed has gone, and take comfort. He has gone where Paul is, and Peter, and the whole company of the saints. Consider how he shall arise, with what glory and splendour.

## THE HEROES OF FAITH

**W**HAT great labours did Plato endure, and his followers, discoursing to us about a line, and an angle, and a point, and about numbers even and odd, and equal unto one another and unequal, and such-like spiderwebs (for, indeed, those webs are not more useless to man's life, than were these subjects) : and without doing good to any one great or small by their means, so he made an end of his life. How greatly did he labour, endeavouring to show that the soul is immortal ! and even as he came he went away, having spoken nothing with certainty, nor persuaded any hearer. But the Cross wrought persuasion by means of unlearned men ; yea, it persuaded even the whole world ; and not about common things, but in discourse of God and the godliness which is according to truth, and the evangelical way of life, and the judgment of the things to come. And of all men it made philosophers : the very rustics, the utterly unlearned. Behold, how " the foolishness of God is wiser than men," and " the weakness stronger ! " How stronger ? Because it over-ran the whole world, and took all by main

force, and while men were endeavouring by ten thousands to quench the name of the Crucified, the contrary came to pass: that flourished and increased more and more, but they perished and wasted away; and the living, in war with the dead, had no power. So that when the Greek calls me foolish, he shows himself exceedingly above measure foolish: since I who am esteemed by him a fool evidently appear wiser than the wise. When he calleth me weak, then he showeth himself to be weaker. For the noble things which publicans and fishermen were able to effect by the grace of God, these, philosophers and rhetoricians and tyrants, and in short the whole world, running ten thousand ways here and there, could not even form a notion of. For what did not the Cross introduce? The doctrine concerning the Immortality of the Soul; that concerning the Resurrection of the Body; that concerning the contempt of things present; that concerning the desire of things future. Yea, Angels it hath made of men, and all, everywhere, practise self-denial, and show forth all kinds of fortitude.

But among them also, it will be said, many have been found contemptners of death. Tell me who. Was it he who drank the hemlock? But if thou wilt, I can bring\*forward ten thousand such from within the Church. For had it been lawful when persecution befell them to drink hemlock and depart, all had become more famous than he. And besides, he drank when he was not at liberty to drink or not to drink; but willing or against his will he must have undergone it: no effect surely of fortitude, but of necessity, and nothing more. For even robbers and man-slayers, having fallen under the condemnation of their judges, have suffered things more grievous. But with us it is all quite the contrary. For not against their will did the martyrs endure, but of their will, and being at liberty not to suffer; showing forth fortitude harder than all adamant. This, then, you see is no great wonder, that he whom I was mentioning drank hemlock, it being no longer in his power not to drink, and also when he had arrived at a very great age. For when he despised life he stated himself to be seventy years old; if this can be called despising. For I for my part could not affirm it: nor, what is more, can any one else. But show me some one enduring firm in torments for godliness's sake, as I show thee ten thousand everywhere in the world. Who, while his nails were tearing out, nobly endured? Who, while his joints were wrenching asunder? Who, while his body was enduring spoil, member by member? or his head? Who, while his bones were being heaved out by levers? Who, while placed without intermission upon frying-pans? Who, when thrown into a caldron? Show me these instances. For to die by hemlock is all as one with a sleeping man's continuing in a state



of sleep. Nay, even sweeter than sleep is this sort of death, if report say true. But if certain of them did endure torments, yet of these too the praise is gone to nothing. For on some disgraceful occasion they perished; some for revealing mysteries; some for aspiring to dominion; others detected in the foulest crimes; others again at random, and fruitlessly and ignorantly, there being no reason for it, made away with themselves. But not so with us. Wherefore of their deeds nothing is said; but these flourish and daily increase. Which Paul having in mind said, "The weakness of God is stronger than all men."

### AVARICE AND USURY

**T**HERE is nothing more cruel, nothing more infamous, than the usury so common amongst men.

The usurer traffics on the misfortunes of others; he enriches himself on their poverty, and then he demands his usury, as if they were under a great obligation to him.

He is heartless to his debtor, but is afraid of appearing so; when he pretends that he has every inclination to oblige, he crushes him the more and reduces him to the last extremity. He offers one hand, and with the other pushes him down the precipice.

He offers to assist the shipwrecked, and instead of guiding them safely into port he steers them among the reefs and rocks. Where your treasure is, there is your heart, says our Saviour. Perhaps you may have avoided many evils arising from avarice; but still, if you cherish an attachment to this odious vice, it will be of little use, for you will still be a slave, free as you fancy yourself to be; and you will fall from the height of heaven to that spot wherein your gold is hidden, and your thoughts will still complacently dwell on money, gains, usury, and dishonest commerce.

What is more miserable than such a state?

There is not a sadder tyranny than that of a man who is a willing subject to this furious tyrant, destroying all that is good in him, namely, the nobility of the soul.

So long as you have a heart basely attached to gains and riches, whatsoever truths may be told to you, or whatsoever advice may be given to you, to secure your salvation—all will be useless.

Avarice is an incurable malady, an ever-burning fire, a tyranny which extends far and wide; for he who in this life is the slave of money is loaded with heavy chains and destined to carry far heavier chains in the life to come.

## SAINT CYPRIAN

(200-258).

**T**HASCIUS CÆCILIUS CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage, beheaded in 258 A.D., during the Valerian persecution, began life as a teacher of rhetoric and oratory at Carthage. It is said that he was passionately fond of eloquence and, on being converted to Christianity at the age of forty-eight, he quickly attained eminence in the church at a time when it could easily mean martyrdom—as it did in his case. It is said that he did more than any other early writer except possibly Saint Augustine, “to give form and character to the doctrine and practice of the Latin Church.” His style as an orator is characterized by earnestness and directness, rather than by ornament. He was born about the year 200.

### UNSHACKLED LIVING

(A Sermon on the Lord's Prayer).

**I**T is our prayer that the will of God may be done both in heaven and in earth; each of which bears toward the accomplishment of our health and salvation. Having a body from the earth, and a spirit from heaven, we are both earth and heaven; in both, that is, both in body and spirit, we pray that God's will may be done. Flesh and spirit have a strife between them, a daily encounter from their mutual quarrel, so that we cannot do the things that we would, because the spirit seeks things heavenly and divine, the flesh desires things earthly and temporal. Hence it is our earnest prayer that by God's help and aid a peace may be established between these two; that by the doing of God's will, both in the spirit and flesh, that soul may be preserved which has been born again through him. This the Apostle Paul, in distinct and manifest words, sets forth: “The flesh,” saith he, “lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are

these, adulteries, fornications, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, murders, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revelling, and such like, of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in times past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, magnanimity, goodness, faith, kindness, continence, chastity." For this cause we make it our daily, yea, our unceasing petition, that God's will in us may be done, both in heaven and earth ; for this is the will of God, that the earthly should give way to the heavenly, that spiritual and divine things should become supreme.

It were a self-contradicting and incompatible thing for us, who pray that the kingdom of God may quickly come, to be looking unto long life in the world below. Thus, also the blessed Apostle instructs us, forming and establishing the steadfastness of our hope and faith : " We brought nothing into this world, and neither can we carry anything out. Having, therefore, food and raiment, let us herewith be content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare and into many and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil, which, while some coveted after, they have made shipwreck from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." He teaches us that not only are riches despicable, but are also dangerous ; that in them is the root of seductive evils, misleading the blindness of the human heart by a concealed deception. Wherefore also God judges that rich fool whose thoughts were for his earthly stores, and who boasted himself in the multitude of his abundant gathering : " Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee ; then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided ? " The fool made merry in his stores, even that night when he was to die ; and while life was ceasing from his hand, life's multiplied provision still employed his thought. The Lord, on the other hand, teaches us that he becomes the perfect and accomplished Christian who, by selling all he had and giving to the poor, stores up for himself a treasure in heaven. That man, he says, it is that can follow him and imitate the glory of the Passion of the Lord, who unimpeded and close-girt, involved in no shackle of worldly possessions, is enabled in unrestraint and freedom himself to follow after these his possessions, which he has already sent before to God. In order that each of us may train himself to this, he may learn to offer a prayer corresponding to his doing so, and may be taught from the standard which his prayer puts before him the manner of man that he ought to be. The just man can never be in want for his daily bread since it is written " The Lord will not suffer the soul of the righteous

to famish." And again, "I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." The Lord also makes promise and says: "Take no thought, saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." He promises to those who seek God's kingdom and righteousness, that all other things shall be added. For since all things are of God, to him that has God there will nothing fail, if himself be not failing unto God. Thus Daniel had a meal miraculously provided, when he was shut up by the command of the king in the den of lions; and among wild beasts hungering, yet sparing him, the man of God was nourished. Thus Elijah received sustenance in his flight and was fed through persecution by ravens that ministered to him in his solitude, and birds that bare him meat. And oh! the horrid cruelty of human wickedness! the wild beasts spare, and the birds give food, while it is men that lurk and rage.

He has added the rule besides, binding us under the fixed condition and responsibility that we are to ask for our sins to be forgiven in such sort as we forgive them that are in debt to us, knowing that our entreaties for sin will have no acceptance unless we deal toward our debtors in like manner. Hence, in another place, he says, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;" and the servant who, after being forgiven all his debt by his Lord, refused to forgive his fellow-servant, was cast back into prison; on refusing to yield to his fellow-servant, he lost what his Lord had previously yielded to him. These things Christ still more impressively sets forth in his commandments, in the fuller force of his authority: "When ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any, that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses. But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses." No excuse will abide you in the day of judgment, when you will be judged by your own sentence, and as you have dealt toward others will be dealt with yourself. For God commands us to be peacemakers, and dwell with one heart and one mind in his house; and what he made us by our second nativity, such he would have us continue when new-born, that having become sons of God, we may abide in God's peace, and partake as of one spirit, so of but one heart and one mind. Hence it is that God accepts not the sacrifice of the unreconciled, and commands him to return first and agree with his brother, that the prayers of the peace-maker may set him at peace with God.

After these things, at the conclusion of the prayer, comes a sentence comprising shortly and collectively the whole of our petitions and desires. We end by saying, "Deliver us from evil," comprehending all adverse things which the enemy in this world devises against us; wherefrom we have a faithful and firm protection, if God deliver us, and grant his aid to our entreaties and complaints. But having said, "Deliver us from evil," there remains nothing beyond for us to ask for, after petition made for God's protection from evil; for that gained, we stand secure and safe against all things that the devil and the world work against us. What fear hath he from this life, who has God through life for his guardian? We need not wonder, dearest brethren, that this is God's prayer, seeing how his instruction comprises all our petitioning in one saving sentence. This had already been prophesied by Isaiah the prophet, when, filled with the Holy Spirit, he spoke concerning the majesty and mercy of God; "summing up and cutting short his word, in righteousness, because a short word will God make in the whole earth." For when the word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came unto all, and, gathering together alike the learned and the unlearned, did to every sex and age set forth the precepts of salvation, he made a full compendium of his instructions, that the memory of the scholars might not labour in the heavenly discipline, but accept with readiness whatsoever was necessary unto a simple faith. Thus, when he taught what is life eternal, he gathered the mystery of life within an especial and divine brevity. "This," said he, "is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." In like manner, when he gathered forth from the law and prophets what were the first and greatest commandments, he said, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength: this is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." And again, "Whatever good things ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

Those who pray ought to come to God, not with unfruitful or naked prayers. Vainly we ask, when it is a barren petition that is given to God. For since "every tree not bringing forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire," surely words also which bring no fruit must fail of favour with God, seeing they are joined with no productiveness in righteous deeds. Hence Divine Scripture instructs us saying "Prayer is good, with fasting and alms." For he who, in the day of judgment, will render to us a reward for our good works

and alms is also a gracious listener to any that approach him in prayer, with the company of good works. Thus was it that the Centurion Cornelius, when he prayed, found a title to be heard. For he was one "that did many alms-deeds toward the people, and ever prayed to God." To him, when he was praying about the ninth hour, an angel came nigh, rendering testimony to his deeds, and saying, "Cornelius, thy prayers and thine alms are gone up in remembrance before God." Quickly do prayers go up to God, when the claims of our good works introduce them before him. Thus, also, the angel Raphael bare witness to the continual praying and continual alms-deeds of Tobias, saying, "It is honourable to reveal and confess the works of God. For when thou didst pray, and Sara, I did bring the remembrance of your prayers before the holiness of God. And when thou didst bury the dead, I was with thee likewise; and because thou didst not delay to rise up and leave thy dinner, to go and cover the dead, I was sent to prove thee; and now God hath sent me to heal thee and Jona, thy daughter-in-law. For I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which go in and out before the glory of God." By Isaiah, likewise, the Lord admonishes and teaches us like things, thus testifying: "Loosen every knot of unrighteousness; release the oppression of contracts which have no power. Let the troubled go in peace, and break every unjust engagement. Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor that are cast out to thy house. When thou seest the naked, cover him, and despise not them of thine own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth in season, and thy raiment shall spring forth speedily, and righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of God shall cover thee. Then shalt thou call, and God shall hear thee, and while thou shalt yet speak, he shall say, Here I am." He promises that he is nigh, and hears and protects those who, loosening the knots of unrighteousness from the heart, and giving alms among the household of God, according to his commandment, do, by hearkening to what God claims of them, themselves acquire a title to be heard of him. The blessed Paul, having been assisted by the brethren in a needful time of pressure, declared that good works performed were sacrifices to God. "I am full," saith he, "having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God. For when one hath pity on the poor, he lendeth to God"; and he that gives, even to the least, gives to God, spiritually sacrificing to God an odour of a sweet smell.

## SAINT CYRIL

(315-386).

**C**YRIL of Jerusalem bears translation into English much better than many others of the celebrated pulpit orators of the first centuries of the Christian era. In many of the sermons of that period eloquence, which depends primarily on profound religious conviction, scarcely survives at all when deprived of its melodious expression in Greek or Latin. Cyril, however, has a poetry of idea, which makes such sermons as that which he preached from the second and third verses of the thirty-eighth chapter of Job, eloquent in any language into which they are translated. He was born near Jerusalem about 315 A.D. In 350 A.D. he succeeded to the bishopric of Jerusalem, from which seven years later he was deposed as the result of a controversy with Acacius, the Arian Bishop of Cæsarea. Four years later he was restored to his see and held it until his death in 386 A.D.

### THE INFINITE ARTIFICES OF NATURE

(A Sermon on the Second and Third Verses of the Thirty-Eighth Chapter of Job).

**W**HAT! is there not much to wonder at in the sun, which, being small to look on, contains in it an intensity of power, appearing from the east, and shooting his light even to the west? The Psalmist describes his rising at dawn, when he says, "Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber." This is a description of his pleasant and comely array on first appearing to men; for when he rides at high noon we are wont to flee from his blaze; but at his rising he is welcome to all, as a bridegroom to look on. Behold, also, how he proceeds (or rather not he, but one who has by his bidding determined his course); how in summer time aloft in the heavens he finishes off longer days, giving men due time for their works; while in winter he straightens his course, lest the day's cold last too long, and that the night's lengthening may conduce both to the rest of men, and to the fruitfulness of the earth's productions. And see, likewise, in what order the days correspond to each other, in summer increasing, in winter diminishing,

but in spring and autumn affording one another a uniform length ; and the night again in like manner. And as the Psalmist saith concerning them, " Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge."

For to those who have no ears, they almost shout aloud, and by their orders say there is no other God save their Maker and the appointer of their bounds, him who laid out the universe.

Those persons ought to have felt astonishment and admiration, not only at the sun and moon, but also at the well-ordered choirs of the stars, their unimpeded courses, their respective risings in due season ; and how some are the signs of summer, others of winter, and how some mark the time of sowing, others introduce the season of sailing. And man, sitting in his ship, and sailing on the boundless waves, looks at the stars and steers his vessel. Well, says Scripture, concerning these bodies, " Let them be for signs and for seasons, and for days and for years " ; not for star-gazing and vain tales of nativities. Observe, too, how considerately he imparts the daylight by a gradual growth ; for the sun does not rise upon us while we gaze, all at once, but a little light runs up before him, that by previous trial our eyeball may bear his stronger ray ; and again, how he has cheered the darkness of night by the gleam of moonlight.

Who is the father of rain ; and who hath given birth to the drops of dew ? Who hath condensed the air into clouds, and bid them carry the fluid mass of showers, at one time bringing from the north golden clouds, at another giving these a uniform appearance, and then again curling them up into festoons and other figures manifold ? Who can number the clouds in wisdom ? of which Job saith, " He knoweth the balancings of the clouds, and hath bent down the heaven to the earth ; and he who numbereth the clouds in wisdom ; and the cloud is not rent under them." For though measures of water ever so many weigh upon the clouds, yet they are not rent, but with all order come down upon the earth. Who brings the winds out of his treasures ? Who, as just now said, " hath given birth to the drops of dew ? Out of whose womb cometh forth the ice," watery in its substance, but like stone in its properties ? And at one time the water becomes snow like wool, at another it ministers to him who scatters the hoar-frost like ashes ; at another it is changed into a stormy substance, since he fashions the waters as he will. Its nature is uniform, its properties manifold. Water in the vines is wine, which maketh glad the heart of man ; and in the olives oil, to make his face to shine ; and is further transformed into bread, which strengtheneth man's heart, and into all kinds of fruits.



For such wonders was the Great Artificer to be blasphemed, or rather worshipped? And, after all, I have not yet spoken of that part of his wisdom which is not seen. Contemplate the spring and the flowers of all kinds, in all their likeness, still diverse from one another: the deep crimson of the rose, and the exceeding whiteness of the lily. They come of one and the same rain, one and the same earth. Who has distinguished, who has formed them? Now do consider this attentively: The substance of the tree is one—part is for shelter, part for this or that kind of fruit, and the artificer is one. The vine is one, and part of it is for fuel, part for clusters. Again, how wondrously thick are the knots which run round the reeds, as the artificer hath made them! But of the one earth came creeping things, and wild beasts and cattle and trees and food and gold and silver and brass and iron and stone. Water was but one nature; yet of it comes the life of things that swim and of birds, and as the one swims in the waters, so also the birds fly in the air.

And this great and wide sea, in it are things creeping innumerable. Who can tell the beauty of the fishes that are therein? Who can describe the greatness of the whales, and the nature of its amphibious animals? how they live both on dry land and in the waters? Who can tell the depth and breadth of the sea, or the force of its enormous waves? Yet it stays within its boundaries, because of him who said, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." And to show the decree imposed on it when it runs upon the land, it leaves a plain line on the sands by its waves, declaring, as it were, to those who see it, that it has not passed its appointed bounds.

Who can understand the nature of the fowls of the air,—how some have with them a voice of melody, and others have their wings enriched with all manner of painting, and others soaring on high stay motionless in the midst of the sky, as the hawk? For by the Divine command, "the hawk, having spread out her wings, stays motionless, looking down toward the south." Who of men can behold the eagle? But if thou canst not read the mystery of birds when soaring on high, how wouldst thou read the Maker of all things?

Who among men knows even the names of all wild beasts, or who can accurately classify their natures? But if we know not even their bare names, how should we comprehend their Maker? The command of God was but one, which said: "Let the earth bring forth wild beasts and cattle and creeping things, after their kinds;" and distinct natures sprang from one voice, at one command—the gentle sheep and carnivorous lion—also the various instincts of irrational creatures, as representations of the various characters of men. The fox is an

emblem of men's craftiness, and the snake of a friend's envenomed treachery, and the neighing horse of wanton young men, and that busy ant to arouse the sluggish and the dull ; for when a man passes his youth idly, then he is instructed by irrational creatures, being reproved by that Scripture which saith, " Go to the ant, thou sluggard ; consider her ways and be wise," for when thou beholdest her in due season treasuring up food for herself, do thou copy her, and treasure up for thyself the fruits of good works for the world to come. And again, " Go to the bee, and learn how industrious she is ;" how, hovering about all kinds of flowers, she culls the honey for thy use, that thou, also, ranging over Holy Scriptures, mayst lay hold on thy salvation, and, being satisfied with it, mayst say : " How sweet are thy words unto my taste ; yea, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb unto my mouth."

Is not the Artificer, then, rather worthy to be glorified ? For what, if thou know not the nature of everything, are the things, therefore, which he has made, without their use ? For canst thou know the efficacy of all herbs ? or canst thou learn all the advantage which comes of every animal ? Even from poisonous adders have come antidotes for the preservation of men. But thou wilt say to me : " The snake is terrible." Fear thou the Lord, and it shall not be able to hurt thee. " The scorpion stings." Fear thou the Lord, and it shall not sting thee. " The lion is bloodthirsty." Fear thou the Lord, and he shall lie down beside thee, as by Daniel. And, truly, there is whereat to wonder, in the power even of the creatures ; how some, as the scorpion, have their weapon in a sting, while the power of others is in their teeth, and others, again, get the better by means of hoofs, and the basilisk's might is his gaze. Thus, from this varied workmanship, think of the Artificer's power.

But these things, perchance, thou art not acquainted with ; thou hast nothing in common with the creatures which are without thee. Now, then, enter into thyself and consider the Artificer of thine own nature. What is there to find fault with in the framing of thy body ? Master thine own self, and there shall nothing evil proceed from any of thy members. At the first, Adam, in Paradise, was without clothing, as was Eve ; but it was not because of aught that he was, that he was cast out. Naught that we are, then, is the cause of sin, but they who abuse what they are ; but the Maker is wise. Who hath " fenced us with sinews and bones, and clothed us with skin and flesh ;" and, soon as the babe is born, brings forth fountains of milk out of the breast ? And how doth the babe grow to be a child, and the child to be a youth, and then to be a man, and is again changed into an old man, no one the while discerning exactly each day's change ? How, also, does

part of our food become blood, while another part is separated for the draught, and another is changed into flesh? Who is it that gives the never-ceasing motion to the heart? Who hath wisely guarded the tenderness of the eyes with the fence of the eyelids? for, concerning the complicated and wonderful contrivance of the eyes, scarcely do the ample rolls of physicians sufficiently inform us. Who, also, hath sent each breath we draw, through the whole body? Thou seest, O man, the Artificer; thou seest the wise Contriver.

## JOHN DONNE

(1573-1631).

**J**OHN DONNE, poet and preacher, "carried some of his hearers to heaven in holy raptures and enticed others by a sacred art and persuasiveness to amend their lives." Born in London in 1573, he was educated at Oxford first and afterwards at Cambridge. Appointed chaplain-in-ordinary to James I., he became a royal favourite, perhaps more for his poetry than for his sermons, though both have been much admired. His theological indorsers decline to give their unqualified approval to his verse, which they say is "tainted by the vice of his age," but he retains, nevertheless, the reputation of sincere piety, profound learning, and wonderful persuasiveness as a pulpit orator. He died March 1st, 1631, like the "sated guest" of Horace, his last words being "I were miserable if I could not die."

### MAN IMMORTAL, BODY AND SOUL

(Sermon on the Resurrection).

**T**O constitute a man there must be a body as well as a soul. Nay, the immortality of the soul will not so well lie in proof, without a resuming of the body. For, upon those words of the Apostle, "If there were no resurrection we were the miserablest of all men," the school reasons reasonably: naturally the soul and body are united; when they are separated by death, it is contrary to nature, which nature still affects this union; and consequently the soul is the less perfect for this separation and it is not likely that the perfect natural state of the soul, which is to be united to the body, should last but three or four score years and in most much less, and the unperfect state, this is, the separation, should last eternally, forever: so that either the body must be believed to live again, or the soul believed to die.

Never, therefore, dispute against thine own happiness; never say, God asks the heart, that is, the soul, and therefore rewards the soul, or punishes the soul, and hath no respect to the body. Says Tertullian: "Never go about to separate the thoughts of the heart from the college,

from the fellowship of the body ; all that the soul does, it does in, and with, and by the body." And therefore, says he also, the body is washed in baptism, but it is that the soul might be made clean ; in all unctions, whether that which was then in use in baptism, or that which was in use at our transmigration and passage out of this world, the body was anointed that the soul might be consecrated. Says Tertullian still, the body is signed with the cross, that the soul might be armed against temptations ; and again, " My body received the body of Christ, that my soul might partake of his merits." He extends it into many particulars, and sums up all thus, " These two, body and soul, cannot be separated forever, which, while they are together, concur in all that either of them do." " Never think it presumption," says St. Gregory, " to hope for that in thyself which God admitted when he took thy nature upon him." " And God hath made it," says he, " more easy than so for thee to believe it, because not only Christ himself, but such men as thou art did rise at the resurrection of Christ." And therefore when our bodies are dissolved and liquefied in the sea, putrefied in the earth, resolved to ashes in the fire, macerated in the air, make account that all the world is God's cabinet, and water, and earth, and fire, and air, are the proper boxes in which God lays up our bodies for the resurrection. Curiously to dispute against our own resurrection is seditiously to dispute against the dominion of Jesus, who is not made Lord by the resurrection, if he have no subjects to follow him in the same way. We believe him to be Lord, therefore let us believe his and our resurrection.

This blessed day, which we celebrate now, he rose ; he rose so as none before did, none after ever shall rise ; he rose, others are but raised. " Destroy this temple," says he, " and I will raise it ; I, without employing any other architect. I lay down my life," says he ; the Jews could not have killed him when he was alive ; if he were alive here now, the Jesuits could not kill him except his being made Christ and Lord, and anointed King, have made him more open to them. " I have power to lay it down," says he, " and I have power to take it up again."

This day we celebrate his resurrection ; this day let us celebrate our own. . . . Fulfil, therefore, that which Christ says, " The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." Be this that hour, be this thy first resurrection. Bless God's present goodness for this now, and attend God's leisure for the other resurrection hereafter. He that is " the first fruits of them that slept," Christ Jesus is awake ; he dies no more, he sleeps no more. He offered a sacrifice for thee, but he had that from thee that he offered for thee ; he was the first fruits, but the first fruits

of thy corn ; doubt not of having that in the whole crop which thou hast already in thy first fruits ; that is, to have that in thyself which thou hast in thy Saviour. And what glory soever thou hast had in this world, glory inherited from noble ancestors, glory acquired by merit and service, glory purchased by money and observation, what glory of beauty and proportion, what glory of health and strength soever thou hast had in this house of clay, " the glory of the latter house shall be greater than that of the former." To this glory, the God of this glory, by glorious or inglorious ways, such as may most advance his own glory, bring us in His time, for His Son Christ Jesus's sake. Amen.

### STYLE AND LANGUAGE

THE Holy Ghost in penning the Scriptures delights himself, not only with a propriety, but with a delicacy, and harmony, and melody of language ; with height of metaphors, and other figures, which may work greater impressions upon the readers, and not with barbarous, or trivial, or market, or homely language : It is true, that when the Grecians, and the Romans, and S. Augustine himself, undervalued and despised the Scriptures, because of the poor and beggarly phrase, that they seemed to be written in, the Christians could say little against it, but turned still upon the other safer way, we consider the matter, and not the phrase, because for the most part they had read the Scriptures only in translation, which could not maintain the majesty, nor preserve the elegancies of the original.

Their case was somewhat like ours at the beginning of the Reformation ; when, because most of those men who laboured in that Reformation came out of the Roman Church, and there had never read the body of the Fathers at large, but only such rags and fragments of those Fathers, as were patched together in their Decretals, and other such Common places, for their purpose, and to serve their turn, therefore they were loath at first to come to that issue, to try controversies by the Fathers. But as soon as our men that embraced the Reformation had had time to read the Fathers, they were ready enough to join with the adversary in that issue : and still we protest, that we accept that evidence, the testimony of the Fathers, and refuse nothing which the Fathers unanimously delivered for matter of faith ; and howsoever at the beginning some men were a little umbrageous, and startling at the name of the Fathers, yet since the Fathers have been well studied for more than threescore years, we have behaved ourselves with more reverence towards the Fathers, and more confidence in the Fathers, than they of

the Roman persuasion have done, and been less apt to suspect or quarrel with their Books, or to reprove their doctrines, than our adversaries have been. So, howsoever the Christians at first were fain to sink a little under that imputation, that their Scriptures have no majesty, no eloquence, because these embellishments could not appear in translations, nor they then read originals, yet now, that a perfect knowledge of those languages has brought us to see the beauty and the glory of those Books, we are able to reply to them, that there are not in all the world so eloquent Books as the Scriptures; and that nothing is more demonstrable, than that if we would take all those figures, and tropes, which are collected out of secular poets, and orators, we may give higher, and livelier examples, of every one of those Figures, out of the Scriptures, than out of all the Greek and Latin poets, and orators; and they mistake it much, that think, that the Holy Ghost hath rather chosen a low, and barbarous, and homely style, than an eloquent, and powerful manner of expressing himself.

#### THE PREACHER

**I**N the great ant-hill of the whole world, I am an ant; I have my part in the Creation, I am a creature; but there are ignoble creatures.

God comes nearer; in the great field of clay, of red earth, that man was made of, and mankind, I am a clod; I am a man, I have my part in the Humanity; but Man was worse than annihilated again. When Satan in that serpent was come, as Hercules with his club into a potter's shop, and had broken all the vessels, destroyed all mankind, and the gracious promise of a Messiah to redeem all mankind was shed and spread upon all, I had my drop of that dew of Heaven, my spark of that fire of heaven, in the universal promise, in which I was involved; but this promise was appropriated after, in a particular Covenant, to one people, to the Jews, to the seed of Abraham. But for all that I have my portion there; for all that profess Christ Jesus are by a spiritual engrafting, and transmigration, and transplantation, in and of that stock, and that seed of Abraham; and I am one of those. But then, of those who do profess Christ Jesus, some grovel still in the superstitions they were fallen into, and some are raised, by God's good grace, out of them; and I am one of those; God hath afforded me my station, in that Church, which is departed from Babylon.

Now, all this while, my soul is in a cheerful progress; when I consider what God did for Goshen in Egypt, for a little park in the midst of a forest; what he did for Jewry, in the midst of enemies, as a

shire that should stand out against a Kingdom round about it : how many sanctuaries he hath delivered from famine, how many Genevas from plots, and machinations against her ; all this while my soul is in a progress : but I am at home, when I consider Bulls of excommunications, and solicitations of rebellions, and pistols, and poisons, and the discoveries of those ; we are testimonies that we are in the favour, and care of God ; we, our Nation, we, our Church ; there I am at home ; but I am in my Cabinet at home, when I consider, what God hath done for me, and my soul ; there is the Ego, the particular, the individual, I.



## FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE FÉNELON

(1651-1715).

**T**HE author of 'Telemachus,' and the rival of Bossuet, Fénelon is remembered for the limpid purity of his language and the elevation of his views of life, rather than for boldness and originality. As a man, he has been loved in his lifetime and ever since, for his unworldliness and gentleness. As an orator, he has a style of his own hardly approached by anyone else. "What cultivated man," says Matthews, "needs to be told of the sweet persuasions that dwelt upon the tongue of the swan of Cambrai?"

Fénelon was born August 6th, 1651, of a noble family, in Périgord. Always delicate and sensitive, he was greatly loved by his father, Count Pons de Salignac, who sent him first to the college at Cahors and afterwards to Paris, that he might have the best possible education. He showed his genius at an early age. It is said that at fifteen he preached a sermon which astonished and delighted his hearers. After entering the priesthood, he spent ten years as superior of the community of "Nouvelles Catholiques," an order devoted to the education of women. About this time he wrote his celebrated work, 'The Education of Young Girls,' and his 'Refutation of Malebranche.' In 1685 he was sent as a missionary into districts disturbed by the religious persecutions of Louis XIV. The work he did in them was creditable, though unsatisfactory to his superior, the Archbishop of Paris.

In 1689 he was made tutor to the Dauphin, for whom he wrote his most celebrated work, 'Telemachus,' a romance of the most delightful improbability, concerning which it has been asked with reason how its author could conceive the possibility of such a paragon as 'Telemachus' originating in the family of a liar so practised, an adventurer so unscrupulous, as Ulysses boasted of being. That, however, did not concern Fénelon at all. He intended the book for the best possible sermon written in the best possible French, and succeeded so well in realizing his intention that it has outlasted the throne of the Bourbons whom he hoped by it to persuade to virtue.

In 1695 the King nominated Fénelon for the Archbishopric of Cambrai, and at about the same time his celebrated controversy with Bossuet over Quietism began to develop. It is impossible to do justice

to Fénelon's position in a sentence of summary, but he seems to have believed and, with the mildness peculiar to him, to have insisted that a Christian ought to live in this world as if he were in heaven—a doctrine which brought him into disgrace and resulted in his retirement to Cambrai where he spent the last years of his life in teaching, preaching, feeding the hungry, and nursing the sick. He died January 7th, 1715.

### SIMPLICITY AND GREATNESS

(From the "Sermons of Fénelon."—Translation of Mrs. Follen).

**T**HERE is a simplicity that is a defect, and a simplicity that is a virtue. Simplicity may be a want of discernment. When we speak of a person as simple, we may mean that he is credulous and vulgar. The simplicity that is a virtue is something sublime; every one loves and admires it; but it is difficult to say exactly what this virtue is.

Simplicity is an upright<sup>s</sup>ness of soul that has no reference to self; it is different from sincerity, and it is a still higher virtue. We see many people who are sincere, without being simple; they only wish to pass for what they are, and they are unwilling to appear what they are not; they are always thinking of themselves, measuring their words, and recalling their thoughts, and reviewing their actions, from the fear that they have done too much or too little. These persons are sincere, but they are not simple; they are not at ease with others, and others are not at ease with them; they are not free, ingenuous, natural; we prefer people who are less correct, less perfect, and who are less artificial. This is the decision of man, and it is the judgment of God, who would not have us so occupied with ourselves, and thus, as it were, always arranging our features in a mirror.

To be wholly occupied with others, never to look within, is the state of blindness of those who are entirely engrossed by what is present and addressed to their senses; this is the very reverse of simplicity. To be absorbed in self in whatever engages us, whether we are labouring for our fellow-beings or for God—to be wise in our own eyes, reserved, and full of ourselves, troubled at the least thing that disturbs our self-complacency, is the opposite extreme. This is false wisdom, which, with all its glory, is but little less absurd than that folly which pursues only pleasure. The one is intoxicated with all that it sees around it; the other with all that it imagines it has within; but it is delirium in

both. To be absorbed in the contemplation of our own minds is really worse than to be engrossed by outward things, because it appears like wisdom and yet is not ; we do not think of curing it ; we pride ourselves upon it ; we approve of it ; it gives us an unnatural strength ; it is a sort of frenzy ; we are not conscious of it ; we are dying, and we think ourselves in health.

Simplicity consists in a just medium, in which we are neither too much excited, nor too composed. The soul is not carried away by outward things, so that it cannot make all necessary reflections ; neither does it make those continual references to self, that a jealous sense of its own excellence multiplies to infinity. That freedom of the soul, which looks straight onward in its path, losing no time to reason upon its steps, to study them, or to contemplate those that it has already taken, is true simplicity.

The first step in the progress of the soul is disengagement from outward things, that it may enter into itself, and contemplate its true interests : this is a wise self-love. The second is, to join to this the idea of God whom it fears : this is the feeble beginning of true wisdom ; but the soul is still fixed upon itself ; it is afraid that it does not fear God enough ; it is still thinking of itself. These anxieties about ourselves are far removed from that peace and liberty which a true and simple love inspires ; but it is not yet time for this ; the soul must pass through this trouble ; this operation of the spirit of God in our hearts comes to us gradually ; we approach step by step to this simplicity. In the third and last state, we begin to think of God more frequently, we think of ourselves less, and insensibly we lose ourselves in him.

The more gentle and docile the soul is, the more it advances in this simplicity. It does not become blind to its own defects, and unconscious of its imperfections ; it is more than ever sensible of them ; it feels a horror of the slightest sin ; it sees more clearly its own corruption ; but this sensibility does not arise from dwelling upon itself, but by the light from the presence of God, we see how far removed we are from infinite purity.

Thus simplicity is free in its course, since it makes no preparation ; but it can only belong to the soul that is purified by a true penitence. It must be the fruit of a perfect renunciation of self, and an unreserved love of God. But though they, who become penitents, and tear themselves from the vanities of the world, make self the object of thought, yet they must avoid an excessive and unquiet occupation with themselves, such as would trouble, and embarrass, and retard them in their progress. Dwelling too much upon self produces in weak minds useless scruples and superstitions, and in stronger minds a presumptuous wisdom. Both

are contrary to true simplicity, which is free and direct, and gives itself up, without reserve and with a generous self-forgetfulness, to the Father of spirits. How free, how intrepid are the motions, how glorious the progress that the soul makes, when delivered from all low, and interested, and unquiet cares.

If we desire that our friends be simple and free with us, disencumbered of self in their intimacy with us, will it not please God, who is our truest friend, that we should surrender our souls to him, without fear or reserve in that holy and sweet communion with himself which he allows us? It is this simplicity which is the perfection of the true children of God. This is the end that we must have in view, and to which we must be continually advancing.

This deliverance of the soul from all useless, and selfish, and unquiet cares, brings to it a peace and freedom that are unspeakable; this is true simplicity. It is easy to perceive, at the first glance, how glorious it is; but experience alone can make us comprehend the enlargement of heart that it produces. We are then like a child in the arms of its parent; we wish nothing more; we fear nothing; we yield ourselves up to this pure attachment; we are not anxious about what others think of us; all our motions are free, graceful, and happy. We do not judge ourselves, and we do not fear to be judged. Let us strive after this lovely simplicity; let us seek the path that leads to it. The further we are from it, the more we must hasten our steps towards it. Very far from being simple, most Christians are not even sincere. They are not only disingenuous, but they are false, and they dissemble with their neighbour, with God, and with themselves. They practise a thousand little arts that indirectly distort the truth. Alas! every man is a liar; those even who are naturally upright, sincere, and ingenuous, and who are what is called simple and natural, still have jealous and sensitive reference to self in everything, which secretly nourishes pride, and prevents that true simplicity which is the renunciation and perfect oblivion of self.

But it will be said, How can I help being occupied with myself? A crowd of selfish fears trouble me, and tyrannize over my mind, and excite a lively sensibility. The principal means to cure this is to yield yourself up sincerely to God, to place all your interests, pleasures, and reputation in his hands, to receive all the sufferings that he may inflict upon you in this scene of humiliation, as trials and tests of your love to him, neither to fear the scrutiny, nor to avoid the censure of mankind. This state of willing acquiescence produces true liberty, and this liberty brings perfect simplicity. A soul that is liberated from the little earthly interests of self-love becomes confiding, and moves straight onward,

and its views expand even to infinity, just in proportion as its forgetfulness of self increases, and its peace is profound even in the midst of trouble.

*I have already said that the opinion of the world conforms to the judgment of God upon this noble simplicity. The world admires, even in its votaries, the free and easy manners of a person who has lost sight of self. But the simplicity, which is produced by a devotion to external things, still more vain than self, is not the true simplicity ; it is only an image of it, and cannot represent its greatness. They who cannot find the substance, pursue the shadow ; and shadow as it is, it has a charm, for it has some resemblance to the reality that they have lost. A person full of defects, who does not attempt to hide them, who does not seek to dazzle, who does not affect either talents or virtue, who does not appear to think of himself more than of others, but to have lost sight of this self of which we are so jealous, pleases greatly, in spite of his defects. The false simplicity is taken for the true. On the contrary, a person full of talents, of virtues, and of exterior graces, if he appear artificial, if he be thinking of himself, if he affect the very best things, is a tedious and wearisome companion that no one likes.*

Nothing, then, we grant, is more lovely and grand than simplicity. But some will say, Must we never think of self ? We need not practise this constraint ; in trying to be simple, we may lose simplicity. What, then, must we do ? Make no rule about it, but be satisfied that you affect nothing. When you are disposed to speak of yourself from vanity, you can only repress its strong desire by thinking of God, or of what you are called upon by him to do. Simplicity does not consist in false shame or false modesty, any more than in pride or vainglory. When vanity would lead to egotism, we have only to turn from self ; when, on the contrary, there is a necessity of speaking of ourselves, we must not reason too much about it, we must look straight at the end. But what will they think of me ? They will think I am boasting ; I shall be suspected in speaking so freely of my own concerns. None of these unquiet reflections should trouble us for one moment. Let us speak freely, ingenuously, and simply of ourselves when we are called upon to speak. It is thus that St. Paul spoke often in his Epistles. What true greatness there is in speaking with simplicity of oneself. Vainglory is sometimes hidden under an air of modesty and reserve. People do not wish to proclaim their own merit, but they would be very glad that others should discover it. They would have the reputation both of virtue and of the desire to hide it.

As to the matter of speaking against ourselves, I do not either blame or recommend it. When it arises from true simplicity, and

that hatred with which God inspires us for our sins, it is admirable, and thus I regard it in many holy men. But usually the surest and most simple way is not to speak unnecessarily of oneself, either good or evil. Self-love often prefers abuse to oblivion and silence; and when we have often spoken ill of ourselves, we are quite ready to be reconciled, just like angry lovers, who, after a quarrel, redouble their blind devotion to each other.

This simplicity is manifested in the exterior. As the mind is freed from this idea of self, we act more naturally, all art ceases, and we act rightly without thinking of what we are doing, by a sort of directness of purpose that is inexplicable to those who have no experience of it. To some we may appear less simple than those who have a more grave and practised manner; but these are people of bad taste, who take the affectation of modesty for modesty itself, and who have no knowledge of true simplicity. This true simplicity has sometimes a careless and irregular appearance, but it has the charm of truth and candour, and sheds around it I know not what of purity and innocence, of cheerfulness and peace; a loveliness that wins us when we see it intimately and with pure eyes.

How desirable is this simplicity! who will give it to me? I will quit all else to obtain it, for it is the pearl of great price.

## NATURE AS A REVELATION

(A Sermon on the Proofs of the Existence of God Drawn from a View of Nature and the Mind of Man).

I CANNOT open my eyes without admiring the skill that everything in nature displays. A single glance enables me to perceive the hand that has made all things. Men accustomed to meditate upon abstract truths, and recur to first principles, recognize the Divinity by the idea of him they find in their minds. But the more direct this road is, the more it is untrodden and neglected by common men, who follow their own imagination. It is so simple a demonstration, that from this very cause it escapes those minds incapable of a purely intellectual operation. And the more perfect this way of discovering the Supreme Being is, the fewer are the minds that can follow it. But there is another method less perfect, but more nearly adapted to the capacity of all. Those who exercise their reason the least, those who are most affected by their senses, may, at a single glance, discover him,

who is represented in all his works. The wisdom and power that God has manifested in everything he has made reflect as in a mirror the name of him whom they have not been able to discover in their own minds. This is a popular philosophy addressed to the senses, which everyone, without prejudice or passion, is capable of acquiring.

A man whose heart is entirely engaged in some grand concern might pass many days in a room, attending to his affairs, without seeing either the proportions of the room, the ornaments on the chimney, or the pictures that surrounded him. All these objects would be before his eyes, but he would not see them, and they would make no impression upon him. Thus it is that men live. Everything presents God to them, but they do not see him. He was in the world and the world was made by him ; and, nevertheless, the world has not known him. They pass their lives without perceiving this representation of the Deity, so completely do the fascinations of life obscure their vision. Saint Augustine says that the wonders of the universe are lowered in our estimation by their repetition. Cicero says the same thing : " Forced to view the same things every day, the mind as well as the eye is accustomed to them. It does not admire or take any pains to discover the cause of events that it always observes to take place in just the same way ; as if it were the novelty rather than the grandeur of a thing that should lead us to this investigation."

But all nature shows the infinite skill of its Author. I maintain that accident, that is to say, a blind and fortuitous succession of events, could never have produced all we see. It is well to adduce here one of the celebrated comparisons of the ancients.

Who would believe that the ' Iliad ' of Homer was not composed by the efforts of a great poet, but that the characters of the alphabet being thrown confusedly together, an accidental stroke had placed the letters precisely in such relative positions as to produce verses so full of harmony and variety, painting each object with all that was most noble, most graceful, and most touching in its features ; in fine, making each person speak in character and with such spirit and nature ? Let anyone reason with as much subtlety as he may, he would persuade no man in his senses that the ' Iliad ' had no author but accident. Why, then, should a man possessing his reason believe with regard to the Universe, a work unquestionably more wonderful than the ' Iliad,' what his good sense will not allow him to believe of this poem ?

Were anyone to find in a desert a beautiful statue of marble, he would say : " Surely men have been here. I recognise the hand of the sculptor ; I admire the delicacy with which he has proportioned the body, making it instinct with beauty, grace, majesty, tenderness, and life."

What would this man reply were anyone to say to him : “ No ; a sculptor did not make this statue. It is made, it is true, in the most exquisite taste, and according to the most perfect rules of symmetry ; but it is accident that has produced it. Among all the pieces of marble, one has happened to take this form of itself. The rains and the winds detached it from the mountains ; a violent storm placed it upright on this pedestal, that was already prepared and placed here of itself. It is an Apollo as perfect as that of Belvedere ; it is a Venus equal to that of the Medici ; it is a Hercules which matches the Farnese. You may believe that this figure walks, that it lives, that it thinks, that it is going to speak ; but it owes nothing to art, it is only a blind stroke of chance that has formed it so well and placed it there.”

A traveller entering Saïde, which is the place that once was ancient Thebes, with its hundred gates, but is now a desert, would find there columns, pyramids, obelisks, and inscriptions in unknown characters. Would he say : “ Men have never inhabited this place ; the hand of man has never been employed here ; it is chance that has formed these columns and placed them upon their pedestals, crowning them with capitals of such beautiful proportions ; it is chance that has hewn these obelisks out of single stones, and that has engraved on them all these hieroglyphics ? ” Would he not say, on the contrary, with all the assurance of which the mind of man is capable : “ These magnificent views are the remains of the majestic architecture that flourished in ancient Egypt ? ”

This is what our reason would proclaim at the first glance. It is the same when we first contemplate the universe. People perplex themselves with sophistry, and obscure their views of the simplest truths. But a glance is sufficient ; such a work as this world could not have been made by chance. The bones, the tendons, the veins, the arteries, the nerves, the muscles, which compose the body of a single man, display more art and proportion than all the architecture of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians. The eye of the meanest animal surpasses the skill of all the artisans of the world. But before we proceed to the details of nature, fix our attention for a while upon the general structure of the universe. Cast your eyes upon the earth that supports us ; raise them, then, to this immense vault of the heavens that surrounds us ; these fathomless abysses of air and water, and these countless stars that give us light. Who is it that has suspended this globe of earth ? Who has laid its foundation ? If it were harder, its bosom could not be laid open by man for cultivation. If it were less firm, it could not support the weight of his footsteps. From it proceed the most precious things. This earth, so mean and unformed, is transformed into thousands



of beautiful objects that delight our eyes ; in the course of one year it becomes branches, buds, leaves, flowers, fruits, and seeds, thus renewing its beautiful favours to man. Nothing exhausts it. After yielding for so many ages its treasures, it experiences no decay ; it does not grow old ; it still pours forth riches from its bosom. Generations of men have grown old and passed away, while every spring the earth has renewed its youth. If it were cultivated, it would nourish a hundred-fold more than it now does.

But the body of man that seems the *chef-d'œuvre* of nature is not comparable to his soul. Whence comes it that beings so unlike are united in his composition ? Whence comes it that the movements of the body give so promptly and so infallibly certain thoughts to the soul ? How is it that the thoughts of the soul produce certain movements of the body ? Whence comes it that this harmonious connection exists without interruption for seventy or eighty years ? Whence comes it that two beings possessing such different operations make a whole so perfect that some are tempted to believe that they are one and indivisible ?

What hand has united these two extremes ? Matter could not make an agreement with spirit, the spirit has no recollection of having made any compact with matter. Nevertheless, it is certain that it is dependent on the body, and that it cannot be freed from its power, unless it destroys it by a violent death. This dependence is reciprocal. Nothing is more absolute than the empire of the soul over the body. The spirit wills, and every member of the body is instantly moved as if it were impelled by some powerful machine. What hand holding an equal power over both these natures has imposed this yoke upon them, and held them captive in a connection so nice and so inviolable ? Can anyone say, "Chance ?" If they do, can they understand what they say themselves, and make others comprehend it ? Has chance linked together by a concourse of atoms the particles of body with soul ?

My alternative is this ; if the soul and the body are only a composition of matter, whence is it that this matter, which did not think yesterday begins to think to-day ? Who is it that has given it, what it did not before possess, and what is incomparably more noble than itself, when it was without thought ? Does not that which bestows thought possess it ? Suppose even that thought proceeded from a certain configuration and arrangement and motion of matter, what workman contrived these just and nice combinations so as to make a thinking machine ? If, on the contrary, the soul and the body are two distinct substances, what power superior to both these different natures has bound them

together? Who, with a supreme empire over both, has sent forth his command, that they should be linked together by a correspondence and in a civil subjection that is incomprehensible?

The empire of the mind over the body is despotic to a certain extent, since simple will can move every member by mechanical rules. As the Scriptures represent God in the creation to have said: "Let there be Light, and there was Light," so the voice of my soul speaks and my body obeys. This is the power which men who believe in God attribute to him over the universe.

This power of the soul over the body which is so absolute is at the same time a blind one. The most ignorant man moves his body as well as the best-instructed anatomist. The player on the flute who perfectly understands all the chords of his instrument, who sees it with his eyes and touches it with his fingers, often makes mistakes. But the soul that governs the mechanism of the human body can move every spring without seeing it, without understanding its figure, or situation, or strength, and never mistakes. How wonderful is this! My soul commands what it does not know, what it cannot see, and what it is incapable of knowing, and is infallibly obeyed! How great its ignorance and how great its power! \*The blindness is ours, but the power—whence is it? To whom shall we attribute it, if not to him, who sees what man cannot see, and gives him the power to perform what surpasses his own comprehension?

Let the universe be overthrown and annihilated, let there be no minds to reason upon these truths they will still remain equally true, as the rays of the sun would be no less real if men should be blind and not see them. "In feeling assured," says Saint Augustine, "that two and two make four, we are not only certain that we say what is true, but we have no doubt that this proposition has been always, and will continue to be eternally true."

Let man then admire what he understands, and let him be silent when he cannot comprehend. There is nothing in the universe that does not equally bear these two opposite characters, the stamp of the Creator and the mark of the nothingness from whence it is drawn, and into which it may at any moment be resolved.

## GAUTAMA BUDDHA

(c. 560—504 B.C.).

**P**RINCE SIDDARTHA, son of Saddhodana chief of one of the Sakya tribes of Northern India and of the family of Gautama, was born between 560 and 557 B.C. Buddhist tradition records the place of his birth as being near the ancient city of Kapilavastu in the modern state of Oude, northern Nepal, where, in the grove of an Indian Goddess, a pillar was erected by the great Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, to indicate the exact place of his birth.

The advent of Gautama Siddartha, the Buddha or Enlightened, is enshrouded in myth, but the appearance of the Buddha in the form of an elephant to the mother Mahamaya before his birth is recorded by the earliest traditions and as such is one of the most prevalent myths, and has led to the sacred position of the elephant in Buddhist lands. During his youth Buddha was surrounded with the wealth and luxury of his rank but his philosophical inclinations were greatly influenced by the four sights of an aged man, a diseased man, a corpse and a monk, which, notwithstanding the precautions of Saddhodana, he had seen during his youth.

In spite of the high station and life of leisured ease which could easily have been his lot, Gautama preferred to make the Great Renunciation; and at the age of twenty-nine, left wife, child and home to seek for enlightenment and solve the mystery of existence. For six years he gave himself up to a life of privation, but finding that enlightenment did not lie in that path he adopted that of supreme meditation. After a series of temptations by Mara—the deadly inciter to sensuous desire—and rising to higher and higher stages of meditation, he at length, while seated beneath the bodhi-tree attained to that perfect enlightenment which consecrated him as “Buddha.”

The subsequent life of Gautama was devoted to the propagation of his religio-philosophic system and the instruction of mankind in the path which led towards Nirvāna or the absorption into the absolute.

On the death of Buddha in 504 B.C., a council of his disciples was held and his sayings collected. These were confirmed by the Council of Asoka in 240 B.C. The following address entitled “The Buddha’s Way of Virtue” contains some of the most authentic of these sayings and forms part of the Buddhist Scriptures,

## THE WAY OF VIRTUE

## THE TWIN TRUTHS.

For the proper understanding of Buddhism these opening stanzas are all-important. One of the Buddha's key-thoughts was what modern psychologists call the "law of apperception": the value of things depends upon our attitude to them.

Part of Gautama's work of reform was a "transvaluation of values," a shifting of emphasis; and, like the Stoics, he taught the indifference of the things of sense. "Men are disturbed," said Epictetus, "not by things, but by the view they take of things."

**M**IND it is which gives to things their quality, their foundation, and their being: whoso speaks or acts with impure mind, him sorrow dogs, as the wheel follows the steps of the draught-ox.

Mind it is which gives to things their quality, their foundation, and their being: whoso speaks or acts with purified mind, him happiness accompanies as his faithful shadow.

"He has abused me, beaten me, worsted me, robbed me"; those who dwell upon such thoughts never lose their hate.

"He has abused me, beaten me, worsted me, robbed me"; those who dwell not upon such thoughts are freed of hate.

Never does hatred cease by hating; by not hating does it cease: this is the ancient law.

If some there are who know not by such hatred we are perishing, and some there are who know it, then their knowledge strife is ended.

As the wind throws down a shaky tree, so Mara [Death] o'erwhelms him who is a seeker after vanity, uncontrolled, intemperate, slothful, and effeminate.

But whoso keeps his eyes from vanity, controlled and temperate, faithful and strenuous, Mara cannot overthrow, as the wind beating against a rocky crag.

Though an impure man don the pure yellow robe [of the Bhikkhu], himself unindued with temperance and truth, he is unworthy of the pure yellow robe.

He who has doffed his impurities, calm and clothed upon with temperance and truth, he wears the pure robe worthily.

Those who mistake the shadow for the substance, and the substance for the shadow, never attain the reality, following wandering fires [lit. followers of a false pursuit].

But if a man knows the substance and the shadow as they are, he attains the reality, following the true trail.

As the rain pours into the ill-thatched house, so lust pours into the undisciplined mind.

As rain cannot enter the well-thatched house, so lust finds no entry into the disciplined mind.

Here and hereafter the sinner mourns : yea mourns and is in torment, knowing the vileness of his deeds.

Here and hereafter the good man is glad : yea is glad and rejoices, knowing that his deeds are pure.

Here and hereafter the sinner is in torment : tormented by the thought " I have sinned " ; yea rather tormented when he goes to hell.

Here and hereafter the good man rejoices ; rejoices as he thinks " I have done well " ; yea rather rejoices when he goes to a heaven.

If a man is a great preacher of the sacred text, but slothful and no doer of it, he is a hireling shepherd, who has no part in the flock.

If a man preaches but a little of the text and practises the teaching, putting away lust and hatred and infatuation ; if he is truly wise and detached and seeks nothing here or hereafter, his lot is with the holy ones.

#### ZEAL.

Zeal or earnestness [appamādo] plays an important part in Buddhist Ethics. The way is steep, therefore let the wayfarer play the man.

Zeal may be displayed either in strenuous mind-culture or in deeds of piety—these are the equivalents of " Faith " and " Works " in the Buddhist system.

Zeal is the way to Nirvāna. Sloth is the day of death. The zealous die not : the slothful are as it were dead.

The wise who know the power of zeal delight in it, rejoicing in the lot of the noble.

These wise ones by meditation and reflection, by constant effort reach Nirvāna, highest freedom.

Great grows the glory of him who is zealous in meditation, whose actions are pure and deliberate, whose life is calm and righteous and full of vigour.

By strenuous effort, by self-control, by temperance, let the wise man make for himself an island which the flood cannot overwhelm.

Fools in their folly give themselves to sloth : the wise man guards his vigour as his greatest possession.

Give not yourselves over to sloth, and to dalliance with delights : he who meditates with earnestness attains great joy.

When the wise one puts off sloth for zeal, ascending the high tower of wisdom he gazes sorrowless upon the sorrowing crowd below ! Wise

himself, he looks upon the fools as one upon a mountain-peak gazing upon the dwellers in the valley.

Zealous amidst the slothful, vigilant among the sleepers, go the prudent, as a racehorse outstrips a hack.

By zeal did Sakra reach supremacy among the gods. Men praise zeal ; but sloth is always blamed.

A Bhikkhu who delights in zeal, looking askance at sloth, moves onwards like a fire, burning the greater and the lesser bonds.

A Bhikkhu who delights in zeal, looking askance at sloth, cannot be brought low, but is near to Nirvāna.

#### THE MIND.

This trembling, wavering mind, so difficult to guard and to control—this the wise man makes straight as the fletcher straightens his shaft.

As quivers the fish when thrown upon the ground, far from his home in the waters, so the mind quivers as it leaves the realm of Death.

Good it is to tame the mind, so difficult to control, fickle, and capricious. Blessed is the tamed mind.

Let the wise man guard his mind, incomprehensible, subtle, and capricious though it is. Blessed is the guarded mind.

They will escape the fetters of Death who control that far-wandering solitary, incorporeal cave-dweller, the mind.

In him who is unstable and ignorant of the law and capricious in his faith, wisdom is not perfected.

There is no fear in him, the vigilant one whose mind is not befouled with lust, nor embittered with rage, who cares nought for merit or demerit.

Let him who knows that his body is brittle as a potsherd, make his mind strong as a fortress ; let him smite Mara with the sword of wisdom, and let him guard his conquest without dalliance.

Soon will this body lie upon the ground, deserted, and bereft of sense, like a log cast aside.

Badly does an enemy treat his enemy, a foeman his foe : worse is the havoc wrought by a misdirected mind.

Not mother and father, not kith and kin can so benefit a man as a mind attentive to the right.

#### FLOWERS.

Who shall conquer this world, and the realm of Death with its attendant gods ? Who shall sort the verses of the well-preached Law, as a clever weaver of garlands sorts flowers ?

My disciple shall conquer this world and Death with its attendant.

gods : it is he who shall sort the verses of the well-preached Law as a clever garland-maker sorts flowers.

Let him escape the eye of Mara, regarding his body as froth, knowing it as a mirage, plucking out the flowery shafts of Mara.

He who is busy culling pleasures, as one plucks flowers, Death seizes and hurries off, as a great flood bears away a sleeping village.

The Destroyer treads him underfoot as he is culling worldly pleasures, still unsated with lusts of the flesh.

As a bee taking honey from flowers, without hurt to bloom or scent, so let the sage seek his food from house to house.

Be not concerned with other man's evil words or deeds or neglect of good : look rather to thine own sins and negligence [lit. " sins of commission and omission " ; things done and undone].

As some bright flower—fair to look at, but lacking fragrance—so are fair words which bear no fruit in action.

As some bright flower, fragrant as it is fair, so are fair words whose fruit is seen in action.

As if from a pile of flowers one were to weave many a garland, so let mortals string together much merit.

No scent of flower is borne against the wind, though it were sandal, or incense or jasmine : but the fragrance of the holy is borne against the wind : the righteous pervade all space [with their fragrance].

More excellent than the scent of sandal and incense, of lily and jasmine, is the fragrance of good deeds.

A slight thing is the scent of incense and of sandal-wood, but the scent of the holy pervades the highest heaven.

Death finds not the path of the righteous and strenuous, who are set free by their perfect wisdom.

As on some roadside dung-heap, a flower blooms fragrant and delightful, so amongst the refuse of blinded mortals shines forth in wisdom the follower of the true Buddha.

#### THE FOOL.

Long is the night to the watcher, long is the league to the weary traveller : long is the chain of existence to fools who ignore the true Law.

If on a journey thou canst not find thy peer or one better than thyself, make the journey stoutly alone : there is no company with a fool.

" I have sons and wealth," thinks the fool with anxious care ; he is not even master of himself, much less of sons and wealth.

The fool who knows his folly is so far wise ; but the fool who reckons himself wise is called a fool indeed.

Though for a lifetime the fool keeps company with the wise, yet does he not learn righteousness, as spoon gets no taste of soup.

If but for a moment the thoughtful keep company with the wise, straightway he learns righteousness, as tongue tastes soup.

Fools and dolts go their way, their own worst enemies : working evil which bears bitter fruit.

That is no good deed which brings remorse, whose reward one receives with tears and lamentation.

But that is the good deed which brings no remorse, whose reward the doer takes with joy and gladness.

Honey-sweet to the fool is his sin—until it ripens : then he comes to grief.

If once a month the fool sips his food from a blade of the sacred grass—his is no fraction of the Arahāt's worth.

Evil does not straightway curdle like milk, but is rather like a smouldering fire which attends the fool and burns him.

When the fool's wisdom bears evil fruit it bursts asunder his happiness and smashes his head.

If one desire the praise of knaves, or leadership amongst the Bhikkhus, and lordship in the convents, and the reverence of the laity, thinking " Let laymen and religious alike appreciate my deeds ; let them do my bidding and obey my prohibitions," if such be his fond imaginings, then will ambition and self-will wax great.

One is the road leading to gain, another is that leading to Nirvāna : knowing this, let the Bhikkhu, the follower of Buddha, strive in solitude, not seeking the praise of men.

#### THE WISE MAN.

Look upon him who shows you your faults as a revealer of treasure : seek his company who checks and chides you, the sage who is wise in reproof : it fares well and not ill with him who seeks such company.

Let a man admonish, and advise, and keep others from strife ! So will he be dear to the righteous, and hated by the unrighteous.

Avoid bad friends, avoid the company of the evil : seek after noble friends and men of lofty character.

He who drinks in the law lives glad, for his mind is serene : in the law preached by the noble the sage ever finds his joy.

Engineers control the water ; fletchers straighten the arrow ; carpenters fashion their wood. Sages control and fashion themselves.

As some massive rock stands unmoved by the storm-wind, so the wise stand unmoved by praise or blame.

As a deep lake, clear and undefiled, so are sages calmed by hearing the law.



Freely go the righteous ; the holy ones do not whine and pine for lusts : unmoved by success or failure, the wise show no change of mood.

Desire not a son for thyself nor for another, nor riches nor a kingdom ; desire not thy gain by another's loss : so art thou righteous, wise, and good.

Few amongst men are they who reach the farther shore : the rest, a great multitude, stand only on the bank.

The righteous followers of the well-preached law, these are the mortals who reach the far shore. But hard is their journey through the realm of Death.

Leaving the way of darkness, let the sage cleave to the way of light : let him leave home for the homeless life, that solitude so hard to love (Nirvāna). Putting away lust and possessing nothing, let the sage cleanse himself from every evil thought.

They are serene in this world, whose mind is perfected in that clear thought which leads to Arahatship, whose delight is in renunciation, free from taints, and lustrous.

#### THE ARAHAT.

No remorse is found in him whose journey is accomplished, whose sorrow ended, whose freedom complete, whose chains are all shaken off.

The mindful press on, casting no look behind to their home-life ; as swans deserting a pool they leave their dear home.

Some there are who have no treasure here, temperate ones whose goal is the freedom which comes of realising that life is empty and impermanent : their steps are hard to track as the flight of birds through the sky.

He whose taints are purged away, who is indifferent to food, whose goal is the freedom which comes of realising life's emptiness and transiency, is hard to track as the flight of birds in the sky.

Even the gods emulate him whose senses are quiet as horses well-tamed by the charioteer, who has renounced self-will, and put away all taints.

No more will he be born whose patience is as the earth's, who is firm as a pillar and pious, pure as some unruffled lake.

Calm is the thought, calm the words and deeds of such a one, who has by wisdom attained true freedom and self-control.

Excellent is the man who is not credulous, who knows Nirvāna, who has cut all bonds, destroyed the germs of rebirth, cast off lust.

In the village or the jungle, on sea or land, wherever lives the Arahats, there is the place of delight.

Pleasant are the glades where the herd come not to disport themselves : there shall the Holy take their pleasure, who seek not after lust.

#### THE THOUSANDS.

Better than a thousand empty words is one pregnant word, which brings the hearer peace.

Better than a thousand idle songs is a single song, which brings the hearer peace.

Better it is to chant one verse of the law, that brings the hearer peace, than to chant a hundred empty songs.

If one were to conquer a thousand thousand in the battle—he who conquers self is the greatest warrior.

Self-conquest is better than other victories : neither god nor demi-god, neither Mara nor Brahma can undo the victory of such a one, who is self-controlled and always calm.

If month by month throughout a hundred years one were to offer sacrifices costing thousands, and if for a moment another were to reverence the self-controlled—this is the better worship.

If one for a hundred years tended the sacred fire in the glade, and another for a moment revered the self-controlled, this is the better worship.

Whatsoever sacrifice or offering a man makes for a full year in hope of benefits, all is not worth a quarter of that better offering—reverence to the upright.

In him who is trained in constant courtesy and reverence to the old, four qualities increase : length of days, beauty, gladness, and strength.

Better than a hundred years of impure and intemperate existence is a single day of moral, contemplative life.

Better is one day of wise and contemplative life than a thousand years of folly and intemperance.

Better one day of earnest energy than a hundred years of sloth and lassitude.

Better one day of insight into the fleeting nature of the things of sense, than a hundred years of blindness to this transiency.

Better one day of insight into the deathless state [Nirvāna], than a hundred years of blindness to this immortality.

Better one day of insight into the Supreme Law, than a hundred years of blindness to that Law.

#### VICE.

Cling to what is right : so will you keep the mind from wrong. Whoso is slack in well-doing comes to rejoice in evil.

If one offends, let him not repeat his offence ; let him not set his heart upon it. Sad is the piling up of sin.

If one does well, let him repeat his well-doing : let him set his heart upon it. Glad is the storing up of good.

The bad man sees good days, until his wrong-doing ripens ; then he beholds evil days.

Even a good man may see evil days till his well-doing comes to fruition ; then he beholds good days.

Think not lightly of evil " It will not come nigh me." Drop by drop the pitcher is filled : slowly yet surely the fool is saturated with evil.

Think not lightly of good " It will not come nigh me." Drop by drop the pitcher is filled : slowly yet surely the good are filled with merit.

A trader whose pack is great and whose caravan is small shuns a dangerous road ; a man who loves his life shuns poison : so do thou shun evil.

He who has no wound can handle poison : the unwounded hand cannot absorb it. There is no evil to him that does no evil.

Whoso is offended by the inoffensive man, and whoso blames an innocent man, his evil returns upon him as fine dust thrown against the wind.

Some go to the womb ; some, evil-doers, to hell ; the good go to heaven ; the sinless to Nirvāna.

Not in the sky, nor in mid-ocean, nor in mountain-cave can one find sanctuary from his sins.

Not in the sky, not in mid-ocean, not in mountain-cave can one find release from the conquering might of death.

#### PUNISHMENT.

All fear the rod, all quake at death. Judge then by thyself, and forbear from slaughter, or from causing to slay.

To all is life dear. Judge then by thyself, and forbear to slay or to cause slaughter.

Whoso himself desires joy, yet hurts them who love joy, shall not obtain it hereafter.

Whoso himself desires joy and hurts not them who love it, shall hereafter attain to joy.

Speak not harshly to any one : else will men turn upon *you*. Sad are the words of strife : retribution will follow them.

Be silent as a broken gong : so wilt thou reach peace ; for strife is not found in thee.

As the herdsman drives out his cows to the pasture, so Old Age and Death drive out the life of men.

Verily the fool sins and knows it not : by his own deeds is the fool tormented as by fire.

He who strikes those who strike not and are innocent will come speedily to one of these ten states :

To cruel torment, loss, accident, severe illness, and madness he will come :

To visitation from the King, grievous slander, loss of kith and kin, and perishing of his wealth he will come :

Ravaging fire will destroy his houses, and after death the poor wretch will go to hell.

Not nakedness, nor matted hair, not dirt, nor fastings, not sleeping in sanctuaries, nor ashes, nor ascetic posture—none of these things purifies a man who is not free from doubt.

If even a fop fosters the serene mind, calm and controlled, pious and pure, and does not hurt to any living thing, he is the Brahmin, he is the Samana, he is the Bhikkhu.

Is there in all the world a man so modest that he provokes no blame, as a noble steed never deserves the whip ? As a noble steed stung by the whip, be ye spirited and swift!

By faith, by righteousness, by manliness, by meditation, by just judgment, by theory and practice, by mindfulness, leave aside sorrow—no slight burden.

Engineers control the water, fletchers fashion their shafts, carpenters shape the wood : it is themselves that the pious fashion and control.

#### OLD AGE.

Where is the joy, what the pleasure, whilst all is in flames ? Be-nighted, would ye not seek a torch ?

Look at this painted image, wounded and swollen, sickly and full of lust, in which there is no permanence ;

This wasted form is a nest of disease and very frail : it is full of putrid matter and perishes. Death is the end of life.

What delight is there for him who sees these grey bones scattered like gourds in autumn ?

Here is a citadel of bones plastered with flesh and blood, and manned by old age and death, self-will and enmity.

As even the king's bright chariot grows old, so the body of man also comes to old age. But the law of the holy never ages : the holy teach it to the holy.

The simpleton ages like the ox : his weight increases, but not his wisdom.

Many births have I traversed seeking the builder ; in vain ! Weary is the rounds of births.

Now art thou seen, O Builder. Nevermore shalt thou build the house ! All thy beams are broken ; cast down is thy cornerstone. My mind is set upon Nirvāna ; it has attained the extinction of desire.

They who have not lived purely nor stored up their riches in their youth, these ruefully ponder, as old herons by a lake without fish.

They who have not lived purely nor stored up their riches in their youth, are as arrows that are shot in vain : they mourn for the past.

#### SELF.

If a man love himself, let him diligently watch himself : the wise will keep vigil for one of the three watches of the night.

Keep first thyself aright : then mayest thou advise others. So is the wise man unblameable.

If one so shapes his own life as he directs others, himself controlled, he will duly control others : self, they say, is hard to tame.

A man is his own helper : who else is there to help ? By self-control man is a rare help to himself.

The ill that is begun and has its growth and its being in self, bruises the foolish one, as the diamond pierces its own matrix.

As the creeper overpowers the tree, so he whose sin is great, works for himself the havoc his enemy would wish for him.

Ill is easy to do ; it is easy to do harm : hard indeed it is to do helpful and good deeds.

Whoso fondly repudiates the teaching of the noble and virtuous Arahats, following false doctrine, is like the bamboo which bears fruit to its own destruction.

Thou art brought low by evil thou hast done thyself : by the evil thou hast left undone art thou purified. Purity and impurity are things of man's inmost self ; no man can purify another.

Even for great benefit to another let no man imperil his own benefit. When he has realised what is for his own good, let him pursue that earnestly.

#### THE WORLD.

Let no man foster evil habits ; let no man live in sloth : let none follow false doctrines, none prolong his sojourn in this world.

Up ! Idle not, but follow after good. The good man lives happy in this world and the next.

Follow after virtue, not after vice. The virtuous live happy in this world and the next.

The king of Death sees not him who regards the world as a bubble, a mirage.

Come then, think of the world as a painted chariot of the king—a morass where fools are sinking, where the wise take no pleasure.

He who in former days was slothful, and has put off sloth, lights up the world as the moon freed of the clouds.

He who covers his idle deeds with goodness lights up the world as the moon freed of clouds.

Blinded are the men of this world ; few there are who have eyes to see : few are the birds which escape the fowler's net ; few are they who go to heaven.

Through the sky fly the swans : Rishis too pass through the air. The wise leave the world altogether, deserting Mara and his hosts.

There is no wrong he would not do who breaks one precept, speaking lies and mocking at the life to come.

Misers go not to the realm of gods : therefore he is a fool who does not delight in liberality. The wise delighting in liberality come thereby with gladness to the other world.

Good is kingship of the earth ; good is birth in heaven ; good is universal empire ; better still is the fruit of conversion.

#### THE BUDDHA.

Into his victory which is never reversed there enters no element of weakness : through what fault can you lead captive the faultless one, the Buddha whose sphere is Nirvāna ?

By what fault will you lead captive the faultless Buddha, whose sphere is Nirvāna ? In him are no clinging meshes of desire to lead him captive.

The gods themselves emulate the truly wise and mindful, who are busy in meditation and prudent, delighting in the peace of Nirvāna.

Arduous is human birth : arduous is mortal life : arduous is hearing of the Law : arduous the uprising of Buddhas.

“ Eschew all evil : cherish good : cleanse your inmost thoughts ”—this is the teaching of Buddhas.

“ Patience and fortitude is the supreme asceticism : Nirvāna is above all,” say the Buddhas. He is no recluse who harms others : nor is he who causes grief an ascetic [samana].

Hurt none by word or deed, be consistent in well-doing : be moderate in food, dwell in solitude, and give yourselves to meditation—this is the advice of Buddhas.

Not by a shower of gold is satisfaction of the senses found : “ little pleasure, lasting pain,” so thinks the sage.

The follower of the true Buddha finds no delight even in divine pleasures : but his joy is in the destruction of desire [tānhā].

Often do men in terror seek sanctuary in mountains or jungles, by sacred groves or trees ;

In them is no safe sanctuary ; in them is not the supreme sanctuary ; in them is not that sanctuary whither a man may go and cast aside his cares.

But he who goes for sanctuary to the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha looks in his wisdom for the four noble truths :

“ Sorrow, the arising of sorrow, the cessation of sorrow, and the noble eightfold path which leads to their cessation.”

Here truly is the sure sanctuary : here is the supreme sanctuary : here is the sanctuary where a man may go and cast aside his care.

Hard to find is the Exalted One : he is not born in every place : happy dwells the household into which he, the wise one, is born :

A blessing is the arising of Buddhas, a blessing is the true preaching. Blessed is the unity of the Sangha, blessed is the devotion of those who dwell in unity.

Immeasurable is the merit of him who does reverence to those to whom reverence is due, Buddha and his disciples, men who have left behind them the trammels of evil, and crossed beyond the stream of sorrow and wailing, calmed and free of all fear.

#### BLISS.

O Joy ! We live in bliss ; amongst men of hate, hating none. Let us indeed dwell among them without hatred.

O Joy ! In bliss we dwell ; healthy amidst the ailing. Let us indeed dwell amongst them in perfect health.

Yea in very bliss we dwell : free from care amidst the careworn. Let us indeed dwell amongst them without care.

In bliss we dwell possessing nothing : let us dwell feeding upon joy like the shining ones in their splendour.

The victor breeds enmity ; the conquered sleeps in sorrow. Regardless of either victory or defeat the calm man dwells in peace.

There is no fire like lust ; no luck so bad as hate. There is no sorrow like existence : no bliss greater than Nirvāna [rest].

Hunger is the greatest ill : existencé is the greatest sorrow. Sure knowledge of this is Nirvāna, highest bliss.

Health is the greatest boon ; content is the greatest wealth ; a loyal friend is the truest kinsman ; Nirvāna is the Supreme Bliss.

Having tasted the joy of solitude and of serenity, a man is freed from sorrow and from sin, and tastes the nectar of piety.

Good is the vision of the Noble ; good is their company. He may be always happy who escapes the sight of fools.

He who consorts with fools knows lasting grief. Grievous is the company of fools, as that of enemies ; glad is the company of the wise, as that of kinsfolk.

Therefore do thou consort with the wise, the sage, the learned, the noble ones who shun not the yoke of duty : follow in the wake of such a one, the wise and prudent, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

#### AFFECTION.

He who gives himself to vanity and not to the truly profitable, shunning the true pursuit, and grasping at pleasure, will come to envy him who has sought the true profit.

Let no man cleave to what is pleasant or unpleasant : parting with the pleasant is pain, and painful is the presence of the unpleasant.

Take a liking to nothing ; loss of the prize is evil. There are no bonds for him who has neither likes nor dislikes.

From attachment comes grief, from attachment comes fear. He who is pure from attachment knows neither grief nor fear.

From affection come grief and fear. He who is without affection knows neither grief nor fear.

From pleasure come grief and fear. He who is freed from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.

From lust come grief and fear. He who is freed from lust knows neither grief nor fear.

From desire come grief and fear. He who is free of desire knows neither grief nor fear.

The man of counsel and insight, of righteousness and truth, who minds his own affairs, him the crowd holds dear.

If a man's heart be set upon the Ineffable [Nirvāna], his mind brought to perfection, and every thought freed from lust, he is called the strong swimmer who forges his way against the stream.

When, after long voyaging afar, one returns in safety home, kinsfolk and friends receive him gladly ;

Even so his good deeds receive the good man, when he leaves this world for the next, as kinsfolk greet a dear traveller.

#### ANGER.

Put away anger, eschew self-will, conquer every bond ; no suffering touches him who does not cling to phenomenal existence, but calls nothing his own.



Whoso controls his rising anger as a running chariot, him I call the charioteer: the others only hold the reins.

By calmness let a man overcome wrath ; let him overcome evil by good ; the miser let him subdue by liberality, and the liar by truth.

Speak the truth, be not angry, give of thy poverty to the suppliant : by these three virtues a man attains to the company of the gods.

The innocent, the sages, those whose action is controlled, these go to the eternal state where they know not sorrow [Nirvāna].

All taints pass away from them who are ever vigilant and active day and night, with faces set towards Nirvāna.

This is an ancient law, O Atula, not the law of a day : men blame the silent and they blame the talker ; even the man of few words they blame. No one in the world gets off unblamed.

There never was, nor will be, nor is there now to be found, one wholly blamed or wholly praised.

But who is worthy to blame him whom the wise praise after daily scrutiny, who is himself wise and without blemish as a medal of purest gold ? Even the gods seek to emulate such a one ; even Brahma praises him.

Guard against evil deeds : control the body. Eschew evil deeds and do good.

Guard against evil words ; control the tongue. Eschew evil words and speak good ones.

Guard against evil thoughts ; control the mind. Eschew evil thoughts and think good ones.

The wise, controlled in act, in word, in thought, are well controlled indeed.

#### SIN.

Thou art withered as a sere leaf : Death's messengers await thee. Thou standest at the gate of death, and hast made no provision for the journey.

Make to thyself a refuge ; come, strive and be prudent : when thy impurities are purged, thou shalt come into the heavenly abode of the Noble.

Thy life is ended ; thou art come into the Presence of Death : there is no resting-place by the way, and thou hast no provision for the journey.

Make for thyself a refuge ; come, strive and play the sage ! Burn off thy taints, and thou shalt know birth and old age no more.

As a smith purifies silver in the fire, so bit by bit continually the sage burns away his impurities.

It is the iron's own rust that destroys it : it is the sinner's own acts that bring him to hell.

Disuse is the rust of mantras ; laziness the rust of households ; sloth is the rust of beauty ; neglect is the watcher's ruin.

Impurity is the ruin of woman ; and avarice the ruin of the giver : ill-deeds are the rust of this world and the next.

More corrosive than those is the rust of ignorance, the greatest of taints : put off this rust and be clean, O Bhikkhus.

Life is easy for the crafty and shameless, for the wanton, shrewd, and impure :

Hard it is for the modest, the lover of purity, the disinterested and simple and clean, the man of insight.

The murderer, the liar, the thief, the adulterer, and the drunkard—these even in this world uproot themselves.

Know this, O man, evil is the undisciplined mind ! See to it that greed and lawlessness bring not upon thee long suffering.

Men give according to faith or caprice. If a man fret because food and drink are given to another, he comes not day or night to serene meditation [*i.e.*, Samādhi].

He in whom this [envious spirit] is destroyed and wholly uprooted, he truly day and night attains serene meditation.

There is no fire like lust, no ravenous beast like hatred, no snare like folly, no flood like desire.

To see another's fault is easy : to see one's own is hard. Men winnow the faults of others like chaff : their own they hide as a crafty gambler hides a losing throw.

The taints of this man are ever growing. He is far from the purification of taints [Arahatship], the censorious one who is ever blaming others.

There is no path through the sky : there is no " religious " apart from us. The world without delights in dalliance : the Blessed Ones are freed from this thrall.

There is no path through the sky ; there is no " religious " apart from us. Nothing in the phenomenal world is lasting ; but Buddhas endure immovable.

#### THE RIGHTEOUS.

Hasty judgment shows no man just. He is called just who discriminates between right and wrong, who judges others not hastily, but with righteous and calm judgment, a wise guardian of the law.

Neither is a man wise by much speaking : he is called wise who is forgiving, kindly, and fearless.

A man is not a pillar of the law for his much speaking : he who has heard only part of the law and keeps it indeed, he is a pillar of the law and does not slight it.

No man is made an "elder" by his grey locks : mere old age is called empty old age.

He is called "elder" in whom dwell truth and righteousness, harmlessness and self-control and self-mastery, who is without taint and wise.

Not by mere eloquence or comeliness is a man a "gentleman," who is lustful, a miser, and a knave.

But he in whom these faults are uprooted and done away, wise and pure, is called a gentleman.

Not by his shaven crown is one made a "religious" who is intemperate and dishonourable. How can he be a "religious" who is full of lust and greed ?

He who puts off entirely great sins and small faults—by such true religion is a man called "religious."

Not merely by the mendicant life is a man known as a mendicant : he is not a mendicant because he follows the law of the flesh ;

But because, being above good and evil, he leads a pure life and goes circumspectly.

Not by silence [mona] is a man a sage [muni] if he be ignorant and foolish : he who holds as it were the balance, taking the good and rejecting the bad, he is the sage : he who is sage for both worlds, he is the true sage.

A man is no warrior who worries living things : by not worrying is a man called warrior.

Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, nor by meditation nor by solitude have I won to that peace which no worldling knows. Rest not content with these, O Bhikkhus, until you have reached the destruction of all taints.

#### THE PATH.

Happiness is for Gautama, as for Aristotle, "the bloom upon virtue." The path which leads to the Supreme Bliss is the path of morality defined as the Noble Eightfold Path. If a man follow this, he is happy here and hereafter.

It consists of :

Right Views,  
Right Aspirations,  
Right Speech,  
Right Action,  
Right Livelihood,  
Right Effort,  
Right Mindfulness,  
Right Contemplation.

This is described by Gautama as a Middle Path between the extreme of sensuality on the one hand and asceticism on the other ; or between superstitious credulity and sceptical materialism. It is a truly noble ideal : yet one must never forget that " Righteousness " throughout is Buddhistically defined : e.g. " Right Views " means a correct grasp of the Buddhist teaching that all is transient, all is sorrowful, all is unreal. Again, " Right Contemplation " is the practice of Samādhi, concentration of the mind upon Buddhist ideas, such as the above. The highest " Livelihood," again, is to live upon the alms of the faithful.

Best of paths is the Eightfold ; the four truths are the best of truths : purity is the best state ; best of men is the seer.

This is the way ; there is none other that leads to the seeing of Purity [Nirvāna]. Do you follow this path : that is to befool Mara.

Travelling by this way you'll end your grief : it is the way I preached when I learnt to throw off my bonds.

'Tis you who must strive : the Blessed Ones are only preachers. They who strive and meditate are freed from Mara's bonds.

" All is passing " : when one sees and realises this, he sits loose to this world of sorrow : this is the way of purity.

" All is sorrow " : when one sees and realises this, he sits loose to this world of sorrow : this is the way of purity.

" All is unreal " : when one sees and realises this, he sits loose to this world of sorrow : this is the way of purity.

He who fails to strive when 'tis time to strive, young and strong though he be, slothful and enmeshed in lust, the sluggard, never finds the path to wisdom.

Whoso guards his tongue and controls his mind and does nothing wrong : keeping clear these three paths, he will achieve the way shown by the wise.

From meditation springs wisdom ; from neglect of it the loss of wisdom. Knowing this path of progress and decline, choose the way that leads to growth of wisdom.

Cut down the jungle (I do not mean with an axe !). For from the jungle of lust springs fear, and if you cut it down, you will be disentangled, O Bhikkhus !

Whilst the entanglement of a man with a woman is not utterly cut away, he is in bondage, running to her as a sucking calf to the cow.

Pluck out the bond of self as one pulls up an autumn lotus. Forge thy way along the path of safety, Nirvāna, shown by the Blessed.

" Here will I pass the wet season ; here the winter and summer," thinks the fool, unmindful of what may befall.

Then comes Death and sweeps him away infatuated with children and cattle, and entangled with this world's goods, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

There is no safety in sons, or in father, or in kinsfolk when Death overshadows thee : amongst thine own kith and kin is no refuge :

Knowing this clearly, the wise and righteous man straightway clears the road that leads to Nirvāna.

## RICHARD GOTTHEIL

(1863-1917).

**D**OCTOR RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Professor of Semitic Languages and Rabbinical Literature in Columbia University in the City of New York, was president of the American Federation of Zionists, and one of the organizers of a movement which affects all nations. The American Federation, organized July 4th, 1897, now comprises societies representing every section of the United States, all co-operating to bring about the rehabilitation of Palestine as a political power,—the seat of a restored Hebrew national life. In the peroration of his address of November 1st, 1898, here given, Doctor Gottheil eloquently presents the objects of the movement.

### THE JEWS AS A RACE AND AS A NATION

(Address, "The Aims of Zionism," delivered in New York City, November 1st, 1898).

**I** KNOW that there are a great many of our people who look for a final solution of the Jewish question in what they call "assimilation." The more the Jews assimilate themselves to their surroundings, they think, the more completely will the causes for anti-Jewish feeling cease to exist. But have you ever for a moment stopped to consider what assimilation means? It has very pertinently been pointed out that the use of the word is borrowed from the dictionary of physiology. But in physiology it is not the food which assimilates itself into the body. It is the body which assimilates the food. The Jew may wish to be assimilated; he may do all he will towards this end. But if the great mass in which he lives does not wish to assimilate him—what then? If demands are made upon the Jew which practically mean extermination, which practically mean his total effacement from among the nations of the globe and from among the religious forces of the world,—what answer will you give? And the demands made are practically of that nature.

I can imagine it possible for a people who are possessed of an active and aggressive charity which it expresses, not only in words, but also

in deeds, to remain and live at peace with men of the most varied habits. But, unfortunately, such people do not exist: nations are swayed by feelings which are dictated solely by their own self-interests; and the Zionists, in meeting this state of things, are the most practical as well as the most ideal of Jews.

It is useless to tell the English working man that his Jewish fellow-labourer from Russia has actually increased the riches of the United Kingdom; that he has created quite a new industry,—that of making ladies' cloaks, for which formerly England sent £2,000,000 to the continent every year. He sees in him someone who is different to himself, and unfortunately successful, though different. And until that difference entirely ceases, whether of habit, or way, or of religious observance, he will look upon him and treat him as an enemy.

For the Jew has this especial disadvantage. There is no place where that which is distinctly Jewish in his manner or in his way of life is *à la mode*. We may well laugh at the Irishman's brogue; but in Ireland, he knows, his brogue is at home. We may poke fun at the Frenchman as he shrugs his shoulders and speaks with every member of his body. The Frenchman feels that in France it is the proper thing so to do. Even the Turk will wear his fez, and feel little the worse for the occasional jibes with which the street boy may greet it. But this consciousness, this ennobling consciousness, is all denied to the Jew. What he does is nowhere *à la mode*; no, not even his features; and if he can disguise these by parting his hair in the middle or cutting his beard to a point, he feels he is on the road towards assimilation. He is even ready to use the term "Jewish" for what he considers uncouth and low.

For such as these amongst us, Zionism also has its message. It wishes to give back to the Jew that nobleness of spirit, that confidence in himself, that belief in his own powers which only perfect freedom can give. With a home of his own, he will no longer feel himself a pariah among the nations, he will nowhere hide his own peculiarities,—peculiarities to which he has a right as much as anyone,—but will see that those peculiarities carry with them a message which will force for them the admiration of the world. He will feel that he belongs somewhere and not everywhere. He will try to be something and not everything. The great word which Zionism preaches is conciliation of conflicting aims, of conflicting lines of action; conciliation of Jew to Jew. It means conciliation of the non-Jewish world to the Jew as well. It wishes to heal old wounds; and by frankly confessing differences which do exist, however much we try to explain them away, to work out its own salvation upon its own ground, and from these to send forth its spiritual message to a conciliated world.

But, you will ask, if Zionism is able to find a permanent home in Palestine for those Jews who are forced to go there as well as those who wish to go, what is to become of us who have entered, to such a degree, into the life around us, and who feel able to continue as we have begun? What is to be our relation to the new Jewish polity? I can only answer: Exactly the same as is the relation of people of other nationalities all the world over to their parent home. What becomes of the Englishman in every corner of the globe? What becomes of the German? Does the fact that the great mass of their people live in their own land prevent them from doing their whole duty towards the land in which they happen to live? Is the Irish-American less of an American because he gathers money to help his struggling brethren in the Green Isle? Or are the Scandinavian-Americans less worthy of the title Americans, because they consider precious the bonds which bind them to the land of their birth, as well as those which bind them to the land of their adoption?

Nay, it would seem to me that just those who are so afraid that our action will be misinterpreted should be among the greatest helpers in the Zionist cause. For those who feel no racial and national communion with the life from which they have sprung should greet with joy the turning of Jewish immigration to some place other than the land in which they dwell. They must feel, for example, that a continual influx of Jews who are not Americans is a continual menace to the more or less complete absorption for which they are striving.

But I must not detain you much longer. Will you permit me to sum up for you the position which we Zionists take, in the following statements:—

We believe that the Jews are something more than a purely religious body; that they are not only a race, but also a nation; though a nation without as yet two important requisites—a common home and a common language.

We believe that if an end is to be made to Jewish misery and to the exceptional position which the Jews occupy,—which is the primary cause of Jewish misery,—the Jewish nation must be placed once again in a home of its own.

We believe that such a national regeneration is the fulfilment of the hope which has been present to the Jews throughout their long and painful history.

We believe that only by means of such a national regeneration can the religious regeneration of the Jews take place, and they be put in a position to do that work in the religious world which Providence has appointed for them.



We believe that such a home can only naturally, and without violence to their whole past, be found in the land of their fathers—in Palestine.

We believe that such a return must have the guarantee of the great powers of the world in order to secure for the Jews a stable future.

And we hold that this does not mean that all Jews must return to Palestine.

This, ladies and gentlemen, is the Zionist programme. Shall we be able to carry it through? I cannot believe that the Jewish people have been preserved throughout these centuries either for eternal misery or for total absorption at this stage of the world's history. I cannot think that our people have so far misunderstood their own purpose in life, as now to give the lie to their own past and to every hope which has animated their suffering body.

## LORD GREY OF FALLODON

(*For Biographical Note see Section ii.*)

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Delivered at Westminster, October 10th, 1918).

GERMANY has made her overture to President Wilson. President Wilson has given a reply which seems to me both firm and wise, and as far as I am concerned with regard to that particular overture, I am quite content to await the further developments which I suppose will follow upon President Wilson's reply, and see what they are. I do agree with what Mr. Barnes said in his speech as to the general view of people in this country with regard to the general lines of peace. I feel at this moment that the country is united, but that if any large section of the country came to feel that a real chance of a really good and secure peace was being missed or neglected, that union would be imperilled. That I feel is the danger on one side. On the other side I think what nightmare it would be if after we got to a peace conference, believing that the end of the war was then reached, we found at that peace conference that the military rulers of Germany were still the people of real authority, that the German people had relapsed into docile subservience to the aims of its military rulers, and that the whole time peace was being discussed at the peace conference, it was being undermined by the men who made the war, and whose policy with regard to war would never change. That must be avoided at all costs and that is why again I say that President Wilson's reply seems to me to be a firm and wise reply.

It is true that the overture from Germany is a vast advance upon anything that has been before. We all approved President Wilson's various declarations as regards what the terms of peace should be. If a sincere acceptance of those terms was forthcoming it was one that could not be turned down, and that even an approach should have been made towards these terms in public is an advance. But we want to know, before we are on firm ground, where really is the seat of power in Germany. German Chancellors have crossed the stage like transient and embarrassed phantoms, to use an old phrase, for the last few months, and we do not know where we are with regard to the particular authority that is behind any particular Chancellor. And, then, we have this to bear

in mind. There was the Reichstag resolution of July last year purporting to advocate a peace with no annexations and no indemnities. The military situation changed in Germany's favour, and the result was the Brest-Litovsk and Bukarest Treaties, and an open scouting and deriding of the Reichstag resolution all over Germany as something that had served its purpose. Within the last year that has happened, and, as far as I am concerned, I feel that the reply which has been made so far to the German overture displays a clearness and a caution which are absolutely essential.

I would pass from that to the special subject with which we are to deal this afternoon—a League of Nations. And I should like to clear the ground, to begin with, of one or two difficulties which I think are preventing the progress of the discussion in this country. There are two suspicions which, I think, people should get out of their mind. One is that there are those who are advocating a League of Nations amongst us who desire it not to be a League of Nations to secure the peace of the world with fair terms and a fair chance and fair play for everybody, but a League of Allies for the purpose of maintaining the power or supremacy of a particular group of nations rather than a world-peace on equal terms. I believe that suspicion to be unfounded with regard to either of the two societies who are advocating a League of Nations. The other suspicion is that there are people advocating a League of Nations who desire the League of Nations propaganda to be used in order to secure a peace without too close inquiry as to whether it is really a satisfactory and sincere peace—in other words, who desire the League of Nations project to be used as a substitute for a successful termination of the war. Now, that is not in our minds either.

A League of Nations cannot be a substitute for a successful termination of this war. It must arise out of the successful termination of this war. And so I come to President Wilson's point the other day. He said:—"A League of Nations cannot be formed now." Personally I should have been delighted to see a working model formed whenever it could be formed, at the earliest possible moment, and I should not have been much afraid of any such working model degenerating into a League entirely different from the League which President Wilson is advocating. I believe if the United States once became a party to a League of Nations it would not remain a party to that League of Nations if it was being used except to carry out the ideals of the United States with regard to it. Therefore I am not much afraid of that.

I have never seen how you could form a League of Nations before the peace, for this reason. The Governments of the Allies must be parties to that League of Nations. They may get the work prepared

by others, they may get a scheme drawn up, but the War Cabinet here, the Cabinet in France, the Cabinet in the United States, the other Cabinets of the Allies, they have got to put their hand to that treaty, to that scheme, before the League can be formed. How could they possibly, when all their energies and attention were concentrated upon the prosecution of the war, when they had all the anxieties which are inseparable from those responsible for the conduct of the war, when they were overworked by the sheer effort of the war itself—how could they possibly give the time and attention necessary to elaborate and approve a great scheme of that kind? It was not possible. But then, the moment the time comes when the war has reached a stage, such a happy stage, that the actual conduct of it is no longer a source of absorbing anxiety, so that the Governments who are at the head of the Allied nations will have time and energy to devote to this great subject of the League of Nations—the moment you get to that stage, peace will be close upon you, and the result is this, that I accept President Wilson's formula, because I believe that, the moment the time has come when the Allied Governments can take up the consideration of a definite scheme for the League of Nations, peace will be so near that there will be no time to be lost. The League of Nations must be formed at the peace. If it is delayed beyond that its chance of ever being formed is prejudiced. The elaboration and consideration of a scheme will take weeks, and it may take months, and as it must be formed at the peace there is no time to be lost now. Public opinion must ripen on the subject. Those who have ideas are working on the subject. The Government should prepare whatever scheme they can through the best minds at their disposal, in order that things may be ready. I think that formula ought to be good enough for anyone who cares about and desires a League of Nations. A League of Nations must be formed at the peace, and therefore there is no time to be lost in giving consideration to it as soon as possible.

Let me go on to another point. One of the next objections I find to a League of Nations is this—that people say, "You have had these schemes before. They have never come to anything. Why should they come to anything now?" Well, the League of Nations is machinery and machinery is of no use unless there is power to drive it. You might, long before the discovery had been made how to apply the power of steam, have had the locomotive, with its wheels, pistons, and everything else complete, but without motive power it would have been useless, and the wheels would not have gone round. That is what the machinery of a League of Nations has been in previous years. The whole point in relation to a League of Nations is that after this war there may be

in mankind and in the world a motive power sufficient to work that machinery.

There has been no war like this in recorded history. Never before have you had whole nations put through the mill of war. The suffering has been on a scale unprecedented. Are we to suppose that human nature is so rigid, so unteachable, so unalterable after all that tremendous experience that this generation is going through, as to have no permanent or lasting change, not only in men's minds but in their feelings? This war has been unprecedented in another way than that. It has shown the world and the present generation not merely what war means to-day, but, with all the inventions of science, what war will mean twenty years hence, if it takes place—something more horrible than this war has been. Our whole case is that the world, after this experience and the revelation before it of what future wars will be, will be convinced at the end of this war that another world war will be a crime and a disaster to be avoided at all costs. That is what you must rely upon to make the machinery of the League of Nations work, and one of the things upon which I rely is that in our time, at any rate, the men who survive this war and come back from the fighting to their own country, these are the men who are going to be most earnest in keeping the peace of the future. We all of us see some of them from time to time. I know the feelings of those I do see. I am thinking of men from the ranks who are coming home. They say if this war is to be brought to a successful conclusion it will make peace secure, but they are determined that after it is secured, as far as it lies within their power, there shall be no more fighting in their lifetime. Your League of Nations, therefore, is machinery, for it will carry out the determination on the part of the world that it will stop future war. If that determination does not exist, the machinery will be of no use, but if the determination does exist, then I believe the world at large will insist on the machinery being brought into use. That is why I believe that a League of Nations—the formation of a League of Nations—is not only possible, but is a test of whether the experience of this war has altered the whole point of view of the nations in regard to war in general.

Let me take one or two points which we ought to have definitely settled in our minds in regard to the working of the League of Nations? How is it going to affect the fiscal question, for instance? There again I take what I understand to be President Wilson's attitude the other day. He says, "No economic boycott within the League of Nations," but he leaves, or I understand he contemplates leaving, each individual member of the League of Nations—each Empire, each State, each Republic whatever it may be—free within the League to settle its own fiscal

question for itself. We may have our own, and we probably shall have our own, fights here on the fiscal question. It will be very surprising if there is not some discussion and some controversy, but with regard to the League of Nations you may keep that outside the question of the League, and settle it for yourselves in your own way ; but having settled your fiscal system, you must recognize that in a League of Nations you will be bound to apply that fiscal system, whatever it may be, equally to all the other members of the League. You won't be able to differentiate amongst them. That I understand to be the principle laid down by President Wilson, and that is the principle which certainly commends itself to me. That, I think, is a principle which must be accepted if the League of Nations is to be a League that will guarantee the peace of the world.

There is another important point in connection with the fiscal side of the League of Nations. During this war there has been brought into existence an economic boycott of the enemy countries. I am told it has been very effective. The machinery for it is in existence. In my opinion, the Allies who have brought that machinery into existence should keep that machinery ready as part of the League of Nations, and if in future years an individual member of that League of Nations breaks the covenant of that League, that economic weapon is going to be a most powerful weapon in the hands of the League as a whole. I think that economic weapon is most valuable as a future influence in keeping the peace and in deterring nations who have come into the League of Nations from breaking any covenant in the League. It will be a most valuable influence for that purpose, but then if it is to be a valuable influence for that purpose you must not bring it into existence before the purpose has arisen, or before there has been some breach of the covenant.

Well, now I come to another thorny and difficult subject connected with the League of Nations, the question of what is called disarmament. I have tried as far as I can to get the fiscal difficulties put as clearly as possible so that they will not stand in the way of a League of Nations. You have got to handle also this question of disarmament very carefully. You will have many apprehensions in this country that somehow or other a League of Nations is going to put us in a disadvantageous position, where we may be, by bad faith or otherwise, put in a position in which we are not sufficiently capable of defending ourselves. I think you have got to go very carefully in your League of Nations with regard to definite proposals that may be suggested or adopted with regard to what is called disarmament. One thing I do not mind saying. Before this war the expenditure on armaments, naval and military, had been going up by

leaps and bounds. Germany had been forcing the pace in both. She has led the way up the hill in increasing expenditure on armaments. She must lead the way down hill. That that is a first condition from our point of view goes without saying—there can be no talk of disarmament until Germany, the great armer, has disarmed.

But then I think we must go further than that. I think the League of Nations might insist upon each Government which is a member of the League of Nations becoming itself responsible for the amount of armaments made in its own country. Your difficulty now is that in a given country there may be a vast number of ships of war, guns, and munitions of war being made, and the Government may say, "Oh, these are being made by private firms for other countries, and we have nothing to do with them." I do not see why it should be impossible for Governments to agree that they will keep that matter in their own hands, that they will give the fullest public information and the fullest opportunities for acquiring information as to the actual amount of what are called armaments being constructed, or available in each country at any given time. I do not see why that should not be done in the future. And if that were done, and you found some Governments beginning to force the pace in armaments, I rather think that you would find the matter being brought before the League of Nations, and a discussion would arise as to whether it was time to bring the economic weapon into use before things went further. The League of Nations may have considerable power, provided the Governments admit responsibility with regard to the amount of armaments being constructed.

But remember, even so, you will never, by any regulations you may make about armaments, dispose completely of the question. Supposing to-morrow, or after the war is over, the financial pressure were so great, and the feeling that another war was remote was so strong, that ships of war, munitions of war, cease to be constructed in the world at large, and those now in existence were allowed to lapse or become obsolete until armaments had disappeared in the form in which we know them. Supposing all that happened, you would not have settled the question, because then the potential weapons of war would be your merchant ships and commercial aeroplanes. All those things will be developed after the war, and in the construction of those things you can have no limitation—they must go on being built by private firms. You cannot limit the merchant ships or the amount of commercial aeroplanes to be built, and the fewer the armaments, fighting aeroplanes, and ships of war in the ordinarily accepted sense, the more important potentially as weapons of war become the things you use in commerce, your ships, aeroplanes, and chemicals of all kinds. Well, then, is not the moral

of it all this, that the one thing which is going to produce disarmament in the world is a sense of security? And it is because I believe that a League of Nations may produce, and will produce, that sense of security in the world at large which will make disarmament—disarmament in the sense of the reduction of armaments—a reality and not a sham, that is one reason for advocating a League of Nations in order that we may have that sense of security.

Now I come to one other point. We must with a League of Nations be sure that in all these ideals which have been put forward—that in putting forward these ideals we have been saying what we mean and meaning what we said. When the time comes, and the war has been brought to a successful conclusion, we must make it clear that the object of the League of Nations movement has been to get a League of Nations formed—and that is clear in every speech President Wilson has made about it—into which you can get Germany, and not formed in order that you may find a pretext for keeping Germany out. On the other hand your League of Nations must not be a sham, and you must have no nation in it which is not sincere. That means that you must have every Government in the League of Nations representing a free people, a free people which is as thoroughly convinced as are the countries who now desire the League of Nations, of the objects of the League, and are thoroughly determined to carry out those objects in all sincerity. That you must do. When you come to define democracy—real democracy, and not sham democracy—I would call to mind that it is not a question of defining special conditions. We here, under the form of constitutional monarchy, are as democratic as any republic in the world; and I trust the people of this country to do what Mr. John Morley, as he then was, once said with regard to a Jingo. He said “I cannot define a Jingo but I know one when I see him.” I believe the people of this country are perfectly capable, though they may not wish to define what constitutes a democracy, of knowing a democracy when they see it. As President Wilson has repeatedly said, you can trust no Government which does not come to you with the credentials that it exists with the confidence of the people behind it, and is responsible to that people, and to no one else.

But there are one or two more things which I think may be done by a League of Nations, and which are very important. Supposing the League once formed, the treaty signed, the treaty binding the nations composing the League to settle any disputes that may arise between them by some method other than that of war, and each of them undertaking an obligation that, if any nation does break that covenant they will use all the forces at their disposal against that nation which has so



broken it. Supposing that done, I think more use can be made of the League of Nations than that. There is work for it to do from day to day which may be very valuable. I do not see why the League of Nations once formed, should necessarily be idle. I do not see why it should not arrange for an authority and an international force at its disposal which should act as police act in individual countries. It sometimes happens, for instance, that a wrong is done for which some backward country, very often a small backward country, will not give redress. Its Government perhaps lacks authority, and you have seen from time to time that in such circumstances a stronger nation has resorted to force and seized a port or brought some other pressure of that kind to bear. And then you had the jealousy of other nations existing, thinking that the stronger nation, in seeking redress, is in some way pursuing its own interests. I think these cases might be settled, if force be necessary, by a League of Nations if it had an international force at its disposal, without giving rise to the suspicions and jealousies of certain political aims being pursued.

Another thing it may do. It may possibly do a great deal with regard to Labour. Mr. Barnes said that his presence in the War Cabinet was temporary, I think he said accidental and embarrassing. Well, public positions are generally embarrassing, but I doubt Mr. Barnes's position being either temporary or accidental. I think Labour is undoubtedly going to take a larger and more prominent share in the Governments than it has done before. It may be that here, as elsewhere, we shall have Labour Governments. Well, now, I put this forward only tentatively. Labour now has its international conferences, but they are unofficial. Is it not possible that as Labour takes a larger and more prominent share in government it may find a League of Nations useful as a means of giving a more official character to these international consultations in the interest of Labour which independent Labour has already encouraged and taken so much part in ?

Then I would give you another suggestion, and it is the last on this point. There are countries of the world, independent nations, but more loosely organized, or for one reason or another incapable through their Governments of managing their own affairs effectively from the point of view of those other more highly organized countries who wish to trade with them, and they want assistance in the shape of officials from the more highly organized countries. A great example of that is the Maritime Customs Service in China, formed by the Chinese Government under Sir Robert Hart, and working as an international force, I believe, with the approval of the whole world in the interests of China and of the world generally. Well, that was done—I give it as an illustration—

for the Chinese Government, but there are other countries in the world where that sort of thing is even more needed and it is very seldom done because the weaker country which needs it is afraid of admitting foreign officials, for fear they may have some political design and interest. It is discouraged because individual countries are each jealous of one another getting a footing in some of these more backward countries, through officials. But, if you had your League of Nations, what was done for China in the form of an International Customs Service, to the benefit of China and the whole world, might be done in other countries which need that sort of assistance. What has prevented it being done is the jealousy the stronger States have of one another and the fear of the weaker nations that it is going to admit political influence and sacrifice independence. But if this were done on the authority of a League of Nations there would be much less chance of these jealousies, and much less chance of weaker nations being afraid of ulterior designs, and the trade of the world and that of individual States might benefit enormously by the confidence with which that assistance could be given if given under a League of Nations and not by one individual country or group of countries.

I have said why I think that a League of Nations, though impossible before, may be possible after this war. It is true that in future years troubles may arise. You cannot get absolute security by any human machinery you may invent, but the League of Nations will improve your chance of security. Now surely, after this war, when it is successfully concluded, surely the only compensation, the only approach to compensation, you can have for the suffering which has been endured is that something should be possible after it which was not possible before. What will our feelings be at the conclusion of war? Joy, no doubt, on the successful conclusion of the war. Joy, no doubt, but also other feelings. In the homes throughout this country where there have been men of military age there must be a feeling of irreparable loss. Deep and abiding our satisfaction will be when the war is brought to a successful conclusion, but there will not and cannot be that lightness of heart which has often characterized previous victories. Joy there must be, but inseparable from grief. But there is a third feeling too. The thought of those who have given their lives in this war is not one of grief only. It is one of pride. I believe that in this war, as in no war previously, the young men have given their lives in a finer spirit than ever before. In previous wars you have had a comparatively small part of the population engaged, and that generally composed in this country of that particular part of the population which by temperament or physical aptitude chose the profession of arms, but in this

war, in the beginning before we had conscription, young men who disliked fighting as much as anybody, who hated the idea of war, who had no turn, they thought, for soldiering, came forward by thousands. They attained heights of physical courage which have never been surpassed, and they showed, whatever their previous predilections might have been, all the finest qualities of the best soldiers. Well, they have died, many of them, fighting for their country. Yes, that is true, but feeling also that they were fighting in the cause of right against wrong, that they were fighting in a time, not only of national peril, but of world peril. They rose to heights not only of physical courage, but of exaltation of spirit, and by thousands on those heights they have given their lives.

Now, surely if the peace is to be worthy of the spirit in which those lives have been given, it must not merely secure national and material interests; it must give something wider and bigger and better and higher than the world has ever had before. Well, what good can we do, those of us who have not been in the fighting? We have been stirred, I suppose all of us, by individual cases which we have known at first hand of the spirit in which those whom we loved and admired have fallen. We must do our best to live up to the spirit in which they gave their lives, and it is because I believe, not merely in the actual use of the machinery of the League of Nations, but because I believe the advocacy of it—the spirit which it requires—is one which will take international relations on to a higher and better plane than ever before; because I believe that the peace will give an opportunity such as the world has never had before of getting international relations on that plane, that I trust that in this country the advocacy of the League of Nations, laid down as I believe it has been on the soundest lines by President Wilson, will receive that measure of popular opinion and support which will enable the Governments concerned, who can do nothing without popular opinion behind them, to carry something of that sort into effect, and place the international relations of the world, as far as we are concerned, on a higher plane than they have ever reached before, or was ever possible before.

## FRANK W. GUNSAULUS

(1856-1918).

**D**OCTOR F. W. GUNSAULUS, the well-known pulpit orator of Chicago, was born at Chesterville, Ohio, January 1st, 1856, and educated in the Ohio Wesleyan University. He began his ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but later filled Congregationalist pulpits first in Ohio and the East, and after 1887 in Chicago. He was a poet and novelist as well as an orator, and it has been predicted that he will occupy a permanent place in American literature. In his expressions from the pulpit he was often striking, as in the sermon, 'Healthy Heresies,' which attracted attention because of its eloquence and originality. In 1899 he became President of the Armour Institute of Technology and later lecturer in the University of Chicago.

### HEALTHY HERESIES

(Delivered before the Illinois Congregational Association in May, 1898).

**A** GOD creating and maintaining a universe, conducting its processes, rearing men upon it, guiding man from Eden to the grave, in strict conformity with the Westminster Confession, is a God repudiated by conscience and love of goodness and hope, which have come into orthodoxy by the administration of the Holy Spirit—a personal power which for one thousand nine hundred years has illuminated the face of the loving Jesus with his gospel of universal fatherhood and universal brotherhood, with his scarred hands embracing the whole world in his enterprise of salvation, saying unto mistaken and blundering theologians, who would make God either a cruel tyrant or a sensational visionary: "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father."

True orthodoxy has nothing whatever to fear so much as that faithlessness which is frightened at every healthy heresy. True orthodoxy will always regard every influential heresy as the appeal of a neglected truth for recognition.

For example, for twenty-five years we have been trying to get our theology in harmony with materialism, and have been very careful not to say too much about spiritual powers, lest, in the event that materialism triumphed entirely, we would have some things that would be awkward enough to take back. So, out of the back window in the eventide of our faith, we put quietly and resignedly our loftiest conceptions and most heroic measurements of what the soul of man can do in exercising sovereignty over matter.

And now, Christian Science comes in at the front door, bringing with it the truth which we have neglected and perhaps scorned. The whole wretched pretence of materialism has vanished as a thick cloud. Away to the outer extreme the human soul has gone, and we can hardly get enough matter together to seriously influence the scales of thought.

I thank God for the bumptious, pestiferous, unchristian, unscientific thing called Christian Science, just as I thank God for the thorny, scraggy rosebush, because with it I can get a rose, and without it I shall have none.

The rose justifies the thorns by which and with which it comes, and the great truth in Christian Science, that men can live so as to be free from the haunting tyranny of the flesh, and that the soul of man can be so conscious of God that it is to be taken into the heaven of heavens, where a Paul does not know whether he is in the body or out of the body—that truth justifies any process or means by which it comes.

The tide of interest in that truth, after the dreary waste to-day of materialism, is proof to me that at the centre of the world's thought the Holy Spirit abides and works with the old energy that oftentimes has reinvigorated the world.

## ANDREW HAMILTON

(1676-1741).

**A**T the January term of the Supreme Court of New York in the eighth year of the reign of George II. (1735), John Peter Zenger, printer of the New York Weekly Journal, was indicted for "being a seditious person and a frequent printer of false news and seditious libels," but more especially for traducing, scandalizing, and vilifying his Excellency, William Cosby, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the said Province, by saying, among other things, that the people of New York thought their liberties precarious under his Excellency, and that they and their children were likely to be "brought into slavery if some past things be not amended—meaning many of the past proceedings of his Excellency, the said Governor."

When the case was brought to trial, the disaffected element of the city brought over from Philadelphia to defend Zenger, Andrew Hamilton, Esquire, then a leader of the bar of that city, celebrated for his eloquence and his courage. He spoke with such effect that, after the verdict of acquittal, his New York admirers presented him with the freedom of the city, in a gold box. His speech was circulated throughout the Colonies and reprinted in England. Perhaps no other single document on record prior to 1750 does as much to explain American history.

Hamilton, who, because of this speech, was called by Governor Morris "the day star of the American Revolution," was born in England. He left it because, as he said in an address to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1739, "the love of liberty drew me, as it constantly prevailed on me to reside in the Provinces, though to the manifest injury of my fortunes." He settled first in Virginia and married a lady of fortune there, after which he removed to Philadelphia and easily took his place at the head of its bar. In 1717 he was made Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and he afterwards held other offices of trust under the governments both of Philadelphia and of the Province.

When appealed to in the case of Zenger, he refused to accept pay for his services, but went at his own expense to defend the principles which afterwards resulted in the American Revolution as they had already resulted in that against the Stuarts. He had the court against him, and knowing that it was so, he appealed to the jury to judge the

facts on their merits and the law on its justice or injustice, in spite of the court. His boldness and his eloquence won the case and acquitted Zenger at a time when it was not allowed to plead the truth in defending on a charge of libel and sedition. There is a mystery attaching to Hamilton's birth and education which has never been cleared up. He was at one time known as Trent. That he was highly educated, his speech in the case of Zenger shows. It compares in eloquence, in the dignity of its language, and in the handling of its facts, with Erskine's best efforts while at its climaxes it has greater fire and force than characterizes even Erskine's pleas in similar cases.

In 1737 Hamilton was appointed judge of the Pennsylvania vice-admiralty court. He died four years later.

### FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA

(Delivered at the Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer, of New York, for Printing and Publishing a Libel Against the Government; Before the Honourable James de Lancey, Chief-Justice of the Province of New York, and the Honourable Frederick Phillipse, Second Judge; at New York, August 4th : 9 George II., A.D. 1735).

**M**AY it please your honours, I agree with Mr. Attorney [Richard Bradley] that government is a sacred thing, but I differ very widely from him when he would insinuate that the just complaints of a number of men, who suffer under a bad administration, is libelling that administration. Had I believed that to be law, I should not have given the court the trouble of hearing anything that I could say in this cause. I own when I read the information, I had not the art to find out (without the help of Mr. Attorney's innuendos) that the Governor was the person meant in every period of that newspaper; and I was inclined to believe that they were written by some, who, from an extraordinary zeal for liberty, had misconstrued the conduct of some persons in authority into crimes; and that Mr. Attorney [the Attorney-General R. Bradley], out of his too great zeal for power, had exhibited this information to correct the indiscretion of my client, and at the same time to show his superiors the great concern he had, lest they should be treated with any undue freedom. But from what Mr. Attorney has just now said, to wit, that this prosecution was directed by the Governor and council, and from the extraordinary appearance of people of all conditions which I observe in court upon this occasion, I have reason to think that those in the administration have by this prosecution something more in view, and that the people believe they have a good deal more at

stake than I apprehended ; and therefore, as it is become my duty to be both plain and particular in this cause, I beg leave to bespeak the patience of the court.

I was in hopes, as that terrible court, where those dreadful judgments were given, and that law established, which Mr. Attorney has produced for authorities to support this cause, was long ago laid aside, as the most dangerous court to the liberties of the people of England that ever was known in that kingdom, that Mr. Attorney, knowing this, would not have attempted to set up a Star Chamber here, nor to make their judgments a precedent to us ; for it is well known that what would have been judged treason in those days for a man to speak, I think, has since, not only been practised as lawful, but the contrary doctrine has been held to be law.

In Brewster's case, for printing that the subjects might defend their rights and liberties by arms, in case the King should go about to destroy them, he was told by the Chief-Justice that it was a great mercy he was not proceeded against for his life ; for that to say the King could be resisted by arms in any case whatsoever was express treason. And yet we see, since that time Doctor Sacheverell was sentenced in the highest court in Great Britain for saying that such a resistance was not lawful. Besides, as times have made very great changes in the laws of England, so, in my opinion, there is good reason that places should do so too.

There is heresy in law as well as in religion, and both have changed very much ; and we well know that it is not two centuries ago that a man would have been burned as a heretic for owning such opinions in matters of religion as are publicly written and printed at this day. They were fallible men, it seems, and we take the liberty, not only to differ from them in religious opinion, but to condemn them and their opinions too ; and I must presume that in taking these freedoms in thinking and speaking about matters of faith or religion, we are in the right ; for, though it is said there are very great liberties of this kind taken in New York, yet I have heard of no information preferred by Mr. Attorney for any offences of this sort. From which I think it is pretty clear that in New York a man may make very free with his God, but he must take special care what he says of his Governor. It is agreed upon by all men that this is a reign of liberty, and while men keep within the bounds of truth, I hope they may with safety both speak and write their sentiments of the conduct of men of power ; I mean of that part of their conduct only which affects the liberty or property of the people under their administration ; were this to be denied, then the next step may make them slaves. For what notions can be entertained of slavery,



beyond that of suffering the greatest injuries and oppressions, without the liberty of complaining ; or if they do, to be destroyed, body and estate, for so doing ?

It is said, and insisted upon by Mr. Attorney, that government is a sacred thing ; that it is to be supported and revered ; it is government that protects our persons and estates ; that prevents treasons, murders, robberies, riots, and all the train of evils that overturn kingdoms and states, and ruin particular persons ; and if those in the administration, especially the supreme magistrates, must have all their conduct censured by private men, government cannot subsist. This is called a licentiousness not to be tolerated. It is said that it brings the rulers of the people into contempt so that their authority is not regarded, and so that in the end the laws cannot be put in execution. These, I say, and such as these, are the general topics insisted upon by men in power and their advocates. But I wish it might be considered at the same time how often it has happened that the abuse of power has been the primary cause of these evils, and that it was the injustice and oppression of these great men which has commonly brought them into contempt with the people. The craft and art of such men are great, and who that is the least acquainted with history or with law can be ignorant of the specious pretences which have often been made use of by men in power to introduce arbitrary rule and destroy the liberties of a free people. I will give two instances, and as they are authorities not to be denied, or misunderstood, I presume they will be sufficient.

The first is the statute of 3rd of Henry VII., cap. i. The preamble of the statute will prove all, and more, than I have alleged. It begins : " The King, our Sovereign Lord, remembereth how by unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, signs, and tokens, etc., untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making of panels, and other untrue returns, by taking of money, by injuries, by great riots and unlawful assemblies ; the policy and good rule of this realm is almost subdued ; and for the not punishing these inconveniences, and by occasion of the premises, little or nothing may be found by inquiry, etc., to the increase of murders, etc., and unquietties of all men living, and losses of their lands and goods." Here is a fine and specious pretence for introducing the remedy, as it is called, which is provided by this act ; that is, instead of being lawfully accused by twenty-four good and lawful men of the neighbourhood, and afterwards tried by twelve like lawful men, here is a power given to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, the keeper of the King's privy seal, or two of them, calling to them a bishop, a temporal lord, and other great men mentioned in the act (who, it is to be observed, were all to be dependents on the court), to receive information against any person

for any of the misbehaviours recited in that act, and by their discretion to examine and to punish them according to their demerit.

The second statute I propose to mention is the 11th of the same King, cap. iii., the preamble of which act has the like fair pretences as the former ; for the King calling to his remembrance the good laws made against the receiving of liveries, etc., unlawful extortions, maintenances, embracery, etc., unlawful games, etc., and many other great enormities and offences committed against many good statutes, to the displeasure of Almighty God, which, the act says, could not, nor yet can, be conveniently punished by the due order of the law, except it were first found by twelve men, etc., which, for the causes aforesaid, will not find nor yet present the truth. And, therefore, the same statute directs that the justices of assize, and justices of the peace, shall, upon information for the King before them made, have full power, by their discretion, to hear and determine all such offences. Here are two statutes that are allowed to have given the deepest wound to the liberties of the people of England of any that I remember to have been made, unless it may be said that the statute made in the time of Henry VIII., by which his proclamations were to have the effect of laws, might in its consequence be worse. \* And yet we see the plausible pretences found out by the great men to procure these acts. And it may justly be said that by those pretences the people of England were cheated or awed into the delivering up their ancient and sacred right of trials by grand and petit juries. I hope to be excused for this expression, seeing my Lord Coke calls it (4 Inst.) an " unjust and strange act that intended in its execution to the great displeasure of Almighty God and the utter subversion of the common law."

These, I think, make out what I alleged and are flagrant instances of the influence of men in power, even upon the representatives of a whole kingdom. From all which, I hope, it will be agreed that it is a duty which all good men owe to their country, to guard against the unhappy influence of ill men when intrusted with power, and especially against their creatures and dependents, who, as they are generally more necessitous, are surely more covetous and cruel. But it is worthy of observation that though the spirit of liberty was borne down and oppressed in England that time, yet it was not lost, for the Parliament laid hold of the first opportunity to free the subject from the many insufferable oppressions and outrages committed upon their persons and estates by colour of these acts, the last of which, being deemed the most grievous, was repealed in the first year of Henry VIII. Though it is to be observed, Henry VII. and his creatures reaped such great advantages by the grievous oppressions and exactions,—grinding the faces of the poor.

subjects, as my Lord Coke says, by colour of this statute, by information only,—that a repeal of this act could never be obtained during the life of that Prince. The other statute, being the favourite law for supporting arbitrary power, was continued much longer. The execution of it was by the great men of the realm ; and how they executed it, the sense of the kingdom, expressed in the 7th of Charles I. (which ended the Court of Star Chamber, the soil where informations grew rankest), will best declare. In that statute Magna Charta, and the other statutes made in the time of Edward III., which, I think, are no less than five, are particularly enumerated as acts, by which the liberties and privileges of the people of England were secured to them, against such oppressive courts as the Star Chamber, and others of the like jurisdiction. And the reason assigned for their pulling down the Star Chamber is that the proceedings, censures, and decrees of the Court of Star Chamber, even though the great men of the realm (nay and a bishop too, holy man !) were judges, had by experience been found to be an intolerable burden to the subject, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government. And therefore that court was taken away, with all the other courts in that statute mentioned having like jurisdiction.

I do not mention this statute as if by the taking away the Court of Star Chamber the remedy for many of the abuses or offences censured there was likewise taken away ; no, I only intend by it to show that the people of England saw clearly the danger of trusting their liberties and properties to be tried, even by the greatest men in the kingdom, without the judgment of a jury of their equals. They had felt the terrible effects of leaving it to the judgment of these great men to say what was scandalous and seditious, false or ironical. And if the Parliament of England thought the power of judging was too great to be trusted with men of the first rank in the kingdom, without the aid of a jury, how sacred soever their characters might be, and therefore restored to the people their original right of trial by juries, I hope to be excused for insisting that by the judgment of a Parliament, from whence no appeal lies, the jury are the proper judges of what is false, at least, if not of what is scandalous and seditious. This is an authority not to be denied ; it is as plain as it is great, and to say that this act, indeed, did restore to the people trials by juries, which was not the practice of the Star Chamber, but that it did not give the jurors any new authority or any right to try matters of law,—I say this objection will not avail ; for I must insist that where matter of law is complicated with matter of fact, the jury have a right to determine both. As, for instance, upon indictment for murder, the jury may, and almost constantly do, take upon them to judge whether the evidence will amount to murder or

manslaughter, and find accordingly ; and I must say, I cannot see why in our case the jury have not at least as good a right to say whether our newspapers are a libel or no libel, as another jury has to say whether killing of a man is murder or manslaughter. The right of the jury to find such a verdict as they in their conscience do think is agreeable to their evidence is supported by the authority of Bushel's case, in Vaughan's Reports, page 135, beyond any doubt. For, in the argument of that case, the chief-justice who delivered the opinion of the court, lays it down for law. (Vaughan's Reports, page 150). "That in all general issues, as upon *non. cul. in trespass, non tort. nul disseizin in assize*, etc., though it is matter of law, whether the defendant is a trespasser, a disseizer, etc., in the particular cases in issue, yet the jury find not (as in a special verdict) the fact of every case, leaving the law to the court ; but find for the plaintiff or defendant upon the issue to be tried, wherein they resolve both law and fact complicately." It appears by the same case, that "though the discreet and lawful assistance of the judge, by way of advice to the jury, may be useful, yet that advice or direction ought always to be upon supposition, and not positive and upon coercion." The reason given in the same book is (pages 144, 147), "because the judge"—as judge—"cannot know what the evidence is which the jury have ; that is, he can only know the evidence given in court ; but the evidence which the jury have may be of their own knowledge, as they are returned of the neighbourhood." They may also know from their own knowledge, that what is sworn in court is not true, and they may know the witness to be stigmatized, to which the court may be strangers. But what is to my purpose is, suppose that the court did really know all the evidence which the jury know, yet in that case it is agreed that the judge and jury may differ in the result of their evidence as well as two judges may, which often happens. And in page 148 the judge subjoins the reason why it is no crime for a jury to differ in opinion from the court, where he says that a man cannot see with another's eye, nor hear by another's ear ; no more can a man conclude or infer the thing by another's understanding or reasoning. From all which (I insist) it is very plain that the jury are by law at liberty, without any affront to the judgment of the court, to find both the law and the fact in our case, as they did in the case I am speaking of, which I will beg leave just to mention, and it was this : Messrs. Penn and Mead being Quakers, and having met in a peaceable manner after being shut out of their meetinghouse, preached in Grace Church Street, in London, to the people of their own persuasion, and for this they were indicted ; and it was said that they, with other persons, to the number of three hundred, unlawfully and tumultuously assembled, to the disturbance of the peace,

etc. To which they pleaded not guilty. And the petit jury was sworn to try the issue between the King and the prisoners, that is, whether they were guilty according to the form of the indictment. Here there was no dispute, that they were assembled together to the number mentioned in the indictment, but whether that meeting together was riotously tumultuous, and to the disturbance of the peace, was the question. And the court told the jury it was, and ordered the jury to find it so for, said the court, the meeting was the matter of fact, and that is confessed, and we tell you it is unlawful, for it is against the statute ; and the meeting being unlawful, it follows, of course, that it was tumultuous and to the disturbance of the peace. But the jury did not think fit to take the court's word for it, for they could neither find riot, tumult, or anything tending to the breach of the peace committed at that meeting, and they acquitted Messrs. Penn and Mead. In doing of which they took upon them to judge both the law and the fact at which the court, being themselves true courtiers, were so much offended that they fined the jury forty marks apiece, and committed them till paid. But Mr. Bushel, who valued the right of a jurymen and the liberty of his country more than his own, refused to pay the fine, and was resolved, though at a great expense and trouble too, to bring, and did bring, his *habeas corpus* to be relieved from his fine and imprisonment, and he was released accordingly ; and this being the judgment in his case, it is established for law that the judges, how great soever they be, have no right to fine, imprison, or punish a jury for not finding a verdict according to the direction of the court. And this, I hope, is sufficient to prove that jurymen are to see with their own eyes, to hear with their own ears, and to make use of their own consciences and understandings in judging of the lives, liberties, or estates of their fellow-subjects. And so I have done with this point.

This is the second information for libelling of a Governor that I have known in America. And the first, though it may look like a romance yet, as it is true, I will beg leave to mention it. Governor Nicholson, who happened to be offended with one of his clergy, met him one day upon the road ; and as it was usual with him (under the protection of his commission), used the poor parson with the worst of language, threatened to cut off his ears, slit his nose, and, at last, to shoot him through the head. The parson, being a reverend man, continued all this time uncovered in the heat of the sun, until he found an opportunity to fly for it ; and coming to a neighbour's house felt himself very ill of a fever, and immediately wrote for a doctor ; and that his physician might be the better judge of his distemper, he acquainted him with the usage he had received, concluding that the Governor was certainly mad, for that no man in his senses would have behaved in

that manner. The doctor, unhappily, showed the parson's letter ; the Governor came to hear of it, and so an information was preferred against the poor man for saying he believed the Governor was mad ; and it was laid in the information to be false, scandalous, and wicked, and written with intent to move sedition among the people, and bring his Excellency into contempt. But, by an order from the late Queen Anne, there was a stop put to the prosecution, with sundry others set on foot by the same Governor against gentlemen of the greatest worth and honour in that Government.

And may not I be allowed, after all this, to say that, by a little countenance, almost anything which a man writes may, with the help of that useful term of art called an innuendo, be construed to be a libel, according to Mr. Attorney's definition of it ; that whether the words are spoken of a person of a public character, or of a private man whether dead or living, good or bad, true or false, all make a libel ; for, according to Mr. Attorney, after a man hears a writing read, or reads and repeats it, or laughs at it, they are all punishable. It is true, Mr. Attorney is so good as to allow, after the party knows it to be a libel ; but he is not so kind as to take the man's word for it.

If a libel is understood, in the large and unlimited sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing I know that may not be called a libel, or scarce any person safe from being called to account as a libeller ; for Moses, meek as he was, libelled Cain ; and who is it that has not libelled the devil ? For, according to Mr. Attorney, it is no justification to say one has a bad name. Echard has libelled our good King William ; Burnet has libelled, among many others, King Charles and King James ; and Rapin has libelled them all. How must a man speak or write, or what must he hear, read, or sing ? Or when must he laugh, so as to be secure from being taken up as a libeller ? I sincerely believe that were some persons to go through the streets of New York nowadays and read a part of the Bible, if it were not known to be such, Mr. Attorney, with the help of his innuendos, would easily turn it into a libel. As for instance : Isaiah xi. 16. " The leaders of the people cause them to err, and they that are led by them are destroyed." But should Mr. Attorney go about to make this a libel, he would read it thus : " The leaders of the people " (*innuendo*, the Governor and council of New York) " cause them " (*innuendo*, the people of this province) " to err, and they " (the Governor and council, meaning) " are destroyed " (*innuendo*, are deceived into the loss of their liberty), " which is the worst kind of destruction." Or if some person should publicly repeat, in a manner not pleasing to his betters, the tenth and the eleventh verses of the fifty-sixth chapter of the same book, there Mr. Attorney would have a large field to display his skill

in the artful application of his innuendos. The words are : " His watchmen are blind, they are ignorant," etc. " Yea, they are greedy dogs, they can never have enough." But to make them a libel, there is according to Mr. Attorney's doctrine, no more wanting but the aid of his skill in the right adapting his innuendos. As, for instance, " His watchmen " (*innuendo*, the Governor's council and assembly) " are blind, they are ignorant " (*innuendo*, will not see the dangerous designs of his Excellency). " Yea, they (the Governor and council, meaning) " are greedy dogs, which can never have enough " (*innuendo*, enough of riches and power). Such an instance as this seems only fit to be laughed at, but I may appeal to Mr. Attorney himself whether these are not at least equally proper to be applied to his Excellency and his minister as some of the inferences and innuendos in his information against my client. Then, if Mr. Attorney be at liberty to come into court and file an information in the King's name without leave, who is secure whom he is pleased to prosecute as a libeller ? And as the crown law is contended for in bad times, there is no remedy for the greatest oppression of this sort, even though the party prosecuted be acquitted with honour. And give me leave to say, as great men as any in Britain have boldly asserted, that the mode of prosecuting by information (when a grand jury will not find *billa vera*) is a national grievance and greatly inconsistent with that freedom which the subjects of England enjoy in most other cases. But if we are so unhappy as not to be able to ward off this stroke of power directly, let us take care not to be cheated out of our liberties by forms and appearance ; let us always be sure that the charge in the information is made out clearly, even beyond a doubt ; for, though matters in the information may be called form upon trial, yet they may be, and often have been found to be, matters of substance upon giving judgment.

Gentlemen, the danger is great in proportion to the mischief that may happen through our too great credulity. A proper confidence in a court is commendable, but as the verdict (whatever it is) will be yours, you ought to refer no part of your duty to the discretion of other persons. If you should be of opinion that there is no falsehood in Mr. Zenger's papers, you will, nay, (pardon me for the expression) you ought to say so ; because you do not know whether others (I mean the court) may be of that opinion. It is your right to do so, and there is much depending upon your resolution, as well as upon your integrity.

The loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than death ; and yet we know there have been those in all ages who, for the sake of preferment, or some imaginary honour, have freely lent a helping hand to oppress, nay, to destroy their country. This brings to my mind that

saying of the immortal Brutus, when he looked upon the creatures of Cæsar, who were very great men, but by no means good men : " You Romans," said Brutus, " if yet I may call you so, consider what you are doing ; remember that you are assisting Cæsar to forge those very chains which one day he will make yourselves wear." This is what every man that values freedom ought to consider ; he should act by judgment and not by affection or self-interest ; for where those prevail, no ties of either country or kindred are regarded ; as upon the other hand, the man who loves his country prefers its liberty to all other considerations, well knowing that without liberty life is a misery.

A famous instance of this you will find in the history of another brave Roman, of the same name ; I mean Lucius Junius Brutus, whose story is well known ; and, therefore, I shall mention no more of it than only to show the value he put upon the freedom of his country. This great man, with his fellow-citizens, whom he had engaged in the cause, had banished Tarquin the Proud, the last king of Rome, from a throne which he ascended by inhuman murders, and possessed by the most dreadful tyranny and proscriptions, and had by this means amassed incredible riches, even sufficient to bribe to his interest many of the young nobility of Rome, to assist him in recovering the crown. But the plot being discovered, the principal conspirators were apprehended, among whom were two of the sons of Junius Brutus. It was absolutely necessary that some should be made examples of, to deter others from attempting the restoration of Tarquin and destroying the liberty of Rome. And to effect this it was that Lucius Junius Brutus, one of the consuls of Rome, in the presence of the Roman people, sat as judge and condemned his own sons as traitors to their country ; and to give the last proof of his exalted virtue, and his love of liberty, he with a firmness of mind (only becoming so great a man) caused their heads to be struck off in his own presence ; and when he observed that his rigid virtue occasioned a sort of horror among the people, it is observed he only said : " My fellow-citizens, do not think that this proceeds from want of natural affection ; no, the death of the sons of Brutus can affect Brutus only ; but the loss of liberty will affect my country." Thus highly was liberty esteemed in those days, that a father could sacrifice his sons to save his country. But why do I go to heathen Rome to bring instances of the love of liberty ? The best blood of Britain has been shed in the cause of liberty ; and the freedom we enjoy at this day may be said to be (in a great measure) owing to the glorious stand the famous Hampden, and others of our countrymen, in the case of ship-money, made against the arbitrary demands and illegal impositions of the times in which they lived ; who, rather than give up the rights of Englishmen



and submit to pay an illegal tax of no more, I think, than three shillings resolved to undergo, and, for the liberty of their country, did undergo, the greatest extremities in that arbitrary and terrible court of Star Chamber ; to whose arbitrary proceedings (it being composed of the principal men of the realm and calculated to support arbitrary government) no bounds or limits could be set nor could any other hand remove the evil but a Parliament.

Power may justly be compared to a great river ; while kept within bounds, it is both beautiful and useful, but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed ; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If, then, this be the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and, like wise men who value freedom, use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power, which, in all ages, has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition the blood of the best men that ever lived.

I hope to be pardoned, sir, for my zeal upon this occasion. It is an old and wise caution that "when our neighbour's house is on fire we ought to take care of our own." For though, blessed be God, I live in a government where liberty is well understood and freely enjoyed, yet experience has shown us all (I am sure it has to me) that a bad precedent in one government is soon set up for an authority in another ; and therefore I cannot but think it mine and every honest man's duty, that, while we pay all due obedience to men in authority, we ought, at the same time, to be upon our guard against power wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow-subjects.

## FREDERIC HARRISON

(1831-1923).

**F**REDERIC HARRISON, English jurist and historian, was born in London. He was educated at King's College School and at Wadham College, Oxford, where after taking a first-class in "Literæ Humaniores" he became fellow and tutor. Later he was called to the bar, and in addition to his practice in equity cases soon began to distinguish himself as an effective contributor to the higher class reviews. A few years later Mr. Harrison worked at the codification of the law with Lord Westbury, of whom he contributed an interesting notice to Nash's biography of the Chancellor.

From 1877 to 1889 Harrison served as Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law under the council of legal education. A follower of the positive philosophy, he led the Positivists who split off and founded Newton Hall in 1881. Harrison was also President of the English Positivist Committee for 25 years. As editor of the Positivist journal he wrote much on Comte and Positivism.

Of Harrison's separate publications, perhaps the most important are his lives of Cromwell, William the Silent, Ruskin and Chatham. An advanced and vehement Radical in politics and Progressive in municipal affairs, Mr. Harrison stood unsuccessfully for parliament against Sir John Lubbock for London University. Later he was elected alderman of the London County Council.

As a religious teacher, literary critic, historian and jurist, Mr. Harrison took a prominent part in the life of his time, and his writings though often violently controversial on political and social subjects, and in their judgment and historical perspective characterized by a modern Radical point of view, are those of an accomplished scholar, and of one whose wide knowledge of literature was combined with independence of thought and admirable vigour of style. In 1907 he published "The Creed of a Layman," in explanation of his religious position.

## THE UNSEEN

(Delivered in London).

ON the very important question—indeed the all-important question—What effect on religious thought have these years of War produced?—most divergent answers have been given. Some say the Churches, or some particular Church—have gained in power. Some say the Churches, at least the Anglican Church—have lost influence. Others declare that this world-wide upheaval has had no distinct, or no definable effect. We have our own view of the matter; but I shall not discuss that now. All agree that from Catholic, Anglican, and Free Church alike, devoted priests and ministers have gone forth into the battle zone with messages of love, comfort and strength. It is not very plain that the official authorities of any Church have had any serious influence on the masses, either on soldiers or civilians. The less said about the Vatican the better. As to the Established Church of England there has been a very marked tendency towards expansion and loosening both of dogma and of discipline, in a word, towards Christian re-union and free communion. But I do not wish to enlarge on that to-day. There is another very manifest tendency in religious thought which I wish to discuss.

Both inside and outside the regular Churches there has been a relapse towards a vague mysticism which rejects, or is incapable of, intelligible definition, and veils its inanity under the elastic term of Spiritualism. Nobody knows what each understands by Spiritualism. It may mean anything and may cover anything from the Athanasian Creed to table-turning and a conjuror's sleight-of-hand. It is usually described as the state in which the spirit dwells upon The Unseen. What is the Unseen? Does it mean the Unreal, the Unknown, the Unknowable? If it means something real, known to exist, and clearly understood, then it should be stated in its proper name and qualities. The sincere believer in the Christian faith dwells in spirit on the Saviour, the Trinity, the Madonna, Saints and Angels, or the Almighty Father. When this faith gets shaken and doubtful, then the spirit is said to dwell on the Unseen which may mean anything or nothing. To fall back on a very miscellaneous Spiritualism is to betray the sense of losing trust in the religious belief hitherto held. If they still trust God and Christ, the Church, the Providence of Justice and Mercy, why hesitate to use names that are familiar and intelligible? No! they prefer to wrap up their doubts and their incoherence in airy phrases such as the Unseen, the Beyond, the Immaterial, Spirituality. They have ceased to believe: they doubt.

Spiritualism is scepticism. To put your hope and your trust in the

Unseen is not to know what you hope nor what you trust. Not to know, is to be indifferent, to accept anything outside visible evidence, no matter what. That is indeed a pitiable state of an empty head and a flabby soul. If you do know what the Unseen is, what its force is, its nature, its reaction upon yourself, why not call it by its proper name and description? To palm off on us the Unseen, as a hazy mode of "Something—not—ourselves" which we do not quite think of as the Living God, to use it as a general term for the Gospel Idea, is shuffling with us and with yourself. When you talk of the message to man in the Gospel, do you mean the Sermon on the Mount—"take no thought for the morrow"—and all that? Do you really believe that the Son of the carpenter created the world and ascended up in His crucified body to Heaven? If your life is devoted to that faith—say so, as pious Christian men and women do. The Unseen means, you don't know what to think.

We are told that one of the most eminent leaders of Anglican "Modernism" was so wise that he knew the problems of religion could not be solved in thought, and he fell back on faith in the "Divine Life." Well! but what is a Divine Life? How can you live in accord with the Commands of a Being of whose nature and purposes you admit you know nothing? If you know these purposes, what are they, wherein are they stated, and by whom? The Christian Churches, the Jews, the Mussulmans, declare they do know. They say the Bible, the Old Testament, the Koran, are authentic codes of duty and records of fact. Modernists reject all this in any literal sense. They prefer to be Christian Agnostics.

These Christian Agnostics are wont to reproach the other Agnostics, Ethicists, Positivists as mere Materialists. They say—you care for nothing but of this world, for yourselves, and for the crude matter you were born in and you die in. "We dwell in the spiritual world of the Unseen," they say. But as they have no Church, no Creed, no Bible, except such as all men have, their Unseen is simply what they fashion, imagine and dream out of their own minds and the human Past. The only Divine Life they know is what they frame as the best life—the purest, most rational, most humane life as drawn from history, philosophy, science, and morals—from the lives of saintly and wise men. That is our faith, too. We do not call it the Divine Life, we call it the Human Life. We have our Unseen quite as much as they have. Our spirits do not dwell on what we see to-day—but on what we hope, believe, know, is to come—to come on Earth, not in Heaven. If we are agnostic as to Heaven and Hell, we are not agnostic as to the coming of Humanity. Our Unseen is a far grander, more beautiful, more soul-stirring power than their vague dreams. It is the inexhaustible development of Man on this Earth.

## HILDEBERT, ARCHBISHOP OF TOURS

(c. 1055-1134).

**S**T. HILDEBERT, of Tours, poet, orator, and theologian, was born at Lavardin, near Vendome, France, about the year 1055.

He became celebrated for his sermons and for his Latin hymns, some of which still survive. 'Tu Intrare Me Non Sinas,' generally attributed to him, is one of the most remarkable Latin lyrics of the Middle Ages. His sermon 'Rebecca at the Well,' preached at the dedication of a church, is full of the symbolism of his time, but it shows an extraordinary command of language and a faculty of expression always adequate to the thought. After serving as Bishop at Le Mans, Hildebert was made Archbishop of Tours in 1125. He died at Tours, December 18th, 1134.

### REBECCA AT THE WELL

(A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of a Church).

**W**HAT is the cause why Isaac, the beloved son, is forbidden to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, save that he of whom it is written, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," will be espoused to no polluted soul? But the servant is commanded to take a wife for the son from his own kindred, because the holy Church of the elect was alone to be joined to the Only-Begotten Son, and that Only Begotten from his predestination and foreknowledge did not esteem her a stranger. And who is the servant that is sent to bring home the wife, save the prophets and the apostles, and all the doctors, who, while they proclaim the word to honest hearts, become, as it were, the messengers for betrothing every Christian soul to the Only-Begotten Son? He, going forth on his journey, took with him of all the goods of his Lord, because they manifest in themselves the riches of virtue in the things which they speak concerning the Lord, and by so much the more speedily they persuade men to turn to God, by how much they set forth in themselves the things which they teach to their hearers. And the aforesaid servant stood near the fountain and resolved, by a

determination taken beforehand, which damsel he should select ; because holy preachers look at the fountains of sacred writ, and collect from them what or to whom they should commit the word of their preaching, and from which auditors they may look for the certainty of faith. The servant seeks for somewhat to drink, because every preacher thirsts after the soul of his hearers. It is Rebecca who gives the water, because it is the holy Church of the elect which satisfies the desire of its preachers by the virtue of its faith ; the Church which confesses the God of whom she hears, and offers to her instructor the water of refreshment, and satisfies his soul. And note that Rebecca let down the pitcher upon her hand because that praise is well-pleasing to God which proceeds from a good work. . . . And she gave drink, not only to himself, but also to his camels, because the word of life is not only preached to the wise but also to the foolish ; according to that saying of Paul : “ I am a debtor both to the wise and unwise.” . . . The servant gives to Rebecca earrings and bracelets, because every preacher adorns the ears of holy Church by obedience, and her hands by the merit of good works. But the earrings are of two shekels weight, and the bracelets of ten, because the first virtue of obedience consists in love, which love is divided into two commandments, love of God and love of our neighbour ; and good works are accomplished in the fulfilment of the Decalogue, so that when we begin to do that which is good, we may not allow that which is evil. Rebecca tells the servant that in her father’s house there is room enough to lodge in, because holy Church shows that she has separated herself from her former people, and receives the words of the preacher in the ample bosom of her love. For the latitude of goodness in the heart of the hearer is a spacious place in which the teacher may lodge. Whence it is said to some : “ Receive us ; we have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man ; ye are not straitened in us, but be straitened in your own bowels.” As if he said openly to them : “ Make the lodging of your mind wide enough to receive our doctrine ; but remain straitened in your thoughts of carnal things.” But in that she saith : “ We have both straw and provender enough,” she teaches that holy Church, hearing the word of life, repays the preachers with earthly revenue, which Paul, esteeming as it were of no account, saith : “ If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your worldly things ? ” Now the brother of Rebecca was Laban, who came forth in haste, and, beholding the bracelets and the rings of his sister, called the servant into the house. Because there are certain carnal men joined with the faithful who, while they behold spiritual gifts, are suspended in admiration, and, although they proceed not to works, nevertheless admit the word of preaching into their hearts so far as to believe.

For since they see that good men are often supported by miracles, they do not refuse to receive that which they hear concerning eternity ; yet not following in their works the holy Church of the elect, they remain in the operation of carnal men. Laban brought forth straw, hay, water, and bread ; but the servant, unless he could first gain that for which he came, namely, the marriage, refused to receive them ; because there are many who are ready to retain their teachers by earthly pay ; but holy preachers, unless they first gain that which concerns eternity, will have nothing to do with temporal rewards. For if they do not reap fruit from the soul, they despise the reception of pay from the body. Nor will they wash their feet, because they cannot relieve the anxiety of their longing by any consolation. But, as soon as the servant had effected the marriage of his lord, he brought forth vessels of gold, and vessels of silver, and raiment, which he gave to Rebecca ; because her doctors give as many ornaments to holy Church as are the virtues which they teach. She who had before received earrings and bracelets now receives golden and silver vessels, and garments ; because the Church, increasing in strength, obtains power to receive spiritual gifts ; so that, filled with the spirit of prophecy and the grace of virtues, she grows rich with more ample presents. The servant gives gifts to the mother and to the brethren of Rebecca, because the Gentiles, from whom the Church comes to the faith, after her conversion, increase in temporal glory. . . . Her brothers also receive gifts, because they who, so far as words are concerned hold the faith in the Church, but yet make not good their profession by their lives, and live carnally, are nevertheless honoured by the faithful, because they themselves appear to be faithful. . . . Rebecca follows the servant with her damsels, because holy Church has with herself, as companions, souls of less merit. . . . The servant was in haste to return home, because holy preachers, when by their preaching they have gained the lives of their hearers, return thanks to him of whose gift they have received, so that they attribute nothing in their operation to themselves, but to their Maker. At that time Isaac was walking by the way that leads to the well of him that liveth and seeth. Who is he that liveth and seeth, save the omnipotent God ? Of whom it is written : “ I lift up my hand to heaven and say I live forever.” And again, “ All things are naked and open to his eyes.” But the well of him that liveth and seeth is the profundity of Holy Scripture, which Almighty God has given to us for the irrigation of our minds. And what is the way that leads to the well of him that liveth and seeth, save the humility of the passion of the Only-Begotten Son, whereby that is made manifest to us of which before the streams of Holy Scriptures spake but darkly ? For unless the Only-Begotten Son of God had been incarnate, tempted,

betrayed, buffeted, spit upon, crucified, and had died, the profundity of this faith, that is, of the Holy Scripture, would not have been made manifest to us. For how was the humility of his passion shown to the faithful, save by the nails which opened his flesh, by which we find the well of the mysteries of God so that we may draw forth the water of knowledge from the depth? For the sacred pages of Scripture speak of his incarnation, his passion, his death, his resurrection, his ascension, and that which we know to have taken place we can now understand when we hear. These things could indeed be read before; but because as yet they had not happened, they could not be comprehended. Whence it is said by John: "The lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seals thereof." He it is that looseth its seals, who by his birth, by his death, by his resurrection, by his ascension into heaven, has manifested to us the mysteries of Holy Scripture. Isaac went forth to meditate in the field. Now that the field signifies the world, the Lord himself explains to us, saying: "The field is the world." The Lord went forth in this, because he vouchsafed to take upon himself a visible form, as it is written: "Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people that thou mightest redeem thine anointed" . . . . And it was at eventide when he went forth to meditate in the field, because he undertook his passion towards the end of the world; as the Psalmist speaks of his crucifixion, saying: "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice."

But what is signified by Rebecca's riding on the camel to Isaac, except that by Rebecca, as we have said, the Church is signified, and by the camel on which she sat, the people of the Gentiles, deformed in their morals and loaded with idols, is set forth? . . . Rebecca, therefore, coming to Isaac, rides on the camel's back, because the Church hastening to Christ from her Gentile condition is found in the tortuous and vicious conversation of that ancient life. And when she saw Isaac, she lighted down from her camel because holy Church the more clearly she beholds her Redeemer the more humbly she leaves off the lusts of carnal life, and sets herself to struggle against the viciousness of depraved conversation. . . . Rebecca covered herself with her veil, because the more deeply the Church penetrates into the mysteries of her Saviour, the more utterly is she confounded for her past life, and blushes for what she has done perversely. . . . When the apostolic voice saith to the Church, converted from her former lofty estate, as to Rebecca descending from the camel and covering herself with a veil, What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? When Isaac brought her into the tent of his mother, she became his wife; because the Lord, in the place of the synagogue in which according to the flesh he was born,



loved the holy Church and joined it to himself in love and contemplation ; so that she who was before akin to him by relationship, that is, related by predestination, was afterwards joined by love and became his wife. Whom he so loved as to be comforted after his mother's death ; because our Redeemer by gaining the holy Church was consoled for that grief which, perchance, he felt for the loss of the synagogue.

But if we care to interpret names, Isaac signifies "laughter," Rebecca, "patience." Now laughter arises from joy and patience comes from tribulation. And although holy Church is even now taken up by the contemplation of heavenly gladness, nevertheless she has something sorrowful to bear from the weight of mortal infirmities. But Isaac and Rebecca are joined, that is, laughter and patience are mingled together, because that is fulfilled in the Church which is written, Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation.

## ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

(For *Biographical Note* see Section ii.).

### ORATION AT HIS BROTHER'S GRAVE

(Delivered at the Funeral of His Brother, Ebon C. Ingersoll, in Washington, June 3rd, 1879).

**F**RIENDS, I am going to do that which the dead oft promised he would do for me.

The loved and loving brother, husband, father, friend, died where manhood's morning almost touches noon, and while the shadows still were falling towards the West.

He has not passed on life's highway the stone that marks the highest point, but, being weary for a moment, he lay down by the wayside, and, using his burden for a pillow, fell into that dreamless sleep that kisses down his eyelids still. While yet in love with life and raptured with the world, he passed to silence and pathetic dust.

Yet, after all, it may be best, just in the happiest, sunniest hour of all the voyage, while eager winds are kissing every sail, to dash against the unseen rock, and in an instant hear the billows roar above the sunken ship. For, whether in mid sea or 'mong the breakers of the farther shore, a wreck at last must mark the end of each and all. And every life, no matter if its every hour is rich with love and every moment jewelled with a joy, will, at its close, become a tragedy as sad and deep and dark as can be woven of the warp and woof of mystery and death.

This brave and tender man in every storm of life was oak and rock, but in the sunshine he was vine and flower. He was the friend of all heroic souls. He climbed the heights and left all superstitions far below, while on his forehead fell the golden dawning of the grander day.

He loved the beautiful, and was with colour, form, and music touched to tears. He sided with the weak, the poor, and wronged, and lovingly gave alms. With loyal heart, and with the purest hands, he faithfully discharged all public trusts.

He was a worshipper of liberty, a friend of the oppressed. A thousand times I have heard him quote these words: "For justice all place a temple, and all season, summer." He believed that happiness was the only good reason, the only torch, justice the only worship, humanity the only religion, and love the only priest. He added

to the sum of human joy ; and were everyone to whom he did some loving service to bring a blossom to his grave, he would sleep to-night beneath a wilderness of flowers.

Life is a narrow vale between the cold and barren peaks of two eternities. We strive in vain to look beyond the heights. We cry aloud, and the only answer is the echo of our wailing cry. From the voiceless lips of the unreplying dead there comes no word ; but in the night of death hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustle of the wing.

He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with his latest breath : " I am better now." Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas, of fears and tears that these dear words are true of all the countless dead.

And now to you who have been chosen, from among the many men he loved, to do the last sad office for the dead, we give his sacred dust.

## A PICTURE OF WAR

(Address Delivered at the Soldiers' Reunion at Indianapolis,  
September 21st, 1876).

THE past rises before me like a dream. Again we are in the great struggle for national life. We hear the sounds of preparation—the music of boisterous drums—the silver voices of heroic bugles. We see thousands of assemblages, and hear the appeals of orators ; we see the pale cheeks of women and the flushed faces of men ; and in those assemblages we see all the dead whose dust we have covered with flowers. We lose sight of them no more. We are with them when they enlist in the great army of freedom. We see them part with those they love. Some are walking for the last time in quiet woody places with the maidens they adore. We hear the whisperings and the sweet vows of eternal love as they lingeringly part forever. Others are bending over cradles, kissing babes that are asleep. Some are receiving the blessings of old men. Some are parting with mothers, who hold them and press them to their hearts again and again, and say nothing ; and some are talking with wives, and endeavouring with brave words spoken in the old tones to drive from the hearts the awful fear. We see them part. We see the wife standing in the door with the babe in her arms—standing in the sunlight sobbing ; at the turn of the road a hand waves ; she answers by holding high in her loving hands the child. He is gone, and forever.

We see them all as they march proudly away under the flaunting flags, keeping time to the wild, grand music of war—marching down the streets of the great cities, through the towns and across the prairies—down to the fields of glory, to do and to die for the eternal right.

We go with them, one and all. We are by their side on all the gory fields—in all the hospitals of pain—on all the weary marches. We stand guard with them in the wild storm and under the quiet stars. We are with them in ravines running with blood—in the furrows of old fields. We are with them between contending hosts, unable to move, wild with thirst, the life ebbing slowly away among the withered leaves. We see them pierced by balls and torn with shells, in the trenches by forts, and in the whirlwind of the charge, where men become iron, with nerves of steel.

We are with them in the prisons of hatred and famine ; but human speech can never tell what they endured.

We are at home when the news comes that they are dead. We see the maiden in the shadow of her first sorrow. We see the silvered head of the old man bowed with the last grief.

The past rises before us, and we see four millions of human beings governed by the lash ; we see them bound hand and foot ; we hear the strokes of cruel whips ; we see the hounds tracking women through tangled swamps ; we see babes sold from the breasts of mothers. Cruelty unspeakable ! Outrage infinite !

Four million bodies in chains—four million souls in fetters ! All the sacred relations of wife, mother, father, and child trampled beneath the brutal feet of might ! And all this was done under our own beautiful banner of the free.

The past rises before us. We hear the roar and shriek of the bursting shell. The broken fetters fall. These heroes died. We look. Instead of slaves, we see men and women and children. The wand of progress touches the auction block, the slave pen, the whipping post, and we see homes and firesides, and school houses and books ; and where all was want and crime and cruelty and fetters, we see the faces of the free.

These heroes are dead. They died for liberty—they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land they made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemlocks, the tearful willows, and the embracing vines. They sleep beneath the shadows of the clouds, careless alike of the sunshine or of storm, each in the windowless palace of rest. Earth may run red with other wars—they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serenity of death. I have one sentiment for the soldiers, living and dead—cheers for the living and tears for the dead.

## THE IMAGINATION

THE man of imagination,—that is to say, of genius,—having seen a leaf and a drop of water, can construct the forests, the rivers, and the seas. In his presence all the cataracts fall and foam, the mists rise, the clouds form and float.

Really to know one fact is to know its kindred and its neighbours. Shakespeare, looking at a coat of mail, instantly imagined the society, the conditions that produced it, and what it produced. He saw the castle, the moat, the drawbridge, the lady in the tower, and the knightly lover spurring over the plain. He saw the bold baron and the rude retainer, the trampled serf, and all the glory and the grief of feudal life.

The man of imagination has lived the life of all people, of all races. He was a citizen of Athens in the days of Pericles ; listened to the eager eloquence of the great orator, and sat upon the cliff and with the tragic poet heard “ the multitudinous laughter of the sea.” He saw Socrates thrust the spear of question through the shield and heart of falsehood ; was present when the great man drank hemlock and met the night of death as tranquilly as a star meets morning. He has followed the peripatetic philosophers, and has been puzzled by the sophists. He has watched Phidias as he chiselled shapeless stone to forms of love and awe.

He has lived by the slow Nile amid the vast and monstrous. He knows the very thought that wrought the form and features of the Sphinx. He has heard great Memnon’s morning song—has lain him down with the embalmed and waiting dead, and felt within their dust the expectation of another life mingled with cold and suffocating doubts—the children born of long delay.

He has walked the ways of mighty Rome, has seen great Cæsar with his legions in the field, has stood with vast and motley throngs and watched the triumphs given to victorious men, followed by uncrowned kings, the captured hosts, and all the spoils of ruthless war. He has heard the shout that shook the Colosseum’s roofless walls when from the reeling gladiator’s hand the short sword fell, while from his bosom gushed the stream of wasted life.

He has lived the life of savage man, has trod the forest’s silent depths, and in the desperate game of life or death has matched his thought against the instinct of the beast.

He knows all crimes and all regrets, all virtues and their rich rewards. He has been victim and victor, pursuer and pursued, outcast and king—has heard the applauses and curses of the world, and on his heart have fallen all the nights and noons of failure and success.

He knows the unspoken thoughts, the dumb desires, the wants and ways of beasts. He has felt the crouching tiger's thrill, the terror of the ambushed prey, and with the eagles he has shared ecstasy of flight and poise and swoop, and he has lain with sluggish serpents on the barren rocks uncoiling slowly in the heat of noon.

He sat beneath the bo tree's contemplative shade, rapt in Buddha's mighty thought ; and he has dreamed all dreams that Light, the alchemist, hath wrought from dust and dew and stored within the slumbrous poppy's subtle blood.

He has knelt with awe and dread at every shrine, has offered every sacrifice and every prayer, has felt the consolation and the shuddering fear, has seen all devils, has mocked and worshipped all the gods—enjoyed all heavens, and felt the pangs of every hell.

He has lived all lives, and through his blood and brain have crept the shadow and the chill of every death ; and his soul, Mazeppa-like, has been naked to the wild horse of every fear and love and hate.

The imagination hath a stage within the brain, whereon he sets all scenes that lie between the morn of laughter and the night of tears, and where his players body forth the false and true, the joys and griefs, the careless shallows, and the tragic deeps of every life.

## LIFE

**B**ORN of love and hope, of ecstasy and pain, of agony and fear, of tears and joy—dowered with the wealth of two united hearts—held in happy arms, with lips upon life's drifted font, blue-veined and fair, where perfect peace finds perfect form—rocked by willing feet and wooed to shadowy shores of sleep by siren mother, singing soft and low—looking with wonder's wide and startled eyes at common things of life and day—taught by want and wish and contact with the things that touch the dimpled flesh of babes—lured by light and flame, and charmed by colour's wondrous robes—learning the use of hands and feet, and by the love of mimicry beguiled to utter speech—releasing prisoned thoughts from crabbed and curious marks on soiled and tattered leaves—puzzling the brain with crooked numbers and their changing, tangled

worth—and so through years of alternating day and night, until the captive grows familiar with the chains and walls and limitations of a life.

And time runs on in sun and shade, until the one of all the world is wooed and won, and all the lore of love is taught and learned again. Again a home is built, with the fair chamber wherein faint dreams, like cool and shadowy vales, divide the billowed hours of love. Again the miracle of a birth—the pain and joy, the kiss of welcome and the cradle song, drowning the drowsy prattle of a babe.

And then the sense of obligation and of wrong—pity for those who toil and weep—tears for the imprisoned and despised—love for the generous dead, and in the heart the rapture of a high resolve.

And then ambition, with its lust of pelf and place and power, longing to put upon its breast distinction's worthless badge. Then keener thoughts of men, and eyes that see behind the smiling mask of craft—flattered no more by the obsequious cringe and gain and greed—knowing the uselessness of hoarded gold, of honour bought from those who charge the usury of self-respect, of power that only bends a coward's knees and forces from the lips of fear the lies of praise. Knowing at last the unstudied gesture of esteem, the reverent eyes made rich with honest thought, and holding high above all other things—high as hope's great throbbing star above the darkness of the dead—the love of wife and child and friend.

Then locks of grey, and growing love of other days and half-remembered things—then holding withered hands of those who first held his, while over dim and loving eyes death softly presses down the lids of rest.

And so, locking in marriage vows his children's hands and crossing others on the breasts of peace, with daughter's babes upon his knees, the white hair mingling with the gold, he journeys on from day to day to that horizon where the dusk is waiting for the night. At last, sitting by the holy hearth of home as evening's embers change from red to grey, he falls asleep within the arms of her he worshipped and adored, feeling upon his pallid lips love's last and holiest kiss.

## ISOCRATES

(436-338 B.C.).

**I**SOCRATES composed his orations to be read by others, or as models not intended to be delivered at all. It is assumed by Mahaffy and others that he was too bashful to appear in public and deliver his own orations. Mahaffy speaks of his "egregious vanity," and says that "he aspired to the position of a Swift or a Junius with the talents of an Addison or a Pope." If we may take it for granted that he had the talents of "an Addison or a Pope," it will be sufficient to commend his oratory to attentive consideration, regardless of his actual or imaginary weaknesses of character.

Born at Athens, 436 B.C., he "lived through three of the most eventful generations of Greek history," dying in 338. As he was by profession a teacher of oratory rather than a politician, it is possible to imagine that, in some cases at least, composing political speeches which he failed to deliver publicly may have been as much an incident of professional convenience as of "egregious vanity," or bashfulness. About twenty-one of his orations are still extant. He was noted chiefly as a master of style.

The translation of J. H. Freese, of St. John's College, Cambridge, is here used for the 'Areopagiticus,' an oration made memorable by Milton's imitation of it.

### 'AREOPAGITICUS'—"A FEW WISE LAWS WISELY ADMINISTERED"

(From the Areopagitic Oration Written to Persuade Athens to Return to the Constitution of Solon).

**I** THINK many of you wonder whatever is the idea that has led me to come forward to speak concerning the public safety as if the city were in peril, or its affairs in a dangerous condition, instead of being the owner of more than two hundred triremes, at peace in Attica and the neighbourhood, mistress of the sea, and still in a position to command the support of many allies who will be ready to assist us



in time of need, and of a still larger number who pay contributions and obey our orders ; while we possess all these advantages, one would say that we might reasonably be of good courage as being out of reach of danger, and that it is rather our enemies who ought to be afraid and to take counsel for their own safety.

I know well that you, adopting this line of argument, despise my appearance here, and expect to maintain your authority over the whole of Greece with your present resources ; whereas this is just the reason why I am afraid. For I see that those cities which think they are most prosperous adopt the worst counsels, and that those which feel the greatest confidence fall into the greatest dangers. The reason of this is that no good or evil falls to the lot of man by itself alone, but, while wealth and power are attended and followed by want of sense accompanied by licence, want and a humble position bring with them prudence and moderation, so that it is hard to decide which of these two lots one would prefer to leave as a legacy to his children. For we should find that, starting from that which seems to be worse, things generally improve ; while, as the result of that which is apparently better, they usually deteriorate.

A city's soul is nothing else but its political principle, which has as great influence as understanding in a man's body. For this it is that counsels concerning everything, and, while preserving prosperity, avoids misfortune. It is this that laws, orators, and individuals must naturally resemble, and fare according to the principles they hold. We, however, pay no heed to its destruction, and give no thought how we shall recover it ; but, sitting in our shops we abuse the present constitution, and assert that we were never worse governed under a democracy, while in our acts and thoughts we show ourselves more attached to it than to that bequeathed to us by our ancestors. It is on behalf of the latter that I propose to speak, and have given notice in writing of my intention to do so. For I see that this will be the only means of averting future dangers and getting rid of our present evils, if, namely, we be willing to restore that democracy which Solon, the devoted friend of the people, introduced, and which Cleisthenes, who drove out the despots and restored the rights of the people, re-established in its original form. We should not find a constitution more favourable to the people or more beneficial to the State than that. The strongest proof whereof is that those who lived under it, having wrought many noble deeds and gained universal renown, received the headship from the Hellenes of their own free will, while those who are enamoured of the present constitution, hated by all, after having undergone dreadful sufferings, have only just escaped being involved in the direst calamities. Surely

it cannot be right to acquiesce in or be content with this constitution, which has been the cause of so many evils in former times, and is now every year growing worse. Ought we not rather to fear that if our misfortunes increase to such an extent, we may at last run aground upon more grievous troubles than those that then befell us.

In order that you may make your choice and decide between the two Constitutions, not merely after having heard a general statement, but from accurate knowledge, it is your duty to give your earnest attention to what I say, while I endeavour, as briefly as possible, to give you an account of both.

Those who conducted the affairs of the city at that time [the time of Solon] established a constitution that was not merely in name most mild and impartial, while in reality it did not show itself such to those who lived under it,—a constitution that did not train its citizens in such a manner that they considered licence democracy, lawlessness liberty, insolence of speech equality, and the power of acting in this manner happiness, but which, by hating and punishing men of such character, made all the citizens better and more modest. And what chiefly assisted them in managing the State aright was this; of the two recognized principles of equality, the one assigning the same to all, the other their due to individuals, they were not ignorant which was the more useful, but rejected as unjust that which considered that good and bad had equal claims, and preferred that which honoured and punished each man according to his deserts; and governed the State on these principles, not appointing magistrates from the general body of citizens by lot, but selecting the best and most capable to fill each office. For they hoped that the rest of the citizens would behave themselves like those at the head of affairs. In the next place, they thought that this method of appointing to office was more to the advantage of the people than appointment by lot, since, in appointing by lot, chance would have the decision, and supporters of oligarchy would often obtain offices, while, in selecting the most respectable citizens, the people would be able to choose those who were most favourably disposed towards the established constitution. And the reason why the majority were contented with this arrangement, and why public offices were not objects of contention, was that they had learned to work and economize, and not to neglect their own property while entertaining designs on that of others, nor again to supply their own needs at the expense of the public funds, but rather to assist the treasury, if necessary, out of their own means, and not to have a more accurate knowledge of the income arising from public offices than that produced by their own property. So severely did they keep their hands off the State revenues, that during those times

it was harder to find men willing to undertake office than it is now to find men who have no desire for office at all ; for they regarded the care of public affairs not as a lucrative business but as a public charge, and they did not from the very day they took office consider whether the former holders of office had left anything to be gained, but rather whether they had neglected anything that pressed for a settlement. In short, they had made up their minds that the people, like an absolute master, ought to control the public offices, punish offenders and settle disputed points, and that those who were able to enjoy ease, and possessed sufficient means, should attend to public affairs like servants, and, if they acted justly, should be praised and rest contented with this recognition of their services, while, if they managed affairs badly, they should meet with no mercy, but should be visited with the severest penalties. And how would it be possible to find a democracy more just or more secure than one which set the most influential citizens at the head of public affairs, and at the same time invested the people with sovereign control over these same officials ?

Such was the arrangement of the constitution adopted by them ; and it is easy to understand from this that in their everyday life they always acted with uprightness and in accordance with the laws. For, when men have adopted right principles in regard to affairs in general, single departments of the same must of necessity resemble the whole.

In a similar manner they behaved in their relations towards one another. For they were not only in accord upon public matters, but, in regard to their private life, they showed such consideration for one another as befits men of sense and members of one and the same Fatherland. Far from the poorer citizens envying the richer, they were as anxious about the wealthy families as about their own, considering their prosperity to be a source of advantage to themselves ; while those who were possessed of means, not only did not look down upon those who were in a humbler position, but, considering it disgraceful to themselves that the citizens should be in want, relieved their needs, handing over plots of land to some at a moderate rental, sending others out on business, and advancing capital to others for other occupations. For they were not afraid either of losing all, or with great difficulty recovering only a part of what had been lent, but felt as safe about the money put out as if it had been stored away at home. For they saw that those who decided claims for debt did not err on the side of leniency, but obeyed the laws, not making use of the suits of others in order to make it easy for them to act dishonestly themselves, but feeling more anger against those who cheated even than those who were themselves wronged, thinking that the poor sustained more injury than the rich

by the act of those who did not faithfully observe their agreements ; for the latter, if they were to give up lending money, could only lose a small portion of their income, while the former, if they should be without any to assist them, would be reduced to the greatest distress. Since all shared this opinion, no one either concealed the amount of his property or shrank from lending money, but all were more pleased to see borrowers than payers. For two things happened to them, which sensible men would desire ; they both benefited their fellow-citizens and laid out their money to advantage. In short, as the result of their honourable social intercourse, their property was secured to those to whom it by right belonged, and the enjoyment of it was open to all the citizens who stood in need of it.

Perhaps someone may object to my statements that, while I praise the conditions of affairs at that time, I give no explanation of the causes which made their relations amongst themselves so satisfactory and their administration of the city so successful ; wherefore, although I think that I have already said something on this point, I will endeavour to give a fuller and clearer account of them. While in their early training they had many instructors, they were not allowed, when they reached manhood, to do as they pleased, but it was just in the prime of life that they were more carefully looked after than during their boyhood. For our ancestors paid such attention to virtue that they charged the council of Areopagus with the maintenance of decorum, to the membership of which body only those were admitted who were of noble birth, and who had shown distinguished virtue and sobriety in their lives, so that naturally it stood before all the other assemblies of Hellas.

From what takes place at the present day, we may draw inferences concerning the institutions of that period ; for even now, when everything connected with the election and scrutiny of magistrates is neglected, we should find that men, whose conduct in other respects is insufferable, when once they have become members of the Areopagus, shrink from following their natural bent, and conform to the regulations of the council rather than indulge their own vicious propensities—so great was the dread with which it inspired the vicious, and such the memorial of virtue and sobriety that it left behind in that place.

Such was the authority to which, as I have said, they intrusted the maintenance of good order, which considered that those were in error who imagined that a community, in which the laws were framed with the greatest exactness, produced the best men ; for, if this were so there would be nothing to prevent all the Hellenes being on the same level, so far as the facility of adopting one another's written laws is concerned. They, on the contrary, knew that virtue is not promoted by

the laws, but by the habits of daily life, and that most people turn out men of like character to those in whose midst they have severally been brought up. For, where there are a number of laws drawn up with great exactitude, it is a proof that the city is badly administered; for the inhabitants are compelled to frame laws in great numbers as a barrier against offences. Those, however, who are rightly governed should not cover the walls of the porticoes with copies of the laws, but preserve justice in their hearts; for it is not by decrees but by manners that cities are well governed, and, while those who have been badly brought up will venture to transgress laws drawn up even with the greatest exactitude, those who have been well educated will be ready to abide by laws framed in the simplest terms. With these ideas, they did not first consider how they should punish the disorderly, but by what means they should induce them to refrain from committing any offence deserving of punishment; for they considered that this was their mission, but that eagerness to inflict punishment was a matter of malevolence.

They were careful of the welfare of all the citizens, but especially the younger. For they saw that, at their time of life, they were most disposed to turbulence and full of desires, and that their minds needed to be specially trained and exercised in honourable pursuits and work accompanied by enjoyment, since those who have been brought up in a liberal spirit, and are accustomed to entertain high thoughts, would abide by these alone. It was impossible to direct all towards the same pursuits, as their positions in life were not the same; but they ordered them to follow occupations in conformity with their means. Those who were less well off than others they employed in agriculture and mercantile pursuits, knowing that want of means arises from idleness, and vicious habits form want of means: thus, by removing the source of these evils, they thought to keep them from the other offences that follow in its train.

Further, under the influence of that excellently ordered administration, the citizens were so trained to virtue that they did not injure one another, but fought and overcame all those who invaded their territory. With us it is quite the contrary, for we let no day pass without doing harm to one another, and have so neglected military matters that we cannot even bring ourselves to attend drill unless we receive pay. And—what is most important of all—at that time none of the citizens were in want of the necessaries of life, nor by asking alms from passers-by brought disgrace upon the city, whereas now the needy out-number the well-to-do; so that we ought freely to excuse them, if they take no thought for the interests of the State, but only consider whence they are to procure their daily bread.

It is because I think that, if we follow the example of our forefathers we shall both be rid of these evils and become the saviours, not only of the city, but of all the Hellenes, that I have come forward to speak and have said what I have ; do you then, weighing all this carefully, vote for whatever seems to you likely to prove most conducive to the welfare of the State.

## FREDERICK JOHN FOAKES JACKSON

(1855- ).

**F**REDERICK JOHN FOAKES JACKSON was born in Ipswich. He received his education at Trinity College, where he graduated in Arts. Eventually he began to study theology, and in 1905 became Doctor of Divinity.

Dr. Jackson was then appointed Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, at which place he also served for the long period of over 20 years as dean and assistant tutor.

In 1916 Dr. Jackson became Lowell Lecturer, Boston. In addition to the publication of several works, he edited a variety of theological periodicals from time to time. Amongst his many books perhaps the best known work is the "History of the Christian Church."

Dr. Jackson, in addition to the several honours held by him, is Fellow of the Royal Historical and Literary Societies. In thought Dr. Jackson is a prominent Modernist. His sermon delivered at the "Modernist Congress" at Cambridge marked a stage in the rationalisation of the Church.

### CHRIST AND THE CREEDS

(Delivered at Cambridge, 1921).

**I** AM going to ask the indulgence of the Conference by requesting them to listen because I feel that I am in part, at least, the cause of the choice of this most interesting of subjects, "Christ and the Creeds."

It is one which I verily believe that only a body like ours would venture to bring forward in these days. No one can fail to notice how carefully last year the official leaders of the Church abstained from raising the question of the fundamentals of our religion. The Lambeth Conference did, it is true, invite all Christians to unite with them on the basis of the Nicene Creed, but that was all. The bishops did not so much as hint on the method of its reception, or the difficulty of reconciling the formulas of the fourth century with modern views as to the sense in which the Scripture should be interpreted, or with the philosophy of the

present day. Of the difficulties which perplex most of us their lordships offered us no solution.

Here it is otherwise. We have deliberately chosen to discuss the very fundamentals of the Christian faith and to face and not to shirk that most pointed of all questions: "What think ye of Christ?"

The reason for this choice of the most important of subjects is, I have the vanity to suppose, the publication of the first volume of the *Beginnings of Christianity*, which Professor Lake and I have edited. We have there placed before the English-speaking world an exposition of our theory of the character of primitive Christianity and of the part the Founder took in bringing into being the Church with its dogmas and theory of life. Dr. Lake has given his opinions in a more popular form in his *Landmarks of Christianity*.

Dr. Lake and I were determined that we would place in the hands of the public a statement of the actual facts as they appeared to us. We both realised the importance of this. Hitherto English commentators have displayed a tendency to work either for the edification of the readers or the advancement of their particular Church; and they have looked to the dogmatic inferences which might be drawn from their statements. We, on the contrary, have followed the continental method in endeavouring to produce, as far as lay in our power, a simple statement of the conditions of primitive Christianity, and to invite our critics to correct us if we were in error. In so doing we were fully aware that we laid ourselves open to reprobation.

The hostile criticism to which the concluding chapters of *Beginnings* have been subjected has been mainly from Anglican reviewers. On the Continent our work has been well received and appreciatively discussed, as it has been also in Scotland and in the Nonconformist and non-sectarian newspapers. We have been most severely rebuked by the Liberals of our own Church, who have my sincere sympathy. They are fighting a hard fight. On the one hand, they see that they are losing the support of the public because there is little demand for a reasonable presentation of Christianity. People are not saying as they did formerly, "Give up your impossible dogmas and the evident myths on which they are based, and let us have a plain statement of the essentials of Christianity." The day for such lectures as Harnack's "What is Christianity?" is over. There is a growing conviction, not the less dangerous because it now rarely finds a voice, that Christianity can be ignored. Men no longer care about the sort of sermon they once listened to with attention, and are less and less troubled by religious doubts: not because they have ceased to doubt, but because they are hardly interested at all in religious problems. What, therefore, is needed is something which will



arouse and stimulate men to shake off this lethargy and cause people to realise that religion is one of the most important things in the world.

This is being done, but more successfully outside than within the Anglican communion. I know no better exponent than my colleague, Professor Harry Emerson Fosdick, in America. The question, however, is whether this type of Liberal Christianity is likely to endure : and I venture to express my doubts on this point.

Its weakness appears to me to be that it is unhistorical. It does not take account of the fact that the Christian religion is a living organism which has been subject to the law of growth and development, and that every step in its progress is the logical consequence of what is gone before ; and that this is true not only of the great historic Churches, but of every Christian society. For, example, till recently all Christians believed that the end of their faith was salvation in the world to come ; that their future depended on their faith and conduct in this present life ; that Jesus Christ, Who was before all creation, came down from heaven to save mankind ; that salvation was through Him alone. It mattered very little whether they knew this from the Bible only, as the Protestants taught, or from the Bible interpreted by the Church, according to the Catholic view. All were agreed that Christianity was a divine revelation contained in an inspired and infallible book. Now practically to ignore this, or at least to explain it in a sense in which nobody can understand it for eighteen centuries, is to break completely the chain that links the Church of the past with that of to-day. However eloquent these teachers may be, however elevated their morality, they are preaching something entirely alien from what was once meant by Christianity. They have lost the historical Christ, and have not regained Him by converting Him into a social reformer, a moral legislator, a revealer of a new conception of God. They are really preaching an entirely new religion, and concealing the fact even from themselves by disguising it in the phraseology of the old, which as employed by them is sometimes without meaning.

These are the people who look for help from us, who are labouring in the obscure field of primitive Christianity. They ask us to give them Christ as they want Him to be, and when we lay the facts before them, they declare them to be stones presented to hungry folk who are clamouring for bread.

At Oxford the other day I had a most interesting talk with two friends. They complained that " the total impression conveyed by your chapter is that Jesus was really a commonplace figure, of whom very little is known, and that little not much to His credit."

The chief criticism, however, is that the treatment of Jesus in Be-

ginnings is bad history, because Christianity could only have been due to what is described as

‘The élan spirituel produced by the impact of a colossal religious genius having that mesmeric power of stirring men up from the depths and initiating a movement, which has belonged to all great religious leaders.’

Now, nobody would deny that the Founder of Christianity was all this : and if anyone were disposed to hesitate on account of the scarcity of authentic information concerning Him, he might reassure himself by the reflection that the creation of the Jesus of the Synoptists was too original a feat for any writer or group of writers to have accomplished, especially if it be remembered that the interest of the first believers was centred in Jesus Christ, the Lord and Saviour of the Church. This is generally admitted : and I can endorse what is said by a friend :

‘The synoptic portrait of Jesus is not a product of the Church theology, but something that has survived in spite of it.’

This I think is emphasised by the fact that in the Third Gospel we have a most attractive portrait of the Jesus of the Galilean ministry, with His parables and homely sayings ; and in Acts the preaching of Jesus as the Christ without an allusion to anything He said except the logion not recorded elsewhere in the New Testament, “It is more blessed to give than to receive.”

Of course it would have been easy to have satisfied the demand made by Liberal piety by elaborating this, and it would have disarmed much criticism. But our purpose was neither to disarm criticism nor supply material for sermons. We had set ourselves to work to present our view of the earliest development of the Christian faith in days when the Church was little more than one of the many synagogues in Jerusalem. We did not set forth what they might have preached, but the sort of presentation of Jesus which they actually gave to the world. It was not, therefore, germane to our purpose to enter into a description of a side of the work and character of Christ which is not touched upon, or very slightly, in the earlier Christian documents outside the Synoptists. It would have been even misleading to do so, when one of our chief objects was to make students of the subject realize the difficulties which present themselves to the modern man. We have been so accustomed to ignore our difficulties in England, or to state them disguised in pious phraseology, that they are almost unrecognizable, and when they are stated in plain

language, they repel the reader. But unless they are understood, they cannot be properly met.

So much may be said to those Liberals who charge us with coldness and detachment in our dealings with the Synoptic problem. They are truly anxious for a Christ based on the first three Gospels ; but He eludes their grasp, because this is not what the Church at the first expected. What appears to have been preached was not a character of singular charm and beauty during His life on earth, but a Risen Saviour who was expected to come speedily to judge the quick and the dead. How far the words and character of Jesus in the Synoptists influenced those who received Him as Saviour is a question into which we cannot enter at present.

There remains another type of mind influential in modern Christianity. This regards the essence of Christianity as sacramental ; with the historical Jesus it has little connection : it is concerned with the Lord mediated to man by the Church through the sacraments. This school is derived from the Christianity at the close of the second century, which is the legitimate offspring of that at the end of the first. The theology is that of the epistles of St. Paul, matured in the Fourth Gospel.

The problem we are trying to solve is the relationship between four types of Christianity : that of the Synoptic Jesus Who preached God and the Kingdom, and, as we believe, not Himself ; that of Acts, especially the earlier chapters, declaring Jesus to be the son of God, the Messiah of the Jews, and the pourer out of the Spirit ; that of Paul ; and finally, the Johannine doctrine of the incarnate pre-existent Word of God. From this the road to what we call Catholic Christianity is plain.

But the path which leads from the historic Jesus to the Johannine presentation of His work and office is indeed obscure and hard to trace ; and especially difficult is it to discover how it was that the first preaching of the kingdom developed into a sacramental religion. Here we are compelled to wound the susceptibilities of some by maintaining that in this obscure period there was developed a sacramental, or, to use the Greek equivalent, a 'mystery' cult in the Christian community. We have adopted the view that Judaism, even where its rites were symbolical, was never a sacramental religion. The tendency which led to sacramentalism was Gentile, and of this there is abundant confirmation in those religions of the time which were personal and private rather than official.

It would have been perfectly easy for Dr. Lake and me to have satisfied the sacramentalists, or, at any rate, a portion of them, by a paragraph saying that, if the Christian mysteries were Greek rather than

Jewish, it was because the pagan world was realising the need of communion with God by some visible means, and that in itself is an argument for the unerring wisdom of the Church, which actually satisfied a deep craving of the human heart by providing that which paganism in its mysteries had in vain tried to give. We could have dwelt on the fact that, whilst all other 'mysteries' had vanished, the Christian Eucharist still supplies the Catholics with a real communion with God. This and much more we might have said, and received our meed of applause. Not only this, but we should have created a feeling that, though our theories were revolutionary, in our hearts we were sound.

But we did not do this, because we were convinced that the present time is one in which the Church needs a plain statement of the difficulties of modern Christianity that it may realise where it stands. It seemed to us to be rather necessary to present the plain facts with little or no comments, in order that our readers might judge of them and come to their own conclusions. We were aware when we wrote that we should be charged with coldness, with lack of appreciation of the causes of the triumph of the Faith, and even with infidelity. Yet, notwithstanding, we have written as we have done in *Beginnings*.

## BENJAMIN JOWETT

(1817-1893).

**B**ENJAMIN JOWETT, English scholar and theologian, master of Balliol College, Oxford, came of a family which for three generations had been supporters of the Evangelical movement in the Church of England.

He went to Oxford at the height of the Tractarian movement, but, though for a time he was drawn to it, the Arnold school represented by A. P. Stanley had a stronger and more lasting influence. The summers of 1845 and 1846 were spent with Stanley in Germany, and Jowett became an eager student of German criticism and speculation.

Theologian, tutor, university reformer (Vice-chancellor of Oxford from 1882), a great master of a college (Balliol from 1870), Jowett's best claim to the remembrance of succeeding generations was his greatness as a moral teacher.

His theological work was transitional, and yet has an element of permanence. As has been said of another great thinker, he was "one of those deeply religious men who, when crude theological notions are being revised and called in question, seek to put new life into theology by wider and more humane ideas."

His place in literature rests specially on the essays in his *Plato*. When their merits are fully recognised, it will be found that his worth, as a teacher of his countrymen, extends far beyond his own generation.

### THE CHARACTER OF ST. PAUL

(Delivered in Oxford).

**T**HERE are questions which it is interesting to suggest, even when they can never receive a perfect and satisfactory answer. One of these questions may be asked respecting St. Paul: "What was the relation in which his former life stood to the great fact of his conversion?" He himself, in looking back upon the times in which he persecuted the Church of God, thought of them chiefly as an increasing evidence of the mercy of God, which was afterwards extended to him. It seemed so strange to have been what he had been, and to be what he was. Nor does our own conception of him, in relation to

his former self, commonly reach beyond this contrast of the old and new man ; the persecutor and the preacher of the Gospel ; the young man at whose feet the witnesses against Stephen laid down their clothes, and the same Paul disputing against the Grecians, full of visions and revelations of the Lord, on whom in later life came daily the care of all the Churches.

Yet we cannot but admit also the possibility, or rather the probable truth of another point of view. It is not unlikely that the struggle which he describes in the seventh chapter of the Romans is the picture of his own heart in the days when he " verily thought that he ought to do many things contrary to Jesus of Nazareth " ; the impression of that earlier state, perhaps the image of the martyr Stephen (Acts xxii. 20) may have remained with him in after years. For men seem to carry about with them the elements of their former lives ; the character or nature which they once were, the circumstance which became a part of them, is not wholly abolished or done away ; it remains, " even in the regenerate," as a sort of insoluble mass or incumbrance which prevents their freedom of action ; in very few, or rather in none, can the old habit have perfect flexure to its new use. Everywhere, in the case of our acquaintance, who may have passed through great changes of opinion or conduct, we see from time to time the old nature which is underneath occasionally coming to the surface. Nor is it irreverent to attribute such remembrances of a former self even to inspired persons. If there were any among the contemporaries of St. Paul who had known him in youth and in age, they would have seen similarities which escape us in the character of the Apostle at different periods of his life. The zealot against the Gospel might have seemed to them transfigured into the opponent of the law ; they would have found something in common in the Pharisee of the Pharisees, and the man who had a vow on his last journey to Jerusalem ; they would perhaps have observed arguments, or quotations, or modes of speech in his writings which had been familiar to them and him in the school of Gamaliel. And when they heard of his conversion, they might have remarked that to one of his temperament only could such an event have happened, and would have noted many superficial resemblances which showed him to be the same man, while the great inward change which had overspread the world was hid from their eyes.

The gifts of God to man have ever some reference to natural disposition. He who becomes the servant of God does not thereby cease to be himself. Often the transition is greater in appearance than in reality, from the suddenness of its manifestation. There is a kind of rebellion against self and nature and God, which, through the mercy

of God to the soul, seems almost necessarily to lead to reaction. Persons have been worse than their fellow men in outward appearance, and yet there was within them the spirit of a child waiting to return home to their father's house. A change passes upon them which we may figure to ourselves, not only as the new man taking the place of the old, but as the inner man taking the place of the outer. So complex is human nature, that the very opposite to what we are has often an inexpressible power over us. Contrast is not only a law of association ; it is also a principle of action. Many run from one extreme to another, from licentiousness to the ecstasy of religious feeling, from religious feeling back to licentiousness, not without a "fearful looking for of judgment." If we could trace the hidden workings of good and evil, they would appear far less surprising and more natural than as they are seen by the outward eye. Our spiritual nature is without spring or chasm, but it has a certain play or freedom which leads very often to consequences the opposite of what we expect. It seems in some instances as if the same religious education had tended to contrary results ; in one case to a devout life, in another to a reaction against it ; sometimes to one form of faith, at other times to another. Many parents have wept to see the early religious training of their children draw them, by a kind of repulsion, to a communion or mode of opinion which is the extreme opposite of that in which they have been brought up. Let them have peace in the thought that it was not always in their power to fulfil the duty in which they seem to themselves to have failed. These latter reflections have but a remote bearing on the character of St. Paul ; but they serve to make us think that all spiritual influences, however antagonistic they may appear, have more in common with each other than they have with the temper of the world ; and that it is easier to pass from one form of faith to another than from leading the life of all men to either. There is more in common between those who anathematize each other than between either and the spirit of toleration which characterizes the ordinary dealings of man and man, or much more of the spirit of Christ, for whom they are alike contending.

Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in concluding, that those who have undergone great religious changes have been of a fervid imaginative cast of mind ; looking for more in this world than it was capable of yielding ; easily touched by the remembrance of the past, or inspired by some ideal of the future. When with this has been combined a zeal for the good of their fellow men, they have become the heralds and champions of the religious movements of the world. The change has begun within, but has overflowed without them. "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren" is the order of nature and of grace.

In secret they brood over their own state; weary and profitless their soul fainteth within them. The religion they profess is a religion not of life to them, but of death; they lose their interest in the world, and are cut off from the communion of their fellow creatures. While they are musing, the fire kindles, and at the last—"they speak with their tongue." Then pours forth irrepressibly the pent-up stream—"unto all and upon all" their fellow men; the intense flame of inward enthusiasm warms and lights up the world. First they are the evidence to others; then, again, others are the evidence to them. All religious leaders cannot be reduced to a single type of character; yet in all, perhaps, two characteristics may be observed; the first, great self-reflection; the second, intense sympathy with other men. They are not the creatures of habit or of circumstances, leading a blind life, unconscious of what they are; their whole effort is to realise their inward nature, and to make it palpable and visible to their fellows. Unlike other men who are confined to the circle of themselves or of their family, their affections are never straitened; they embrace with their love all men who are like-minded with them, almost all men too who are unlike them, in the hope that they may become like.

Such men have generally appeared at favourable conjunctions of circumstances, when the old was about to vanish away, and the new to appear. The world has yearned towards them, and they towards the world. They have uttered what all men were feeling; they have interpreted the age to itself. But for the concurrence of circumstances, they might have been stranded on the solitary shore, they might have died without a follower or convert. But when the world has needed them, and God has intended them for the world, they are endued with power from on high; they use all other men as their instruments, uniting them to themselves.

Often such men have been brought up in the faith which they afterwards oppose, and a part of their power has consisted in their acquaintance with the enemy. They see other men, like themselves formerly, wandering out of the way in the idol's temple, amid a burdensome ceremonial, with prayers and sacrifices unable to free the soul. They lead them by the way themselves came to the home of Christ. Sometimes they represent the new as the truth of the old; at other times as contrasted with it, as life and death, as good and evil, as Christ and anti-Christ. They relax the force of habit, they melt the pride and fanaticism of the soul. They suggest to others their own doubts, they inspire them with their own hopes, they supply their own motives, they draw men to them with cords of sympathy and bonds of love; they



themselves seem a sufficient stay to support the world. Such was Luther at the Reformation ; such, in a higher sense, was the Apostle St. Paul.

There have been heroes in the world, and there have been prophets in the world. The first may be divided into two classes ; either they have been men of strong will and character, or of great power and range of intellect ; in a few instances, combining both. They have been the natural leaders of mankind, compelling others by their acknowledged superiority as rulers and generals ; or in the paths of science and philosophy, drawing the world after them by a yet more inevitable necessity. The prophet belongs to another order of beings ; he does not master his thoughts ; they carry him away. He does not see clearly into the laws of this world or the affairs of this world, but has a light beyond, which reveals them partially in their relation to another. Often he seems to be at once both the weakest and the strongest of men ; the first to yield to his own impulses, the mightiest to arouse them in others. Calmness, or reason, or philosophy are not the words which describe the appeals which he makes to the hearts of men. He sways them to and fro rather than governs or controls them. He is a poet, and more than a poet, the inspired teacher of mankind ; but the intellectual gifts which he possesses are independent of knowledge, or learning, or capacity ; what they are much more akin to is the fire and subtlety of genius. He, too, for a time, has ruled kingdoms and even led armies ; " an Apostle, not of man, nor by men " ; acting, not by authority or commission of any prince, but by an immediate inspiration from on high, communicating itself to the hearts of men.

Saul of Tarsus is called an Apostle rather than a prophet, because Hebrew prophecy belongs to an age of the world before Christianity. Now that in the Gospel that which is perfect is come, that which is in part is done away. Yet, in a secondary sense, the Apostle St. Paul is also " among the prophets." He, too, has " visions and revelations of the Lord," though he has not written them down " for our instruction," in which he would fain glory because they are not his own. Even to the outward eye he has the signs of a prophet. There is in him the same emotion, the same sympathy, the same " strength made perfect in weakness," the same absence of human knowledge, the same subtlety in the use of language, the same singleness in the delivery of his message. He speaks more as a man, and less immediately under the impulse of the Spirit of God ; more to individuals, and less to the nation at large ; he is less of a poet, and more of a teacher or preacher. But these differences do not interfere with the general resemblance. Like Isaiah, he bids us look to " the man of sorrows " ; like Ezekiel, he arouses men

to a truer sense of the ways of God in his dealings with them ; like Jeremiah, he mourns over his countrymen ; like all the prophets who have ever been, he is lifted above this world, and is "in the Spirit at the day of the Lord." (Rev. I., 10).

Reflections of this kind are suggested by the absence of materials such as throw any light on the early life of St. Paul. All that we know of him before his conversion is summed up in two facts, "that the witnesses laid down their clothes with a young man whose name was Saul," and that he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, one of the few Rabbinical teachers of Greek learning in the city of Jerusalem. We cannot venture to assign to him either the 'choleric' or the 'melancholic' temperament. (Tholuck). We are unable to determine what were his natural gifts or capacities ; or how far, as we often observe to be the case, the gifts which he had were called out by the mission on which he was sent, or the theatre on which he felt himself placed "a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men." Far more interesting is it to trace the simple feelings with which he himself regarded his former life. "Last of all he was seen of me also, who am the least of the Apostles, that am not, worthy to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." Yet there was a sense also (in which it is true) that he was excusable, and that this was the reason why the mercy of God extended itself to him. "Yet I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." And in one passage he dwells on the fact, not only that he had been an Israelite, but more, that after the strictest sect of the Jews' religion he lived a Pharisee, as though that were an evidence to himself, and should be so to others, that no human power could have changed him ; that he was no half Jew, who had never properly known what the law was, but one who had both known and strictly practised it.

We are apt to judge extraordinary men by our own standard ; that is to say, we often suppose them to possess, in an extraordinary degree, those qualities which we are conscious of in ourselves or others. This is the easiest way of conceiving their characters, but not the truest. They differ in kind rather than in degree. Even to understand them truly seems to require a power analogous to their own. Their natures are more subtle, and yet more simple, than we readily imagine. No one can read the ninth chapter of the First, or the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, without feeling how different the Apostle St. Paul must have been from good men among ourselves. We marvel how such various traits of character come together in the same individual. He who was "full of visions and revelations of the Lord," who spake with tongues more than they all,

was not "mad, but uttered the words of truth and soberness." He who was the most enthusiastic of all men, was also the most prudent ; the Apostle of freedom, and yet the most moderate. He who was the strongest and most enlightened of all men, was also (would he have himself refrained from saying ?) at times the weakest ; on whom there came the care of all the Churches, yet seeming also to lose the power of acting in the absence of human sympathy.

Qualities so like and unlike are hard to reconcile ; perhaps they have never been united in the same degree in any other human being. The contradiction in part arises not only from the Apostle being an extraordinary man, but from his being a man like ourselves in an extraordinary state. Creation was not to him that fixed order of things which it is to us ; rather it was an atmosphere of evil just broken by the light beyond. To us the repose of the scene around contrasts with the turmoil of man's own spirit ; to the Apostle peace was to be sought only from within, half hidden even from the inner man. There was a veil upon the heart itself which had to be removed. He himself seemed to fall asunder at times into two parts, the flesh and the spirit ; and the world to be divided into two hemispheres, the one of the rulers of darkness, the other bright with that inward presence which should one day be revealed. In this twilight he lived. What to us is far off both in time and place, if such an expression may be allowed, to him was near and present, separated by a thin film from the world we see, ever ready to break forth and gather into itself the frame of nature. That sense of the invisible which to most men it is so difficult to impart, was like a second nature to St. Paul. He walked by faith, and not by sight ; what was strange to him was the life he now led ; which in his own often repeated language was death rather than life, the place of shadows and not of realities. The Greek philosophers spoke of a world of phenomena, of true being, of knowledge and opinion ; and we know that what they meant by these distinctions is something different from the tenets of any philosophical school of the present day. But not less different is what St. Paul meant by the life hidden with Christ and God, the communion of the Spirit, the possession of the mind of Christ ; only that this was not a mere difference of speculation, but of practice also. Could any one say now—"the life" not that I live, but that "Christ liveth in me" ? Such language with St. Paul is no mere phraseology, such as is repeated from habit in prayers, but the original consciousness of the Apostle respecting his own state. Self is banished from him, and has no more place in him, as he goes on his way to fulfil the work of Christ. No figure is too strong to express his humiliation in himself, or his exaltation in Christ.

Could we expect this to be otherwise when we think of the manner of his conversion? Could he have looked upon the world with the same eyes that we do, or heard its many voices with the same ears, who had been caught up into the third heaven, whether in the body or out of the body, he could not tell? (2 Cor. XII., 1-5). Must not his life have seemed to him a revelation, an inspiration, an ecstasy? Once and again he had seen the face of Christ, and heard him speak from heaven. All that followed in the Apostle's history was the continuation of that first wonder, a stream of light flowing from it, "planting eyes" in his soul, transfiguring him "from glory to glory," clothing him with the elect "in the exceeding glory."

Yet this glory was not that of the princes of this world, "who come to nought"; it is another image which he gives us of himself;—not the figure on Mars' hill, in the cartoons of Raphael, nor the orator with noble mien and eloquent gesture before Festus and Agrippa; but the image of one lowly and cast down, whose "bodily presence was weak, and speech contemptible"; of one who must have appeared to the rest of mankind like a visionary, pierced by the thorn in the flesh, "waiting for the redemption of the body." The saints of the middle ages are in many respects unlike St. Paul, and yet many of them bear a far closer resemblance to him than is to be found in Luther and the Reformers. The points of resemblance which we seem to see in them, are the same withdrawal from the things of earth, the same ecstasy, the same consciousness of the person of Christ. Who would describe Luther by the words "crucified with Christ"? It is in another manner that the Reformer was called upon to war, with weapons earthly as well as spiritual, with a strong right hand and a mighty arm.

There have been those who, although deformed by nature, have worn the expression of a calm and heavenly beauty; in whom the flashing eye has attested the presence of thought in the poor withered and palsied frame. There have been others again, who have passed the greater part of their lives in extreme bodily suffering, who have, nevertheless, directed states or led armies, the keenness of whose intellect has not been dulled nor their natural force of mind abated. There have been those also on whose faces men have gazed "as upon the face of an angel," while they pierced or stoned them. Of such an one, perhaps, the Apostle himself might have gloried; not of those whom men term great or noble. He who felt the whole creation groaning and travailing together until now was not like the Greek drinking in the life of nature at every pore. He who through Christ was "crucified to the world, and the world to him," was not in harmony with nature, nor nature with him. The manly form, the erect step, the

fullness of life and beauty, could not have gone along with such a consciousness as this, any more than the taste for literature and art could have consisted with the thought, "not many wise, not many learned, not many mighty." Instead of these we have the visage marred more than the sons of men, "the cross of Christ which was to the Greeks foolishness," the thorn in the flesh, the marks in the body of the Lord Jesus.

Often the Apostle St. Paul has been described as a person the furthest removed from enthusiasm; incapable of spiritual illusion; by his natural temperament averse to credulity or superstition. By such considerations as these a celebrated author confesses himself to have been converted to the belief in Christianity. And yet, if it is intended to reduce St. Paul to the type of what is termed "good sense" in the present day, it must be admitted that the view which thus describes him is but partially true. Far nearer the truth is that other quaint notion of a modern writer, "that St. Paul was the finest gentleman that ever lived"; for no man had nobler forms of courtesy, or a deeper regard for the feelings of others. But 'good sense' is a term not well adapted to express either the individual or the age and country in which he lived. He who wrought miracles, who had handkerchiefs carried to him from the sick, who spake with tongues more than they all, who lived amid visions and revelations of the Lord, who did not appeal to the Gospel as a thing long settled, but himself saw the process of a revelation actually going on before his eyes, and communicated it to his fellow men, could never have been such an one as ourselves. Nor can we pretend to estimate whether, in the modern sense of the term, he was capable of weighing evidence, or how far he would have attempted to sever between the workings of his own mind and the Spirit which was imparted to him.

What has given rise to this conception of the Apostle's character has been the circumstance, that with what the world terms mysticism and enthusiasm are united a singular prudence and moderation, and a perfect humanity, searching the feelings and knowing the hearts of all men. "I became all things to all men that I might win some"; not only, we may believe, as a sort of accommodation, but as the expression of the natural compassion and love which he felt for them. There is no reason to suppose that the Apostle took any interest in the daily life of men, in the great events which were befalling the Roman Empire, or in the temporal fortunes of the Jewish people. But when they came before him as sinners, lying in darkness and the shadow of God's wrath, ignorant of the mystery that was being revealed before their eyes, then his love was quickened for them, then they seemed to him as his kindred

and brethren ; there was no sacrifice too great for him to make ; he was willing to die with Christ, yea, even to be accursed from Him that he might " save some of them."

Mysticism, or enthusiasm, or intense benevolence and philanthropy, seem to us, as they commonly are, at variance with worldly prudence and moderation. But in the Apostle these different and contrasted qualities are mingled and harmonized. The mother watching over the life of her child, has all her faculties aroused and stimulated ; she knows almost by instinct how to say or do the right thing at the right time ; she regards his faults with mingled love and sorrow. So, in the Apostle, we seem to trace a sort of refinement or nicety of feeling, when he is dealing with the souls of men. All his knowledge of mankind shows itself for their sakes ; and yet not that knowledge of mankind which comes from without, revealing itself by experience of men and manners, by taking a part in events, by the insensible course of years making us learn from what we have seen and suffered. There is another experience that comes from within, which begins with the knowledge of self, with the consciousness of our own weakness and infirmities ; which is continued in love to others and in works of good to them ; which grows by singleness and simplicity of heart. Love becomes the interpreter of how men think, and feel, and act ; and supplies the place of, or passes into a worldly prudence wiser than, the prudence of this world. Such is the worldly prudence of St. Paul.

Once more ; there is in the Apostle, not only prudence and knowledge of the human heart, but a kind of subtlety of moderation, which considers every conceivable case, and balances one with another ; in the last resort giving no rule, but allowing all to be superseded by a more general principle. An instance of this subtle moderation is his determination, or rather omission to determine the question of meats and drinks, which he first regards as indifferent, secondly, as depending on men's own conscience, and this again as limited by the consciences of others, and lastly resolves all these finer precepts into the general principle, " Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God." The same qualification of one principle by another recurs again in his rules respecting marriage. First, " do not marry unbelievers," and " let not the wife depart from her husband." But if you are married and the unbeliever is willing to remain, then the spirit of the second precept must prevail over the first. Only in an extreme case, where both parties are willing to dissolve the tie, the first principle in turn may again supersede the second. It may be said in the one case, " your children are holy " ; in the other, " What knowest thou, O wife, if thou shalt save thy husband " ? In a similar spirit he withdraws his censure on

the incestuous person, lest such an one, criminal as he was, should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. There is a religious aspect of either course of conduct, and either may be right under given circumstances. So the kingdoms of this world admit of being regarded almost as the kingdom of God, in reference to our duties towards their rulers ; and yet touching the going to law before unbelievers, we are to think rather of that other kingdom in which we shall judge angels.

The Gospel, it has been often remarked, lays down principles rather than rules. The passages in the Epistles of St. Paul which seem to be exceptions to this statement, are exceptions in appearance rather than in reality. They are relative to the circumstances of those whom he is addressing. He who became "all things to all men," would have been the last to insist on temporary regulations for his converts being made the rule of Christian life in all ages. His manner of Church government is so unlike a rule or law, that we can hardly imagine how the Apostle, if he could return to earth, would combine the freedom of the Gospel with the requirements of Christianity as an established institution. He is not a bishop administering a regular system, but a person dealing immediately with other persons out of the fullness of his own mind and nature. His writings are like spoken words, temporary, occasional, adapted to other men's thoughts and feelings, yet not without an eternal meaning. In sending his instructions to the Churches he is ever with them, and seems to follow in his mind's eye their working and effect ; whither his Epistles go he goes in thought, absent, in his own language, "in the body, but present in spirit." What he says to the Churches, he seems to make them say ; what he directs them to do, they are to do in that common spirit in which they are united with him ; if they live he lives ; time and distance never snap the cord of sympathy. His government of them is a sort of communion with them ; a receiving of their feelings and a pouring forth of his own : he is the heart or pulse which beats through the Christian world.

And with this communion of himself and his converts, this care of daily life, there mingles the vision of "the great family in heaven and earth," "the Church which is his body," in which the meaner reality is enfolded or wrapt up, "sphered in a radiant cloud," even in its low estate. The language of the Epistles often exercises an illusion on our minds when thinking of the primitive Church ; individuals perhaps there were who truly partook of that light with which the Apostle encircled them ; there may have been those in the Churches of Corinth, or Ephesus, or Galatia, who were living on earth the life of heaven. But the ideal which fills the Apostle's mind has not, necessarily, a corresponding fact in the actual state of his converts. The beloved

family of the Apostle, the Church of which such "glorious things are told," is often in tumult and disorder. His love is constantly a source of pain to him: he watches over them "with a godly jealousy," and finds them "affecting others rather than himself." They are always liable to be 'spoiled' by some vanity of philosophy, some remembrance of Judaism, which, like an epidemic, carries off whole Churches at once, and seems to exercise a fatal power over them. He is a father harrowed and agonized in his feelings; he loves more and suffers more than other men; he will not think, he cannot help thinking, of the ingratitude and insolence of his children; he tries to believe, he is persuaded, that all is well; he denounces, he forgives; he defends himself, he is ashamed of defending himself; he is the herald of his own deeds when others neglect or injure him; he is ashamed of this too, and retires into himself, to be at peace with Christ and God. So we seem to read the course of the Apostle's thoughts in more than one passage of his writings, beginning with the heavenly ideal, and descending to the painful realities of actual life, especially at the close of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians—altogether, perhaps, the most characteristic picture of the Apostle's mind; and in the last words to the Galatians, "Henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

Great men (those, at least, who present to us the type of earthly greatness) are sometimes said to possess the power of command, but not the power of entering into the feelings of others. They have no fear of their fellows, they are not affected by their opinions or prejudices, but neither are they always capable of immediately impressing them, or of perceiving the impression which their words or actions make upon them. Often they live in a kind of solitude on which other men do not venture to intrude; putting forth their strength on particular occasions, careless or abstracted about the daily concerns of life. Such was not the greatness of the Apostle St. Paul; not only in the sense in which he says that "he could do all things through Christ," but in a more earthly and human one, was it true, that his strength was his weakness and his weakness his strength. His dependence on others was also the source of his influence over them. His natural character was the type of that communion of the Spirit which he preached; the meanness of appearance which he attributes to himself, the image of that contrast which the Gospel presents to human greatness. Glorifying and humiliation; life and death; a vision of angels strengthening him, the "thorn in the flesh" rebuking him; the greatest tenderness, not without sternness; sorrows above measure, consolations above measure; are some of the contradictions which were reconciled in the same man. It is



not a long life of ministerial success on which he is looking back a little before his death, where he says, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." These words are sadly illustrated by another verse of the same Epistle, "This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me." (2 Tim., i., 15). So when the contrast was at its height, he passed away, rejoicing in persecution also, and "filling up that which was behind of the afflictions of Christ for his body's sake." Many, if not most, of his followers had forsaken him, and there is no certain memorial of the manner of his death.

Let us look once more a little closer at that "visage marred" in his Master's service, as it appeared about three years before on a well-known scene. A poor aged man, worn by some bodily or mental disorder, who had been often scourged, and bore on his face the traces of indignity and sorrow in every form—such an one, led out of prison between Roman soldiers, probably at times faltering in his utterance, the creature, as he seemed to spectators, of nervous sensibility; yearning, almost with a sort of fondness, to save the souls of those whom he saw around him,—spoke a few eloquent words in the cause of Christian truth, at which kings were awed, telling the tale of his own conversion with such simple pathos, that after-ages have hardly heard the like.

Such is the image, not which Christian art has delighted to consecrate, but which the Apostle has left in his own writings of himself; an image of true wisdom, and nobleness, and affection, but of a wisdom unlike the wisdom of this world; of a nobleness which must not be transformed into that of the heroes of the world; an affection which seemed to be as strong and as individual towards all mankind, as other men are capable of feeling towards a single person.

## JEAN BAPTISTE HENRI LACORDAIRE

(1802-1861).

**P**ÈRE LACORDAIRE is celebrated, not only on account of his great eloquence, but because of the openness and boldness with which, without conceding any point of the Catholic creed he endeavoured to meet modern rationalism on its own grounds. He was born near Dijon, May 12th, 1802, and was educated for the law, which in 1824 he abandoned for theology. Ordained a priest in 1827, he became one of the leaders of Catholic Liberalism in France, and in 1830 was associate editor of a Progressivist paper called *L'Avenir*. Retiring from journalism because of his lack of ability to please both himself and the Pontifical Court at Rome, he made a great reputation by his sermons at Notre Dame, and by philosophical works, as a result of which he was elected to the Academy in 1860. He died November 22nd, 1861.

### “ THE SACRED CAUSE OF THE HUMAN RACE ”

(Panegyric on Daniel O'Connell, delivered at Notre Dame, Paris, in 1847).

**T**HE claiming of rights” was for O'Connell the principle of force against tyranny. In fact, there is in right, as in all that is true, a real, an eternal, and an indestructible power, which can only disappear when right is no longer even named. Tyranny would be invincible were it to succeed in destroying with its name the idea of right, in creating silence in the world in regard to right. It endeavours at least to approach that absolute term, and to lessen, by all the means of violence and corruption, the expression of justice. As long as a just soul remains, with boldness of speech, despotism is restless, troubled, fearing that eternity is conspiring against it. The rest is indifferent, or at least alarms it but little. Do you appeal to arms against it? It is but a battle. To a riot? It is but a matter of police. Violence is of time, right is heaven-born. What dignity, what force, there is in the right which speaks with calmness, with candour, with sincerity, from the heart of a good man! Its nature is contagious; as soon as it is heard, the soul recognizes and embraces it; a moment sometimes suffices for a whole people to

proclaim it and bend before it. It is said, no doubt, that the claiming of right is not always possible, and that there are times and places when oppression has become so inveterate that the language of right is as chimerical as its reality. It may be so ; but this was not the position of O'Connell and of his country. O'Connell and Ireland could speak, write, petition, associate, elect magistrates and representatives. The rights of Ireland were despised but not disarmed ; and in this condition the doctrine of O'Connell was that of Christianity and reason. Liberty is a work of virtue, a holy work, and consequently an intellectual work.

But "rights must be claimed with perseverance." The emancipation of a people is not the work of a day ; it infallibly encounters in the ideas, the passions, the interests, and the ever-intricate interweaving of human things, a thousand obstacles accumulated by time and which time alone is able to remove, provided that its course be aided by a parallel and uninterrupted action. We must not, said O'Connell, simply speak to-day and to-morrow ; write, petition, assemble to-day and to-morrow ; we must continue to speak, write, petition, assemble, until the object is attained and right is satisfied. We must exhaust the patience of injustice and force the hand of Providence. You hear, gentlemen ; this is not the school of desires vain and without virtue ; it is the school of souls tempered for good, who know its price and do not wonder that it is great. O'Connell, indeed, has given to his lessons the sanction of his example ; what he said, he did, and no life has ever been, even to its last moment, more indefatigable and better filled than his own. He laboured before the future with the certainty which inspires the present ; he was never surprised or discontented at not obtaining his end ; he knew that he should not attain it during his life,—he doubted it at least, and by the ardour of his actions it might have been supposed that he had but another step and another day before him. Who will count the number of assemblies in which he spoke and over which he presided, the petitions dictated by him, his journeys, his plans, his popular triumphs, and that inexpressible arsenal of ideas and facts which compose the fabulous tissue of his seventy-two years ? He was the Hercules of liberty.

To perseverance in claiming rights he joined a condition which always appeared to him to be of sovereign importance, it was that of being an "irreproachable organ of this work" ; and to explain this maxim by his conduct we see from the first that, as he understood it, every servant of liberty must claim it equally and efficaciously for all, not only for his party, but for the adverse party ; not only for his religion, but for all ; not only for his country, but for the whole world. Mankind is one, and its rights are everywhere the same, even when the exercise of them differs according to the state of morals and minds. Whoever excepts

a single man in his claim for right, whoever consents to the servitude of a single man, black or white, were it even but for a hair of his head unjustly bound, he is not a sincere man, and he does not merit to combat for the sacred cause of the human race. The public conscience will always reject the man who demands exclusive liberty, or even who is indifferent about the rights of others ; for exclusive liberty is but a privilege, and the liberty which is indifferent about others is but a treason. We remark a nation, having arrived at a certain development of its social institutions, stopping short or even retrograding. Do not ask the reason. You may be sure that in the heart of that people there has been some secret sacrifice of right, and that the seeming defenders of its liberty, incapable of desiring liberty for others than themselves, have lost the prestige which conquers and saves, preserves and extends it. Degenerate sons of holy combats, their enervated language rolls in a vicious circle ; to listen is already to have replied to them !

It was never thus with O'Connell ; never, during fifty years, did his language once lose the invincible charm of sincerity. It vibrated for the rights of his enemy as for his own. It was heard denouncing oppression from wheresoever it came and upon whatsoever head it fell ; thus he attracted to his cause—to the cause of Ireland—souls separated from his own by the abyss of the most profound disagreements ; fraternal hands sought his own from the most distant parts of the world. It is because there is in the heart of the upright man who speaks for all, and who, in speaking for all, seems even sometimes to speak against himself ; because there is there an omnipotence of logical and moral superiority which almost infallibly produces reciprocity.

Yes, Catholics, understand well, if you desire liberty for yourselves, you must desire it for all men and under all the heavens. If you demand it but for yourselves, it will never be granted to you ; give it where you are masters that it may be given to you where you are slaves !

## RATIONALISM AND MIRACLES

(Delivered at Notre Dame).

**T**HE public life of Jesus Christ answers to his inner life and his inner life confirms his public life. He declared himself to be God, he was believed to be God, he acted as God, and precisely because that position is one of marvellous strength, men have been forced to try their greatest efforts against it. History and common sense speaking too

loudly in favour of Jesus Christ, it was needful to have recourse to metaphysics and physics in order to snatch from his hands at least the sceptre of miracles. Let us see whether they have succeeded. Two things are advanced against him. First, Jesus Christ wrought no miracles, because it is impossible. Secondly, his working miracles is of no importance, since everybody can work them, everybody has wrought them, everybody works them.

First, "Jesus Christ wrought no miracles because it is impossible." And why? "Because nature is subject to general laws, which make of its body, a perfect and harmonious unity where each part answers to all; so that if one single point were violated, the whole would at once perish. Order, even when it comes from God, is not an arbitrary thing, able to destroy or change itself at will; order necessarily excludes disorder and no greater disorder can be conceived in nature than that sovereign action which would possess the faculty of destroying its laws and its constitution. Miracles are impossible under these two heads; impossible as disorder, impossible because a partial violation of nature would be its total destruction."

That is to say, gentlemen, that it is impossible for God to manifest himself by the single act which publicly and instantaneously announces his presence, by the act of sovereignty. Whilst the lowest in the scale of being has the right to appear in the bosom of nature by the exercise of its proper force; whilst the grain of sand, called into the crucible of the chemist, answers to his interrogations by characteristic signs which range it in the registers of science, to God alone it should be denied to manifest his force in the personal measure that distinguishes him and make him a separate being! Not only should God not have manifested himself, but it must be forever impossible for him to manifest himself, in virtue even of the order of which he is the creator. To act is to live; to appear is to live; to communicate, is to live; but God can no longer act, appear, communicate himself; that is denied to him. Banished to the profound depths of his silent and obscure eternity, if we interrogate him, if we supplicate him, if we cry to him, he can only say to us—supposing, however, that he is able to answer us: "What would you have? I have made laws! Ask of the sun and the stars, ask of the sea and the sand upon its shores! As for me, my condition is fixed. I am nothing but repose, and the contemplative servant of the works of my hands!"

Ah! gentlemen, it is not thus that the whole human race has hitherto understood God. Men have understood him as a free and sovereign being; and, even if they have not always had a correct knowledge of his nature, they have at least never refused to him power and goodness.

In all times and places, sure of these two attributes of their heavenly Father, they have offered up their ever fervent prayer to him ; they have asked all from him, and daily, upon their bended knees, they ask him to enlighten their minds, to give them uprightness of heart, health of body to preserve them from scourge, to give them victory in war, prosperity in peace, the satisfaction of every want in every state and condition.

There is, perhaps, some poor woman here who hardly understands what I say. This morning she knelt by the bedside of her sick child ; and, forsaken by all, without bread for the day, she clasped her hands and called to him who ripens the corn and creates charity. " O Lord," said she, " come to my help : O Lord, make haste to help me ! " And even whilst I speak, numberless voices are lifted up towards God from all parts of the earth to ask from him things in which nature alone can do nothing, and in which those souls are persuaded that God can do all. Who, then, is deceived here ? Is it the metaphysician, or the human race ? And how has nature taught us to despise nature in order to trust in God ? For it is not science that teaches us to pray ; we pray in spite of science : and as there is nothing here below but science, nature, and God, if we pray in spite of science, it must be nature or God that teaches us to pray, and to believe with all our heart in the miracles of divine power and goodness. After this, whether nature becomes disorganized or not, or even if it must perish whenever the finger of God touches it, it is assuredly the very least concern to us. Nevertheless, out of respect for certain minds, I will show that miracles do no violence to the natural order.

Nature, as I have already said, possesses three elements ; namely, substances, forces, and laws. Substances are essentially variable ; they change their form and their weight by combining and separating at each moment. Forces bear the same character ; they increase and diminish, cohere, accumulate, or separate. They have nothing immutable but the mathematical laws, which at the same time govern forces and substances, and whence the order of the universe proceeds. The mobility of forces and substances spreads movement and life in nature ; the immutability of mathematical laws maintains there an order which never fails. Without the first of these, all would be lifeless ; without the second, all would be chaos. This established, what does God do when he works a miracle ? Does he touch the principle of universal order which is the mathematical law ? By no means. The mathematical law appertains to the region of ideas—that is to say, to the region of the eternal and the absolute ; God can do nothing here, for it is himself. But he acts upon substance and upon forces,—upon substances which are created, upon forces which have their root in his supreme will. Like

ourselves who, being subject to the general combinations of nature, nevertheless draw from our interior vitality movements which are in appearance contrary to the laws of weight, God acts upon the universe as we act upon our bodies. He applies somewhere the force needful to produce there an unusual movement ; it is a miracle because God alone, in the infinite fount of his will,—which is the centre of all created and possible forces,—is able to draw forth sufficient elements to act suddenly to this degree. If it please him to stop the sun—to use a common expression—he opposes to its projective force a force which counter-balances it, and which, by virtue even of the mathematical law, produces repose. It is not more difficult for him to stop the whole movement of the universe.

It is the same with all other miracles ; it is a question of force, the use of which, so far from doing violence to the physical order—which indeed, would be of little moment—returns to it of its own accord, and, moreover, maintains upon earth the moral and religious order, without which the physical order would not exist.

This objection answered, gentlemen, let us proceed to examine the second. We are told that miracles prove nothing, because all doctrines have miracles in their favour, and because, by the help of a certain occult science, it is easy to perform them.

I boldly deny that any historical doctrine, that is, any doctrine founded in the full light of history by men authentically known, possesses miraculous works for its basis. At the present time, we have no example of it ; no one, before our eyes, among so many instructors of the human race whom we see around us, has as yet dared to promise us the exercise of a power superior to the ordinary power which we dispose of. No one of our contemporaries has appeared in public giving sight to the blind and raising the dead to life. Extravagance has reached ideas and style only ; it has not gone beyond. Returning from the present age back to Jesus Christ, we find no one, amongst the innumerable multitude of celebrated heresiarchs, who has been able to boast that he could command nature, and place the inspirations of his rebellious pride under the protection of miracles. Mahomet, at the same time heretic and unbeliever, did not attempt it any more than the others : this I have already said, and the Koran will more fully prove it to anyone who will take the pains to read that plagiarism of the Bible made by a student of rhetoric at Mecca. Beyond Jesus Christ, in the ages claimed by history, what remains if we put aside Moses and the prophets—that is, the very ancestors of Jesus Christ ? Shall we notice certain strange facts connected with Greece and Rome ? Shall we speak of that augur, who, says Livy, cut a stone with a razor ; or of that Vestal who drew along

a vessel by her girdle, or even of the blind man cured by Vespasian ? These facts, whatever they may be, are isolated and belong to no doctrine ; they have provoked no discussion in the world, and have established nothing ; they are not doctrinal facts. Now we are treating of miracles which have founded religious doctrines—the only miracles worthy of consideration ; for it is evident that if God manifests himself by acts of sovereignty, it must be for some great cause worthy of himself and worthy of us, that is to say, for a cause which affects the eternal destinies of the whole human race. This places out of the question altogether all isolated facts, such as those related in the life of Apollonius of Thyana.

This personage is of the first century of the Christian era, and his life was written at a much later period by an Alexandrine philosopher called Philostratus, who designed to make of it a rival to the Gospel, and of Apollonius himself the counterpart of Jesus Christ. A most singular physiognomy is here presented to us, but that is all. What has Apollonius of Thyana accomplished in regard to the doctrine ? Where are his writings, his social\*works, the traces of his passage upon earth ? He died in the morning of his life. Instead of certain equivocal facts, even had he removed mountains during his life, it would have been but a literary curiosity, an accident, a man, nothing.

Where, then, shall we look for doctrines founded in the light of his history upon miraculous events ? Where in the historical world is there another omnipotence than that of Jesus Christ ? Where do we find other miracles than his and those of the saints who have chosen him for their master, and who have derived from him the power to continue what he had begun ? Nothing appears upon the horizon ; Jesus Christ alone remains, and his enemies, eternally attacking him, are able to bring against him nothing but doubts, and not a single fact equal or even analogous to him.

But do there not at least exist in nature certain occult forces which have since been made known to us and which Jesus Christ might have employed ? I will name, gentlemen, the occult forces alluded to, and I will do so without any hesitation ; they are called magnetic forces. And I might easily disembarass myself of them, since science does not yet recognize them, and even proscribes them. Nevertheless, I choose rather to obey my conscience than science. You invoke, then, the magnetic forces ; I believe in them sincerely, firmly ; I believe that their effects have been proved, although in a manner which is as yet incomplete, and probably will ever remain so, by instructed, sincere, and even by Christian men ; I believe that these effects, in the great generality of cases, are purely natural ; I believe that their secret has never been



lost to the world, that it has been transmitted from age to age, that it has occasioned a multitude of mysterious actions whose trace is easily distinguished, and that it has now only left the shade of hidden transmissions because this age has borne upon its brow the sign of publicity. I believe all this. Yes, gentlemen, by a divine preparation against the pride of materialism, by an insult to science, which dates from a more remote epoch than we can reach, God has willed that there should be irregular forces in nature not reducible to precise formulæ, almost beyond the reach of scientific verification. He has so willed it, in order to prove to men who slumber in the darkness of the senses that even independently of religion there remained within us rays of a higher order, fearful gleams cast upon the invisible world, a kind of crater by which our soul, freed for a moment from the terrible bonds of the body, flies away into spaces which it cannot fathom, from whence it brings back no remembrance, but which give it a sufficient warning that the present order hides a future order before which ours is but nothingness.

All this I believe is true ; but it is also true that these obscure forces are confined within limits which show no sovereignty over the natural order. Plunged into a factitious sleep, man sees through opaque bodies at certain distances ; he names remedies for soothing and even for healing the diseases of the body ; he seems to know things that he knew not, and that he forgets on the instant of his waking ; by his will he exercises great empire over those with whom he is in magnetic communication ; all this is difficult, painful, mixed up with uncertainty and prostration. It is a phenomenon of vision much more than of operation, a phenomenon which belongs to the prophetic and not to the miraculous order. A sudden cure, an evident act of sovereignty, has nowhere been witnessed. Even in the prophetic order, nothing is more pitiful.

It would seem that this extraordinary vision should at least reveal to us something of that future which may be called the present future. It does nothing of this. What has "magnetism" foretold during the last fifty years ? Let it tell us, not what will happen in a thousand years, not what will happen the day after to-morrow even, but what will happen to-morrow morning. All those who dispose of our destinies are living,—they speak, they write, they alarm our susceptibility ; but let them show us the certain result of their action in a single public matter. Alas ! magnetism, which was to change the world, has not even been able to become an agent of police ; it strikes the imagination as much by its sterility as by its singularity. It is not a principle, it is a ruin. Thus, on the desolate banks of the Euphrates, in the place where Babylon once stood and where that famous tower was begun which, to speak like Bossuet, was to bear even to heaven the testimony of the antique power

of man, the traveller finds ruins blasted by the thunderbolt, and almost superhuman in their magnitude. He stoops, and eagerly gathers up a fragment of brick ; he discovers characters upon it which belong, doubtless, to the primitive writing of the human race ; but vain are his efforts to decipher them ; the sacred fragment falls back again from his hands upon the colossus calcined by fire : it is nothing now but a broken tile, which even curiosity despises.

I look around, gentlemen ; I see nothing more ; Jesus Christ is alone.

Perhaps, however, you may yet say to me : If Jesus Christ wrought miracles during his life, and even in the early days of the Church, why does he do so no longer ? Why ? Alas ! gentlemen, he works miracles every day, but you do not see them. He works them with less profusion, because the moral and social miracle, the miracle which needed time, is wrought, and before your eyes. When Jesus Christ laid the foundations of his Church, it was needful for him to obtain faith in a work then commencing ; now it is formed, although not yet finished : You behold it, you touch it, you compare it, you measure it, you judge whether it is a human work. Why should God be prodigal of miracles to those who do not see the miracle ? Why, for instance, should I lead you to the mountains of the Tyrol, to see prodigies which a hundred thousand of your contemporaries have witnessed there during the last fifteen years ? Why should I pick up a stone in the quarry when the Church is built ? The monument of God is standing, every power has touched it, every science has scrutinized it, every blasphemy has cursed it ; examine it well, it is there before you. Between earth and heaven, as says the Comte de Maistre, it has been suspended these eighteen centuries ; if you do not see it what would you see ? In a celebrated parable Jesus Christ speaks of a certain rich man who said to Abraham : " Send someone from the dead to my brethren." And Abraham answers : " If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe, though one rose from the dead." The Church is Moses, the Church is all the prophets, the Church is the living miracle ; he who sees not the living, how should he see the dead ?

## JAMES LEGGE

(1815-1897).

**J**AMES LEGGE, one of the foremost British Chinese scholars of his day, was born at Huntly, Aberdeenshire, in 1815. He was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and after continuing his studies at the Highbury Technical College, London, left England in 1839 as a missionary to the Chinese.

After remaining in Malacca for three years, in charge of the Anglo-Chinese College, he went to Hong Kong, where he resided for thirty years. While there he devoted himself to his monumental translation of the Chinese classics, a task complete only a few years before his death.

In 1870 he was made an LL.D. of Aberdeen, and six years later appointed professor of Chinese Language and Literature at Oxford. It was in this town that he died on November 29th, 1897.

Among Dr. Legge's other works may be mentioned "The Life and Teachings of Confucius" 1867; "The Life and Teachings of Mencius" 1875; and his famous lectures on "The Religions of China" delivered in 1880. The following address on Confucianism forms part of this series and is characteristic of the whole.

### CONFUCIANISM

**T**HE philosopher Mencius says in one place, that "though a man were wicked, yet if he adjusted his thoughts, fasted, and bathed, he might sacrifice to God." The language shows the value that Mencius attached to penitent purification, and how he felt that all men had to do with God. But the people were debarred from the worship of Him. That was done for them vicariously. Men, however, must worship, and as they were cut off from worshipping God, there remained for them the worship of their ancestors.

According to Confucius, the worship of parents is part of the duty of filial piety. "The services," he said, "of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow for them when dead:—these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men." The fundamental duty of living men is filial piety, and among the services of grief and sorrow to parents when dead, the worship of them holds a prominent place. Confucius was expressing in these sentiments the tradition of

his race. The character for filial piety, called *hsiao*, is one of the primitive characters: used itself as a phonetic element, it is yet made up of two other primitives, the symbols or pictures of an old man and a son. Thus the primary conception of filial piety was set forth by the picture of a son bearing up, or supporting, his father. But supporting and nourishing by no means exhaust the duty or virtue. Take a pretty full description of it from the sage. "The service," said he "which a filial son does to his parents is as follows:—In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavour is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them (dead), he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents.

"He who (thus) serves his parents, in a high situation will be free from pride; in a low situation will be free from insubordination; and among his equals will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation, pride leads to ruin; in a low situation, insubordination leads to punishment; among equals, quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons. If those three things be not put away, though a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork to nourish his parents, he is not filial." With the sentiment in this last sentence may be compared what Confucius says in the *Analects*, that the reverence of parents was necessary to distinguish our support of them from that given to our horses and dogs.

It was in the account of the ancient Shun, given in the *Shu King*, that we found the first instances of religious worship addressed to God and to the host of spirits. Shun's first appearance in the *Shu* is in connexion with the report of his filial piety. It was that virtue which led to his elevation to the throne; and we have in the classic clear intimation that the worship of ancestors was observed even in his time. He asks his chief minister, to whom he should commit the direction of his three (religious) ceremonies,—the ceremonies, that is, in the worship of the spirits of heaven, of earth, and of men. One *Po-i* being recommended, he appoints him in these words: "Ho! *Po*, you must be the arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be reverent. Be upright, be pure." Thus the dignitary whom we may call the minister of Religion at the court of Shun was specially denominated the arranger in the Ancestral Temple. The ceremonies belonging to that would require most of his time and attention.

Our information about the services in the ancestral temple increases, as might be expected, as time goes on. What Confucius said of them as practised by the founders of the *Chou* dynasty might have been said, I

believe, from the time of Shun. Once every season worship was performed. "In spring and autumn,"—and it might have been added in summer and winter—"they repaired and beautified the temple of their ancestors, set forth the vessels that had belonged to them, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons." The worshipper, as preliminary to the service, when it was confined to one ancestor, had to fast for two days, and to think of the person whom he was intending to honour,—where he had stood and sat, how he had smiled and spoken, what had been his cherished aims, pleasures, and delights; and on the third day he would have a complete image of him in his mind's eye. Then on the day of the service, when he entered the temple, he would seem to see him in the shrine, and to hear him as he went about in the discharge of his worship.

There are in the Shih two odes descriptive of the worship of T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1766—1122). I will read to you one of them written apparently by a member of the royal House who had taken part in the service :—

"O grand! The drums, both large and for the hand,  
 Complete in number, all in order stand;  
 Their tones, though loud, harmoniously are blent,  
 And rise to greet our ancestor's descent.  
 Him the great T'ang, of merit vast, our king  
 Asks by this music to descend, and bring  
 To us, the worshippers, the soothing sense  
 That he, the object of desire intense,  
 Is here. Deep are the sounds the drums emit;  
 And now we hear the flutes, which shrilly fit  
 Into the diapason :—concord great,  
 Which the sonorous gem doth regulate!  
 Majestic is our king of T'ang's great line,  
 Whose instruments such qualities combine.  
 Large bells we hear, which with the drums have place,  
 While in the court the dancers move with grace.  
 Scions of ancient lines the service view,  
 Pleased and delighted, guests of goodness true.  
 Such service we received from former days,  
 Down from our sires who showed us virtue's ways,—  
 How to be meek and mild, from morn to night,  
 And reverently discharge our parts aright.  
 May T'ang accept the rites his son thus pays,  
 As round the winter comes, and autumn days!"

In the Shu, in "The Speech at Kan," probably a contemporaneous document of about 2194 B.C., the second sovereign of the Hsia dynasty is leading his troops against a rebellious vassal, to inflict on him "the punishment appointed by Heaven." Having exhorted them to be valiant, he concludes by saying, "You who obey my orders shall be rewarded before (the spirits of) my ancestors, and you who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the altar of the spirit of the land." This seems to indicate that the ancient kings carried with them to the field the tablets of the spirits of their ancestors and of the spirit of the land, to be an omen of success, just as the army of Israel required on one occasion that the ark of God should be brought to the camp.

We conclude also from this passage that the spirit-tablets, of which I spoke in the former lecture, were in use at the commencement of the Hsia period, and I embrace the occasion which it presents to mention a strange innovation in this practice that took place during the period of Chau. The wooden tablet was discarded, and the departed ancestors were represented at the service by living relatives of the same surname, chosen according to certain rules. These took for the time the place of the dead, received the honours which were due to them, and were supposed to be possessed by their spirits. They ate and drank as those whom they personated would have done; accepted for them the homage rendered by their descendants, communicated their will to the principal worshipper, and pronounced on him and on his line their benediction, being assisted in this point by a mediating officer of prayer. This strange practice of using living relatives at the ancestral worship, instead of the wooden tablets, passed away with the dynasty in which it prevailed. I make but one other remark about it;—strange as it was, it confirms my opinion that there was, and is, nothing of fetishism in the use of the spirit-tablet.

The Shih abounds in pieces descriptive of the services in the ancestral temple of the Chau kings. There are others which may be denominated sacred songs of filial piety. This virtue is celebrated as the crowning attribute of the founders of the dynasty. Take as a specimen the following piece in praise of Wu, who heads the list of the actual sovereigns of his line :—

" Kings die in Chau, and others rise,  
 And in their footsteps tread.  
 Three had there been, and all were wise,  
 And still they ruled, though dead.  
 Tai, Chi, and Wan were all in heaven,  
 When Wu to follow them was given.

Yes, Wu to follow them was given,  
 To imitate his sires ;  
 And to obey the will of Heaven,  
 He ardently desires.  
 This aim through all his course endured,  
 And this the people's trust secured.

Yes, Wu secured the people's faith,  
 And gave to all the law  
 Of filial duty, which till death  
 Shining in him they saw.  
 Such piety possessed his mind ;  
 Such pattern did he leave behind.

Thus the one man was Wu, the One,  
 The king whom all did love.  
 They saw in him the pattern son ;  
 Such sons to be they strove.  
 The filial aim in him bright shone ;  
 In him were seen the dead and gone.

In Wu his sires were thus brought back,  
 The kings that from him spring,  
 Continuing in his steps to walk,  
 Upon themselves shall bring,  
 Through myriad years to Chau still given,  
 The blessing of impartial Heaven.

Ah ! yes, Heaven's blessing will descend,  
 And men their names shall bless.  
 Thousands from Chau's remotest end  
 Their praises shall express.  
 Their sway through myriad years shall last,  
 Nor helpers fail, strong friends and fast."

Besides the innovation of living representatives of the departed in the ancestral temple, another alteration in the manner of the worship was made by the famous legislator of the Chau dynasty. Confucius says in the Hsiao : " Of all the actions of man, there is none greater than filial piety ; and in filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than making him the correlate of Heaven. The

duke of Chau was the one who first did this." That is as the text goes on to say, the duke of Chau associated the remote ancestor of his line with the service at the border altar to Heaven, and instituted another great service to God, at which his father, king Wan, was the correlate or assessor. Many of the Chinese scholars, in explaining the passage, say that Shun thought only of the virtue of his ancestors, and did not associate the spirits of any of them with the worship at the border altar; that the kings of Hsia and Yin were the first to do this with the founders of their lines; but that the honour was not extended to the father of the sovereign till the duke of Chau. This explanation of the language of Confucius I am constrained to accept; and it gives us a glimpse of the earliest worship of God in the prehistoric time. He occupies His altar alone. No spirit-tablets of favoured and distinguished men are allowed upon it. The service has nothing to make us regard it as a feast or banquet. It was a tribute of homage and gratitude to the one Lord and Governor by the Head and representative of the Chinese people.

And the duke of Chau did more than give a place to the tablet of his father, on the altar of God. "He carried up the title of king to his grandfather and great-grandfather, and sacrificed to all the former dukes of the line with the ceremonies due to the Son of Heaven." Such has been the rule in all subsequent dynasties. The emperors of the present Manchu dynasty have actually possessed the throne only since 1644, but the title is given to six others who preceded them as kings, or chieftains of their Manchurian inheritance. These share with the sovereigns since 1644 in the worship, which is performed in the grand ancestral temple at the end of the year, while the more frequent worship in the first month of each season extends only to the grandfather of the first emperor. Their wives also have a part in the service, each pair of tablets being placed side by side in one shrine.

From what has been said, it will appear to you that those great seasonal occasions at the court of China have always been what we might call grand family reunions, where the dead and the living meet, eating and drinking together,—where the living worship the dead, and the dead bless the living. This appears very clearly in the following lines from a long ballad sung at the court of one of the marquises of Lu, of the seventh century B.C. :—

" In autumn comes the autumnal rite,  
 With bulls, whose horns in summer bright  
 Were capped with care :—one of them white,  
 For the great duke of Chau designed ;  
 One red, for all our princes shrined.



And see ! they place the goblet full,  
 In figure fashioned as a bull ;  
 The dishes of bamboo and wood ;  
 Sliced meat, roast pig, and pottage good,  
 And the large stand. Below the hall  
 There wheel and move the dancers all ;  
 O filial prince, your sires will bless,  
 And grant you glorious success.  
 Long life and goodness they'll bestow  
 On you, to hold the state of Lu,  
 And all the eastern land secure,  
 Like moon complete, like mountain sure.  
 No earthquake's shock, or flood's wild rage,  
 Shall e'er disturb your happy age ;  
 And with your aged nobles three,  
 Unbroken shall your friendship be,  
 In long and firm security."

Of the prayers or addresses in the ancestral worship, the time will only permit me to give three brief specimens. The two following are from the statutes of the Ming dynasty :—" I think of you, my sovereign ancestors, whose glorious souls are in heaven. As from an over-flowing fountain run the happy streams, such is the connexion between you and your descendants. I, a distant descendant, having received the appointment (from heaven), look back and offer this bright sacrifice to you, the honoured ones from age to age, for hundreds of thousands and myriads of years." And again: "Now brightly manifested, now mysteriously hid, the movements of the spirits are without trace ; in their imperial chariots they wander about, tranquil wherever they go. Their souls are in heaven ; their tablets are in the rear apartment. Their sons and grandsons remember them with filial thoughts untiring." To the same effect, and in nearly the same language is a concluding prayer of the present dynasty, taken from a ritual published in 1826. "Now ye front us (O Spirits,) and now ye pass by us, ascending and descending, unrestricted by conditions of place. The adytum behind is still and retired, very tranquil and felicitous. Your souls are in heaven ; your tablets are in that apartment. For myriads of years will your descendants think of you with filial thoughts unwearied."

A recent writer who has carefully studied the ritualistic books of the Chau dynasty, has said : "It was supposed to be the glory of the early statesmen and sages to have correctly apprehended the natural feeling of filial duty, so as to make it an engine for the perfect government of the

family, the state, and the empire. In the description given us of the intention of the sages we seem to lose sight of superstition, and to be in the presence of practices as harmless as some which flourish in Christian countries." There is considerable truth in this representation. The people, as I have already pointed out, being cut off from the worship of God for themselves, there remained for them the worship of their ancestors, the only other channel that had been opened in the nation for the flow of religious feeling. The sages, therefore, dealt with filial duty so as to make a religion of it. It was not a religion capable of existing by itself, apart from the belief in and worship of the one God, the Lord and Governor ; but it stood side by side with that higher worship, and the influence of it was injurious.

The ancestors of the kings were exalted to the position of the tutelary spirits of the dynasty, and the ancestors of each family became its tutelary spirits. This result appears clearly in one of the praise-songs of Lu. And it is even more remarkably shown in the fifth part of the Shu, in the book called "The Metal-bound Coffin." There the duke of Chau appears proposing to die in lieu of his brother who was dangerously ill, and whose life he considered more necessary to their infant dynasty than his own. To accomplish his object, he conducts a special service to his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and prays to them as having in heaven the charge of watching over the life of king Wu, and the interests of their line, begging that his own death may be accepted in substitution for that of Wu. We are told that the day after this prayer the king got better, while the duke of Chau continued to live and act as chief minister.

The ancestral worship thus tended to produce the superstition of tutelary spirits. And there was also a great defect attaching to it. It originated in the feudal time, when the king and the vassal lords, with their high nobles and great officers, all had their temples. The worship of their ancestors could be kept up by them ; but what provision was there for its maintenance among the masses of the people ?

When the feudal system passed away, the case was harder still. Ch'ang I, a very distinguished scholar of our eleventh century, tells us that in his time most of the families of great officers, and other officers, neglected the worship of their ancestors and other traditional rites. They might be attentive to the support of their parents, but they failed in doing what was required of them for their ancestors. The state of things, he says, was very deplorable. He himself had a temple,—perhaps it was only a large shrine,—connected with his house, and furnished with the spirit-tablets of his ancestors. Before these, on the first day of each month, he set forth fresh offerings. He observed the seasonal

services in the second month of each season. At the winter solstice he sacrificed to his remotest ancestor ; in the beginning of spring, to his grandfather ; and in the third month of autumn, to his father. On the anniversary of a death, he removed the tablet of the individual to the principal adytum of the temple, and there performed a special service ; for the rites of the service of the dead ought to be observed more liberally than the duty of nourishing the living.

This is an interesting account of the practice of an extraordinary man, though it may occur to us to doubt whether it was healthy for his mind to dwell so much with the dead. It was possible, however, for him, a man of culture and wealth, and latterly in an official position, to maintain his temple and keep all the days he mentioned ; but such a thing is not possible for the common people. Unable to observe the ancestral worship as prescribed in the Confucian literature, finding it too cold and too exacting, they have thrown themselves into the arms of the Taoists and Buddhists, becoming the victims especially of Taoist superstition. It does not fall within my province to describe in this lecture the actual ancestral worship that is, through the prevalence of Taoism, a great feature in the social life of the country. Millions fancy that their dead, and other dead, are in a sort of purgatory, and will spite and injure them if they do not bring about their deliverance. The Taoist professors fleece them in order to effect that object, and are wonderfully ingenious in finding occasions to wheedle or frighten their victims out of their money. Feeling, in itself good and admirable, is abused, and made to supply the wages of greediness and deceit.

The Chinese teaching of filial piety has done much to turn the hearts of the children back to their fathers, and to keep them attached to them and their ways. I will point out in my fourth lecture wherein I think it wrong and injurious ; but numberless instances, well attested, of filial devotion could be adduced. We are justified in looking on the long-continued existence and growth of the nation as a verification of the promise attached to our fifth commandment, " Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be long in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee."

The worship of the departed great need not detain us long. The theory of it is given in the last paragraph of the book called " The Laws of Sacrifice," in the " Record of Rites or Ceremonies." It is there said : " The rule observed by the sage kings in instituting sacrifices was this,—that those who had legislated for the people should be sacrificed to, also those who had died in the diligent discharge of their duties, those whose toils had established states, and those who had warded off, or given succour in, great calamities."

Then follows a list of ancient worthies, distinguished by such achievements, and the paragraph concludes: "As to the sun, moon, and constellations of the zodiac, they are looked up to by men with admiration; and as to mountains, forests, rivers, and valleys, the people derive from them their material resources. It is only such beneficial services that give a place in the sacrificial canon." It was shown in the former lecture that, in what is briefly called sacrificing to the hills and other material objects, the worship is really paid to the spirits presiding over them for the good of men under God. So it is in regard to the worship of the benefactors of the people in all the course of time. It is dominated by the idea of the one God, the Lord and Governor, with which the Chinese fathers started in their social state. This is very evident in the following verses at one of the border services of the Chau dynasty, addressed to Chi'i or Hau-chi, to whom its kings traced their lineage, and whom they honoured besides as the father of husbandry. He is one of those worthies mentioned in the paragraph in "The Laws of Sacrifice," and it was said to him:—

“ O thou, accomplished, great Hau-chi,  
 To thee alone 'twas given,  
 To be, by what we owe to thee,  
 The correlate of Heaven.

On all who dwell within our land  
 Grain-food didst thou bestow :  
 'Tis to thy wonder-working hand  
 This gracious boon we owe.

God had the wheat and barley meant  
 To nourish all mankind :  
 None would have fathomed His intent  
 But for thy guiding mind.

Man's social duties thou didst show  
 To every tribe and state :  
 From thee the social virtues flow  
 That stamp our land ' the Great.' ”

In such worship of the departed great there is little to shock us. The memory of the just and the good is blessed all the world over. Every nation should keep its benefactors in remembrance, and men everywhere should honour the names of all of every nation who have ministered by their example and instructions to the advance and amelioration of our

race. But to build temples to the dead ; to present offerings to them ; to invoke and expect their presence at the service ; and to expect and pray for their help :—these are things that are not founded in reason and truth, and that encourage superstition instead of contributing to the healthy edifying of the mind and manners.

There is in Peking the “ Temple of the kings and emperors of different dynasties,” and twice a year, in spring and autumn, the reigning sovereign visits it, and worships the spirits of the long line, and of the most noted of their ministers. The sacrificial canon of 1826 contains the names of about a hundred and ninety sovereigns, from Fu-hsi downwards. The roll is a wonderful testimony to the continuous occupancy of the throne of China, and there is much to nourish that pride and soothe the mind of the worshipper in the thought that when his line has passed away, there will yet be a tablet in that or a similar hall to his spirit. The members of the Board of Rites, and the reigning emperor, decide what former sovereigns shall be included in the canon, and what excluded from it. Such a name as that of the founder of the Ch'in dynasty, the burner of the classical books, and destroyer of the Confucian scholars, can never obtain a place ; but in general there is little regard paid to the moral and intellectual character of the different sovereigns. The second Manchu emperor, the famous sovereign of the K'ang-hsi period, declared that it was unseemly for men to discuss the characters of those who had occupied the throne, and whether they should be sacrificed to or not. The canon thus becomes a tribute to power and place, without regard to worth and virtue. So it is in the worship of the departed great by the emperor : you can conceive how liable the practice is to be abused, when it descends among the people.

I consider that Confucius uttered his protest against it, when he said, “ For a man to sacrifice to a spirit which does not belong to him is (mere) flattery.” The term employed is that which represents the spirits of the deceased. That all should worship the spirits of their ancestors was an institution of his country, which the sage himself observed ; but to go beyond the circle of one's family and worship was nothing but flattery, a thing unauthorized, and done with a mercenary aim.

It is time that I should go on to our next topic, and I will only detain you from it while I ask, and endeavour to answer, the question—Have we reason to think that the worship of the spirits which has been described had or has now a beneficial, a moral and religious influence ? Of course, we smile at the idea of the service having power to bring the spirits to the tablets from wherever they are ; but as the significance of the Chinese term, which has been accepted as meaning sacrifice, is the having communion and communication with, we can conceive the sincere

worshipper striving to recall his fathers, and dwelling on their virtues, till he feels the glow of affection, and resolves to be good as they were. I have often talked with Chinese on the subject, but never got full and satisfactory answers to my inquiries. They would assert they were benefited by the worship, and then refer me to three classical passages. The first was the language of Confucius, "How abundantly do spiritual beings display their powers! They cause all men under heaven to fast and purify themselves, and put on their richest dresses to engage in their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left (of their worshippers.)"

The second was the account of the good king Wan, in one of the pieces of the Shih:—

“ Wan formed himself upon his sires,  
 Nor gave their spirits pain.  
 Well pleased were they. Next he inspires  
 How wife. His brethren fain  
 To follow there. In every state  
 The chiefs on his example wait.

In palace see him,—bland, serene ;  
 In fane,—with rev'rent fear.  
 Unseen by men, he still felt seen  
 By spirits always near.  
 Unweariedly did he maintain  
 His virtue pure, and free from stain.”

## ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON

(1611-1684).

**R**OBERT LEIGHTON, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Archbishop of Glasgow, was one of the greatest orators and preachers of his time. One of his biographers says of him: "As a saint, author, and peacemaker, Leighton presents a combination of qualities which has called forth almost unrivalled tributes of admiration." Those who read his sermon, "Immortality," will see that he has such a mastery of musical and idiomatic English as has belonged only to few great speakers and writers. He was born at Edinburgh in 1611, and was originally a minister of the Presbyterian Church. On his joining the Church of England, he was in great favour at court and was made Bishop of Dunblane and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow. It is said that "these honours were almost forced upon him." He finally resigned his Archbishopric, and died in retirement, June 25th, 1684.

### IMMORTALITY

**T**HERE are many things that keep mankind employed, particularly business, or rather trifles; for so the affairs which are in this world considered as most important ought to be called when compared to that of minding our own valuable concerns, knowing ourselves, and truly consulting our highest interests; but how few are there that make this their study! The definition you commonly give of man is that he is a rational creature; though, to be sure, it is not applicable to the generality of mankind, unless you understand that they are such, not actually, but in power only, and that very remote. They are, for the most part at least, more silly and foolish than children, and, like them, fond of toys and rattles; they fatigue themselves, running about and sauntering from place to place, but do nothing to the purpose!

What a wonder it is that souls of a heavenly original have so far forgot their native country and are so immersed in dirt and mud that there are few men who frequently converse with themselves about their own state, thinking gravely of their original and their end, seriously laying to heart that, as the poet expresses it, "Good and evil are laid before

mankind"; and who, after mature consideration, not only think it the most wise and reasonable course, but are also fully resolved to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to arrive at a sovereign contempt of earthly things and aspire to those enjoyments that are divine and eternal. For our parts, I am fully persuaded we shall be of this mind, if we seriously reflect upon what has been said. For if there is, of necessity, a complete, permanent, and satisfying good intended for man, and no such good is to be found in the earth or earthly things, we must proceed further, and look for it somewhere else, and, in consequence of this, conclude that man is not quite extinguished by death, but removes to another place, and that the human soul is by all means immortal.

Many men have added a great variety of different arguments to support this conclusion, some of them strong and solid, and others, to speak freely, too metaphysical, and of little strength, especially as they are obscure, as easily denied, and as hard to be proved, as that very conclusion in support of which they are adduced.

They who reason from the immaterial nature of the soul, and from its being infused into the body, as also from its method of operation, which is confined to none of the bodily organs, may easily prevail with those who believe these principles, to admit the truth of the conclusion they draw from them; but if they meet with any who obstinately deny the premises, or even doubt the truth of them, it will be a matter of difficulty to support such hypothesis with clear and conclusive arguments. If the soul of man were well acquainted with itself, and fully understood its own nature; if it could investigate the nature of its union with the body, and the method of its operation therein, we doubt not but from thence it might draw these and other such arguments of its immortality; but since, shut up in the prison of a dark body, it is so little known, and so incomprehensible to itself, and since, in so great obscurity, it can scarce, if at all, discover the least of its own features and complexion it would be a very difficult matter for it to say much concerning its internal nature, or nicely determine the methods of its operation. But it would be surprising if any one should deny that the very operations it performs, especially those of the more noble and exalted sort, are strong marks and conspicuous characters of its excellence and immortality.

Nothing is more evident than that, besides life and sense and animal spirits, which he has in common with the brutes, there is in man something more exalted, more pure, and that more nearly approaches to Divinity. God has given to the former a sensitive soul, but to us a mind also; and, to speak distinctly, that spirit which is peculiar to man, and whereby he is raised above all other animals, ought to be called mind rather than soul. Be this as it may, it is hardly possible to say how vastly



the human mind excels the other with regard to its wonderful powers, and, next to them, with respect to its works, devices and inventions. For it performs such great and wonderful things, that the brutes, even those of the greatest sagacity, can neither imitate, nor at all understand, much less invent. Nay, man, though he is much less in bulk and inferior in strength to the greatest part of them, yet, as lord and king of them all, he can by surprising means, bend and apply the strength and industry of all the other creatures, the virtues of all herbs and plants, and in a word, all the parts and powers of this visible world, to the convenience and accommodation of his own life. He also builds cities, erects commonwealths, makes laws, conducts armies, fits out fleets, measures not only the earth, but the heavens also, and investigates the motions of the stars. He foretells eclipses many years before they happen ; and, with very little difficulty, sends his thoughts to a great distance, bids them visit the remotest cities and countries, mounts above the sun and the stars, and even the heavens themselves.

But all these things are inconsiderable and contribute but little to our present purpose in respect of that one incomparable dignity that results to the human mind from its being capable of religion, and having indelible characters thereof naturally stamped upon it. It acknowledges a God, and worships Him ; it builds temples to His honour ; it celebrates His never enough exalted majesty with sacrifices, prayers, and praises ; depends upon His bounty : implores His aid ; and so carries on a constant correspondence with heaven ; and, which is a very strong proof of its being originally from heaven, it hopes at last to return to it. And truly, in my judgment, this previous impression and hope of immortality and these earnest desires after it are a very strong evidence of that immortality. These impressions, though in most men they lie overpowered, and almost quite extinguished by the weight of their bodies and an extravagant love of present enjoyments ; yet, now and then, in time of adversity, they break forth and exert themselves, especially under the pressure of severe distempers and at the approaches of death. But those whose minds are purified and their thoughts habituated to divine things, with what constant and ardent wishes do they breathe after that blessed immortality ? How often do their souls complain within them that they have dwelt so long in these earthly tabernacles ? Like exiles, they earnestly wish, make interest, and struggle hard, to regain their native country. Moreover, does not that noble neglect of the body and its senses, and that contempt of all the pleasures of the flesh, which these heavenly souls have attained, evidently show that, in a short time, they will be taken from hence, and that the body and soul are of a very different and almost contrary nature to one another ;

that, therefore, the duration of one depends, not upon the other, but is quite of another kind ; and that the soul, set at liberty from the body, is not only exempted from death, but in some sense, then begins to live and then first sees light ? Had we not this hope to support us, what ground should we have to lament our first nativity, which placed us in a life so short, so destitute of good, and so crowded with miseries ; a life which we pass entirely in grasping phantoms of felicity, and suffering real calamities ! So that, if there were not beyond this a life and happiness that more truly deserves these names, who can help seeing that, of all creatures, man would be the most miserable and, of all men, at the best, the most unhappy ?

For, although every wise man looks upon the belief of the immortality of the soul as one of the great and principal supports of religion, there may be possibly some rare, exalted, and truly divine minds, who could choose the pure and noble path of virtue for its own sake, would constantly walk in it, and, out of love to it, would not decline the severest hardships, if they should happen to be exposed to them on its own account. Yet it cannot be denied that the common sort of Christians, though they are really and at heart sound believers and true Christians, fall very far short of this attainment, and would scarcely, if at all, embrace virtue and religion, if you take away the rewards ; which I think the Apostle Paul hints at in this expression : “ If in this life only we have hope, we are of all men the most miserable.” The Apostle, indeed, does not intend these words as a direct proof of the immortality of the soul in a separate state, but an argument to prove the resurrection of the body ; which is a doctrine near akin, and closely connected with the former. For that great restoration is added as an instance of the superabundance and immensity of the Divine Goodness, whose pleasure it is that, not only the better and more divine part of man, which, upon its return to its original source, is, without its body, capable of enjoying a perfectly happy and eternal life, should have a glorious immortality, but also that this earthly tabernacle, as being the faithful attendant and constant companion of the soul through all its toils and labours in this world, be also admitted to a share and participation of its heavenly and eternal felicity ; that so, according to our Lord's expression, every faithful soul may have returned into his bosom, good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over.

Let our belief of this immortality be founded entirely on divine revelation ; and then, like a city fortified with a rampart of earth drawn round it, let it be outwardly guarded and defended by reason, which, in this case, suggests arguments as strong and convincing as the subject will admit of. If any one in the present case promises demonstration,

his undertaking is certainly too much ; if he desires it or accepts it from another, he requires too much. There are, indeed, very few demonstrations in philosophy, if you except mathematical sciences, that can be truly and strictly so called ; and, if we inquire narrowly into the matter, perhaps we shall find none at all ; nay, if even the mathematical demonstrations are examined by the strict rules and ideas of Aristotle, the greatest part of them will be found imperfect and defective. The saying of that philosopher is, therefore, wise and applicable to many cases : “ Demonstrations are not to be expected in all cases, but so far as the subject will admit of them.” But if we were well acquainted with the nature and essence of the soul, or even its precise method of operation on the body, it is highly probable we could draw from thence evident and undeniable demonstrations of that immortality which we are now asserting ; whereas, so long as the mind of man is so little acquainted with its own nature, we must not expect any such.

But that unquenchable thirst of the soul, which we have already mentioned, is a strong proof of its divine nature ; a thirst not to be allayed with the impure and turbid waters of any earthly good, or of all worldly enjoyments taken together. It thirsts after the never-failing fountain of good, according to that of the Psalmist : “ As the hart panteth after the water brooks.” It thirsts after a food, invisible, immaterial, and immortal, to the enjoyment whereof the ministry of a body is so far from being absolutely necessary that it feels itself shut up and confined by that to which it is now united, as by a partition wall, and groans under the pressure of it. And those souls that are quite insensible of this thirst are certainly buried in the body as in the carcass of an impure hog ; nor have they so entirely divested themselves of this appetite we have mentioned, nor can they possibly so divest themselves of it as not to feel it severely to their great misery, sooner or later, either when they awake out of their lethargy within the body, or when they are obliged to leave it. To conclude : Nobody, I believe, will deny that we are to form our judgment of the true nature of the human mind, not from the sloth and stupidity of the most degenerate and vilest of men, but from the sentiments and fervent desires of the best and wisest of the species.

These sentiments concerning the immortality of the soul in its future existence, not only do include no impossibility or absurdity in them, but are also very agreeable to sound reason, wisdom, and virtue, to the divine economy, and the natural wishes and desires of men ; wherefore most nations have, with the greatest reason, universally adopted them, and the wisest in all countries and in all ages have cheerfully embraced them.

## DAVID LEWIS, BISHOP OF LLANDAFF

(1617-1679).

**I**N 1679, in the reign of Charles II., David Lewis, Roman Catholic Bishop of Llandaff, was indicted and tried at Monmouth Assizes for High Treason, on the ground that "being a natural subject of the King of England, he passed beyond seas, took orders from the Church and See of Rome and returned back again to England and continued upward of forty days, contrary to the statute of 27th Elizabeth, in that case made and provided, which by the said statute is high treason." He was hanged, disembowelled, and quartered, August 27th, 1679, after conviction under the indictment. His dying speech, here given, is one of the most remarkable examples of oratory in the history of the scaffold.

Bishop Lewis was born at Abergavenny in 1617, of a Protestant family; but being converted to the Roman Catholic Church at an early age, he was educated at the English College in Rome, and began, in the Jesuit order, the ministry which ended in his martyrdom. For twenty-eight years, always at the risk of his life, he ministered to Roman Catholics in Wales, visiting them and holding services chiefly by night. During the political excitement created by Titus Oates, an ecclesiastic made an attack on Lewis which brought him to the scaffold, though at the trial it was clearly shown that his only offence had been holding religious services according to the rites of his church.

### HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD

(Delivered August 27th, 1679, at Usk, in Monmouthshire, where he was hanged).

**I** WAS never taught that doctrine of king-killing. From my soul I detest and abhor it as execrable and directly opposite to the principles of the religion I profess, (what that is, you shall know by and by!) it being the positive definition of the council of Constance: that "it is damnable for any subject, or private person, or any subjects

in council joined, to murder his or their lawful king or prince, or use any public or clandestine conspiracy against him," though the said king or prince were a Turk, apostate, persecutor, yea, or a tyrant in government. Never tell me of Clement, the murderer of Henry III. of France ; never tell me of Ravilliac, murderer of Henry IV. of France ; they did so, but wickedly they did so, and for it they were punished to severity, as malefactors ; and for it, to this very day, are stigmatized by all Roman Catholics for very miscreants and villains. I hope you will not charge the whole Roman Catholic body with the villainies of some few desperadoes ; but by that rule, all Christianity must be answerable for the treason of Judas. For my part, I have always loved my king. I always honoured his person, and I daily prayed for his prosperity ; and now, with all unfeigned cordiality I say it : " God bless my gracious king and lawful prince, Charles II., King of England, and Prince of Wales ! God bless him temporally and eternally ! God preserve him from all his real enemies ! God direct him in all his councils that may tend to the greater glory of the same great God ; and whatever the late plot hath been, or is, the Father of Lights bring it to light, the contrivers of it, and the actors in it, that such may be brought to their condign punishment, and innocence may be preserved ! "

But why again this untimely death ? My religion is the Roman Catholic religion. In it I have lived above forty years. In it I now die ; and so fixedly die, that if all the good things in this world were offered to me to renounce it, all should not move me one hair's breadth from my Roman Catholic faith. A Roman Catholic I am, a Roman Catholic priest I am, a Roman Catholic priest of that religious order called the Society of Jesus I am ; and I bless God who first called me, and I bless the hour in which I was first called, both into that faith and function.

Please now to observe, I was condemned for reading mass, hearing confessions, administering the sacraments, anointing the sick, christening, marrying, preaching ! As for reading the mass, it was the old, and still is, the accustomed and laudable liturgy of the Holy Church ; and all the other acts, which are acts of religion tending to the worship of God, and for this dying, I die for religion. Moreover, know that when last May I was in London under examination concerning the plot, a prime examinant told me that to save my life and increase my fortunes I must make some discovery of the plot, or conform. Discover a plot I could not, for I knew of none ; conform I would not, because it was against my conscience ! Then, by consequence, I must die, and so now, dying, I die for conscience and religion ; and dying upon such good scores, as far as human frailty permits, I die with alacrity, interior and exterior !

From the abundance of the heart, let not only mouths, but faces also speak.

Here, methinks, I feel flesh and blood ready to burst into loud cries, tooth for tooth, eye for eye, blood for blood, life for life! No, crieth Holy Gospel, forgive and you shall be forgiven; pray for those that persecute you; love your enemies; and I profess myself a child of the Gospel, and the Gospel I obey.

Whomever, present or absent, I have ever offended, I humbly desire them to forgive me. As for my enemies, had I as many hearts as I have fingers, with all those hearts would I forgive my enemies. At least, with all that single heart I have, I freely forgive them all—my neighbours that betrayed me, the persons that took me, the justices that committed me, the witnesses that proved against me, the jury that found me, the judge that condemned me, and all others whoever that out of malice or zeal, covertly or openly, have been contributive to my condemnation; but singularly and especially, I forgive my capital persecutor, who hath been so long thirsty after my blood; from my soul I forgive him, and wish his soul so well, that, were it in my proper power, I would seat him a seraph in heaven, and I pray for them in the language of glorious St. Stephen, the protomartyr: "Lord, lay not this sin unto them!" Or, better yet, in the style of our great master Christ himself: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!"

And with reason I love them also, for though they have done themselves a vast soul-prejudice, yet they have done me an incomparable favour which I shall eternally acknowledge: but chiefly I love them for his sake, who said: "Love your enemies"; and in testimony of my love I wish them,—and it is the best of wishes,—from the centre of my soul, I wish them a good eternity. Oh, Eternity, Eternity! How momentary are the glorious riches and pleasures of this world! and how desirable art thou, endless Eternity!

And for my sad enemies, attaining thereunto I humbly beseech God to give them the grace of true repentance before they and this world part.

Next to my enemies, give me leave to lift up my eyes, hands, and heart to heaven, and drop some few words of advice unto, and for my friends, as well those present as absent. Friends, fear God, honour your king, be firm in your faith, avoid mortal sin by frequenting the sacraments of Holy Church, patiently bear your persecutions and afflictions, forgive your enemies! Your sufferings are great! I say, be firm in your faith to the end,—yea, even to death; then shall ye heap unto yourselves celestial treasures in the heavenly Jerusalem, where no thief robbeth, no moth eateth and no rust consumeth! And have

that blessed saying of the blessed St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, always in your memory, which I heartily recommend unto you, namely : “ Let none of you suffer as a murderer or a thief, but if as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but glorify God in his name ! ”

Now it is high time I make my address as to heaven and supplicate the Divine Goodness in my own behalf, by some few short and cordial ejaculations of prayer.

## MARTIN LUTHER

(1483-1546).

**S**LOWLY for nearly a thousand years the intellect of the Gothic tribes developed under Roman direction in literature, as well as in religion, until in Luther's time all Northern Europe was ripe for the issue against Italian control. The revival of classical learning, the fall of Constantinople, and the scattering of learned Greeks as far north as England, had given Northern Europe a confidence in its own intellectual powers it had never had before. Although in Germany itself Luther's work did not result in uniting all Germans against Rome, the movement he led was, as far as it affected politics, a race movement of the Gothic septa—of Teuton, Saxon, and Scandinavian—against Latin and Latinized **Cult.** While the rule shows frequent exceptions, it is the rule of the struggles in politics following Luther's revolt in Germany that the countries of Southern and Western Europe, which were a part of the civilized Roman Empire in the time of Cicero, sided generally with the Pope, while the peoples who from the time of Cicero until that of Constantine were the most aggressive enemies of Roman power, followed Luther and his successors. Whatever it was spiritually, the Reformation in its political effects was a revolt of Goth against Latin; and in Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the different denominations of Protestants constituted, as far as they ever showed solidarity, a Gothic Church representing the Teutonic race instinct against the Latin.

Luther's sermon, 'The Pith of Paul's Chief Doctrine,' preached on the first to the seventh verses of the fourth chapter of Galatians, embodies his doctrine of "salvation through faith." However this may antagonize other theological tenets, it is not then revolutionary in itself, nor has it ever been. But when Luther answered Charles V. at the Diet of Worms in 1521: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; so help me God," he had in him and behind him the forces which were to work out through the invention of printing and of gunpowder, the breaking down at last of Teutonic feudalism and of that mediævalism which at its best and its worst was Gothic and Teutonic, rather than Roman, Latin, or Classical. In this sense, Luther was as much a pioneer of American civilization as was the Latin "Romanist," Columbus



himself. But Romanist and Protestant alike "buidled better than they knew." L  ther had little use for Puritans, and still less for Democrats or Republicans in the modern sense. When the German common people, rudely and barbarously oppressed, attempted in rude and barbarous ways to liberate themselves, he was as much in favour of putting them down with the "mailed hand" as either the Emperor or the Pope could have been. That is merely another way of saying, however, that he belonged to his own generation. It is not given to any man in any generation to be "everlastingly right." But if, in attempting to achieve the right, he be brave enough to stake everything upon it, he cannot fail of his own share of such greatness as Luther reached at Worms.

W. V. B.

## ADDRESS TO THE DIET AT WORMS

(Delivered April 18th, 1521).

"The princes having taken their seats," says D'Aubign  , "though not without some difficulty, for many of their places had been occupied, and the monk of Wittenberg, finding himself again standing before Charles V., the Chancellor of Treves began by saying :—

" 'Martin Luther, yesterday you begged for delay that has now expired. Assuredly it ought not to have been conceded, as every man, and especially you, who are so great and learned a doctor in the Holy Scriptures, should always be ready to answer any questions touching his faith. . . . Now, therefore, reply to the question put by his Majesty, who has behaved to you with so much mildness. Will you defend your books as a whole, or are you ready to disavow some of them.' " [It was to the question thus put that Luther replied :—]

**I**N obedience to your commands given me yesterday, I stand here, beseeching you, as God is merciful, so to deign mercifully to listen to this cause, which is, as I believe, the cause of justice and truth. And if through inexperience I should fail to apply to any his proper title or offend in any way against the manners of courts, I entreat you to pardon me as one not conversant with courts, but rather with the cells of monks, and claiming no other merit than that of having spoken and written with that simplicity of mind which regards nothing but the glory of God and the pure instruction of the people of Christ.

Two questions have been proposed to me : Whether I acknowledge the books which are published in my name, and whether I am determined to defend or disposed to recall them. To the first of these I have given a direct answer, in which I shall ever persist that those books are mine and published by me, except so far as they may have been altered or interpolated by the craft or officiousness of rivals. To the other I am now about to reply ; and I must first entreat your Majesty and your Highnesses to deign to consider that my books are not all of the same description. For there are some in which I have treated the piety of faith and morals with simplicity so evangelical that my very adversaries confess them to be profitable and harmless and deserving the perusal of a Christian. Even the Pope's bull, fierce and cruel as it is, admits some of my books to be innocent, though even these, with a monstrous perversity of judgment, it includes in the same sentence. If, then, I should think of retracting these, should I not stand alone in my condemnation of that truth which is acknowledged by the unanimous confession of all, whether friends or foes.

The second species of my publications is that in which I have inveighed against the papacy and the doctrine of the papists, as of men who by their iniquitous tenets and examples have desolated the Christian world, both with spiritual and temporal calamities. No man can deny or dissemble this. The sufferings and complaints of all mankind are my witnesses, that, through the laws of the Pope and the doctrines of men, the consciences of the faithful have been ensnared, tortured, and torn in pieces, while, at the same time, their property and substance have been devoured by an incredible tyranny, and are still devoured without end and by degrading means, and that too, most of all, in this noble nation of Germany. Yet it is with them a perpetual statute, that the laws and doctrines of the Pope be held erroneous and reprobate when they are contrary to the Gospel and the opinions of the Fathers.

If, then, I shall retract these books, I shall do no other than add strength to tyranny, and throw open doors to this great impiety which will then stride forth more widely and licentiously than it has dared hitherto ; so that the reign of iniquity will proceed with entire impunity, and, notwithstanding its intolerable oppression upon the suffering vulgar, be still further fortified and established ; especially when it shall be proclaimed that I have been driven to this act by the authority of your serene Majesty and the whole Roman Empire. What a cloak, blessed Lord, should I then become for wickedness and despotism !

In a third description of my writings are those which I have published against individuals, against the defenders of the Roman tyranny and the subverters of the piety taught by men. Against these I do freely

confess that I have written with more bitterness than was becoming either my religion or my profession ; for, indeed, I lay no claim to any especial sanctity, and argue not respecting my own life, but respecting the doctrine of Christ. Yet even these writings it is impossible for me to retract, seeing that through such retraction despotism and impiety would reign under my patronage, and rage with more than their former ferocity against the people of God.

Yet since I am but man and not God, it would not become me to go further in defence of my tracts than my Lord Jesus went in defence of his doctrine ; who, when he was interrogated before Annas, and received a blow from one of the officers, answered : “ If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil ; but if well, why smitest thou me ? ” If then the Lord himself, who knew his own infallibility, did not disdain to require arguments against his doctrines even from a person of low condition, how much rather ought I, who am the dregs of the earth and the very slave of error, to inquire and search if there be any to bear witness against my doctrine ! Wherefore, I entreat you, by the mercies of God, that if there be anyone of any condition who has that ability, let him overpower me by the sacred writings, prophetic and evangelical. And for my own part, as soon as I shall be better instructed, I will retract my errors and be the first to cast my books into the flames.

It must now, I think, be manifest that I have sufficiently examined and weighed, not only the dangers, but the parties and dissensions excited in the world by means of my doctrine, of which I was yesterday so gravely admonished. But I must avow that to me it is of all others the most delightful spectacle to see parties and dissensions growing up on account of the word of God, for such is the progress of God’s word, such its ends and object. “ Think not I am come to send peace on earth ; I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law ; and a man’s foes shall be those of his own household.”

Moreover, we should reflect that our God is wonderful and terrible in his counsels ; so that his work, which is now the object of so much solicitude, if we should found it in the condemnation of the word of God, may be turned by his providence into a deluge of intolerable calamity ; and the reign of this young and excellent prince (in whom is our hope after God), not only should begin but should continue and close under the most glowing auspices.

I could show more abundantly by reference to scriptural examples—to those of Pharaoh, the King of Babylon, the kings of Israel—that they have brought about their own destruction by those very counsels

of worldly wisdom, which seemed to promise them peace and stability. For it is he who taketh the wise in their craftiness and removeth the mountains, and they know not, and overturneth them in his anger. So that it is the work of God to fear God. Yet I say not these things as if the great personages here present stood at all in need of my admonitions, but only because it was a service which I owed to my native Germany, and it was my duty to discharge it. And thus I commend myself to your serene Majesty and all the princes, humbly beseeching you not to allow the malice of my enemies to render me odious to you without a cause. I have done.

[" Having delivered this address in German," says Doctor Waddington, " Luther was commanded to recite it in Latin. For a moment he hesitated ; his breath was exhausted, and he was oppressed by the heat and throng of the surrounding multitude. One of the Saxon courtiers even advised him to excuse himself from obedience ; but he presently collected his powers again, and repeated his speech with few variations and equal animation in the other language. His tone was that of supplication rather than remonstrance, and there was something of diffidence in his manner. . . . \*No sooner had he ceased than he was reminded, in a tone of reproach, that they were not assembled to discuss matters which had long ago been decided by councils, but that a simple answer was required of him to a simple question—whether he would retract or not. Then Luther continued : "—]

Since your most serene Majesty and the princes require a simple answer I will give it thus : Unless I shall be convinced by proofs from Scripture or by evident reason,—for I believe neither in Popes nor councils, since they have frequently both erred and contradicted themselves,—I cannot choose but adhere to the word of God, which has possession of my conscience ; nor can I possibly, nor will I ever make any recantation, since it is neither safe nor honest to act contrary to conscience ! Here I stand ; I cannot do otherwise ; so help me God ! Amen.

### “ THE PITH OF PAUL’S CHIEF DOCTRINE ”

(A Sermon Preached on Galatians iv. 1-7).

[" Now I say that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all ; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world : but when the

fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ."—Gal. iv. 1-7.]

**T**HIS text touches the very pith of Paul's chief doctrine. The cause why it is well understood but by few, is, not that it is so obscure and difficult, but because there is so little knowledge of faith left in the world; without which it is not possible to understand Paul who everywhere treats of faith with such earnestness and force. I must, therefore, speak in such a manner that this text will appear plain; and that I may more conveniently illustrate it, I will speak a few words by way of preface.

First, therefore, we must understand the doctrine in which good works are set forth, far different from that which treats of justification; as there is a great difference between the substance and its working; between man and his work. Justification pertains to man, and not to works; for man is either justified and saved, or judged and condemned, and not works. Neither is it a controversy among the godly, that man is not justified by works, but righteousness must come from some other source than from his own works: for Moses, writing of Abel, says: "The Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering." First he had respect to Abel himself, then to his offering; because Abel was first counted righteous and acceptable to God, and then for his sake his offering was accepted also, and not he because of his offering. Again, God had no respect to Cain, and therefore neither to his offering: therefore thou seest that regard is had first to the worker, then to the work.

From this it is plainly gathered that no work can be acceptable to God, unless he which worketh it was first accepted by him: and again, that no work is disallowed of him unless the author thereof be disallowed before. I think these remarks will be sufficient concerning this matter at present, by which it is easy to understand that there are two sorts of works, those before justification, and those after it; and that these last are good works, indeed, but the former only appear to be good. Hereof cometh such disagreement between God and those counterfeit holy ones; for this cause nature and reason rise and rage against the Holy Ghost; this is that of which almost the whole Scripture treats. The Lord in his word defines all works that go before justification to be evil and of no importance, and requires that man before all things be justified. Again, he pronounces all men which are

unregenerate and have that nature which they received of their parents unchanged, to be unrighteous and wicked, according to that saying : " All men are liars," that is, unable to perform their duty, and to do those things which they ought to do ; and " Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart are only evil continually ; " whereby he is able to do nothing that is good, for the fountain of his actions, which is his heart, is corrupted. If he do works which outwardly seem good, they are no better than the offering of Cain.

Here again comes forth reason, our reverend mistress, seeming to be marvellously wise, but who, indeed, is unwise and blind, gainsaying her God, and reproving him of lying ; being furnished with her follies and feeble honour, to wit, the light of nature, free will, the strength of nature ; also with the books of the heathen and the doctrines of men, contending that the works of a man not justified are good works, and not like those of Cain, yea, and so good that he that worketh them is justified by them ; that God will have respect, first to the works, then to the worker. Such doctrine now bears the sway everywhere in schools, colleges, monasteries, wherein no other saints than Cain was, have rule and authority. Now from this error comes another : they which attribute so much to works, and do not accordingly esteem the worker and sound justification, go so far that they ascribe all merit and righteousness to works done before justification, making no account of faith, alleging that which James saith, that without works faith is dead. This sentence of the Apostle they do not rightly understand ; making but little account of faith, they always stick to works, whereby they think to merit exceedingly, and are persuaded that for their work's sake they shall obtain the favour of God : by this means they continually disagree with God, showing themselves to be the posterity of Cain. God hath respect unto man, these unto the works of man ; God alloweth the work for the sake of him that worketh, these require that for the work's sake the worker may be crowned.

But here, perhaps, thou wilt say : What is needful to be done ? By what means shall I become righteous and acceptable to God ? How shall I attain to this perfect justification ? The Gospel answers, teaching that it is necessary that thou hear Christ, and repose thyself wholly on him, denying thyself and distrusting thine own strength ; by this means thou shalt be changed from Cain to Abel, and being thyself acceptable, shalt offer acceptable gifts to the Lord. It is faith that justifies thee. Thou being endued therewith, the Lord remitteth all thy sins by the mediation of Christ his Son, in whom this faith believeth and trusteth. Moreover, he giveth unto such a faith his Spirit, which changes the man and makes him anew, giving him another reason and another will. Such

a one worketh nothing but good works. Wherefore nothing is required unto justification but to hear Jesus Christ our Saviour and to believe in him. Howbeit, these are not the works of nature, but of grace.

He, therefore, that endeavours to attain to these things by works, shutteth the way to the Gospel, to faith, grace, Christ, God, and all things that help unto salvation. Again, nothing is necessary in order to accomplish good works but justification ; and he that hath attained it, performs good works and not any other. Hereof it sufficiently appears that the beginning, the things following, and the order of man's salvation are after this sort ; first of all it is required that thou hear the word of God ; next that thou believe ; then that thou work ; and so at last become saved and happy. He that changes this order, without doubt, is not of God. Paul also describes this, saying : " Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How, then, shall they call on him in whom they have not believed ? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard ? and how shall they hear without a preacher ? and how shall they preach except they be sent ? "

Christ teaches us to pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers into his harvest ; that is, sincere preachers. When we hear these preach the true word of God, we may believe ; which faith justifies a man and makes him godly indeed so that he now calls upon God in the spirit of holiness, and works nothing but that which is good and thus becomes a saved man. Thus he that believeth shall be saved ; but he that worketh without faith is condemned ; as Christ saith, he that doth not believe shall be condemned, from which no works shall deliver him. Some say, I will now endeavour to become honest. It is meet surely that we study to lead an honest life and to do good works. But if one ask them how we may apply ourselves unto honesty, and by what means we may attain it, they answer that we must fast, pray, frequent temples, avoid sins, etc. Whereby one becomes a Charterhouse monk, another chooses some other order of monks, and another is consecrated a priest : some torment their flesh by wearing hair cloth, others scourge their bodies with whips, others afflict themselves in a different manner ; but these are of Cain's progeny, and their works are no better than his, for they continue the same that they were before, ungodly, and without justification. There is a change made of outward works only, of apparel, of place, etc.

They scarce think of faith, they presume only on such works as seem good to themselves, thinking by them to get to heaven. But Christ said : " Enter in at the strait gate, for I say unto you, many seek to enter in, and cannot." Why is this ? because they know not what this narrow gate is ; for it is faith, which altogether annihilates

or makes a man appear as nothing in his own eyes, and requires him not to trust in his own works, but to depend upon the grace of God, and be prepared to leave and suffer all things. Those holy ones of Cain's progeny think their good works are the narrow gate ; and are not, therefore, extenuated or made less, whereby they might enter.

When we begin to preach of faith to those that believe altogether in works, they laugh and hiss at us, and say : Dost thou count us as Turks and heathen, whom it behoves now first to learn faith ? is there such a company of priests, monks, and nuns, and is not faith known ? who knoweth not what he ought to believe ? even sinners know that. Being after this sort animated and stirred up, they think themselves abundantly endued with faith, and that the rest is now to be finished and made perfect by works. They make so small and slender account of faith, because they are ignorant of what faith is, and that it alone doth justify. They call it faith, believing those things which they have heard of Christ ; this kind of faith the devils also have, and yet they are not justified. But this ought rather to be called an opinion of men. To believe those things to be true which are preached of Christ is not sufficient to constitute thee a Christian, but thou must not doubt that thou art of the number of them unto whom all the benefits of Christ are given and exhibited ; which he that believes must plainly confess, that he is holy, godly, righteous, the son of God, and certain of salvation ; and that by no merit of his own, but by the mere mercy of God poured forth upon him for Christ's sake : which he believes to be so rich and plentiful, as indeed it is, that although he be, as it were, drowned in sin, he is, notwithstanding, made holy, and become the son of God.

Wherefore, take heed that thou nothing doubt that thou art the son of God, and therefore made righteous by his grace ; let all fear and care be done away. However, thou must fear and tremble that thou mayest persevere in this way unto the end ; but thou must not do this as though it consisted in thy own strength, for righteousness and salvation are of grace, whereunto only thou must trust. But when thou knowest that it is of grace alone, and that thy faith also is the gift of God, thou shalt have cause to fear, lest some temptation violently move thee from this faith.

Everyone by faith is certain of this salvation ; but we ought to have care and fear that we stand and persevere, trusting in the Lord, and not in our own strength. When those of the race of Cain hear faith treated of in this manner, they marvel at our madness, as it seems to them. God turns us from this way, say they, that we should affirm ourselves holy and godly ; far be this arrogance and rashness from us : we are miserable sinners ; we should be mad, if we should arrogate



holiness to ourselves. Thus they mock at true faith, and count such doctrine as this execrable error ; and thus try to extinguish the Gospel. These are they that deny the faith of Christ, and persecute it throughout the whole world ; of whom Paul speaks : “ In the latter times many shall depart from the faith,” etc., for we see by these means that true faith lies everywhere oppressed ; it is not preached, but commonly disallowed and condemned.

The Pope, bishops, colleges, monasteries, and universities have more than five hundred years persecuted it with one mind and consent most obstinately, which has been the means of driving many to hell. If any object against the admiration, or rather the mad senselessness of these men, if we count ourselves even holy, trusting the goodness of God to justify us, or as David prayed : “ Preserve thou me, O Lord, for I am holy,” or as Paul saith : “ The Spirit of God beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God,” they answer that the prophet and Apostle would not teach us in these words, or give us an example which we should follow, but that they, being particularly and specially enlightened, received such revelation of themselves. In this way they misrepresent the Scripture, which affirms that they are holy, saying that such doctrine is not written for us, but that it is rather peculiar miracles, which do not belong to all. This forged imagination we account of as having come from their sickly brain. Again, they believe that they shall be made righteous and holy by their own works, and that because of them God will give them salvation and eternal blessedness.

In the opinion of these men it is a Christian duty to think that we shall be righteous and sacred because of our works ; but to believe that these things are given by the grace of God, they condemn as heretical, attributing that to their own works which they do not attribute to the grace of God. They that are endued with true faith and rest upon the grace of the Lord, rejoice with holy joy and apply themselves with pleasure to good works, not such as those of Cain’s progeny do, as feigned prayers, fasting, base and filthy apparel, and such like trifles, but to true and good works whereby their neighbours are profited.

Perhaps some godly man may think, If the matter be so, and our works do not save us, to what end are so many precepts given us, and why doth God require that they be obeyed ? The present text of the Apostle will give a solution of this question, and upon this occasion we will give an exposition thereof. The Galatians being taught of Paul the faith of Christ, but afterward seduced by false apostles, thought that our salvation must be finished and made perfect by the works of the

law ; and that faith alone doth not suffice. These Paul calls back again from works unto faith with great diligence, plainly proving that the works of the law which go before faith make us only servants, and are of no importance toward godliness and salvation ; but that faith makes us the sons of God, and from thence good works without constraint forthwith plentifully flow.

But here we must observe the words of the Apostle ; he calls him a servant that is occupied in works without faith, of which we have already treated at large ; but he calls him a son which is righteous by faith alone. The reason is this, although the servant apply himself to good works, yet he does it not with the same mind as doth the son ; that is, with a mind free, willing and certain that the inheritance and all the good things of the Father are his ; but does it as he that is hired in another man's house, who hopes not that the inheritance shall come to him. The works, indeed, of the son and the servant are alike, and almost the same in outward appearance ; but their minds differ exceedingly, as Christ saith : " The servant abideth not in the house forever, but the son abideth ever."

Those of Cain's progeny want the faith of sons which they confess themselves, for they think it most absurd, and wicked arrogancy, to affirm themselves to be the sons of God, and holy ; therefore as they believe, even so are they counted before God : they neither become holy nor the sons of God, nevertheless are they exercised with the works of the law ; wherefore they are and remain servants forever. They receive no reward except temporal things, such as quietness of life, abundance of goods, dignity, honour, etc., which we see to be common among the followers of popish religion. But this is their reward, for they are servants, and not sons ; wherefore in death they shall be separated from all good things, neither shall any portion of the eternal inheritance be theirs who in this life would believe nothing thereof. We perceive, therefore, that servants and sons are not unlike in works, but in mind and faith they have no resemblance.

The Apostle endeavours here to prove that the law with all the works thereof makes but mere servants, if we have not faith in Christ ; for this alone makes us sons of God. It is the word of grace followed by the Holy Ghost, as is shown in many places, where we read of the Holy Ghost falling on Cornelius and his family while hearing the preaching of Peter. Paul teaches that no man is justified before God by the works of the law ; for sin only cometh by the law. He that trusts in works, condemns faith as the most pernicious arrogancy and error of all others. Here thou seest plainly that such a man is not righteous, being destitute of that faith and belief which is necessary to make him

acceptable before God and his Son ; yea, he is an enemy to this faith, and therefore to righteousness also. Thus it is easy to understand that which Paul saith, that no man is justified before God by the works of the law.

The worker must be justified before God, before he can work any good thing. Men judge the worker by the works ; God judges the works by the worker. The first precept requires us to acknowledge and worship one God, that is, to trust him alone, which is the true faith whereby we become the sons of God. Thou canst not be delivered from the evil of unbelief by thine own power, nor by the power of the law ; wherefore all thy works which thou doest to satisfy the law can be nothing but works of the law ; of far less importance than to be able to justify thee before God, who counteth them righteous only who truly believe in him ; for they that acknowledge him the true God are his sons, and do truly fulfil the law. If thou shouldst even kill thyself by working, thy heart cannot obtain this faith thereby, for thy works are even a hindrance to it, and cause thee to persecute it.

He that studieth to fulfil the law without faith is afflicted for the devil's sake, and continues a persecutor, both of faith and the law, until he comes to himself and cease to trust in his own works ; he then gives glory to God who justifies the ungodly, and acknowledges himself to be nothing, and sighs for the grace of God, of which he knows that he has need. Faith and grace now fill his empty mind, and satisfy his hunger ; then follow works which are truly good ; neither are they works of the law, but of the Spirit, of faith and grace ; they are called in the Scripture the works of God which he worketh in us.

Whatsoever we do of our own power and strength, that which is not wrought in us by his grace, without doubt is a work of the law, and avails nothing toward justification, but is displeasing to God, because of the unbelief wherein it is done. He that trusts in works does nothing freely and with a willing mind ; he would do no good work at all if he were not compelled by the fear of hell, or allured by the hope of present good. Whereby it is plainly seen that they strive only for gain, or are moved with fear, showing that they rather hate the law from their hearts, and had rather there were no law at all. An evil heart can do nothing that is good. This evil propensity of the heart and unwillingness to do good, the law betrays, when it teaches that God does not esteem the works of the hand, but those of the heart.

Thus sin is known by the law, as Paul teaches ; for we learn thereby that our affections are not placed on that which is good. This ought to teach us not to trust in ourselves, but to long after the grace of God,

whereby the evil of the heart may be taken away, and we become ready to do good works, and love the law voluntarily ; not for fear of any punishment, but for the love of righteousness. By this means one is made of a servant a son ; of a slave an heir.

## LYSIAS

(c. 459—c. 380 B.C.).

**L**YSIAS lived in Athens under the Thirty Tyrants, and he derives his greatest importance to students of Greek History from the fact that he prosecuted Eratosthenes—one of the Thirty—for murder. Being a foreigner, unnaturalized, he was not usually allowed to speak in public, so that, except the speech against Eratosthenes, all his extant orations were delivered by others, when they were delivered at all.

In 412 B.C. Lysias and his brother, Polemarchus, who had inherited a considerable estate from their father, Cephalus, a Syracusan resident of Athens, removed from Thurii to Athens, and when the persecutions under the Thirty Tyrants began, they were managing an extensive factory for making shields. Polemarchus was proscribed and put to death, and Lysias, who had a narrow escape, was driven into exile. After the overthrow of the Thirty, he returned and prosecuted Eratosthenes in a speech of great historical importance, which as it survives to us in its entirety is probably the best example of Attic speeches for the prosecution in murder trials.

The date of the birth of Lysias, given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as 459 B.C., is in dispute, and there is the same uncertainty attaching to the date of his death. Of his greatest political oration, delivered at Olympia, 388 B.C., only a fragment remains. After the expulsion of the Tyrants, he seems to have supported himself writing speeches to be delivered by others in the law courts at Athens, and a very considerable number of these are still extant in their entirety. Of his style, Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that to "write well is given to most men . . . to write winningly, gracefully, and with loveliness, is the gift of Lysias."

### AGAINST ERATOSTHENES FOR MURDER

(Delivered at Athens 403 B.C.).

["Polemarchus, brother of Lysias," writes Professor Jebb, "had been put to death by the Thirty Tyrants. Eratosthenes, one of their number, was the man who had arrested him and taken him to prison.

In this speech Lysias, himself the speaker, charges Eratosthenes with the murder of Polemarchus, and, generally, with his share in the tyranny.

After the examination of witnesses, the proof of the murder and the review of the crimes of the Thirty Tyrants, Lysias closed with an appeal to the assembly in the following peroration :—]

**T**HE time has come at last to put sympathy and pity out of your minds that you may do justice to Eratosthenes and his accomplices, bewareng lest you who are wont to prevail against your enemies in the field may be worsted by them in the forum.

Of benefits which they boast they will confer on you hereafter, take less count for thanks than you take for justice on the outrages they have already committed. When they are in your power, do not suffer your tyrants to escape the penalties of the justice to which you have been at such pains to bring them. Be not yourselves less helpful to the city against their crimes than the good fortune which has delivered these public enemies to you for judgment. Against Eratosthenes and his friends, in whose names he might go away excused, give your sentence.

No longer now, indeed, is the contest on equal terms between Eratosthenes and the public weal. Once he was both accuser and judge. Now we, bringing Eratosthenes before your bar for judgment, acquit ourselves as we convict him. The tyrants have slain the innocent without trial. It is yours, deliberating not without the law, to execute the justice of the law on them for their crimes against the State. For what penalty of law can equal their outrages against it? If you could slay them with their children, would it be punishment fit for the crimes through which your fathers, sons and brothers were put to death without a trial?

If their property were confiscated, would this repay the city they have robbed and the citizens they have plundered? Since, then, if the worst were inflicted on them, it would be less than justice, would it not be your disgrace to remit anything of the justice which is demanded against them? To me he seems to dare everything who dares now to appear before judges none others than the sufferers from the wrongs he has inflicted to defend himself before the witnesses of his crimes. In so much as he puts his trust in others, in that measure he shows his contempt for you. It is yours now to call to mind these things, the one and the other, that if he had lacked the help and protection of his accomplices, he would never have dared the commission of his crimes, nor would he have dared now to come before you for judgment. And these, his allies, what is their motive except the hope that if you can be moved to condone the worst in him, they also may escape your justice?

It is worth wonder, whether, in seeking to shield him, his defenders will plead their own merits,—the virtue they did not use to save the city from tyranny at its worst ; or whether they will rely on the trickery of the skilful tongue which tries to make the worst seem the best. But for you and for your protection against outrage, not one of them has ever used his skill of tongue.

What of these witnesses? It is fitting for you to observe that, as they seek to save him, they accuse him. What would be their opinion of your intelligence could they persuade you to acquit those who, after the murder of your kindred, would not allow you to bury them?

If they are saved now, they can destroy the State again. But those whom they have destroyed cannot die again to save it.

As many of you as escaped death underwent all dangers ; you were driven you knew not where ; you sought refuge in many cities and found help in none ; you were forced to leave your children ; you were driven from your country ; you were destitute and deserted. You made your way to the Piræus ; you freed your country by your valour. But had you been unfortunate and failed, what then? Again defeated, no temples, no altars would have given you sanctuary. Your children, with you or left behind, would have been enslaved and sold by your tyrants or reduced to the lowest degradation.

But why should I try to tell what might have been, when I am not able to tell wrongs that were actual? To attempt it would not be possible for one accuser at one trial or at two. It would demand many. How can I tell of the treasons ; the sacrileges ; of the fanes they have polluted ; the public property they have destroyed ; of citizens murdered ; of bodies of the murdered dead impiously left unburied?

I believe that the spirits of those dead are present to hear your judgment, as in passing it now you pass sentence also on their death.

I cease accusing. You have heard. You have seen. You have suffered. You sit in judgment. Give your sentence.

## ALBERTUS MAGNUS

(1205-1280).

**A**LBERT THE GREAT (Albertus Magnus), teacher of St. Thomas Aquinas, was one of the most celebrated orators and theologians of the Church in the thirteenth century. He was born at Lauingen on the Danube in 1205 (according to some in 1193), and, becoming a Dominican at the age of twenty-nine, he taught in various German cities with continually increasing celebrity, until finally the Pope called him to preach in Rome. In 1260 he was made Bishop of Ratisbon, but after three years resigned the bishopric and returned to his work in the ranks of the clergy. While teaching at Cologne he suddenly lost his memory, probably as a result of his excessive studies. He died November 15th, 1280. He was placed on the calendar of saints in 1622. His works, collected by Peter Jammy, and published at Lyons in 1651, make twenty-one volumes, folio.

### THE MEANING OF THE CRUCIFIXION

**I**T was surrounded by the thick wreath of thorns even to the tender brain. Whence in the Prophet,—the people hath surrounded me with the thorns of sin. And why was this, save that thine own head might not suffer—thine own conscience might not be wounded? His eyes grew dark in death; and those lights, which give light to the world, were for a time extinguished. And when they were clouded, there was darkness over all the earth, and with them the two great lights of the firmament were moved, to the end that thine eyes might be turned away, lest they should behold vanity; or, if they chance to behold it, might for his sake condemn it. Those ears, which in heaven unceasingly hear “Holy, Holy, Holy,” vouchsafed on earth to be filled with: “Thou hast a devil,—Crucify him, Crucify him!” to the intent that thine ears might not be deaf to the cry of the poor, nor, open to idle tales, should readily receive the poison of detraction or of adulation. That fair face of him that was fairer than the children of men, yea, than thousands of angels, was bedaubed with spitting, afflicted with blows, given to



mockery, to the end that thy face might be enlightened, and, being enlightened, might be strengthened, so that it might be said of thee, "His countenance is no more changed." That mouth, which teaches angels and instructs men, "which spake and it was done," was fed with gall and vinegar, that thy mouth might speak the truth, and might be opened to the praise of the Lord; and it was silent, lest thou shouldest lightly lend thy tongue to the expression of anger.

Those hands, which stretched abroad the heavens, were stretched out on the cross and pierced with most bitter nails; as saith Isaiah, "I have stretched forth my hands all the day to an unbelieving people." And David, "They pierced my hands and my feet; I may tell all my bones." And Saint Jerome says, "We may, in the stretching forth of his hands, understand the liberality of the giver, who denieth nothing to them that ask lovingly; who restored health to the leper that requested it of him; enlightened him that was blind from his birth; fed the hungry multitude in the wilderness." And again he says, "The stretched-out hands denote the kindness of the parent, who desires to receive his children to his breast." And thus let thy hands be so stretched out to the poor that thou mayest be able to say, "My soul is always in my hand." For that which is held in the hand is not easily forgotten. So he may be said to call his soul to memory, who carries it, as it were, in his hands through the good opinion that men conceive of it. His hands were fixed, that they may instruct thee to hold back thy hands, with the nails of fear, from unlawful or harmful works.

That glorious breast, in which are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, is pierced with the lance of a soldier, to the end that thy heart might be cleansed from evil thoughts, and being cleansed might be sanctified, and being sanctified might be preserved. The feet, whose footstool the Prophets commanded to be sanctified, were bitterly nailed to the cross, lest thy feet should sustain evil, or be swift to shed blood; running in the way of the Lord, stable in his path, and fixed in his road, might not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left. "What could have been done more?"

Why did Christ bow his head on the cross? To teach us that by humility we must enter into Heaven. Also, to show that we must rest from our own work. Also, that he might comply with the petition, "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth"; also that he might ask permission of his bride to leave her. Of great virtue is the memory of the Lord's passion, which, if it be firmly held in the mind, every cloud of error and sin is dispersed. Whence the blessed Bernard says: "Always having Christ, and him crucified, in the heart."

## THE BLESSED DEAD

THEY who die in the Lord are blessed, on account of two things which immediately follow. For they enter into most sweet rest, and enjoy most delicate refreshment. Concerning their rest it immediately follows. "Even so saith the Spirit" (that is, says the gloss, the whole Trinity), "for they rest from their labours." "And it is a pleasant bed on which they take their rest, who, as is aforesaid, die in the Lord." For this bed is none other than the sweet consolation of the Creator. Of this consolation he speaks himself by the Prophet Isaiah: "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you, and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem." Of the second,—that is, the delicate refreshment of those that die in Christ,—it is immediately subjoined, "and their works do follow them." For every virtue which a man has practised by good works in this world will bring a special cup of recompense, and offer it to the soul that has entered into rest. Thus, purity of body and mind will bring one cup, justice another, which also is to be said concerning truth, love, gentleness, humility, and the other virtues. Of this holy refreshment it is written in Isaiah: "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers." By kings we understand the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, who, in inseparable unity, possess the kingdom of heaven; by queens, the virtues are expressed, which, as has been said, receive the cups of refreshment from the storehouse of the Trinity, and offer them to the happy souls. Pray, therefore, dearly beloved, to the Lord, that he would so grant us to live according to his will, that we may die in him, and may evermore be comforted and refreshed by him.

## MAHOMET

(570-632).

(Biographical Sketch by Carlyle).

**I**T was in the year 570 of our era, that the man Mahomet was born. He was of the family of Hashem, of the Koreish tribe; and though poor, connected with the chief persons of his country. Almost at his birth he lost his father, who left him in charge to Abu Thaleb, the eldest of the uncles, as to him that now was head of the house. By this uncle, a just and rational man as everything betokens, Mahomet was brought up in the best Arab way.

Mahomet, as he grew up, accompanied his uncle on trading journeys and suchlike; in his eighteenth year one finds him a fighter following his uncle in war. But perhaps the most significant of all his journeys is one we find noted as of some years' earlier date; a journey to the Fairs of Syria. The young man here first came in contact with a quite foreign world,—with one foreign element of endless moment to him, the Christian Religion. These journeys to Syria were probably the beginning of much to Mahomet.

One other circumstance we must not forget; that he had no school-learning; of the thing we call school-learning none at all. The art of writing was but just introduced into Arabia; it seems to be the true opinion that Mahomet never could write! Life in the desert, with its experiences, was all his education.

But, from an early age, he had been remarked as a thoughtful man. His companions named him "Al Amin, the Faithful." A man of truth and fidelity; true in what he did, in what he spoke and thought. They noted that he always meant something. A man rather taciturn in speech, silent when there was nothing to be said; but pertinent, wise, sincere, when he did speak, always throwing light on the matter. This is the only sort of speech worth speaking. Through life we find him to have been regarded as an altogether solid, brotherly, genuine man. A serious, sincere character, yet amiable, cordial, companionable, even jocose—a good laugh in him withal; there are men whose laugh is as untrue as anything about them; who cannot laugh. A spontaneous, passionate, yet just, true-meaning man! Full of wild faculty, fire and light; of wild worth, all uncultured working out his life-task in the depths of the desert there.

Mahomet had been wont to retire yearly, during the month Ramadhan, into solitude and silence ; as indeed was the Arab custom ; a praise-worthy custom, which such a man, above all, would find natural and useful. Communing with his own heart, in the silence of the mountains ; himself silent, open to the " the small still voices," it was a right natural custom ! Mahomet was in his fortieth year, when having withdrawn to a cavern in Mount Hara, near Mecca, during this Ramadhan, to pass the month in prayer and meditation on those great questions, he one day told his wife Kadijah, who with his household was with him or near him this year, that by the unspeakable special favour of Heaven he had found it all out ; was in doubt and darkness no longer, but saw it all. That all these idols and formulas were nothing, miserable bits of wood ; that there was One God in and over all ; and we must leave all Idols, and look to Him. That God is great, and that there is nothing else great. He is the Reality. Wooden idols are not real ; He is real. He made us at first, sustains us yet ; we and all things are but the shadow of Him ; a transitory garment veiling the Eternal Splendour. " Allah akbar, God is great,"—and then also " Islam," that we must submit to God. That our whole strength lies in resigned submission to Him whatsoever He do to us. For this world and for the other ! The thing He sends to us, were it death and worse than death, shall be good, shall be best ; we resign ourselves to God—" If this be Islam," says Goethe, " do we not all live in Islam."

He spoke of his doctrine to this man and that, but the most treated it with ridicule, with indifference ; in three years, I think, he had gained but thirteen followers. His progress was slow enough. His encouragement to go on was altogether the usual encouragement that such a man in such a case meets. After some three years of small success, he invited forty of his chief kindred to an entertainment, and there stood up and told them what his pretension was ; that he had this thing to promulgate abroad to all men ; that it was the highest thing, the one thing ; which of them would second him in that. Amid the doubt and silence of all, young Ali, as yet a lad of sixteen, impatient of the silence, started up and explained in passionate fierce language, that he would ! The assembly among whom was Abu Thaleb, Ali's father, could not be unfriendly to Mahomet ; yet the sight there, of one unlettered elderly man, with a lad of sixteen, deciding on such an enterprise against all mankind, appeared ridiculous to them ; the assembly broke up in laughter.

Mahomet naturally gave offence to the Koreish, Keepers of the Caabah, superintendents of the Idols. One or two men of influence had joined him ; the thing spread slowly, but it was spreading.

Naturally he gave offence to everybody. Who is this that pretends to be wiser than we all ; that rebukes us all, as mere fools and worshippers of wood ? Abu Thaleb, the good uncle, spoke with him. Could he not be silent about all that ; believe it all for himself, and not trouble others, anger the chief men, endanger himself and them all, talking of it ? Mahomet answered : If the Sun stood on his right hand and the Moon on his left, ordering him to hold his peace, he could not obey !

He went on speaking to who would listen to him ; publishing his doctrine among the pilgrims as they came to Mecca ; gaining adherents in this place and that. Continual contradiction, hatred, open or secret danger attended him. His powerful relations protected Mahomet himself, but by and by, on his own advice, all his adherents had to quit Mecca, and seek refuge in Abyssinia over the sea. The Koreish grew ever angrier ; laid plots and swore oaths among them to put Mahomet to death with their own hands. Abu Thaleb was dead, the good Kadijah was dead. Mahomet is not solicitous of sympathy from us ; but his outlook at this time was one of the dismallest. He had to hide in caverns, escape in disguise ; fly hither and thither ; homeless, in continual peril of his life. More than once it seemed all over with him ; more than once it turned on a straw, some rider's horse taking fright or the like, whether Mahomet and his doctrine had not ended there, and not been heard of at all. But it was not to end so.

In the thirteenth year of his mission, finding his enemies all banded against him, forty sworn men, one out of every tribe, waiting to take his life, and no continuance possible at Mecca for him any longer, Mahomet fled to the place then called Yathreb, where he had gained some adherents ; the place they now call Medina, the " City of the Prophet," from that circumstance. It lay some 200 miles off, through rocks and deserts ; not without great difficulty, in such mood as we may fancy, he escaped thither, and found welcome. The whole East dates its era from this flight, Hegira as they name it : the Year I. of this Hegira is 622 of our era, the fifty-third of Mahomet's life. He was now becoming an old man ; his friends sinking round him one by one ; his path desolate, encompassed with danger ; unless he could find hope in his own heart, the outward face of things was but hopeless for him. It is so with all men in the like case. Hitherto Mahomet had professed to publish his religion by the way of preaching and persuasion alone. But now, driven foully out of his native country, the wild Son of the Desert resolved to defend himself, like a man and Arab. If the Koreish will have it so, they shall have it. Tidings felt to be of infinite moment to them and all men, they would not listen to these ; would trample them down by sheer violence, steel and murder : well, let steel try it then ! Ten years

more this Mahomet had, all of fighting, of breathless impetuous toil and struggle ; with what result we know.

## RELIGIOUS LAW

(From the Law, given at Medina).

**I**T is not righteousness that ye turn your face towards the east or the west, but righteousness is [in] him who believeth in God and the Last Day, and the angels and the Scripture, and the Prophets, and who giveth wealth for the love of God to his kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the son of the road and them that ask and for the freeing of slaves, and who is instant in prayer, and giveth the alms ; and those who fulfil their covenant when they covenant, and the patient in adversity and affliction and in time of violence, these are they who are true, and these are they who fear God.

Say : We believe in God, and what hath been sent down to thee, and what was sent down to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and what was given to Moses, and to Jesus, and the prophets from their Lord,—we make no distinction between any of them,—and to Him are we resigned : and whoso desireth other than Resignation [Islam] for a religion, it shall certainly not be accepted from him, and in the life to come he shall be among the losers.

Observe the prayers, and the middle prayer, and stand instant before God. And if ye fear, then afoot or mounted, but when ye are safe remember God, how he taught you what ye did not know.

When the call to prayer soundeth on the Day of Congregation (Friday), then hasten to remember God, and abandon business ; that is better for you if ye only knew : and when prayer is done, disperse in the land and seek of the bounty of God.

Turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque ; wherever ye be, turn your faces thitherwards.

Give alms on the path of God, and let not your hands cast you into destruction ; but do good, for God loveth those who do good ; and accomplish the pilgrimage and the visit to God : but if ye be besieged, then send what is easiest as an offering.

They will ask thee what it is they must give in alms. Say : Let what good ye give be for parents, and kinsfolk, and the orphan, and the needy, and the son of the road ; and what good ye do, verily God knoweth it.

They will ask thee what they shall expend in alms ; say, The surplus.

If ye give alms openly, it is well ; but if ye conceal it, and give it to the poor, it is better for you, and will take away from you some of your sins : and God knoweth what ye do.

O ye who believe, make not your alms of no effect by taunt and vexation, like him who spendeth what he hath to be seen of men, and believeth not in God and the Last Day : for his likeness is as the likeness of a stone with earth upon it, and a heavy rain falleth upon it and leaveth it bare ; they accomplish nothing with what they earn, for God guideth not the people that disbelieve. And the likeness of those who expend their wealth for the sake of pleasing God and for the certainty of their souls is as the likeness of a garden on a hill : a heavy rain falleth on it and it bringeth forth its fruit twofold ; and if no heavy rain falleth on it, then the dew falleth ; and God seeth what ye do.

Kind speech and forgiveness is better than alms which vexation followeth ; and God is rich and ruthless.

The hearts of men are at the disposal of God like unto one heart, and He turneth them about in any way that He pleaseth. O Director of hearts, turn our hearts to obey Thee.

The first thing which God created was a pen, and He said to it, " Write." It said, " What shall I write ? " And God said, " Write down the quantity of every separate thing to be created." And it wrote all that was and all that will be to eternity.

There is not one among you whose sitting-place is not written by God whether in the fire or in Paradise. The Companions said, " O Prophet ! since God hath appointed our place, may we confide in this and abandon our religious and moral duty ? " He said, " No, because the happy will do good works, and those who are of the miserable will do bad works."

The Prophet of God said that Adam and Moses (in the world of spirits) maintained a debate before God, and Adam got the better of Moses ; who said, " Thou art that Adam whom God created by the power of His hands, and breathed into thee from His own spirit, and made the angels bow before thee, and gave thee an habitation in His own Paradise : after that thou threwest man upon the earth, from the fault which thou committedst." Adam said, " Thou art that Moses whom God elected for His prophecy, and to converse with, and He gave to thee twelve tables, in which are explained everything, and God made thee His confidant, and the bearer of His secrets : then how long was the Bible written before I was created ? " Moses said, " Forty years." Then Adam said, " Didst thou see in the Bible that Adam disobeyed God ? " He said, " Yes." Adam said, " Dost thou then reproach me on a matter which God wrote in the Bible forty years before creating me ? "

## JEAN BAPTISTE MASSILLON

(1663-1742).

“OTHER preachers make me pleased with them,” said Louis XIV., after listening to Massillon, “but Massillon makes me displeased with myself.” That, no doubt, is the highest compliment a king ever paid or could pay to a court preacher, and no doubt Massillon deserved it. If he is not always broad, he is always manly. He did not hesitate to tell the king that the principles of the Christian religion were better known in peasant huts than in palaces.

Massillon was one of the greatest pulpit orators of France. He ranks with Bossuet in his power of expression. Born at Hyères, June 24th, 1663, he was educated for the Church, becoming early in life a member of the “Congregation of the Oratory!” In 1696 he began his work in Paris where he became director of the Seminary of St. Magloire. In 1704 he became Court Preacher and in 1717 Bishop of Clermont. He died September 18th, 1742.

### THE CURSE OF A MALIGNANT TONGUE

(A Sermon on ‘ Evil-Speaking ’).

THE tongue, says the Apostle James, is a devouring fire, a world of iniquity, an unruly evil, full of deadly poison. And behold what I would have applied to the tongue of the evil-speaker, had I undertaken to give you a just and natural idea of all the enormity of this vice ; I would have said that the tongue of the slanderer is a devouring fire which tarnishes whatever it touches ; which exercises its fury on the good grain, equally as on the chaff ; on the profane, as on the sacred ; which, wherever it passes, leaves only desolation and ruin ; digs even into the bowels of the earth, and fixes itself on things the most hidden ; turns into vile ashes what only a moment before had appeared to us so precious and brilliant ; acts with more violence and danger than ever, in the time when it was apparently smothered up and almost extinct ; which blackens what it cannot consume, and sometimes sparkles and delights before it destroys. I would have told you that evil-speaking



is an assemblage of iniquity ; a secret pride, which discovers to us the mote in our brother's eye, but hides the beam which is in our own ; a mean envy, which, hurt at the talents or prosperity of others, makes them the subject of its censures, and studies to dim the splendour of whatever outshines itself ; a disguised hatred, which sheds, in its speeches, the hidden venom of the heart ; an unworthy duplicity, which praises to the face and tears to pieces behind the back ; a shameful levity, which has no command over itself or its words, and often sacrifices both fortune and comfort to the imprudence of an amusing conversation ; a deliberate barbarity, which goes to pierce your absent brother ; a scandal, where you become a subject of shame and sin to those who listen to you ; an injustice, where you ravish from your brother what is dearest to him. I should have said that slander is a restless evil, which disturbs society, spreads dissension through cities and countries, disunites the strictest friendships ; is the source of hatred and revenge ; fills, wherever it enters, with disturbances and confusion, and everywhere is an enemy to peace, comfort, and Christian good-breeding. Lastly, I should have added that it is an evil full of deadly poison ; whatever flows from it is infected, and poisons whatever it approaches ; that even its praises are empoisoned, its applauses malicious, its silence criminal, its gestures, motions, and looks, have all their venom, and spread it each in its way.

Behold, what in this discourse it would have been my duty, more at large, to have exposed to your view, had I not proposed only to paint to you the vileness of the vice, which I am now going to combat ; but, as I have already said, these are only general invectives, which none apply to themselves. The more odious the vice is represented, the less do you perceive yourselves concerned in it ; and though you acknowledge the principle, you make no use of it in the regulation of your manners ; because, in these general paintings, we always find features which resemble us not. I wish, therefore, to confine myself at present to the single object of making you feel all the injustice of that description of slander which you think the more innocent ; and, lest you should not feel yourself connected with what I shall say, I shall attack it only in the pretexts which you continually employ in its justification.

Now the first pretext which authorizes in the world almost all the defamations, and is the cause that our conversations are now continual censures upon our brethren, is the pretended insignificancy of the vices we expose to view. We would not wish to tarnish a man of character or ruin his fortune by dishonouring him in the world ; to stain the principles of a woman's conduct by entering into the essential points of it ; that would be too infamous and mean : but upon a thousand faults which lead our judgment to believe them capable of all the rest ; to inspire the

minds of those who listen to us with a thousand suspicions which point out what we dare not say ; to make satirical remarks which discover a mystery where no person before had perceived the least intention of concealment ; by poisonous interpretations, to give an air of ridicule to manners which had hitherto escaped observation ; to let everything on certain points be clearly understood while protesting that they are incapable themselves of cunning or deceit, is what the world makes little scruples of ; and though the motives, the circumstances, and the effects of these discourses be highly criminal, yet gaiety and liveliness excuse their malignity to those who listen to us, and even conceal from ourselves their atrocity.

I say in the first place, the motives. I know that it is, above all, by the innocency of the intention that they pretend to justify themselves ; that you continually say that your designs are not to tarnish the reputation of your brother, but innocently to divert yourselves with faults which do not dishonour him in the eyes of the world. You, my dear hearer, to divert yourself with his faults ! But what is that cruel pleasure which carries sorrow and bitterness to the heart of your brother ? Where is the innocency of an amusement whose source springs from vices which ought to inspire you with compassion and grief ? If Jesus Christ forbids us in the Gospel to invigorate the languors of conversation by idle words, shall it be more permitted to you to enliven it by derisions and censures ? If the law curses him who uncovers the nakedness of his relations, shall you who add raillery and insult to the discovery be more protected from that malediction ? If whoever calls his brother fool be worthy, according to Jesus Christ, of eternal fire, shall he who renders him the contempt and laughing-stock of the profane assembly escape the same punishment ? You, to amuse yourself with his faults ? But does charity delight in evil ? Is that rejoicing in the Lord, as commanded by the apostle ? If you love your brother as yourself, can you delight in what afflicts him ? Ah ! the Church formerly held in horror the exhibition of gladiators, and denied that believers, brought up in the tenderness and benignity of Jesus Christ could innocently feast their eyes with the blood and death of these unfortunate slaves, or form a harmless recreation of so inhuman a pleasure. But you renew more detestable shows to enliven your languor ; you bring upon the stage not infamous wretches devoted to death, but members of Jesus Christ, your brethren ; and there you entertain the spectators with wounds which you inflict on persons rendered sacred by baptism.

Is it then necessary that your brother should suffer, to amuse you ? Can you find no delight in your conversations, unless his blood, as I may say, is furnished towards your iniquitous pleasures ? Edify

each other, says St. Paul, by words of peace and charity ; relate the wonders of God towards the just, the history of his mercies to sinners ; recall the virtues of those who, with the sign of faith, have preceded us ; make an agreeable relaxation to yourselves, in reciting the pious examples of your brethren with whom you live ; with a religious joy, speak of the victories of faith, of the aggrandizement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, of the establishment of the truth and the extinction of error, of the favours which Jesus Christ bestows on his Church, by raising up in it faithful pastors, enlightened members, and religious princes ; animate yourselves to virtue, by contemplating the little solidity of the world, the emptiness of pleasures, and the unhappiness of sinners, who yield themselves up to their unruly passions. Are these grand objects not worthy the delight of Christians ? It was thus, however, that the first believers rejoiced in the Lord, and, from the sweets of their conversations, formed one of the most holy consolations to their temporal calamities. It is the heart, my brethren, which decides upon our pleasures : a corrupted heart feels no delight but in what recalls to him the image of his vices ; innocent delights are only suitable to virtue.

In effect, you excuse the malignity of your censures by the innocence of your intentions. But fathom the secret of your heart : Whence comes it that your sarcasms are always pointed to such an individual and that you never amuse yourself with more wit, or more agreeably, than in recalling his faults ? May it not proceed from a secret jealousy ? Do not his talents, fortune, credit, station, or character, hurt you more than his faults ? Would you find him so fit a subject for censure, had he fewer of those qualities which exalt him above you ? Would you experience such pleasure in exposing his foibles, did not the world find qualities in him both valuable and praiseworthy ? Would Saul have so often repeated with such pleasure that David was only the son of Jesse, had he not considered him as a rival, more deserving than himself of the empire ? Whence comes it that the faults of all others find you more indulgent ? That elsewhere you excuse everything, but here every circumstance comes empoisoned from your mouth ? Go to the source, and examine if it is not some secret root of bitterness in your heart. And can you pretend to justify, by the innocence of the intention, discourses which flow from so corrupted a principle ? You maintain that it is neither from hatred nor jealousy against your brother ! I wish to believe it ; but in your sarcasms may there not be motives, perhaps, still more shameful and mean ? Is it not your wish to render yourself agreeable, by turning your brother into an object of contempt and ridicule ? Do you not sacrifice his character to your fortune ? Courts are always so filled with these adulatory and sordidly interested satires

on each other ! The great are to be pitied whenever they yield themselves up to unwarrantable aversions. Vices are soon found out, even in that virtue itself which displeases them.

But, after all, you do not feel yourselves guilty, you say, of all these vile motives ; and that it is merely through indiscretion and levity of speech, if it sometimes happens that you defame your brethren. But is it by that you can suppose yourself more innocent ? Levity and indiscretion ; that vice so unworthy of the gravity of a Christian, so distant from the seriousness and solidity of faith, and so often condemned in the Gospel, can it justify another vice ? What matters it to the brother whom you stab whether it be done through indiscretion or malice ? Does an arrow, unwittingly drawn, make a less dangerous or slighter wound than if sent on purpose ? Is the deadly blow which you give to your brother more slight because it was lanced through imprudence and levity ? And what signifies the innocency of the intention when the action is a crime ? But, besides, is there no criminality in indiscretion with regard to the reputation of your brethren ? In any case whatever can more circumspection and prudence be required ? Are not all the duties of Christianity comprised in that of charity ? Does not all religion, as I may say, consist in that ? And to be incapable of attention and care, in a point so highly essential, is it not considering, as it were, all the rest as a sport ? Ah ! it is here he ought to put a guard of circumspection on his tongue, weigh every word, put them together in his heart, says the sage Ecclesiasticus, and let them ripen in his mouth. Do any of these inconsiderate speeches ever escape you against yourself ? Do you ever fail in attention to what interests your honour or glory ? What indefatigable cares ! what exertions and industry, to make them prosper ! To what lengths we see you go, to increase your interest or to improve your fortune ! If it ever happens that you take blame to yourself, it is always under circumstances which tend to your praise. You censure in yourself only faults which do you honour ; and, in confessing your vices, you wish only to recapitulate your virtues. Self-love connects everything with yourself. Love your brother as you love yourself, and everything will recall you to him ; you will be incapable of indiscretion where his interest is concerned, and will no longer need our instructions in respect to what you owe to his character and glory.

## PHILIP MELANCHTHON

(1497-1560).

**P**HILIP MELANCHTHON, whose name is so inseparably connected with that of Luther in the history of the agitation which led to the Reformation, was born at Bretten, Germany, February 16th, 1497. His father was an armourer whose patronymic of "Schwarzerd," or "black earth," was translated into Greek as "Melanchthon" by Reuchlin, in the house of whose sister young Schwarzerd lived when attending the Academy at Pfortzheim. After completing his University course at Tübingen, Melanchthon became Professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg, where he took the lead in the revival of classical learning. After assisting Luther in the translation of the Bible, he was drawn with him into the theological controversy which convulsed Europe. He died on the nineteenth of April, 1560, and was buried at Luther's side.

### THE SAFETY OF THE VIRTUOUS

(A Sermon on the Text : " Neither shall any pluck them out of my hand." St. John x. 28. Delivered in 1550).

**T**O Thee Almighty and True God, Eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of heaven and earth, and of all creatures, together with thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost—to thee, the wise, good, true, righteous, compassionate, pure, gracious God we render thanks that thou hast hitherto upheld the Church in these lands, and graciously afforded it protection and care, and we earnestly beseech thee evermore to gather among us an inheritance for Thy Son, which may praise thee to all eternity.

I have in these our assemblies often uttered partly admonitions and partly reproofs, which I hope the most of you will bear in mind. But since I must presume that now the hearts of all are wrung with a new grief and a new pang by reason of the war in our neighbourhood, this season seems to call for a word of consolation. And as we commonly say, " Where the pain is, there one claps his hand," I could not in this

so great affliction make up my mind to turn my discourse upon any other subject. I do not, indeed, doubt that you yourselves seek comfort in the divine declarations, yet will I also bring before you some things collected therefrom, because always that on which we had ourselves thought becomes more precious to us when we hear that it proves itself salutary also to others. And because long discourses are burdensome in time of sorrow and mourning, I will without delay bring forward that comfort which is the most effectual.

Our pains are best assuaged when something good and beneficial, especially some help toward a happy issue, presents itself. All other topics of consolation, such as men borrow from the unavoidableness of suffering, and the examples of others, bring us no great alleviation. But the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us and raised again, and now sits at the right hand of the Father, offers us help and deliverance, and has manifested this disposition in many declarations. I will now speak of the words: "No man shall pluck my sheep out of my hand." This expression has often raised me up out of the deepest sorrow, and drawn me, as it were, out of hell.

The wisest men in all times have bewailed the great amount of human misery which we see with our eyes before we pass into eternity—diseases, death, want, our own errors by which we bring harm and punishment on ourselves, hostile men, unfaithfulness on the part of those with whom we are closely connected, banishment, abuse, desertion, miserable children, public and domestic strife, wars, murder, and devastation. And since such things appear to befall good and bad, without distinction, many wise men have inquired whether there were any Providence, or whether accident brings everything to pass independently of a Divine purpose. But we in the Church know that the first and principal cause of human woe is this, that on account of sin man is made subject to death and other calamity, which is so much more vehement in the Church, because the devil, from hatred toward God, makes fearful assaults on the Church and strives to destroy it utterly. Therefore it is written: "I will put enmity between the serpent and the seed of the woman." And Peter says: "Your adversary, the devil, goeth about as a roaring lion and seeketh whom he may devour."

Not in vain, however, has God made known to us the causes of our misery. We should not only consider the greatness of our necessity, but also discern the causes of it, and recognize his righteous anger against sin, to the end that we may, on the other hand, perceive the Redeemer and the greatness of his compassion; and as witnesses to these his declarations, he adds the raising of dead men to life, and other miracles.

Let us banish from our hearts, therefore, the unbelieving opinions which imagine that evils befall us by mere chance, or from physical causes.

But when thou considerest the wounds in thy own circle of relations, or dost cast a glance at the public disorders in the State, which again afflict the individual also (as Solon says: "The general corruption penetrates even to thy quiet habitation"), then think, first, of thy own and others' sins, and of the righteous wrath of God; and, secondly, weigh the rage of the devil, who lets loose his hate chiefly in the Church.

In all men, even the better class, great darkness reigns. We see not how great an evil sin is, and regard not ourselves as so shamefully defiled. We flatter ourselves, in particular, because we profess a better doctrine concerning God. Nevertheless, we resign ourselves to a careless slumber, or pamper each one his own desires; our impurity, the disorders of the Church, the necessity of brethren, fills us not with pain; devotion is without fire and fervour; zeal for doctrine and discipline languishes, and not a few are my sins, and thine, and those of many others, by reason of which such punishments are heaped upon us.

Let us, therefore, apply our hearts to repentance, and direct our eyes to the Son of God, in respect to whom we have the assurance that, after the wonderful counsel of God, he is placed over the family of man, to be the protector and preserver of his Church.

We perceive not fully either our wretchedness or our dangers, or the fury of enemies, until after events of extraordinary sorrowfulness. Still we ought to reflect thus: there must exist great need and a fearful might and rage of enemies, since so powerful a protector has been given to us, even God's Son. When he says: "No man shall pluck my sheep out of my hand" he indicates that he is no idle spectator of our woe, but that mighty and incessant strife is going on. The devil incites his tools to disturb the Church or the political commonwealth, that boundless confusion may enter, followed by heathenish desolation. But the Son of God, who holds in his hands, as it were, the congregation of those who call upon his name, hurls back the devils by his infinite power, conquers and chases them thence, and will one day shut them up in the prison of hell, and punish them to all eternity with fearful pains. This comfort we must hold fast in regard to the entire Church, as well as each in regard to himself.

If, in these distracted and warring times, we see States blaze up and fall into ruin, then look away to the Son of God, who stands in the secret counsel of the Godhead, and guards his little flock, and carries the weak lambs, as it were, in his own hands. Be persuaded that by him thou also shalt be protected and upheld.

Here some, not rightly instructed, will exclaim: "Truly I could wish to commend myself to such a keeper, but only his sheep does he preserve. Whether I also am counted in that flock, I know not." Against this doubt we must most strenuously contend, for the Lord himself assures us in this very passage, that all who "hear and with faith receive the voice of the Gospel are his sheep"; and he says expressly: "If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him." These promises of the Son of God, which cannot be shaken, we must confidently appropriate to ourselves. Nor shouldst thou, by thy doubts, exclude thyself from this blessed flock, which originates in the righteousness of the Gospel. They do not rightly distinguish between the law and the Gospel, who, because they are unworthy reckon not themselves among the sheep. Rather is this consolation afforded us that we are accepted "for the Son of God's sake" truly, without merit, not on account of our own righteousness, but through faith, because we are unworthy and impure and far from having fulfilled the law of God. That is, moreover, a universal promise, in which the Son of God saith "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."



## COMTE DE MIRABEAU

(For *Biographical Note* see *Section ii.*)

### DEFYING THE FRENCH ARISTOCRACY

(Against the Nobility and Clergy of Provence,  
February 3rd, 1789).

**I**N all countries, in all ages, have aristocrats implacably pursued the friends of the people ; and when, by I know not what combination of fortune, such a friend has arisen from the very bosom of the aristocracy, it has been at him pre-eminently that they have struck, eager to inspire wider terror by the elevation of their victim. So perished the last of the Gracchi by the hands of the Patricians. But, mortally smitten, he flung dust towards heaven, calling the avenging gods to witness : and from that dust sprang Marius—Marius, less illustrious for having exterminated the Cimbri than for having beaten down the despotism of the nobility in Rome.

But you, Commons, listen to one, who, unseduced by your applause, yet cherishes it in his heart. Man is strong only by union ; happy, only by peace. Be firm, not obstinate ; courageous, not turbulent ; free, not undisciplined ; prompt, not precipitate. Stop not, except at difficulties of moment ; and be then wholly inflexible. But disdain the contentions of self-love, and never thrust into the balance the individual against the country. Above all hasten, as much as in you lies, the epoch of those States-General, from which you are charged with flinching,—the more acrimoniously charged, the more your accusers dread the results ; of those States-General, through which so many pretensions will be scattered, so many rights re-established, so many evils reformed, of those States-General in short, through which the monarch himself desires that France should regenerate herself.

For myself, who, in my public career, have had no other fear but that of wrong-doing,—who, girt with my conscience and armed with my principles, would brave the universe,—whether it shall be my fortune to serve you with my voice and my exertions in the National Assembly, or whether I shall be enabled to aid you there with my prayers only, be sure that the vain clamours, the wrathful menaces, the injurious protestations,—all the convulsions, in a word, of expiring prejudices,—

shall not intimidate me ! What ! shall he now pause in his civic course, who first among all the men of France, emphatically proclaimed his opinions on national affairs, at a time when circumstances were much less urgent than now and the task one of much greater peril ? Never ! No measure of outrages shall bear down my patience. I have been, I am, I shall be, even to the tomb, the man of the public liberty, the man of the Constitution. If to be such be to become the man of the people rather than of the nobles, then woe to the privileged orders ! For privileges shall have an end, but the people is eternal !

## AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION

(Address in the Constituent Assembly).

**W**E are reproached with having refused to decree that the Catholic religion, Apostolic and Roman, is the national religion. To declare the Christian religion national would be to dishonour it in its most intimate and essential characteristic. In general terms, it may be said that religion is not, and cannot be, a relation between the individual man and society. It is a relation between him and the Infinite Being. Would you understand what was meant by a national conscience ? Religion is no more national than conscience. A man is not veritably religious in so far as he is attached to the religion of a nation. If there were but one religion in the world, and all men were agreed in professing it, it would be none the less true that each would have the sincere sentiment of religion so far only as he should be himself religious with a religion of his own ; that is to say, so far only as he would be wedded to that universal religion, even though the whole human race were to abjure it. And so, from whatever point we consider religion, to term it national is to give it a designation insignificant or absurd.

Would it be as the arbiter of its truth, or as the judge of its aptitude to form good citizens, that the legislature would make a religion constitutional ? But, in the first place, are there national truths ? In the second place, can it be ever useful to the public happiness to fetter the conscience of men by a law of the State ? The law unites us only in those points where adhesion is essential to social organization. Those points belong only to the superficies of our being. In thought and conscience men remain isolated ; and their association leaves to them, in these respects, the absolute freedom of the state of nature.

What a spectacle would it be for those early Christians, who, to escape the sword of persecution, were obliged to consecrate their altars in caves or amid ruins,—what a spectacle would it be for them, could they this day come among us and witness the glory with which their despised religion now sees itself environed ; the temples, the lofty steeples bearing aloft the glittering emblem of their faith—the evangelic cross which crowns the summit of all the departments of this great empire ! What a transporting sight for those who, in descending to the tomb had seen that religion, during their lives, honoured only in the lurking-places of the forest and the desert ! Methinks I hear them exclaim, even as that stranger of the old time exclaimed on beholding the encampment of the people of God : “ How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel ! ”

Calm, then, ah ! calm your apprehensions, ye ministers of the God of peace and truth. Blush rather at your incendiary exaggerations, and no longer look at the action of this Assembly through the medium of your passions. We do not ask it of you to take an oath contrary to the law of your heart ; but we do ask it of you, in the name of that God who will judge us all, not to confound human opinions and scholastic traditions with the sacred and inviolable rules of the Gospel. If it be contrary to morality to act against one's conscience, it is none the less so to form one's conscience after false and arbitrary principles. The obligation to form and enlighten one's conscience is anterior to the obligation to follow one's conscience. The greatest public calamities have been caused by men who believed they were obeying God and saving their own souls.

### ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF FRANKLIN

(Delivered in the French Assembly, June 11th, 1790).

**F**RANKLIN is dead ! Restored to the bosom of the Divinity is that genius which gave freedom to America, and rayed forth torrents of light upon Europe. The sage whom two worlds claim—the man whom the history of empires and the history of science alike contend for—occupied, it cannot be denied, a lofty rank among his species. Long enough have political cabinets signalized the death of those who were great in their funeral eulogies only. Long enough has the etiquette of courts prescribed hypocritical mournings. For their benefactors only should nations assume the emblem of grief ; and the representatives of nations should commend only the heroes of humanity to public veneration.

We live under a form of government and in a state of society to which the world has never yet exhibited a parallel. Is it then nothing to be free? How many nations in the whole annals of humankind have proved themselves worthy of being so? Is it nothing that we are republicans? Were all men as enlightened, as brave, as proud as they ought to be, would they suffer themselves to be insulted with any other title? Is it nothing that so many independent sovereignties should be held together in such a confederacy as ours? What does history teach us of the difficulty of instituting and maintaining such a polity, and of the glory that, of consequence, ought to be given to those who enjoy its advantages in so much perfection and on so grand a scale? For can anything be more striking and sublime than the idea of an imperial republic, spreading over an extent of territory more immense than the empire of the Cæsars, in the accumulated conquests of a thousand years—without prefects, or proconsuls, or publicans—founded in the maxims of common sense—employing within itself no arms but those of reason—and known to its subjects only by the blessings it bestows or perpetuates, yet capable of directing against a foreign foe all the energies of a military despotism—a republic in which men are completely insignificant, and principles and laws exercise, throughout its vast dominion, a peaceful and irresistible sway, blending in one divine harmony such various habits and conflicting opinions, and mingling in our institutions the light of philosophy with all that is dazzling in the associations of heroic achievement, and extended domination, and deep-seated and formidable power!

### “ REASON IMMUTABLE AND SOVEREIGN ”

(Delivered on the Refusal of the Chamber of Vacations of Rennes to Obey the Decrees of the National Assembly, January 9th, 1790).

**W**HEN, during our session yesterday, those words which you have taught Frenchmen to unlearn—orders, privileges—fell on my ears; when a private corporation of one of the Provinces of this Empire spoke to you of the impossibility of consenting to the execution of your decrees, sanctioned by the King; when certain magistrates declared to you that their conscience and their honour forbade their obedience to your laws, I said to myself: Are these, then, dethroned sovereigns, who, in a transport of imprudent, but generous, pride are addressing successful usurpers? No; these are men whose arrogant pretensions have too long been an insult to all ideas of social order; champions, even

more interested than audacious, of a system which has cost France centuries of oppression, public and private, political and fiscal, feudal and judicial, and whose hope is to make us regret and revive that system. The people of Brittany have sent among you sixty-six representatives, who assure you that the new Constitution crowns all their wishes ; and here come eleven judges of the Province, who cannot consent that you should be the benefactors of their country. They have disobeyed your laws ; and they pride themselves on their disobedience, and believe it will make their names honoured by posterity. No, gentlemen, the remembrance of their folly will not pass to posterity. What avail their pigmy efforts to brace themselves against the progress of a revolution the grandest and most glorious in the world's history, and one that must infallibly change the face of the globe and the lot of humanity ? Strange presumption that would arrest liberty in its course and roll back the destinies of a great nation !

It is not to antiquated transactions,—it is not to musty treaties, wherein fraud combined with force to chain men to the car of certain haughty masters,—that the National Assembly have resorted, in their investigations into popular rights. The titles we offer are more imposing by far ; ancient as time, sacred and imprescriptible as nature ! What ! Must the terms of the marriage contract of one Anne of Brittany make the people of that Province slaves to the nobles till the consummation of the ages ? These refractory magistrates speak of the statutes which “ immutably fix our powers of legislation.” Immutably fix ! Oh, how that word tears the veil from their innermost thoughts ! How would they like to have abuses immutable upon earth, and evil eternal ! Indeed, what is lacking to their felicity but the perpetuity of that feudal scourge, which unhappily has lasted only six centuries ? But it is in vain that they rage. All now is changed or changing. There is nothing immutable save reason—save the sovereignty of the people—save the inviolability of its decrees !

### JUSTIFYING REVOLUTION

(Delivered in Reply to Those Who Denied the National Assembly the Authority of a National Convention, April 19th, 1790).

**I**T is with difficulty, gentlemen, that I can repress an emotion of indignation, when I hear hostile rhetoricians continually oppose the nation to the National Assembly, and endeavour to excite a sort of rivalry between them. As if it were not through the National Assembly

that the nation had recognized, recovered, reconquered its rights ! As if it were not through the National Assembly that the French had, in truth, become a nation ! As if, surrounded by the monuments of our labours, our dangers, our services, we could become suspected by the people—formidable to the liberties of the people ! As if the regards of two worlds upon you fixed, as if the spectacle of your glory, as if the gratitude of so many millions, as if the very pride of a generous conscience, which would have to blush too deeply to belie itself,—were not a sufficient guarantee of your fidelity, of your patriotism, of your virtue !

Commissioned to form a Constitution for France, I will not ask whether, with that authority, we did not receive also the power to do all that was necessary to complete, establish, and confirm that Constitution. I will not ask : Ought we to have lost in pusillanimous consultations the time of action, while nascent liberty would have received her deathblow ? But if gentlemen insist on demanding when and how, from simple deputies of bailiwicks, we became all at once transformed into a national convention, I reply : It was on that day, when, finding the hall where we were to assemble closed, and bristling and polluted with bayonets, we resorted to the first place where we could reunite, to swear to perish rather than submit to such an order of things ! That day, if we were not a national convention, we became one ; became one for the destruction of arbitrary power and for the defence of the rights of the nation from all violence. The strivings of despotism which we have quelled, the perils which we have averted, the violence which we have repressed,—these are our titles ! Our successes have consecrated them ; the adhesion, so often renewed, of all parts of the Empire, has legitimized and sanctified them. Summoned to its task by the irresistible tocsin of necessity, our national convention is above all imitation, as it is above all authority. It is accountable only to itself, and can be judged only by posterity.

Gentlemen, you all remember the instance of that Roman, who, to save his country from a dangerous conspiracy, had been constrained to overstep the powers conferred on him by the laws. A captious tribune exacted of him the oath that he had respected those laws ; hoping, by this insidious demand, to drive the consul to the alternative of perjury or of an embarrassing avowal. “Swear,” said the tribune, “that you have observed the laws.” “I swear,” replied the great man,—“I swear that I have saved the Republic.” Gentlemen, I swear that you have saved France !

## CARDINAL NEWMAN

(1801-1890).

**J**OHN HENRY NEWMAN, celebrated as a theologian, orator, and poet, was born in London, February 21st, 1801. He was educated at Oxford, and after his graduation there in 1820, was elected in 1822, a Fellow of Oriel College. Thus began his association with Doctor Pusey, which did so much to influence the religious opinions of England. In 1833 Newman actively engaged in "The Oxford Movement," and finding a middle ground between the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Church untenable for him, he entered the Roman Catholic Church in 1845. That action greatly increased his celebrity, which was well sustained by his subsequent writings and sermons. He was made a Cardinal, May 12th, 1879. His 'Verses on Various Occasions' were published in 1874, and the hymn, 'Lead, Kindly Light,' at once established an enduring place in the affections of the English-speaking world. He died August 11th, 1890.

### PROPERTY AS A DISADVANTAGE

(Sermon delivered at Oxford on the Text: "Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation").

**T**HE danger of possessing riches is the carnal security to which they lead. That of desiring and pursuing them is, that an object of this world is thus set before us as the aim and end of life. It seems to be the will of Christ that his followers shall have no aim or end, pursuit or business, merely of this world. Here, again, I speak as before, not in the way of precept, but of doctrine. I am looking at His holy religion as at a distance, and determining what is its general character and spirit, not what may happen to be the duty of this or that individual who has embraced it. It is His will that all we do should be done, not unto men, or to the world, or to self, but to His glory; and the more we are enabled to do this simply, the more favoured we are whenever we act with reference to an object of this world. Even though it be ever so pure, we are exposed to the temptation (not irresistible, God

forbid ! still to the temptation) of setting our hearts upon obtaining it. And therefore we call all such objects excitements, as stimulating us incongruously ; casting us out of the serenity and stability of heavenly faith ; attracting us aside by their proximity from our harmonious round of duties ; and making our thoughts converge to something short of that which is infinitely high and eternal. Such excitements are of perpetual occurrence, and the mere undergoing them, so far from involving guilt in the act itself or its results, is the great business of life and the discipline of our hearts. It is often a sin to withdraw from them, as has been the case of some, perhaps, who have gone into monasteries to serve God more entirely. On the other hand, it is the very duty of the spiritual ruler to labour for the flock committed to him, to suffer, and to dare. St. Paul was encompassed with excitements hence arising, and his writings show the agitating effect of them on his mind. He was like David, a man of war and blood, and that for our sakes. Still it holds good that the essential spirit of the Gospel is " quietness and confidence " ; that the possession of these is the highest gift, and to gain them perfectly our main aim. Consequently, however much a duty it is to undergo excitements when they are sent upon us, it is plainly unchristian, a manifest foolishness and sin, to seek out any such, whether secular or religious.

Men of energetic minds and talents for action are called to a life of trouble ; they are the compensations and antagonists of the world's evils ; still let them never forget their place. They are men of war, and we war that we may obtain peace. They are but men of war, honoured, indeed, by God's choice, and, in spite of all momentary excitements, resting in the depth of their hearts upon the one true vision of Christian faith. Still, after all, they are but soldiers in the open field, not builders of the Temple, nor inhabitants of those " amiable " and specially blessed " tabernacles " where the worshipper lives in praise and intercession, and is militant amid the unostentatious duties of ordinary life. " Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things ; but one thing is needful, and Mary has chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her." Such is our Lord's judgment, showing that our true happiness consists in being at leisure to serve God without excitements. For this gift we specially pray in one of our collects : " Grant, O Lord, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy governance, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness." Persecution, civil changes, and the like, break in upon the Church's calm. The greatest privilege of a Christian is to have nothing to do with worldly politics—to be governed, to submit obediently ; and though here again selfishness may



creep in, and lead a man to neglect public concerns in which he is called to take his share, yet, after all, such participation must be regarded as a duty, scarcely as a privilege ; as the fulfilment of trusts committed to him for the good of others, not as the enjoyment of rights (as men talk in these days of delusion), not as if political power were in itself a good.

I say, then, that it is a part of Christian caution to see that our engagements do not become pursuits. Engagements are our portion, but pursuits are for the most part of our own choosing. We may be engaged in worldly business without pursuing worldly objects. "Not slothful in business," yet "serving the Lord." In this, then, consists the danger of the pursuit of gain, as by trade and the like. It is the most common and widely-spread of all excitements. It is one in which everyone almost may indulge, nay, and will be praised by the world for indulging. And it lasts through life ; in that differing from the amusements and pleasures of the world, which are short-lived and succeed one after another. Dissipation of mind, which these amusements create, is itself, indeed miserable enough ; but far worse than this dissipation is the concentration of mind upon some worldly object which admits of being constantly pursued ; and such is the pursuit of gain. Nor is it a slight aggravation of the evil that anxiety is almost sure to attend it. A life of money-getting is a life of care. From the first there is a fretful anticipation of loss in various ways to depress and unsettle the mind, nay, to haunt it, till a man finds he can think about nothing else, and is unable to give his mind to religion from the constant whirl of business in which he is involved. It is well this should be understood. You may hear men talk as if the pursuit of wealth was the business of life. They will argue that, by the law of nature, a man is bound to gain a livelihood for his family, and that he finds a reward in doing so—an innocent and honourable satisfaction—as he adds one sum to another, and counts up his gains. And, perhaps, they go on to argue that it is the very duty of man, since Adam's fall, "in the sweat of his face," by effort and anxiety, "to eat bread." How strange it is that they do not remember Christ's gracious promise, repealing that original curse and obviating the necessity of any real pursuit after "the meat that perisheth." In order that we might be delivered from the bondage of corruption, he has expressly told us that the necessaries of life shall never fail his faithful follower any more than the meal and oil the widow woman of Sarepta ; that while he is bound to labour for his family, he need not be engrossed by his toil—that while he is busy, his heart may be at leisure for his Lord. "Be not anxious, saying : What shall we eat ? or, what shall we drink ? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed ?

For after all these things do the Gentiles seek ; and your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things."

I have now given the main reason why the pursuit of gain, whether in a large or a small way, is prejudicial to our spiritual interests—that it fixes the mind upon an object of this world. Yet others remain behind. Money is a sort of création, and gives the acquirer even more than the possessor an imagination of his own power, and tends to make him idolize self. Again, what we have hardly won, we are unwilling to part with ; so that a man who has himself made his wealth will commonly be penurious, or at least will not part with it except in exchange for what will reflect credit on himself and increase his importance. Even when his conduct is most disinterested and amiable (as in spending for the comfort of those who depend on him), still this indulgence of self, of pride, and worldliness, insinuates itself. Very unlikely, therefore, is it that he should be liberal towards God ; for religious offerings are an expenditure without sensible return, and that upon objects for which the very pursuit of wealth has indisposed his mind. Moreover, if it may be added, there is a considerable tendency in occupations connected with gain to make a man unfair in his dealings ; that is, in a subtle way. There are so many conventional deceits and prevarications in the details of the world's business, so much intricacy in the management of accounts, so many perplexed questions about justice and equity, so many plausible subterfuges and fictions of law, so much confusion between the distinct yet approximating outlines of honesty and civil enactment, that it requires a very straightforward mind to keep firm hold of strict conscientiousness, honour, and truth, and to look at matters in which he is engaged as he would have looked on them supposing he now came upon them all at once as a stranger.

And if such be the effect of the pursuit of gain on an individual, doubtless it will be the same on a nation. Only let us consider the fact that we are a money-making people, with our Saviour's declaration before us against wealth and trust in wealth, and we shall have abundant matter for serious thought.

## DANIEL O'CONNELL

(1775-1847).

**A**FTER hearing O'Connell, John Randolph, of Roanoke, called him "the first orator of Europe." According to Disraeli, "his voice was the finest ever heard in Parliament, distinct, deep, sonorous, and flexible." His style was unadorned and frequently slovenly, but the historian Lecky says that the "listener seemed almost to follow the workings of his mind,—to perceive him hewing his thoughts into rhetoric with a negligent but colossal grandeur, with the chisel not of a Canova, but of a Michael Angelo." In his use of epithet he was often bitter, as when he spoke of "Scorpion Stanley," and it is doubtful if his comparison of Sir Robert Peel's smile to the shine of a silver plate on a coffin has ever been equalled in strangeness or in force. In addressing an Irish audience, it is said that he could "whine and wheedle and wink with one eye while he wept with the other." In the long struggle as an agitator which finally resulted in Catholic emancipation and almost in permanent autonomy for Ireland, he showed himself one of the most effective popular leaders of modern times. If those who read his speeches now are not fired by them as his audiences were, it is because the agitator must always speak to his own generation rather than to posterity and must strive to achieve results which will endure in improved modes of life for his fellows rather than in polished sentences or nicely balanced periods. Like his great successor, Parnell, O'Connell, though frequently rough and sometimes even uncouth in expression, was always effective in reaching those to whom he appealed. Born in County Kerry, Ireland, August 6th, 1775, O'Connell made his first great reputation at the bar, but, great as it was, he obscured it by his work for Catholic emancipation and as the leader of the Repeal Agitation of 1840. He was elected to the English Parliament in 1828.

### THE ACT OF UNION

(Delivered at Tara, August 15th, 1843).

**I**T would be the extreme of affectation in me to suggest that I have not some claims to be the leader of this majestic meeting. It would be worse than affectation—it would be drivelling folly, if I were not to feel the awful responsibility of the part I have taken in this majestic movement imposed upon me. I feel responsibility to my country—responsibility to my Creator. Yes, I feel the tremulous

nature of that responsibility—Ireland is aroused, is aroused from one end to another. Her multitudinous population have but one expression, and one wish, and that is the extinction of the Union, the restoration of her nationality.

A Voice—There will be no compromise.

Mr. O'Connell—Who is that that talks of compromise? I am not here for the purpose of making anything like a schoolboy's attempt at declamatory eloquence; I am not here to revive in your recollection any of those poetic imaginings respecting the spot on which we stand, and which have really become as familiar as household words; I am not here to exaggerate the historical importance of the spot on which we are congregated—but it is impossible to deny that Tara has historical recollections that give to it an importance, relatively, to other portions of the land, and deserves to be so considered by every person who comes to it for political purposes, and gives it an elevation and point of impression in the public mind that no other part of Ireland can possibly have. History may be tarnished by exaggeration, but the fact is undoubted that we are at Tara of the Kings. We are on the spot where the monarchs of Ireland were elected, and where the chieftains of Ireland bound themselves by the sacred pledge of honour and the tie of religion to stand by their native land against the Danes or any other stranger. This is emphatically the spot from which emanated the social power—the legal authority—the right to dominion over the furthest extremes of the island, and the power of concentrating the force of the entire nation for the purpose of national defence. On this important spot I have an important duty to perform—I here protest in the face of my country, in the face of my Creator—in the face of Ireland and her God, I protest against the continuance of the unfounded and unjust Union. My proposition to Ireland is that the Union is not binding upon us; it is not binding, I mean, upon conscience—it is void in principle—it is void as matter of right—and it is void in constitutional law. I protest everything that is sacred, without being profane, to the truth of my assertion, there is really no union between the two countries. My proposition is that there was no authority vested in any person to pass the Act of Union. I deny the authority of the act—I deny the competency of the two legislatures to pass that act. The English legislature had no such competency—that must be admitted by any person. The Irish legislature had no such competency; and I arraign the Union, therefore, on the ground of the incompetency of the bodies that passed it. No authority could render it binding but the authority of the Irish people, consulted individually through the counties, cities, towns, and villages; and if

the people of Ireland called for the Union, then it was binding on them, but there was no other authority that could make it binding. The Irish Parliament had no such authority; they were elected to make laws and not legislatures, and it had no right to the authority which alone belonged to the people of Ireland. The trustee might as well usurp the right of the person who trusts him; the servant might as well usurp the power of the master; the Irish Parliament were elected as our trustees—we were their masters—they were but our servants and they had no right to transfer us to any other power on the face of the earth. This doctrine is manifest, and would be admitted by every person if it were applied to England. Would any person venture to assert that the Parliament of England should have the power to transfer its privileges to make laws from England to the legislative chamber of France? Would any person be so insane as to admit it? And that insanity would not be mitigated even if they were allowed to send over their representatives to France. Yes, every person would admit in that case that the Union was void. I have no higher affection for England than for France—they are both foreign authorities to me. The highest legal authority in England has declared us aliens in blood, aliens in religion, and aliens in language from the English. Let no person groan him—I thank him for the honesty of the expression. I never heard of any other act of honesty on his part, and the fact of his having committed one act of honesty ought to recommend him to your good graces. I can refer you to the principle of constitutional law, and to Locke on government, to show that the Irish Parliament had no power or authority to convey itself away. I will only detain you on that point by citing the words of Lord Chancellor Plunket. He declared in the Irish House of Commons that they had no right to transfer the power of legislation from the country. He called upon them to have his words taken down, and he defied the power of Lord Castlereagh to have him censured for the expression, limiting the authority of Parliament. He said to them that they could not transfer their authority—that the maniacal suicide might as well imagine that the blow by which he destroyed his miserable body could annihilate his immortal soul, as they to imagine they could annihilate the soul of Ireland, her constitutional right. The illustration is a happy one. I am here the representative of the Irish nation, and in the name of that great, that virtuous, that moral, temperate, brave, and religious nation, I proclaim the Union a nullity, for it is a nullity in point of right. Never was any measure carried by such iniquitous means as the Union was carried. The first thing that taints it in its origin, and makes it, even if it were a compact, utterly void, is the fraud committed in fomenting discord in the country, and encouraging the

rebellion until it broke out, and in making that rebellion and the necessity for crushing it the means of taking from Ireland her constitution and her liberties. There was this second fraud committed on her, that at the time of the passing of the Act of Union, Ireland had no legal protection; the *habeas corpus* was suspended, martial law was proclaimed, trial by jury was at an end, and the lives and liberties of all the King's subjects in Ireland were at the mercy of the court-martial. Those among you who were old enough at the time remember when the shriek from the triangle was heard from every village and town, and when the troops would march out from Trim and lay desolate the country for nine or ten miles around. The military law was established in all its horrors throughout every district of the country and the people were trampled in the dust under the feet of the yeomanry, army, and fencibles. The next fraudulent device to which England had recourse in order to carry this infamous measure, and to promote her own prosperity on the ruins of Irish nationality, was to take the most effective means in order to prevent the Irish people from meeting to remonstrate against the insult and the injury which was about to be inflicted upon them. The Union was void no less from the utter incompetency of the contracting parties to enter into any such contract than by reason of the fact that it was carried into operation by measures most iniquitous, atrocious and illegal; the *habeas corpus* act was suspended, torture, flogging, pitch caps, and imprisonment were the congenial agencies whereby England endeavoured to carry her infamous designs, and executions upon the gallows for no other crime than that of being suspected to be suspicious, were of daily occurrence in every part of the kingdom. Thus it was that they endeavoured to crush the expression of the people's feelings whom they resolved to plunder and degrade. The people were not permitted to assemble together for the purpose of remonstrating against the Union. Meetings, convened by the officers of justice, by the high sheriffs of counties, were dispersed at the point of the bayonet. The people were not permitted to meet for remonstrance, but they got up petitions in every direction, to testify their feelings upon the subject, and although no less than seven hundred and seven thousand signatures were signed to petitions against the Union, despite of all the corrupt influence of the Government, more than three thousand wretches could not be found to sign a petition in favour of the measure. The next impeachment which I bring against the Union is that it was brought about not only by physical force, but by bribery the most unblushing and corruption the most profligate. One million two hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds were expended upon the purchase of rotten boroughs alone, and no less a sum than two millions of money

was lavished upon peculation unparalleled, and bribery the most enormous and most palpable that ever yet disgraced the annals of humanity. There was not an office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical in the country, which was not flung open to the Unionist as the price and wages of his political depravity. Six or seven judges bought their seats upon the bench by giving in their adhesion to the Union ; and having no claim to wear the ermine other than that which was to be derived from the fact of their being recreants to their country, they continued in right of this during their lives to inflict the effects of their iniquity upon the people whom they betrayed. Twelve bishops obtained their sees by voting for the Union, for the spirit of corruption spared nothing. Men were made prelates, generals, admirals, commissioners, for supporting the ministry in this infamous design, and every office in the revenue and customs was placed at the disposal of those who were base enough to sell their country for a mess of porridge. In fact, corruption was never known to have been carried before or since to such excess in any country of the world, and if such a contract, if contract it could be called, was to be binding on the Irish nation, there was no longer any use for honesty or justice in the world. But strong as was the influence of corruption on the human mind, the victory which the English ministry achieved was slow, and by no means easy of accomplishment, for the intimidation to the death upon the one hand, and bribery on the other, were impotent to procure a majority for them in the Irish House of Commons in the first session, when the bill was introduced. On the contrary, when the first attempt was made to frustrate our liberties, there was a majority of eleven against the Union bill. But the despoiler was not easy to be foiled, nor was he apt to be disheartened by a single failure. The work of corruption was set on foot with redoubled energy, and the wretches who were not so utterly abandoned as to suffer themselves to be bribed for the direct and positive purpose of giving their vote for the Union, accepted bribes on the condition of withdrawing from the House altogether, and accordingly they vacated their seats, and in their place stepped in Englishmen and Scotchmen who knew nothing of Ireland, and who were not impeded by any conscientious scruples whatever from giving their unqualified sanction to any plot of the English, how infamous soever, to oppress and plunder the country. By these accumulated means the Union was carried and the fate of Ireland sealed. But the monster evil of the Union is the financial robbery which by its means was practised upon Ireland. A scandalous injustice thus inflicted would be in itself sufficient even in the absence of other arguments (even if other arguments were wanting) to render the Union void and of no effect. At the passing of that fatal act (badge

of our ruin and disgrace) Ireland owed only twenty millions, England owed four hundred and forty six millions, and the equitable terms on which the contract was based, whereby both countries were to be allied and identified—identified indeed!—were these, that England was generously to undertake the liability of one-half of her national debt, on condition that we would undertake the responsibility of one-half of hers. This is not a befitting time nor season to enter into minute details relative to the particulars of this financial swindle, but I may be permitted to direct your attention to this very obvious fact, that whereas England has only doubled her debt since the passing of the Union, the increase of the national debt of Ireland during the same period cannot with justice be estimated on a different ratio, and that consequently Ireland, at the very highest calculation, cannot in reality, and as of her own account, owe a larger sum than forty millions; and I will tell you, my friends, that never will we consent to pay one shilling more of a national debt than that. I say it in the name and on behalf of the Irish nation. But I will tell you this as a secret, and you may rely upon it as a truth, that in point of fact we do not owe one farthing more than thirty millions; and in proof of the truth of this assertion I beg leave to refer you to a work published by a very near and dear relative of mine—my third son, the member for Kilkenny—who, by the most accurate statistical calculations, and by a process of argument intelligible to the humblest intellect, has made the fact apparent to the world, that according to the terms of honest and equitable dealing, as between both countries, Ireland's proportion of the national debt cannot be set down at a larger sum than I state—thirty millions. I am proud that there is a son of mine who, after the Repeal shall have been carried, will be able to meet the cleverest English financier of them all, foot to foot and hand to hand, and prove by arguments most incontestible how grievous and intolerable is the injustice which was inflicted upon our country in this respect by the Union. The project of robbing Ireland by joining her legislatively with England was no new scheme which entered the minds of the English for the first time about the year 1800. It was a project which was a favourite theme of dissertation with all the English essayists for years previous to the period when it was carried into practical effect, and the policy towards Ireland which their literary men were continually urging upon the English people for their adoption, was similar to that of the avaricious housewife who killed the goose who laid her golden eggs. Yes, such was the course they pursued towards Ireland, and you will deserve the reputation of being the lineal descendants of that goose if you be such ganders as not to declare in a voice of thunder that no longer shall this system



of plunder be permitted to continue. My next impeachment of the Union is founded upon the disastrous effects which have resulted therefrom to our commercial and manufacturing interests, as well as to our general national interests. Previous to the Union, the county Meath was filled with the seats of noblemen and gentlemen. What a contrast does its present state present! I on Monday read at the Association a list of the deserted mansions which are now to be found ruined and desolate in your country. Even the spot where the Duke of Wellington (famed the world over for his detestation of his country) drew his first breath, instead of bearing a noble castle, or splendid mansion, presented the aspect of ruin and desolation, and briars and nettles adequately marked the place that produced him. The county Meath was at one time studded thickly with manufactories in every direction, and an enormous sum was expended yearly in wages, but here, as in every other district of the country, the eye was continually shocked with sights which evidenced with but too great eloquence the lamentable decay which has been entailed upon our country by the Union. The linen trade at one period kept all Ulster in a state of affluence and prosperity. Kilkenny was for ages celebrated for its extensive blanket manufactures—and Cork also—and Carrick-on-Suir, and in a thousand other localities, too numerous to mention, thousands were kept in constant and lucrative employment, at various branches of national industry, from year's end to year's end, before the passing of the Union. But this is no longer the case, and one man is not now kept in employment for a thousand who were employed before the Union. The report of the English commissioners themselves has declared this appalling fact to the world—that one-third of our population are in a state of actual destitution; and yet, in the face of all this, men may be found who, claiming to themselves the character of political honesty, stand up and declare themselves in favour of the continuance of the Union. It is no bargain—it was a base swindle. Had it, indeed, been a fair bargain, the Irish would have continued faithful to it to the last, regardless of the injuries which it might have entailed upon them—for the Irish people have been invariably faithful to their contracts; whereas England never yet made a promise which she did not violate, nor ever entered into a contract which she did not shamelessly and scandalously outrage. Even the Union itself, beneficial as it is to England, is but a living lie to Ireland. Everybody now admits the mischief that the Union has produced to Ireland. The very fact of its not being a compact is alone sufficient to nullify the Union, and on that ground I here proclaim, in the name of the nation, that it is null and void. It is a union of legislators, but not a union of nations.

Remember that my doctrine is that "the man who commits a crime gives strength to the enemy," and you should not act in any manner that would strengthen the enemies of your country. You should act peaceably and quietly, but firmly and determinedly. You may be certain that your cheers here to-day will be conveyed to England.

Yes, the overwhelming majesty of your multitude will be taken to England, and will have its effect there. The Duke of Wellington began by threatening us. He talked of civil war, but he does not say a single word of that now. He is now getting eyelet holes made in the old barracks, and only think of an old general doing such a thing, just as if we were going to break our heads against stone walls. I am glad to find that a great quantity of brandy and biscuits has been latterly imported, and I hope the poor soldiers get some of them. But the Duke of Wellington is not now talking of attacking us, and I am glad of it; but I tell him this—I mean no disrespect to the brave, the gallant, and the good conducted soldiers that compose the Queen's army; and all of them that we have in this country are exceedingly well conducted. There is not one of you that has a single complaint to make against any of them. They are the bravest army in the world, and therefore I do not mean to disparage them at all, but I feel it to be a fact, that Ireland roused as she is at the present moment, would, if they made war upon us, furnish women enough to beat the entire of the Queen's forces. At the last fight for Ireland when she was betrayed by having confided in England's honour—but oh! English honour will never again betray our land, for the man will deserve to be betrayed who would confide again in England. I would as soon think of confiding in the cousin-german of a certain personage having two horns and a hoof. At that last battle, the Irish soldiers, after three days' fighting, being attacked by fresh troops, faltered and gave way, and 1,500 of the British army entered the breach. The Irish soldiers were fainting and retiring when the women of Limerick threw themselves between the contending forces, and actually stayed the progress of the advancing enemy. I am stating matter of history to you, and the words I use are not mine but those of Parson Story, the chaplain of King William, who describes the siege, and who admits that the Limerick women drove back the English soldiers from fifteen to thirty paces. Several of the women were killed, when a shriek of horror resounded from the ranks of the Irish. They cried out, "Let us rather die to the last man than that our women should be injured," and then they threw themselves forward, and, made doubly valiant by the bravery of the women, they scattered the Saxon and the Dane before them. Yes, I have women enough in Ireland to beat them if necessary; but, my friends, it is idle to imagine that any

statesman ever existed who could resist the cry that Ireland makes for justice.

We will break no law. See how we have accumulated the people of Ireland for this Repeal Year. When, on the 2nd of January, I ventured to call it the Repeal Year, every person laughed at me. Are they laughing now? It is our turn to laugh at present. Before twelve months more the Parliament will be in College Green. I said the Union did not take away from the people of Ireland the legal rights. I told you that the Union did not deprive the people of that right, or take away the authority to have self-legislation. It has not lessened the prerogatives of the crown, or taken away the rights of the Sovereign and amongst them is the right to call her Parliament wherever the people are entitled to it, and the people of Ireland are entitled to have it in Ireland. And the Queen has only to-morrow to issue her writs and get the Chancellor to seal them, and if Sir Edward Sugden does not sign them she will soon get an Irishman that will, to revive the Irish Parliament. The towns which sold their birthright have no right to be reckoned amongst the towns sending members to Parliament. King James the First, in one day, created forty boroughs in Ireland, and the Queen has the same right as her predecessor to do so. We have a list of the towns to return members according to their population, and the Queen has only to order writs to issue, and to have honest ministers to advise her to issue those writs, and the Irish Parliament is revived by its own energy, and the force of the Sovereign's prerogative. I will only require the Queen to exercise her prerogative and the Irish people will obtain their nationality again.

Let every man who, if we had an Irish Parliament, would rather die than allow the Union to pass, lift up his hands. (The immense multitude lifted up their hands). Yes, the Queen will call that Parliament; you may say it is the act of her ministry, if you please. To be sure it would be the act of her ministry, and the people of Ireland are entitled to have their friends appointed to the ministry. The Irish Parliament will then assemble, and I defy all the generals, old and young, and all the old women in pantaloons. Nay, I defy all the chivalry of the earth to take away that Parliament from us again. Well, my friends, may I ask you to obey me in the course of conduct I point out to you, when I dismiss you to-day; when you have heard the resolutions put, I am sure you will go home with the same tranquillity with which you came here, every man of you; and if I wanted you again, would you not come again to Tara Hill for me? Remember me, I lead you into no peril. If danger existed, it would arise from some person who would attack us, for we will attack nobody; and if that danger exists you will

not find me in the rear rank. The Queen will be able to restore our Parliament to us. The absentee drains, which caused the impoverishment of the country, will be at an end—the wholesale ejection of tenants and turning them out on the highway—the murdering of tenants by the landlords shall be at an end. The rights of the landlords will be respected, but their duties shall be enforced—an equitable tenure will take the place of the cruel tyranny of the present code of laws, and the protection of the occupying tenants of Ireland be inscribed on the banner of Repeal. Carry home with you my advice—let there be peace and quiet, law and order, and let every one of you enrol yourselves Repealers—men, women, and children. Give me three millions of Repealers, and I will soon have them. The next step is being taken, and I announce to you from this spot, that all the magistrates that have been deprived of the commission of the peace shall be appointed by the association to settle all the disputes and differences in their neighbourhood. Keep out of the petty sessions court, and go to them on next Monday. We will submit a plan to choose persons to be arbitrators to settle the differences of the people without expense, and I call upon every man that wishes to be thought the friend of Ireland, to have his disputes settled by the arbitrators, and not again to go to the petty sessions. We shall shortly have the preservative society to arrange the means of procuring from her Majesty the exercise of her prerogative, and I believe I am able to announce to you that twelve months cannot possibly elapse without having a hurrah for our Parliament in College Green. Remember, I pronounce the Union to be null—to be obeyed, as an injustice must be obeyed when it is supported by law until we have the royal authority to set the matter right, and substitute our own Parliament. I delight at having this day presided over such an assemblage on Tara Hill. Those shouts that burst from you were enough to recall to life the Kings and Chiefs of Ireland. I almost fancy that the spirits of the mighty dead are hovering over us—that the ancient Kings and Chiefs of Ireland are from yonder clouds listening to us. Oh, what a joyous and cheering sound is conveyed in Old Ireland! It is the most beautiful—the most fertile—the most abundant—the most productive country on the face of the earth. It is a lovely land, indented with noble harbours—intersected with transcendent, translucent streams—divided by mighty estuaries. Its harbours are open at every hour for every tide, and are sheltered from every storm that can blow from any quarter of Heaven.

## SIR WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE

(1853- ).

**W**ILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE, Egyptologist and scholar, was born at Charlton, 1853. Educated privately he at an early age evinced a predilection for archæological studies, and between the years 1880-1914, was actively engaged in excavations in Egypt. To this period belong the discovery of the Greek settlements at Naukratis and Daphnae, the Palaces of Memphis, and the Treasure of Lahun. In 1905 he founded the British School of Archæology in Egypt—an enlargement of the Egyptian Research Account which had been instituted by him eleven years earlier.

Dr. Petrie ranks as one of the foremost living Egyptologists and his publications vie in excellence with those of the greatest recognised continental authorities. Many of his published works are of a highly technical character, and form valuable contributions to Egyptological research. Among these may be mentioned his "Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty," "Historical Scarabs," and the monumental "History of Egypt," of which he was the general editor and author of those volumes relating to the Dynastic period. More recent works include "Egypt and Israel," the "Hawara Portfolio," "Scarabs," and "Some Sources of Human History."

In 1898 Dr. Petrie delivered a series of lectures on "Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt," which throw a valuable light on this subject. The following lecture forms part of this series.

Dr. Petrie was appointed Edwards Professor of Egyptology at University College, London, in 1892, and at a more recent date was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the British Academy.

### THE GROWTH OF CONSCIENCE

**L**ET us consider, somewhat briefly, what we mean by conscience : not by any means to construct an artificial definition of the idea, nor to argue as to its limits in relation to other conceptions, for that would lead us into the barren grounds of speculation. But rather let us look practically at the acts of others around us, and into our own minds. Conscience is that mass of the intuitions of right and wrong,

which are born in the structure of the thoughts, though they may often need development before the latent structure becomes active. A plant does not put out its leaves and flowers all at once ; yet they are latent, and are inevitable if any development of growth takes place. And thus, perhaps, some can look back to a time when only one or two elements of conscience were yet active in their minds, such as a sense of justice and injustice, and they reflected then that no act would seem wrong or shocking if it was not unjust. Yet later on, as the mind grew (and growth or death is the choice of the mind, though the body may continue an animal existence), the various other elements of conscience unfolded gradually from some central stem (such as that of justice) which had first sprung up.

It is needful to remember thus that conscience is an inherited development, as much an inheritance in the structure of the brain as any other special modification is in the body—needful because in the consideration of the springs of action it has been generally the habit to deal with the individual as if he had a perfectly blank mind, and was only impressed by the facts of life around him in a perfectly calculating and unbiassed manner. On the contrary the untrained mind teems with prospects of every kind, possible and impossible, at every change of surrounding, and acts far more by impulse and intuition than by precise calculations of theoretical right or utility. This is seen most plainly in the waywardness of children and savages ; the ideas of all kinds of possibilities are present, and the growth of conscience and of habit is not yet strong enough to determine uniformly which opening shall be followed. Thus we may look on each person as only a fragment of the common life of mankind, inheriting in his brain-structure a tendency to certain lines of action and certain choices between opposing claims. He is the heir of all his ancestors, and specially of those nearest to him ; for, as Galton has shown by physical tests, inheritance of special characters rapidly diminishes in each succeeding generation, and there is a constant tendency thus to revert to an average type.

From this point of view we see at once how it is that the utilitarian—such as Mill or Herbert Spencer—can point triumphantly to the fact that the moral ideas of right conform to what is the greatest utility, though often a far-fetched utility to the race, rather than utility directly to the individual. It is not, as he assumes, that the individual argues carefully from utility to right ; but, rather, that the stress of utility has throughout human history crushed out all those strains of thought that were least helpful. Starting with the wild mass of wayward minds with infinitely varying choice of action before each, all those which were least useful in the long run went to the wall, found difficulties and hindrances

to life prevail against them, and died out. Those minds whose impulses were the most useful and most regular and consistent succeeded best, and hence that type of brain descended to future generations. In short, utility has been the great selecting agent in brain variation as in bodily variation. And the result is that the great mass of inherited habits of thought, which we call intuitions or conscience, are those which in the long run are most useful to the individual and to his community in general ; those which will lead his descendants most surely to success among their fellows, and which will help his community to hold its ground against others.

Here we have a complete explanation of the often distant and intricate utility of some intuition or moral principle, which may be directly opposed to the comfort or even the well-being of the individual. A mental type of a community which produces on the average a certain number of martyrs to conscience, may thus ensure to itself that strength which may lead it to success over the fallen bodies of its saviours ; their conduct is strictly utilitarian, though it would be impossible to deduce it from any argument of utility to themselves. I have dwelt on this because it constrains us in the most decisive way to place utility as the blind selecting agent acting on the race, and not as the choice of the individual, and so explains the utilitarian action of the person apart from any argument in his own mind.

This clears out of the way the imperious, yet sole, argument against the reality of the rule of intuition ; and we are free to accept what is to some—perhaps to all—the obvious mode of working of the mind. We do not act by elaborate calculation of consequences, but by a certain sense of what seems the inevitable course in the circumstances ; we follow our inherited intuitions, and the more we develop and unfold them, the more we let them rule over the mere impulse of the momentary feeling, the safer we are and the more surely are we in the way of right fulfilment. We are, then, trusting not to momentary expediency, but to the great growth of intuition, battered and lopped and toughened into its most sturdy and useful form by all the blasts of adversity that countless ancestors have endured, and by which they have been shaped. This is conscience.

In thus briefly glancing over the ground, as a mere explanatory preface to our view of Conscience among the Egyptians, we cannot possibly deal with the various constructive evidences by which we are led to this general statement : such as the examples of hereditary intuition and mental processes, apart from education ; the parallels of physical inheritance ; the manifest growth of a body of moral intuition, even in the midst of decaying societies where everything was against

each fresh generation ; the absence of conscience in most races where early marriage prevails ; and the well-known advantage of the later over the earlier members of the same family in their mental ability, tact, and intuition, due to their inheriting a more developed brain. But we have here indicated that such a view of conscience, as a body of intuition gradually shaped by the stress of hard utility, and pruned of all its varieties that were not permanently successful,—that such a view is the key which fits the great puzzle of the strength of intuition and the prevalence of utility, as no other explanation can fit it.

This leads to the practical view of the paramount value of the proper unfolding of the inherited intuitions, and of the strengthening, selecting, and guarding of them by each person who is thus the temporary trustee of the great inheritance of the race. A duty to this precious growth is paramount over all other duties of life to the person, to the fellow-men to whom the individual's character is the most valued part of him, and to those who may come after. A rightly organized intuition of moral perception, of judgment, and of feeling, is worth any amount of temporizing calculations, which always have to deal with unknown forces. And this is indeed most closely paralleled to our acquisition of knowledge in other matters. Probably few, if any, persons remember even a small part of what they read ; and yet there is all the difference possible between a well-read and an ignorant man. In what does this difference consist if the actual words and facts are not remembered ? It consists in the education of his intuitive knowledge, in shaping and leading the mind, so that without being able to quote a single exact parallel, he can yet frame a correct judgment on history or on present life, and say at once if an assertion is likely or a future event is probable. Often a book is read—perhaps most books are read—not to retain a single detail in mind, but in order to consciously modify or expand the general mass of opinion and knowledge in the mind. And this is one of the strongest revelations to us of the vast mass of organized intuitions which we unconsciously bear in our minds, to which we apply on all occasions, and by which we rule our lives.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION : EARLY EGYPT

**I**N Ptolemaic times a valuable light is thrown on the popular conceptions of the gods. When Na-nefer-ka-ptah by magic obtains the hidden book of Thoth, it takes apparently a day or two for Thoth to discover the loss. He is therefore dependent upon sources of information, and is



not omniscient. Next he goes to Ra to complain : Ra therefore is not omniscient, And Ra gives Thoth permission to punish Na-nefer-ka-ptah ; Thoth therefore cannot avenge himself without permission. Next, neither of the gods can act directly by his will upon man or matter, as Ra " sent a power from heaven with the command " to injure Na-nefer-ka-ptah. This introduces another conception, angels or messengers, which became so important in gnosticism and Christianity. The power accordingly acts at once, and evil ensues, the child is drowned. The drowned child can be forced into speech by reading magic spells over him ; and in this state he can reveal what the gods had done. This suggests the idea that the news of the spiritual world goes round from mouth to mouth as in this world ; and when a spirit once went there the acts of the gods became known to it.

Thus we see that the belief in the gods was entirely different from modern ideas. They were neither self-informed nor self-acting ; but they depended on information received, and they acted through messengers. This may be a later form of belief, as in earlier times we see Bata calling on Ra, and Ra directly listening to him and attending to his needs.

Passing now from the tales we may glean something about the popular beliefs from the lesser remains, such as private tablets and little figures of gods, which are frequently found, and yet which are some of them of different type to anything portrayed in the temples. The serpent-worship of the goddess Renent Nebtka, the divinity of cultivation, is shown at a harvest festival. A great heap of the grain is piled up before her ; the long-handled shovels and forks and the winnowing scrapers are stuck upright into the heap as being done with ; two men are still piling on the grain from measures which they carry ; while beyond, the winnowers are finishing the winnowing over another heap of grain. This is a scene of the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, and shows a popular festival of that time.

The main worship of the people in the later times of the Greek and Roman occupations seems to have been concentrated upon Isis and Horus. The innumerable cheap terra-cotta figures of Horus in all forms are the commonest objects of the Roman period. With a hole in the back to hang on a peg in the wall, they were placed in the huts of the poorest of the people ; their cost must have been so minute that none would be so poor as not to own one. No other god seems to have had such popularization, and even Isis and Serapis come far behind Horus in their general acceptance. Broadly speaking, the Egyptians were a Horus-worshipping people in Roman times, honouring Isis also as his mother ; and the influence that this had on the development of Christianity was profound.

We may even say that but for the presence of Egypt we should never have seen a Madonna. Isis had obtained a great hold on the Romans under the earlier Emperors, her worship was fashionable and wide-spread ; and when she found a place in the other great movement, that of the Galileans, when fashion and moral conviction could shake hands, then her triumph was assured, and, as the Mother Goddess, she has ruled the devotion of Italy ever since. How much Horus has entered into the popular development of Christianity—how the figure of the Divine Teacher, set in a sad, stern frame of Semitic and Syrian influence, has become changed into the rampant baby of Correggio—is seen readily when we note the general popular worship of the child Horus, and see that passing over into the rising influence of Christianity. In one small particular there is much significance. The well-known Christian monogram (khi-rho) may be seen in course of gradual formation in Egypt—or possibly in course of alteration ; but the rho is usually figured as an upright staff with the lock of Horus at the top, and not the letter rho. Essentially it is the sign of Horus, and only became Christian by adoption.

We have now briefly gone over the various elements of popular religion in Egypt, as distinct from that of the temples ; religion which was far less influenced by political and other changes, and was really the vital belief of the greater part of the inhabitants. It is simpler than the official and priestly worship, and has a much greater vitality. Buried in the hearts of millions, changes could not uproot it, and with nominal modifications, and with new ideals implanted in it, the old framework has largely kept its hold down to the present time, excepting where the violent monotheism of Islam has crushed it. The conquests of Islam were not so much over Christianity as over the elder paganism, which had retained its hold and its position ; and it was that alone which gave force and point to the invectives of Muhammed against the far older Tritheism, Mariolatry, and Saint-worship which went by the name of Christianity in his time.

## RICHARD LALOR SHEIL

(1791-1851).

**A**MONG the Irish orators of the first half of the nineteenth century, Sheil was admired next to O'Connell. He was a man of varied accomplishments, a lawyer, a playwright, and an essayist, as well as a parliamentary orator. He was born in Tipperary, August 17th, 1791, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, from which he graduated in 1811. For the next nine years his principal activity was as a dramatist. A number of his plays were very successful. In 1822-23 he was one of the founders of the Catholic Association, and promoted the agitation which resulted in the unsuccessful Catholic Relief Bill in 1825. He strongly supported O'Connell in the agitation which resulted in Catholic Emancipation in 1829. In that year he was elected to the English Parliament, where he served with distinction until 1839, when he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade under Lord Melbourne. He was Master of the Mint under Lord John Russell, and in 1850 went as British Minister to Florence, Italy, dying there May 25th, 1851. It is said of his delivery that "he produced his effects by rapid electric sentences like bolts from a thundercloud."

### IRELAND'S PART IN ENGLISH ACHIEVEMENT

(Delivered February 22nd, 1837).

**W**HEREVER we turn our eyes, we see the national power dilating, expanding, and ascending ; never did a liberated nation spring on in the career that freedom throws open towards improvement with such a bound as we have ; in wealth, in intelligence, in high feeling, in all the great constituents of a State, we have made in a few years an astonishing progress. The character of our country is completely changed : we are free, and we feel as if we never had been slaves. Ireland stands as erect as if she had never stooped ; although she once bowed her forehead to the earth, every mark and trace of her prostration have been effaced. But these are generalities ; these are vague and abstract vauntings, without detail. Well, if you stand in need of

specification, it shall be rapidly, but not inconclusively, given: But hold: I was going to point to the first law offices in the country, filled by Roman Catholics; I was going to point to the second judicial office in Ireland, filled by a Roman Catholic; I was going to point to the crowds of Roman Catholics, who, in every profession and walk of life, are winning their way to eminence in the walks that lead to affluence or to honour. But one single fact suffices for my purpose: emancipation was followed by reform, and reform has thrown sixty men, devoted to the interests of Ireland, into the House of Commons. If the Clare election was a great incident; if the Clare election afforded evidence that emancipation could not be resisted, look at sixty of us (what are Longford and Carlow but a realization of the splendid intimations that Clare held out), look, I say, at sixty of us,—the majority, the great majority of the representatives of Ireland,—leagued and confederated by an obligation and a pledge as sacred as any with which men, associated for the interests of their country, were ever bound together. Thank God, we are here! I remember the time when the body to which I belong was excluded from all participation in the great legislative rights of which we are now in the possession. I remember to have felt humiliated at the tone in which I heard the cause of Ireland pleaded, when I was occasionally admitted under the gallery of the House of Commons. I felt pain at hearing us represented as humble suppliants for liberty, and as asking freedom as if it were alms that we were soliciting. Perhaps that tone was unavoidable: thank God, it is no longer necessary or appropriate. Here we are in all regards your equals, and demanding our rights as the representatives of Britons would demand their own. We have less eloquence, less skill, less astuteness than the great men to whom, of old, the interests of Ireland were confided; but we make up for these imperfections by the moral port and national bearing that become us. In mastery of diction we may be defective; in resources of argument we may be wanting; we may not be gifted with the accomplishments by which persuasion is produced; but in energy, in strenuousness, in union, in fidelity to our country and to each other, and, above all, in the undaunted and dauntless determination to enforce equality for Ireland, we stand unsurpassed. This, then, is the power with which the noble lord courts an encounter, foretells his own victories, and triumphs in their anticipation in the House of Commons. Where are his means of discomfiting us? To what resources does he look for the accomplishment of the wonders which he is to perform? Does he rely upon the excitement of the religious and national prejudices of England; and does he find it in his heart to resort to the "no Popery" cry? Instead of telling him what he is doing, I'll tell the country what, thirty years

ago, was done. In 1807 the Whigs were in possession of Downing Street, and the Tories were in possession of St. James's Palace, but, without the people, the possession of St. James's was of no avail. The Whigs proposed that Roman Catholics should be admitted to the higher grades in the army and navy. The Tories saw that their opportunity was come, and the "no Popery" cry was raised. There existed, at that time, a great mass of prejudice in England. You had conquered Ireland and enslaved her; you hated her for the wrongs that you had done her, and despised her, and perhaps justly, for her endurance: the victim of oppression naturally becomes the object of scorn; you loathed our country, and you abhorred our creed. Of this feeling the Tories took advantage; the tocsin of fanaticism was rung; the war whoop of religious discord, the savage yell of infuriated ignorance, resounded through the country.

Events that ought to have been allowed to remain buried in the oblivion of centuries were disinterred; every misdeed of Catholics, when Catholics and Protestants imbrued their hands alternately in blood, was recalled; the ashes of the Smithfield fires were stirred, for sparks with which the popular passions might be ignited. The re-establishment of Popery; the downfall of every Protestant institution; the annihilation of all liberty, civil or religious, these were the topics with which crafty men, without remorse of conscience, worked on the popular delusion. At public assemblies, senators, more remarkable for Protestant piety than Christian charity, delivered themselves of ferocious effusions amidst credulous and enthusiastic multitudes. Then came public abuses, at which libations to the worst passions of human nature were prodigally poured out. "Rally round the King, rally round the church, rally round the religion of your fathers," these were the invocations with which the English people were wrought into frenzy; and having, by these expedients, driven their antagonists from office, the Tories passed, themselves, the very measures for which they made their competitors the objects of their denunciation. Are you playing the same game? If you are, then shame, shame upon you! I won't pronounce upon your motives: let the facts be their interpreters. What is the reason that a new edition of Foxe's 'Martyrs,' with hundreds of subscribers, and with the name of the Duke of Cumberland at their head, has been announced? Wherefore, from one extremity of the country to the other in every city, town, and hamlet, is a perverse ingenuity employed, in order to inspire the people of this country with a detestation of the religion of millions of their fellow-citizens. Why is Popery, with her racks, her tortures, and her faggots, conjured up in order to appal the imagination of the English people? Why is perjury to our God, treason

to our sovereign, a disregard of every obligation, divine and human, attributed to us? I leave you to answer those questions, and to give your answers, not only to the interrogations which thus vehemently, and, I will own, indignantly I put to you, but also to reply to those which must be administered to you, in your moments of meditation, by your own hearts. But, whatever be your purpose in the religious excitement which you are endeavouring to get up in this country, of this I am convinced, that the result of your expedients will correspond with their deserts, and that as we have prevailed over you before, we shall again and again discomfit you. Yes, we, the Irish millions, led on by men like those that plead the cause of those millions in this House, must (it is impossible that we should not) prevail: and I am convinced that the people of England, so far from being disposed to array themselves against us, despite any remains of the prejudices which are fast passing away in this country, feel that we are entitled to the same privileges, and extend to us their sympathies in this good and glorious cause.

What is that cause? I shall rapidly tell you. You took away our Parliament—you took from us that Parliament, which, like the House of Commons of this country, must have been under the control of the great majority of the people of Ireland, and would not, and could not, have withheld what you so long refused us. Is there a man here who doubts that if the Union had not been conceded, we should have extorted emancipation and reform from our own House of Commons? That House of Commons you bought, and paid for your bargain in gold; aye, and paid for it in the most palpable and sordid form in which gold can be paid down. But, while this transaction was pending, you told us that all distinctions should be abolished between us, and that we should become like unto yourselves. The great minister of the time, by whom that unexampled sale of our legislature was negotiated, held out equality with England as the splendid equivalent for the loss of our national representation; and, with classical references, elucidated the nobleness of the compact into which he had persuaded the depositants of the rights of their countrymen to enter. The Act of Union was passed, and twenty-nine years elapsed before any effectual measure was taken to carry its real and substantial terms into effect. At last, our enfranchisement was won by our own energy and determination; and, when it was in progress, we received assurances that, in every city, we should be placed on a footing with our fellow-citizens; and it was more specially announced to us, that to corporations, and to all offices connected with them, we should be at once admissible.

Pending this engagement, a bill is passed for the reform of the corporations of this country; and in every important municipal locality in

England councillors are selected by the people as their representatives. This important measure having been carried here, the Irish people claim an extension of the same advantages, and ground their title on the Union, on Emancipation, on Reform, and on the great principle of perfect equality between the two countries, on which the security of one country and the prosperity of both must depend. This demand on the part of Ireland is rejected; and that which to England no one was bold enough to deny, from Ireland you are determined, and you announce it, to withhold. Is this justice? You will say that it is, and I should be surprised if you did not say so. I should be surprised, indeed, if, while you are doing us wrong, you did not profess your solicitude to do us justice. From the day on which Strongbow set his foot on the shore of Ireland, Englishmen were never wanting in protestations of their deep anxiety to do us justice:—even Strafford, the deserter of the people's cause—the renegade Wentworth, who gave evidence in Ireland of the spirit of instinctive tyranny which predominated in his character—even Strafford, while he trampled upon our rights, and trod upon the heart of the country, protested his solicitude to do justice to Ireland. What marvel is it, then, that gentlemen opposite should deal in such vehement protestations? There is, however, one man of great abilities, not a member of this House, but whose talents and whose boldness have placed him in the topmost place in his party—who, disdaining all imposture, and thinking it the best course to appeal directly to the religious and national antipathies of the people of this country—abandoning all reserve, and flinging off the slender veil by which his political associates affect to cover, although they cannot hide, their motives—distinctly and audaciously tells the Irish people that they are not entitled to the same privileges as Englishmen; and pronounces them, in any particular which could enter his minute enumeration of the circumstances by which fellow-citizenship is created, in race, identity, and religion, to be aliens—to be aliens in race, to be aliens in country, to be aliens in religion. Aliens! good God! was Arthur, Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, and did he not start up and exclaim: “Hold! I have seen the aliens do their duty”? The Duke of Wellington is not a man of an excitable temperament. His mind is of a cast too martial to be easily moved; but, notwithstanding his habitual inflexibility, I cannot help thinking that when he heard his Roman Catholic countrymen (for we are his countrymen) designated by a phrase as offensive as the abundant vocabulary of his eloquent confederate could supply—I cannot help thinking that he ought to have recollected the many fields of fight in which we have been contributors to his renown. “The battles, sieges, fortunes that he has passed” ought to have come back upon him.

He ought to have remembered that, from the earliest achievement in which he displayed that military genius which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat which has made his name imperishable,—from Assaye to Waterloo,—the Irish soldiers, with whom your armies are filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Whose were the arms that drove your bayonets at Vimiera through the phalanxes that had never before reeled in the shock of war? What desperate valour climbed the steeps and filled the moats at Badajos? All his victories should have rushed and crowded back upon his memory,—Vimiera, Badajos, Salamanca, Albuera, Toulouse, and, last of all, the greatest—. Tell me, for you were there—I appeal to the gallant soldier before me [Sir Henry Hardinge], from whose opinions I differ, but who bears, I know, a generous heart in an intrepid breast;—tell me, for you must needs remember—on that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance—while death fell in showers—when the artillery of France was levelled with a precision of the most deadly science—when her legions, incited by the voice, and inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the onset—tell me if, for an instant, when to hesitate for an instant was to be lost, the “aliens” blanched? And when at length the moment for the last and decisive movement had arrived, and the valour which had so long been wisely checked was at last let loose—when, with words familiar, but immortal, the great captain commanded the great assault—tell me, if Catholic Ireland, with less heroic valour than the natives of this your own glorious country, precipitated herself upon the foe? The blood of England, Scotland, and of Ireland flowed in the same stream, and drenched the same field. When the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together;—in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited—the green corn of spring is now breaking from their commingled dust—the dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril—in the glory shall we not be permitted to participate; and shall we be told, as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out?



## IN DEFENCE OF IRISH CATHOLICS

(Delivered in 1828).

**C**ALUMNIATORS of Catholicism, have you read the history of your country? Of the charges against the religion of Ireland, the annals of England afford the confutation. The body of your common law was given by the Catholic Alfred. He gave you your judges, your magistrates, your high sheriffs, your courts of justice, your elective system, and, the great bulwark of your liberties, the trial by jury. Who conferred upon the people the right of self-taxation, and fixed, if he did not create, their representation? The Catholic Edward I.; while in the reign of Edward III., perfection was given to the representative system, Parliaments were annually called, and the statute against constructive treason was enacted. It is false,—fouly, infamously false,—that the Catholic religion, the religion of your forefathers, the religion of seven millions of your fellow-subjects, has been the auxiliary of debasement, and that to its influence the suppression of British freedom can, in a single instance, be referred. I am loth to say that which can give you cause to take offence; but, when the faith of my country is made the object of imputation, I cannot help, I cannot refrain, from breaking into a retaliatory interrogation, and from asking whether the overthrow of the old religion of England was not effected by a tyrant, with a hand of iron and a heart of stone;—whether Henry did not trample upon freedom, while upon Catholicism he set his foot; and whether Elizabeth herself, the virgin of the Reformation, did not inherit her despotism with her creed; whether in her reign the most barbarous atrocities were not committed;—whether torture, in violation of the Catholic common law of England, was not politically inflicted, and with the shrieks of agony the Towers of Julius, in the dead of night, did not re-echo?

You may suggest to me that in the larger portion of Catholic Europe freedom does not exist; but you should bear in mind that, at a period when the Catholic religion was in its most palmy state, freedom flourished in the countries in which it is now extinct. False,—I repeat it, with all the vehemence of indignant asseveration,—utterly false is the charge habitually preferred against the religion which Englishmen have laden with penalties and have marked with degradation. I can bear with any other charge but this,—to any other charge I can listen with endurance. Tell me that I prostrate myself before a sculptured marble;

tell me that to a canvas glowing with the imagery of heaven I bend my knee ; tell me that my faith is my perdition ;—and, as you traverse the churchyards in which your forefathers are buried, pronounce upon those who have lain there for many hundred years a fearful and appalling sentence,—yes, call what I regard as the truth, not only an error, but a sin, to which mercy shall not be extended,—all this I will bear,—to all this I will submit,—nay, at all this I will but smile,—but do not tell me that I am in heart and creed a slave !—That, my countrymen cannot brook ! In their own bosoms they carry the high consciousness that never was imputation more foully false, or more detestably calumnious !

## SOCRATES

(c. 470-399 B.C.).

**W**HETHER the address of Socrates to his judges after they had condemned him to death was reported by Plato exactly as it was delivered is a question on which the critics are not agreed. It is probable, however, that the speech as we have it in Plato's "Apology" represents both the mind of Socrates and his mode of expression. In spite of its use of illustrations depending for their force on faith in a mythology now effete, it remains one of the most admirable productions of the human intellect. It is unlike every other speech of its class, because of its absolute calmness, the blending of quiet humour with its seriousness, and the almost superhuman superiority Socrates shows in it to the judges whom he is addressing. He speaks to them as if they were the little children of his own family, whom in all kindness he was giving a lesson in the conduct of life. This spirit is everywhere manifest in the speech, but especially in the opening sentence of its peroration: "You, therefore, O my judges, ought to entertain good hopes with respect to death and to meditate on this one truth: that to a good man nothing is evil, neither while living nor when dead; nor are his concerns neglected by the gods."

Socrates was born at Athens about 470 B.C. His father was Sophroniscus, a sculptor, and his mother, Phænarete, was a midwife. In his early life he himself was a sculptor, and it is said that for many years a statue carved by him stood on the approach to the Acropolis, but he finally gave up all other employment to become a public teacher. Standing on the streets and in the market places he talked with all comers, avoiding positive assertion on his own part, and asking questions, the answers to which, as he skilfully elicited them, involved those who spoke with him in the contradiction of their own errors. He himself fully recognized that this did not tend to increase his popularity with many, and he believed that it led a cabal, headed by Melitus the poet, Anytus the tanner, and Lycon the orator, to conspire against him. He was accused, however, "firstly, of denying the gods recognized by the State and introducing new divinities; and, secondly, of corrupting the young." Instead of defending himself against the charge, Socrates treated his judges with the same calm superiority, the same good-natured

exhortation to improvement which characterizes the speech after the death sentence was pronounced. When he was found guilty and Melitus moved the death sentence it was the privilege of Socrates, as a defendant, to move a lighter penalty, but instead of doing so he proposed that as a reward of his services to the State he should be maintained at public cost in the Prytaneum. His complete indifference to the action of his judges so exasperated them that they condemned him to drink hemlock—which he did accordingly with unquestionable cheerfulness about thirty days after the trial. Occasionally there appears on earth someone who actually realizes in all the essentials of his life, ideas of his own immortal existence and facts of his own reality as an incarnate soul, which, to most men, are a tradition or a myth. Such a one was Socrates. What others said of virtue and immortality by rote was to him the reality and the only reality of life. It freed him from all fear of his judges and from all malice against them. It enabled him to speak with perfect good-nature at his trial and to die, not heroically, but good-humouredly. Of his eloquence as a teacher, Alcibiades says in Plato's 'Symposium': "When I listen to him my heart beats with a more than Corybantic excitement; he has only to speak, and my tears flow. Orators such as Pericles never moved me in this way,—never roused my soul to the thought of my servile condition; but this Marsyas makes me think that life is not worth living so long as I am what I am."

W.V.B.

#### ADDRESS TO HIS JUDGES AFTER THEY HAD CONDEMNED HIM

(Delivered at Athens, 399 B.C.).

**T**HAT I should not be grieved, O Athenians! at what has happened—namely that you have condemned me—as well many other circumstances concur in bringing to pass; and, moreover, this that what has happened has not happened contrary to my expectation; but I much rather wonder at the number of votes on either side. For I did not expect that I should be condemned by so small a number, but by a large majority; but now, as it seems, if only three more votes had changed sides, I should have been acquitted. So far as Melitus is concerned, as it appears to me, I have been already acquitted; and not only have I been acquitted, but it is clear to every one that had not Anytus and Lycon come forward to accuse me, he would have been fined a thousand drachmas for not having obtained a fifth part of the votes.

The man, then, awards me the penalty of death. Well. But what shall I, on my part, O Athenians! award myself? Is it not clear

that it will be such as I deserve? What, then, is that? Do I deserve to suffer, or to pay a fine? for that I have purposely during my life not remained quiet, but neglecting what most men seek after, money-making, domestic concerns, military command, popular oratory, and, moreover, all the magistracies, conspiracies, and cabals that are met with in the city, thinking that I was in reality too upright a man to be safe if I took part in such things, I therefore did not apply myself to those pursuits, by attending to which I should have been of no service either to you or to myself; but in order to confer the greatest benefit on each of you privately, as I affirm, I thereupon applied myself to this object, endeavouring to persuade everyone of you not to take any care of his own affairs before he had taken care of himself, in what way he may become the best and wisest, nor of the affairs of the city before he took care of the city itself; and that he should attend to other things in the same manner. What treatment, then, do I deserve, seeing I am such a man? Some rewards, O Athenians! if, at least, I am to be estimated according to my real deserts; and, moreover, such a reward as would be suitable to me. What, then, is suitable to a poor man, a benefactor, and who has need of leisure in order to give you good advice? There is nothing so suitable, O Athenians! as that such a man should be maintained in the Prytaneum, and this much more than if one of you had been victorious at the Olympic games in a horse race, or in the two or four horsed chariot race: for such a one makes you appear to be happy, but I, to be so; and he does not need support, but I do. If, therefore, I must award a sentence according to my just deserts, I award this, maintenance in the Prytaneum.

Perhaps, however, in speaking to you thus, I appear to you to speak in the same presumptuous manner as I did respecting commiseration and entreaties; but such is not the case, O Athenians! it is rather this; I am persuaded that I never designedly injured any man, though I cannot persuade you of this, for we have conversed with each other but for a short time. For if there were the same law with you as with other men, that in capital cases the trial should last not only one day, but many, I think you would be persuaded; but it is not easy in a short time to do away with great calumnies. Being persuaded, then, that I have injured no one, I am far from intending to injure myself, and of pronouncing against myself that I am deserving of punishment and from awarding myself anything of the kind. Through fear of what? lest I should suffer that which Melitus awards me, of which I say I know not whether it be good or evil? Instead of this, shall I choose what I well know to be evil, and award that? Shall I choose imprisonment? And why should I live in prison, a slave to the established magistracy,

the Eleven? Shall I choose a fine, and to be imprisoned until I have paid it? But this is the same as that which I just now mentioned, for I have not money to pay it. Shall I, then, award myself exile? For perhaps you would consent to this award. I should, indeed, be very fond of life, O Athenians! if I were so devoid of reason as not to be able to reflect that you, who are my fellow-citizens, have been unable to endure my manner of life and discourses, but they have become so burdensome and odious to you that you now seek to be rid of them: others, however, will easily bear them. Far from it, O Athenians! A fine life it would be for me at my age to go out wandering, and driven from city to city, and so to live. For I well know that, wherever I may go, the youth will listen to me when I speak, as they do here. And if I repulse them, they will themselves drive me out, persuading the elders; and if I do not repulse them, their fathers and kindred will banish me on their account.

Perhaps, however, some one will say: Can you not, Socrates, when you have gone from us, live a silent and quiet life? This is the most difficult thing of all to persuade some of you. For if I say that that would be to disobey the Deity, and that, therefore, it is impossible for me to live quietly, you would not believe me, thinking I spoke ironically. If, on the other hand, I say that this is the greatest good to man, to discourse daily on virtue and other things which you have heard me discussing, examining both myself and others, but that a life without investigation is not worth living for, still less would you believe me if I said this. Such, however, is the case, as I affirm, O Athenians! though it is not easy to persuade you. And at the same time I am not accustomed to think myself deserving of any ill. If, indeed I were rich, I would amerce myself in such a sum as I should be able to pay; for then I should have suffered no harm, but now—for I cannot, unless you are willing to amerce me in such a sum as I am able to pay. But perhaps I could pay you a mina of silver: in that sum, then I amerce myself. But Plato here, O Athenians! and Crito, Critobulus, and Apollodorus bid me amerce myself in thirty minæ, and they offer to be sureties. I amerce myself, then, to you in that sum; and they will be sufficient sureties for the money.

[The judge now proceeded to pass the sentence, and condemned Socrates to death; whereupon he continued:—]

For the sake of no long space of time, O Athenians! you will incur the character and reproach at the hands of those who wish to defame the city, of having put that wise man, Socrates, to death. For those who wish to defame you will assert that I am wise, though I am not. If, then, you had waited for a short time, this would have happened

of its own accord ; for observe my age, that it is far advanced in life, and near death. But I say this not to you all, but to those only who have condemned me to die. And I say this, too, to the same persons. Perhaps you think, O Athenians ! that I have been convicted through the want of arguments, by which I might have persuaded you, had I thought it right to do and say anything, so that I might escape punishment. Far otherwise : I have been convicted through want indeed, yet not of arguments, but of audacity and impudence, and of the inclination to say such things to you as would have been most agreeable for you to hear, had I lamented and bewailed and done and said many other things unworthy of me, as I affirm, but such as you are accustomed to hear from others. But neither did I then think that I ought, for the sake of avoiding danger, to do anything unworthy of a freeman, nor do I now repent of having so defended myself ; but I should much rather choose to die, having so defended myself, than to live in that way. For neither in a trial nor in battle is it right that I or anyone else should employ every possible means whereby he may avoid death ; for in battle it is frequently evident that a man might escape death by laying down his arms, and throwing himself on the mercy of his pursuers. And there are many other devices in every danger, by which to avoid death, if a man dares to do and say everything. But this is not difficult, O Athenians ! to escape death ; but it is much more difficult, to avoid depravity, for it runs swifter than death. And now I, being slow and aged, am overtaken by the slower of the two, but my accusers, being strong and active, have been overtaken by the swifter, wickedness. And now I depart, condemned by you to death ; but they condemned by truth, as guilty of iniquity and injustice : and I abide my sentence, and so do they. These things, perhaps, ought so to be, and I think that they are for the best.

In the next place, I desire to predict to you who have condemned me, what will be your fate ; for I am now in that condition in which men most frequently prophesy,—namely, when they are about to die. I say, then, to you, O Athenians ! who have condemned me to death, that immediately after my death a punishment will overtake you, far more severe, by Jupiter ! than that which you have inflicted on me. For you have done this, thinking you would be freed from the necessity of giving an account of your lives. The very contrary, however, as I affirm, will happen to you. Your accusers will be more numerous, whom I have now restrained, though you did not perceive it ; and they will be more severe, inasmuch as they are younger, and you will be more indignant. For, if you think that by putting men to death you will restrain anyone from upbraiding you because you do not live well, you are much mistaken ; for this method of escape is neither possible nor honourable ;

but that other is most honourable and most easy, not to put a check upon others, but for a man to take heed to himself how he may be most perfect. Having predicted thus much to those of you who have condemned me, I take my leave of you.

But with you who have voted for my acquittal, I would gladly hold converse on what has now taken place, while the magistrates are busy, and I am not yet carried to the place where I must die. Stay with me, then, so long, O Athenians ! for nothing hinders our conversing with each other while we are permitted to do so, for I wish to make known to you, as being my friends, the meaning of that which has just now befallen me. To me, then, O my judges ! and in calling you judges I call you rightly,—a strange thing has happened. For the wonted prophetic voice of my guardian deity on every former occasion, even in the most trifling affairs, opposed me if I was about to do anything wrong ; but now that has befallen me which ye yourselves behold, and which anyone would think, and which is supposed to be the extremity of evil ; yet neither when I departed from home in the morning did the warning of the god oppose me, not when I came up here to the place of trial, nor in my address when I was about to say anything ; yet on other occasions it has frequently restrained me in the midst of speaking. But now it has never, throughout this proceeding, opposed me, either in what I did or said. What, then, do I suppose to be the cause of this ? I will tell you : what has befallen me appears to be a blessing ; and it is impossible that we think rightly who suppose that death is an evil. A great proof of this to me is the fact that it is impossible but that the accustomed signal should have opposed me, unless I had been about to meet with some good.

Moreover, we may hence conclude that there is great hope that death is a blessing. For to die is one of two things : for either the dead may be annihilated, and have no sensation of anything whatever ; or, as it is said, there are a certain change and passage of the soul from one place to another. And if it is a privation of all sensation, as it were a sleep in which the sleeper has no dream, death would be a wonderful gain. For I think that if anyone, having selected a night in which he slept so soundly as not to have had a dream, and having compared this night with all the other nights and days of his life, should be required, on consideration, to say how many days and nights he had passed better and more pleasantly than this night throughout his life, I think that, not only a private person, but even the great king himself, would find them easy to number, in comparison with other days and nights. If, therefore, death is a thing of this kind, I say it is a gain ; for thus all futurity appears to be nothing more than one night. But if, on the



other hand, death is a removal from hence to another place, and what is said be true, that all the dead are there, what greater blessing can there be than this, my judges? For if, on arriving at Hades, released from these who pretend to be judges, one shall find those who are true judges, and who are said to judge there, Minos and Rhadamanthus, Æacus and Triptolemus, and such others of the demigods as were just during their own lives, would this be a sad removal? At what price would you not estimate a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, Hesiod and Homer? I, indeed, should be willing to die often, if this be true. For to me the sojourn there would be admirable, when I should meet with Palamedes, and Ajax, son of Telamon, and any other of the ancients who have died by an unjust sentence. The comparing my sufferings with theirs would, I think, be no unpleasing occupation. But the greatest pleasure would be to spend my time in questioning and examining the people there as I have done those here, and discovering who among them is wise, and who fancies himself to be so, but is not. At what price, my judges, would not any one estimate the opportunity of questioning him who led that mighty army against Troy, or Ulysses, or Sisyphus, or ten thousand others whom one might mention, both men and women—with whom to converse and associate, and to question them, would be an inconceivable happiness? Surely for that the judges there do not condemn to death; for in other respects those who live there are more happy than those who are here, and are henceforth immortal, if, at least, what is said be true.

You, therefore, O my judges! ought to entertain good hopes with respect to death, and to meditate on this one truth, that to a good man nothing is evil, neither while living nor when dead, nor are his concerns neglected by the gods. And what has befallen me is not the effect of chance; but this is clear to me, that now to die and be freed from my cares is better for me. On this account the warning in no way turned me aside; and I bear no resentment toward those who condemned me, or against my accusers, although they did not condemn and accuse me with this intention, but thinking to injure me: in this they deserve to be blamed.

Thus much, however, I beg of them. Punish my sons when they grow up, O judges! pain them, as I have pained you, if they appear to you to care for riches or anything else before virtue; and if they think themselves to be something when they are nothing, reproach them as I have done you, for not attending to what they ought, and for conceiving themselves to be something when they are worth nothing. If ye do this, both I and my sons shall have met with just treatment at your hands.

But it is now time to depart—for me to die, for you to live. But which of us is going to a better state is unknown to everyone but God.

## ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY

(1815-1881).

**A**RTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, Dean of Westminster and leader of the "Broad Church" party in the English Church, was born at Alderley, December 13th, 1815. After his graduation he served for ten years as a tutor at Oxford, giving up the work in 1851 when he was made Canon of Canterbury. In 1856 he became Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Oxford, and held that position until 1863, when he was appointed Dean of Westminster. His intellectual activity was marked. From 1844, when his 'Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold' appeared, until his death, July 18th, 1881, he published one volume after another of sermons, essays, and social and historical studies.

### MOHAMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY

(Delivered in London).

**T**HERE are few historical subjects on which the changes of our degrees of knowledge are so readily appreciable as in the case of the religion of Mahomet. In the time of the Crusaders, Mahometans were vulgarly regarded as Pagan idolators: it is now known that they abhor idolatry even more than we do. The very name of "Mahomet" ("Mawmet" or "Mummet") was then taken for a graven image: it is now known that he absolutely forbade the use of any material representation. It was then believed that the name of Christ was held accursed in the eyes of Mussulmans: it is now known that He is held to be one of the greatest, almost the greatest, of their prophets. It was believed till the last century that Mahomet rested his claims on false miracles: it is now known, and indeed urged as an argument against him, that he laid claim to no miracles at all. Voltaire, no less than Prideaux and Gagnier, believed him to be a wicked impostor: it is now known that, at least for a large part of his life, he was a sincere reformer and enthusiast. The gross blunders formerly made in his Western biographies, from an insufficient knowledge of Arabic, are now rectified;

and yet further, the re-action which took place in his favour about fifty years since has been checked by increased information from original sources. The story of his epileptic fits, a few years ago much discredited, seems now to be incontrovertibly re-established ; and we have a firmer ground than before for believing that a decided change came over the simplicity of his character after the establishment of his kingdom at Medina.

But there still remains two works unfinished, or not yet begun, before the completion of which any thorough representation of the rise of Mohamedanism must be impossible to a Western student.

We need an edition and translation of the Koran which shall give two points hitherto almost unattempted, yet both almost indispensable to its right appreciation. First, the chronological arrangement of its chapters. Secondly, a version which shall represent, not merely its matter but the form of its rhymed diction.

Two remarkable works on the life of the Prophet lately have appeared. Mr. Muir's biography (of which only the earlier portion had appeared when the first edition of this work was published) has now been completed, and adds details of the greatest interest to those which were known before. But of Dr. Sprenger's " Life of Mohamed " we have still only the fragment published in Allahabad in 1851, and the first volume of his larger work. This work, when finished, will contain the whole biography, and will have been founded on a wider collection of traditions than has ever been brought before the eyes of any single critic.

I trust, however, that the following brief remarks on the general connection of this subject with the history of the Church may be of service to the ecclesiastical student, and will justify the place which is assigned to it in these Lectures.

As the Eastern Church ought always to be regarded as the background of the Western Church, so Mohamedanism, at least for the first eight centuries of its existence, is the background of both. The sword of the Saracen, the Turk, and the Tartar constantly hung over the eastern confines of Christendom, and down to the final repulse beneath the walls of Vienna, by John Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine, checked the policy and restrained the passions of the Churches and nations of Europe. The Crusades, the most important event of the Middle Ages, owe their origin entirely to the conflict with Islam. The Spanish Church and monarchy rose out of a crusade of its own. Of that crusade the traces have been left, not only in the Oriental manners and architecture of the Spanish nation, but in the fierce bigotry of the Spanish Church ; in the Inquisition ; in the union of chivalry, devotion, and fanaticism which marks the

Spanish institution of the Society of Jesuits. The "tabula rasa" which the ancient kingdom of Hungary presents, stripped of all its historical and ecclesiastical monuments, is the lasting scar which the Turkish invasion and long occupation of that country have left on the face of Europe. The agitations of the Reformation were constantly arrested by the terror of the Sultan of Constantinople. Even our Prayer-book has one mark of the importance of this panic, when, in the collect for Good Friday, the name of "Turk" was added to those of "Jews, Heretics, and Infidels," for whose conversion in earlier days prayers had been offered up. Nor can it be forgotten that it is the only higher religion which has hitherto made progress in the vast continent of Africa. Whatever may be the future fortunes of African Christianity, there can be no doubt that they will long be affected by its relations with the most fanatical and the most proselytising portion of the Mussulman world in its negro converts.

But with the Eastern Church Mohamedanism has a more direct connection. Not only have the outward fortunes of the Greek, Asiatic, and Russian Churches been affected by their unceasing conflict with this their chief enemy, but it and they have a large part of their history and their condition in common. Springing out of the same Oriental soil and climate, if not out of the bosom of the Oriental Church itself, in part under its influence, in part by way of re-action against it, Mohamedanism must be regarded as an eccentric heretical form of Eastern Christianity. This, in fact, was the ancient mode of regarding Mahomet. He was considered, not in the light of the founder of a new religion, but rather as one of the chief Heresiarchs of the Church. Amongst them he is placed by Dante in the "Inferno."

Yet more than this, its progress, if not its rise, can be traced directly to those theological dissensions which form the main part of the ecclesiastical history of the East. We are told by Dean Prideaux, that he originally undertook the "Life of Mahomet," as part of a "History of the Ruin of the Eastern Church," to which he was led by his sad reflection on the controversies of his own time in England; and the remarks, deeply instructive and pathetic now as then, with which he opens his design, well express the connection between the two events.

There were also direct points of contact between the religion of Mahomet and the Eastern Church which may be briefly noticed.

The rise of his power was considerably aided by a circle in Mecca, amongst whom was the favourite slave Zeyd, who were predisposed to accept a purer faith than the paganism of Arabia. This predisposition they undoubtedly derived from intercourse with Eastern Christians, either from Abyssinia or Syria.

Through the conflicting stories and legends of Mahomet's early life emerges one dark figure, of whom the little that is said only serves to stimulate our curiosity. There are not a few mysterious characters of history, who have done more than the world will ever know or acknowledge, more than they themselves expected or desired. Bahari, Bahyra, Sergius, George, whatever be the name of the Syrian or Nestorian monk of Bostra, is one of these. It seems impossible to refuse all credence to the manifold traditions which represent him as conversing with Mahomet on his first journey with the camel-drivers, as welcoming the youthful Prophet with a presage of his coming greatness, and entering into the innermost circle of Mahomet's companions as the first and favourite friend. In that case, we can hardly doubt that the Eastern Church, through this wandering heretical son, exercised a powerful control over the rising fortunes of Islam.

The local legends of the Syrian or Arabian Christians, whether as communicated by Bahari or by others, form the groundwork of Mahomet's knowledge of Christianity, or at least of those parts of Christianity which he incorporated with his own religion. It is in this manner that one branch of ecclesiastical or sacred literature, little studied and with but slight influence in Christendom itself, has acquired an importance not sufficiently appreciated. The genuine canonical Gospels were almost unknown to Mahomet. But the apocryphal Gospels, which enshrine so many of the traditions of Palestine and Egypt respecting the localities of the sacred story, and which no doubt circulated widely in the lower classes both of the East and West, were quite familiar to him. From these, with the total ignorance of chronology which besets an Oriental mind, he compiled his account of "The Lord Jesus." Hence came his description of the Holy Family; the family of Amran, as he calls it, from a confused identification of Mary with Miriam the sister of Moses. Hence came the only conception which he was able to form of the character and miracles of Christ; a conception how inferior to the true one those only can tell who have compared the grotesque puerility of the apocryphal, with the grand sublimity of the canonical, narrative. The same excuse that has been made for much of the unbelief of the West, must also be made for the misbelief of the East. As we forgive the sceptics of the last century for a hatred to Christianity which they only knew as represented by the corrupt monarchy and hierarchy of France, so may we still more forgive Mahomet for the inferior place which he assigned amongst the Prophets to Him whom he knew not as the Christ of the Four Evangelists, but as the Christ of the Gospel of the Infancy or of Nicodemus.

Some few of his doctrines and legends are remarkable, not only as having been derived by him from Christian sources, but as having been

received back from him into Christendom. One is the doctrine of the Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The assertion of her entire exemption from all stain of sin first appears, so far as is known, in a chapter in the Koran. Another is the story of the Seven Sleepers at Ephesus. It is, as Gibbon observes, the most widely diffused, as it is the most suggestive of all ecclesiastical legends, and a large part of its diffusion it owes to its adoption in the Koran. A third is the belief in the mysterious personage "El Khudr," the "Green one," the counterpart, from a better side, of the legend of the Wandering Jew, but by Mussulmans identified partly with the Christian St. George, partly with the Hebrew Elijah; the strange visitant of immortal youth, who appears to set right the wrong, and solve the obscure. The story of El Khudr in the Koran is the earliest origin of the moral apologue well known to English readers through Parnell's poem of the Hermit and the Angel.

Through the peculiar circumstances of its appearance in Arabia, Mohamedanism furnishes a storehouse of illustration to Christian ecclesiastical history, such as can be found in none of the heathen religions of the world. Its Eastern origin gives to all its outward forms and expressions a likeness to the corresponding terms and incidents of the Old and New Testaments, which renders it invaluable as an aid to the Biblical commentator and historian. Its rise and growth present parallels and contrasts to the propagation of the Christian religion, and to the different forms of the Christian Church, which can be found nowhere else. The comparison of its first beginnings with those of Christianity, if it could be done without exaggeration on either side, would supply by its resemblances an admirable commentary on the historical details, and by its contrasts an admirable evidence to the Divine spirit of the Gospel narrative. The circle of devoted disciples gathered round their Master; the jealousy and suspicion of the Arabian hierarchy; "the house of Arcam" where their earliest meetings were held, as in "the house" and "the upper room" of the Gospels and the Acts; the constant recruitment of the new society from the humblest classes, especially from slaves; the peculiarities of the leading followers, especially the energy and zeal of the last and most reluctant convert, Omar the persecutor changed into Omar the devoted preacher and caliph, are parallels which help us at every turn to understand the like passages in the story of the Gospels and the Acts; whilst the immeasurable contrast between the Character which forms the centre of the one group, and that which forms the centre of the other, reveals to us the incommensurable difference between the faith of Christianity and the faith of Islam.

Or again, we can trace, with a clearness which throws a strong light on either side, the parallel between the confessedly natural part of the

subsequent growth of the two ecclesiastical systems. In each case there is a marked descent from the vigour and purity of the first followers to the weakness and discord of those who succeed. In each case the Church is broken up into divisions large and small, and is developed into systems of which its first framers knew nothing. Even the wide rent between Eastern and Western, and yet more between Catholic and Protestant Christendom, finds its instructive likeness in the rent between the Sonnees and Shiahs of the Mussulman world. The exaltation of S. Peter or of the Virgin Mary in the Roman Catholic Church, beyond the position which they occupied in the earliest ages, is met by the corresponding elevation of Ali amongst the Shiahs. The Pope was hardly more hateful in the eyes of Luther and Calvin, or the Greek Church in the eyes of the Pope, than Abubekr, Omar, and Othman have been in the eyes of the Persian and Indian Mohamedans, who anathematise them as impostors and usurpers.

The Koran has special claims on our attention as the sacred book of the world which can best be compared with our own, and which, by that comparison, furnishes not merely an evidence to the Divine supremacy of the Bible, but also brings into the strongest relief the true character of the contents and authority of the Scriptures, in contradistinction to the modern theories which have sometimes been formed concerning them.

In its outward form there are two resemblances to different portions of the Bible. First, its chapters are stamped by a peculiarly fragmentary and occasional character, written as they are at different periods of Mahomet's life, suggested by special incidents, modified by the successive exigences of the time, revealing the struggles of his own inward feelings, and indicating the gradual progress of his career. These features of the book, which form its chief charm and its chief difficulty, also furnish the best proof of its genuineness. Something of the same charm, the same difficulty, and the same evidence is afforded by the Pauline Epistles. The force of Paley's argument in the "*Horæ Paulinæ*" may be tested by its application to the Koran. The difficulty which we find in the Koran from the contravention of the chronological order in the chapters, of which the earliest in time are the latest in position, and some of the latest in time amongst the earliest in position, is parallel to the confusion introduced into the study of S. Paul's Epistles by the disregard of their natural order, which has placed the Epistles to the Thessalonians nearly at the end, and the Epistle to the Romans at the beginning, of the series. Happily, in the case of the Pauline Epistles, the disarrangement has not yet become irretrievably stereotyped, as in the Koran, and we are therefore still able to reap the benefit of their true historical sequence without difficulty.

The other resemblance is of a totally different kind, and to a totally different part of the Scriptures. The position which the Koran has assumed in the Mohamedan world corresponds more nearly than that of any other book or system to the Law or Pentateuch in the Jewish Church. It contains the civil as well as the moral and religious code of the nations which it governs. Its precepts are regarded as binding in the same literal sense as was the case with the Mosaic ordinances. It has given birth to an order or profession of men exactly similar to the Jewish Scribes. The clergy, if we may so call them, of the Mohamedan Church are also its lawyers. The chief ecclesiastical functionary of Constantinople is also the chief legal officer. His duty is to expound the text of the Koran, and furnish such interpretations of it as will facilitate its application to the changes of modern times. The difficulty which arose in the Jewish Church, from the expansion and diffusion of the Jewish system beyond the pale of Palestine and of the chosen nation, has also arisen, though not to the same degree, in Islam. In Judaism the difficulty was solved by the submergence of the narrower dispensation of the Law in the freedom of the Gospel. In Mohamedan countries it is solved by forced interpretations, bending the sacred text to circumstances which it never contemplated, and which it cannot truly cover.

But the contrasts are far greater than the resemblances. I do not speak of the acknowledged superiority of the Christian doctrine, morals or philosophy. For this let a single instance suffice. What is there in the Koran that can be named for a moment, as a proof of inspiration, in comparison with S. Paul's description of charity? I confine myself to the contrast of form between the two books. The Koran shows us what the Bible would be if narrowed down to our puny measurements, and what in its own divine and universal excellence it actually is. In the comparison between the two we clearly see how the Koran is marked by those attributes which we sometimes falsely ascribe to the Bible; how the peculiarities which we are sometimes afraid of acknowledging in the Bible are exactly those excellences which most clearly distinguish it from the Koran.

The Koran is uniform in style and mode of expression. It is true, as I have just remarked, that when chronologically arranged it exhibits to us, though in an indistinct form, the phases through which the mind of one person passed. It is, as Mahomet's followers called it, "his character." It is, in this respect, as the Old Testament might be if it were composed of the writings of the single prophet Isaiah or Jeremiah, or the New Testament if it were composed of the writings of the single Apostle S. Paul. It is what the Bible as a whole would be, if from its pages were excluded all individual personalities of its various



writers, all differences of time and place and character. But the peculiarity both of the Hebrew and of the Christian Scriptures is, that they are not confined to one place or time or person. They abound in incidents so varied, as to give to the whole book that searching application to every condition and character of life which has been a principal source of its endless edification. The differences between the several prophets and historians of the Old Testament, between the several evangelists and apostles of the New Testament, are full of meaning. On the face of each book we see what each book was intended to be and to teach. In each portion of each book we see what is prose, and what is poetry ; what is allegory, or parable, or drama, or vision, or prophecy ; what is chronicle, or precept, or narrative. The Bible is in this way not only its own interpreter, but its own guide. The styles of Scripture are so many heaven-planted sign-posts to set our feet in the right direction. There is no other book which, within so short a compass, contains such " many-coloured wisdom," such a variety of minds, characters, and situations.

The Koran represents not merely one single person, but one single stage of society. It is, with a few exceptions, purely Arabian. It is what the Bible would be, if all external influences were obliterated, and it was wrapt up in a single phase of Jewish life. But in fact the Bible, though the older portion of it is strictly Oriental, and though the latest portion of it belongs not to the modern, but to the ancient and now extinct world, yet even in its outward forms contains within it the capacities for universal diffusion. Emanating from Palestine, the thoroughfare of the Asiatic and European nations, itself a country of the most diverse elements of life and nature, it contains allusions to all those general topics which find a response everywhere. Whilst the Koran (with a very few exceptions) notices no phenomena except those of the desert, no form of society except Arabian life, the Bible includes topics which come home to almost every condition of life and almost every climate. The sea, the mountains, the town, the pastoral, the civilised, the republican, the regal state, can all find their expression in its words. Women emerge from their Oriental seclusion and foreshadow the destinies of their sex in European Christendom. And not only so, but Egypt, Chaldæa, Persia, Greece, Rome, all come into contact with its gradual formation ; so that, alone of sacred books, it avowedly includes the words and thoughts of other religions than its own ; alone of Oriental books, it has an affinity of aspect with the North and the West ; alone almost, of religious books, its story is constantly traversing the haunts of men and cities. The Koran " stays at home." The Bible is the book of the world, the companion of every traveller, read even when not believed, necessary even when unwelcome.

The Koran prides itself on its perfection of composition. Its pure Arabic style is regarded as a proof of its divinity. To translate it into foreign languages is esteemed by orthodox Mussulmans to be impious, and when it is translated its beauty and interest evaporate. The book is believed to be in every word and point the transcript of the Divine original, Mahomet to have been literally "the sacred penman." No various readings exist. Whatever it once had were destroyed by the Caliph Othman. Such is the strength of the Koran. In far other and opposite quarters lies the strength of the Bible; and Christian missionaries, who are, I believe, constantly assailed by Mussulman controversialists with arguments drawn from this contrast, ought to be well grounded in the knowledge that in what their adversaries regard as our weakness is in fact our real strength. Its language is not classical, but in the Old Testament uncouth, in the New Testament debased; yet, both in the Old and New, just such as suits the truths which it has to convey. The primitive forms of Hebrew are as well suited for the abrupt complicity of the prophetic revelations, as they would be ill suited for science or philosophy. The indefinite fluctuating state of the Greek language at the time of the Christian era, admirably lends itself to the fusion of thought which the Christian religion produced. Its various readings are innumerable, and, in the New Testament, form one of the most instructive fields of theological study. Its inspiration is not, as in the Koran, attached to its words, and therefore is not, as is the Koran, confined to the original language. It is not only capable of translation, but lends itself to translation with peculiar facility. The poetry of the Old Testament, depending for the most part, not on rhyme or metre, but on parallelism, re-appears with almost equal force in every version. The translations of the New Testament, from the superiority of most modern languages to the debased state of Greek at the time of the Christian era, are often superior in beauty of style and diction to the original. The Apostles themselves used freely a rude version of the Old Testament. We use, without scruple, conflicting and erroneous versions of both. The essence of the Bible, if the essence be in its spirit, and not in its letter, makes itself felt through all.

The Koran claims a uniform completeness of materials. It incorporates, indeed, some of the earlier Jewish, Christian, and Arabian traditions, but it professes to be one book. It has no degrees of authority in its several chapters, except in the few instances of direct abrogation of precepts. With these exceptions, it is entirely stationary. It has no progress, and therefore no sequence, and no coherence. The Bible, in all these respects, stands on what some modern writers would deem a lower level, but on what is in fact a far higher one. Its composition

extends over two thousand eventful years. In most of its books are embedded fragments of some earlier work, which have served to keep alive and to exercise the industry and acuteness of critics. It is not one Testament, but two. It is not one book, but many. The very names by which it was called in earlier times indicate the plurality of its parts. The word "Bible," which by a happy solecism expresses the unity of its general design, is of far later date and lower authority than the words "Scriptures, The Books, Biblia Sacra," by which it was called for the first twelve centuries of the Christian era, and which expressed the still grander and bolder idea of its diversity. The most exact definition which it gives of its own inspiration is, that it is "of sundry times and in divers manners." In the fact and in the recognition of this gradual, partial, progressive nature of the Biblical revelation, we find the best answer to most of its difficulties and the best guarantee of its perpetual endurance.

The Koran contains the whole religion of Mahomet. It is to the Mussulman, in one sense, far more than the Bible is to the Christian. It is his code of laws, his creed, and (to a great extent) his liturgy. The Bible, on the other hand, demands for its full effect, the institutions, the teaching, the art, the society of Christendom. It propagates itself by other means than the mere multiplication of its printed or written copies. Sacred pictures, as is often said, are the Bibles of the unlettered. Good men are living Bibles. Creeds are Bibles in miniature. Its truths are capable of expansion and progression, far beyond the mere letter of their statement. The lives and deeds, and, above all, the One Life and the One Work which it records, spread their influence almost irrespectively of the written words in which they were originally recorded. It is not in the close limitation of the stream to its parent spring, but in the wide overflow of its waters, that the true foundation of Biblical inspiration proves its divine abundance and vitality.

"Mohamed's truth lay in a holy book,  
Christ's in a Sacred Life.

"So while the world rolls on from change to change,  
And realms of thought expand,  
The former stands without expanse or range,  
Stiff as a dead man's hand.

"While, as the life-blood fills the growing form,  
The Spirit Christ has shed  
Flows through the ripening ages, fresh and warm,  
More felt than heard or read."

It would be irrelevant to enter into any detailed comparison of the doctrines and practices of Islam with those of Christianity. But they contain points of special contact or contrast which illustrate the course of Christian theology and ecclesiastical usages, as the peculiarities of the Koran illustrate the position of the Bible and the course of Christian exegesis.

On the one hand, it is the extreme Protestantism, or Puritanism, of the East. Whether or not the Iconoclasm of the seventh century in Constantinople had any direct connection with the nearly contemporaneous rise of Mohamedanism, there can be little doubt that the two movements had rise in the same feeling of re-action against the excessive attention to outward objects of devotion. In the case of Mahomet, there was superadded the sentiment, whether imitated from the Hebrew Scriptures or instinctive in the Arabian branch of the Semitic race, which returned with all its force to the belief in the One Unseen God. The Iconoclasm of Mahomet far exceeds that either of Leo the Isaurian or of John Knox. The Second Commandment, with Mussulmans, as with the Jews, was construed literally into the prohibition of all representations of living creatures of all kinds; not merely in sacred places, but everywhere. The distinction drawn in the West, between churches and houses, between objects of worship and objects of art, was in the simpler East unknown. The very form and name of "Arabesque" ornamentation, always taken from inanimate, never from animated nature, tells the shifts to which Mohamedans were driven, when civilisation compelled them to use an art which their religion virtually forbade. The one exception in the Alhambra (the same that occurred in the Palace of Solomon) is an exception that proves the rule. The rude misshapen "lions" that support the fountain in that beautiful court which bears their name, show how unaccustomed to such representations were the hands which to all other parts of the building have given so exquisite a finish.

Other points of resemblance to the Reformed branches of the Christian Church—the more remarkable from the excessive ritualism of the Eastern Churches, and their almost entire neglect of preaching—are the simplicity of the Mussulman ceremonial, and the importance attached to sermons. The service of their sacred day, Friday, is, like Puritan worship, chiefly distinguished by the delivery of a discourse. In the pilgrimage to Mecca, the delivery of the sermon is said to be the most impressive of all the solemnities. There are few Christian preachers who might not envy the effect described by one not given to exaggerate religious influences :

"The pulpit at Mecca is surmounted by a gilt polygonal pointed steeple, like an obelisk. A straight narrow staircase leads up to it.

It stands in the great court of the Mosque. When noon drew nigh, we repaired to the harem for the sake of hearing the sermon. Descending to the cloisters below the Gate of Ziyadah, I stood wonderstruck by the scene before me. The vast quadrangle was crowded with worshippers sitting in long rows, and everywhere facing the central black tower; the showy colours of their dresses were not to be surpassed by a garden of the most brilliant flowers, and such diversity of detail as would probably not be seen massed together in any other building upon earth. The women, a dull sombre-looking group, sat apart in their peculiar place. The Pacha stood on the roof of Zem-Zem, surrounded by guards in Nizam uniform. Where the principal Ulema stationed themselves, the crowd was thicker; and in the more auspicious spots nought was to be seen but a pavement of heads and shoulders. Nothing seemed to move but a few dervishes, who, censer in hand, sidled through the rows and received the unsolicited alms of the faithful. Apparently in the midst, and raised above the crowd by the tall pointed pulpit, whose gilt spire flamed in the sun, sat the preacher, an old man with snowy beard. The style of head-dress called the Taylasan (a scarf thrown over the head, with one end brought round under the chin and passed over the left shoulder) covered his turban, which was as white as his robes, and a short staff supported his left hand. Presently he arose, took the staff in his right hand, pronounced a few inaudible words ('Peace be with you, and the mercy of God, and his blessings'), and sat down again on one of the lower steps, whilst a Muezzin, at the foot of the pulpit, recited the call to sermon. Then the old man stood up and began to preach. As the majestic figure began to exert itself, there was a deep silence. Presently a general 'Amin' was intoned by the crowd at the conclusion of some long sentence. And at last, towards the end of the sermon, every third or fourth word was followed by the simultaneous rise and fall of thousands of voices. I have seen the religious ceremonies of many lands, but never—nowhere—aught so solemn, so impressive, as this spectacle."

But in spite of the likeness to the modern and northern forms of Western Christianity, Mohamedanism after all has far more affinity to the older, and especially to the Eastern forms of the Christian Church.

Most of the peculiarities that characterise the Greek or the Latin Church, have their counterparts in the Mohamedan system.

In one instance the Jewish element survives almost unaltered. "The Mohamedan religion," says Gibbon, as if in praise of its purity, "has no

Priest and no Sacrifice." This statement must be considerably qualified. Sacrifice, though it forms no part of the daily worship in the mosque, yet on solemn occasions is an essential element of the Mussulman ritual. It is generally, if not universally, of the nature of a thank-offering, and, as in the case of most ancient sacrifices, is combined with an act of benevolence to the poor. To the Bedouin Arabs it is almost their only act of devotion. It was only under the pretext of sacrificing on the tomb of Aaron that Burckhardt was able to enter Petra. The railroad, recently opened from the Danube to the Black Sea, was inaugurated by the sacrifice of two sheep. The vast slaughter of victims at Mecca is the only scene now existing in the world that recalls the ancient sacrifices of Jews or Pagans. In short, it might be said that, so far from Mohamedanism being the only religion without a sacrifice, it is the only civilised religion that retains a sacrifice, not spiritually or mystically, but in the literal ancient sense.

Although a priesthood, in the sense of an hereditary or sacrificing caste, is not found in the Mohamedan world, yet a priesthood in the sense in which it is found in Protestant or Catholic Christendom, a powerful hierarchy, possessed of property and influence, and swaying the religious feelings of mankind, exists in Mohamedan even more than in Christian countries. The identification of the Koran with the Law at once raises the order of the interpreters of the Koran to a level with the highest legal dignitaries of the West. The office of Scribes, as we have seen, is exactly reproduced. The Sheykh-el-Islam, the great ecclesiastical functionary at Constantinople, who united in himself the functions of the Primate and the Lord Chancellor, is, or at least was till lately, as considerable a personage as any prelate in Christendom, short of the Pope. The Sheykh-el-Bekr, at Cairo, the lineal descendant of Abu-Bekr, the administrator of the property of the mosques, is as least as high in popular estimation as Archimandrite, Abbot, or Dean, in East or West. The Muftis and the Dervishes are a body as formidable to Mussulman rulers and laymen as any body of ecclesiastics or monks would be to the same classes amongst ourselves. To the Dervishes the same blame and the same praise might be awarded as to the friars of the Western, or the hermits of the Eastern Church.

If it is startling to find this system of earthly mediation in a religion which we are often taught to consider as allowing no intervening obstacle between man and the One True God, still more are we surprised to find that the same system of celestial mediation in the form of the worship or veneration of saints, which prevails through the older portions of Christendom, has overspread the whole of the Mohamedan world. Bedouins

who go nowhere else to pray, will pray beside the tomb of a saint. The "Welys," or white tombs of Mussulman saints, form a necessary feature of all Mussulman landscapes. It is a significant fact, that the westernmost outposts of Mohamedan worship—the last vestige of the retiring tide of Turkish conquest from Europe—is the tomb of a Turkish saint. On a height above the Danube, at Buda, the little chapel still remains, visited once a year by Mussulman pilgrims, who have to thread their way to it up a hill which is crowned with a Calvary, and through a vineyard clustering with the accursed grape. The Arabian traveller of the Middle Ages, who visits Thebes, passes over all the splendour of its ruins, and mentions only the grave of a Mussulman hermit. The sanctity of the dead man is attested by the same means as in the Eastern Churches, generally by the supposed incorruptibility of the corpse. The intercession of a well-known saint is invested with peculiar potency. However much the descendants of a companion of the Prophet plunder or oppress, they are secure in the celestial protection of their ecclesiastical ancestor.

These features it has in common with the doctrines and practices of the Latin, as well as the Greek Church. They show, on the one hand, that such points being the products of a religion outside the pale of Christendom, they cannot be regarded as essentially and peculiarly Christian ; and, on the other hand, that, being the natural growth of human feeling everywhere, they may be regarded calmly, and without the terror or the irritation which is produced when they are looked upon as the heritage of a near and rival Church or sect.

There are yet other points in which Mohamedanism, as being essentially an Oriental religion, approaches most nearly to the forms of Eastern Christendom, though retaining some defects and some excellences of the East, which even Eastern Churches have modified or rejected.

The legal, literal, local, ceremonial character of the religion of Mussulmans is, in spite of its simplicity, carried to a pitch beyond the utmost demands either of Rome or of Russia. What their ideas of the Koran are, compared with even the narrowest ideas of the Bible, we have already seen. Prayer is reduced to a mechanical as distinct from a mental act, beyond any ritual observances in the West. It is striking to see the figures along the banks of the Nile going through their prostrations, at the rising of the sun, with the uniformity and regularity of clockwork ; but it resembles the worship of machines rather than of reasonable beings. Within a confined circle of morality the code of the Koran makes doubtless a deeper impression than has been made on Christians by the code of the Bible. But beyond that circle there is but little of the vivifying influence which the Bible has unquestionably exercised even over the unconscious instincts and feelings of Christendom. Morality and religion, which stand

sufficiently far asunder in the practice of Oriental Christianity, stand further still apart in the practice of a large part of Islam.

The absence of religious art which we have already observed in Eastern, as distinct from Western, Christendom, is carried to the highest point by Mohamedans. Partly this arises from the iconoclastic tendency before mentioned; but mainly it is the result of that carelessness of artistic effort which belongs to all Oriental nations. However tedious is the monotony of the Christian Churches of the East, that of Mohamedan mosques is still more so.

But if art is banished from their worship, reason is no less banished from the creed, at least of the vulgar. The reckless extravagance of credulity which strikes us in Oriental Christians, strikes us still more in Mohamedans. There are no miracles in the Koran; but this only brings out into stronger relief the insatiable avidity with which any expression that could bear such a meaning has been magnified and multiplied into the wildest portents. It is the childish invention of the Arabian Nights let loose upon the unseen world. "I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago," says St. Paul, "(whether in the body or out of the body I know not, God knoweth); such an one caught up into the third heaven . . . . How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable things which it is not lawful for man to utter." Neither Scripture nor tradition says one word further to break this silence thus imposed upon himself by the Apostle. Contrast with this the endless stories told (as it would seem from his latest biographer) by Mahomet, after his vision of the nocturnal flight from Mecca, to his inquiring disciples, of the wonders of Paradise, of the peculiarities of the gigantic Borak, of the personal appearance of each of the departed prophets, of the leaves of the tree of life, of the immeasurable distances between the heavenly spheres.

The frantic excitement of the old Oriental religions still lingers in their modern representatives. The mad gambols of the Greek and Syrian pilgrims round the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre have been sufficiently told. But they ought in justice to be compared with the still wilder frenzy of the Mussulman dervishes. Both are Eastern; both belong to those wild forms of religion which St. Paul laboured to restrain amongst the first Christian converts. But the Mohamedan shows in excess what the other shows in comparative moderation. Of all modern ceremonials, none probably comes so near the description of the priests of Baal, cutting themselves with knives and lancets, leaping on and around the altar, and shouting from morning till evening, "O Baal, hear us!" as the celebration of the Prophet's birthday at Cairo, when the dervishes, by the constant repetition of the name of "Allah, Allah," are worked



into a state of unconsciousness, in which they plant swords in their breasts, tear live serpents with their teeth, eat bottles of glass, and finally lie prostrate on the ground for the chief of their order to ride on horseback over their bodies.

As in these extravagances, so also in its noblest aspects, we see the same spirit reappearing in Mohamedanism that we have already noticed in the Churches of the East.

That manly independence which knows no false shame or reserve in professing its religion in the face of the world is the noble heritage of the Turk and the Arab, as much as of the Greek or the Russian. It is this which renders the Mussulman, even more than the Christian layman of the East, a priest to himself, independent of the instructions and the influence of the hierarchy, whom he yet regards with profound veneration. It is this (combined no doubt with the mechanical nature of their prayers, to which I have before alluded) that renders their devotions so natural, so easy, so public. It is this which lends to every Oriental congregation, but especially to every Mussulman congregation, its main distinction from every Western congregation, namely, the immense preponderance of men over women. In many Western Churches the man is the exception amongst the worshippers; in all Eastern mosques the exception is the woman.

The gravity and the temperance of the Mussulman are doubtless congenial to the dignity and simplicity of Oriental life. In these respects, both Western and Eastern Christianity, though gaining more, have lost much. "An Eastern city has no exhibitions of paintings, no concerts, no dramatic representations, only recitations of tales in prose and verse in coffee-houses; and the prohibition of games of chance excludes cards and dice. Wine can only be drunk in private. . . . Gravity, not dissipation, is, at least in public, the characteristic of a Mohamedan nation."

Finally, the Mussulman preserves to the world the truest and most literal likeness of that ancient Jewish faith which is expressed in the word "Islam," "Resignation" to the will of God. However distorted it may be into fatalism and apathy, yet it is still a powerful motive both in action and in suffering. God is present to them, in a sense in which He is rarely present to us amidst the hurry and confusion of the West. If "the love of God" is a feeling peculiar to Christendom, yet the "fear of God" within a narrow circle may be profitably studied, even by Christians, in the belief and the conduct of the followers of Islam.

These are the qualities which, being not so much Mohamedan or Arabian, as Oriental, primitive, Semitic, and (in the best sense of the word) Jewish, no Christian can regard without reverence, even in their humblest

form ; nor can he abandon the hope that if ever the time should come for the gathering of the followers of Mahomet within the Christian fold, gifts like these need not be altogether lost to the world and the Church in the process of that transition ; that the habits of temperance, devotion, and resignation, which Mussulman belief encourages, may be combined with the grace, the humility, the purity, the freedom of the Gospel.

## JONATHAN SWIFT

(1667-1745).

**S**WIFT was born in Dublin in 1667, seven months after the death of his father, who had come to practise there as a lawyer.

The boy went to school at Kilkenny, and afterwards to Trinity College, Dublin, where he got a degree with difficulty, and was wild, and witty, and poor. In 1688, by the recommendation of his mother, Swift was received into the family of Sir William Temple, who had known Mrs. Swift in Ireland. He left his patron in 1694, and the next year took orders in Dublin. But he threw up the small preferment which he got and returned to Temple, in whose family he remained until Sir William's death in 1699. His hopes of advancement in England failing, Swift returned to Ireland, and took the living of Laracor. Hither he invited Hester Johnson, Temple's natural daughter, with whom he had contracted a tender friendship while they were both dependents of Temple's. And with an occasional visit to England, Swift now passed nine years at home.

In 1709 he came to England, and, with a brief visit to Ireland, during which he took possession of his deanery of Saint Patrick, he now passed five years in England, taking the most distinguished part in the political transactions which terminated with the death of Queen Anne. After her death, his party disgraced, and his hopes of ambition over, Swift returned to Dublin, where he remained twelve years. In this time he wrote the famous 'Drapier's Letters' and 'Gulliver's Travels.' He married Hester Johnson (Stella), and buried Esther Vanhomrigh (Vanessa), who had followed him to Ireland from London, where she had contracted a violent passion for him. In 1726 and 1727 Swift was in England, which he quitted for the last time on hearing of his wife's illness. Stella died in January 1728, and Swift not until 1745, having passed the last five of the seventy-eight years of his life with an impaired intellect and keepsers to watch him. He left his fortune to an Asylum for lunatics

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY

**T**HIS day being set apart to acknowledge our belief in the Eternal Trinity, I thought it might be proper to employ my present discourse entirely upon that subject ; and I hope to handle it in such a manner that the most ignorant among you may return home better informed of your duty in this great point than probably you are at present.

It must be confessed that, by the weakness and indiscretion of busy, or at best of well-meaning people, as well as by the malice of those who are enemies to all revealed religion, and are not content to possess their own infidelity in silence without communicating it, to the disturbance of mankind—I say, by these means, it must be confessed that the doctrine of the Trinity hath suffered very much, and made Christianity suffer along with it. For these two things must be granted ; first, that men of wicked lives would be very glad there were no truth in Christianity at all ; and, secondly, if they can pick out any one single article in the Christian religion which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted reason, or to the arguments of those bad people who follow the trade of seducing others, they presently conclude that the truth of the whole Gospel must sink along with that one article ; which is just as wise as if a man should say, because he dislikes one law of his country he will therefore observe no law at all ; and yet that one law may be very reasonable itself, although he does not allow it, or does not know the reason of the law-givers.

Thus it happened with the great doctrine of the Trinity, which word is indeed not in the Scripture, but was a term of art invented in the earlier times to express the doctrine by a single word, for the sake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine, then, as delivered in Holy Scripture, though not exactly in the same words, is very short, and amounts only to this : that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are each of them God, and that there is but one God. For as to the word persons, when we say there are three persons ; and as to those other explanations in the Athanasian creed this day read to you (whether compiled by Athanasius or not), they were taken up three hundred years after Christ to expound this doctrine, and I will tell you upon what occasion. About that time there sprang up a heresy of people called Arians, from one Arius, the leader of them. These denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the rest of the Gospel, wherein they were more sincere than their followers among us. Thus the Christian

world was divided into two parts, till at length, by the zeal and courage of St. Athanasius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true faith, as St. Athanasius hath settled it. This creed is now read at certain times in churches, which, although it is useful for edification to those who understand it, yet, since it contains some nice and philosophical points which few people comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the Scripture doctrine, as I have already delivered it, because that creed was intended only as an answer to the Arians in their own way, who were very subtle disputers. But this heresy revived in the world about a hundred years ago, and continued ever since, not out of zeal to truth, but to give a loose to wickedness by throwing off all religion, several divines, in order to answer the cavils of these adversaries to truth and morality, began to find out further explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity by rules of philosophy; which have multiplied controversies to such a degree as to beget scruples that have perplexed the minds of many sober Christians, who otherwise could never have entertained them.

I must, therefore, be bold to affirm that the method taken by many of those learned men to defend the doctrine of the Trinity hath been founded upon a mistake.

It must be allowed that every man is bound to follow the rules and discretion of that measure of reason which God hath given him; and indeed he cannot do otherwise, if he will be sincere, or act like a man. For instance, if I should be commanded by an angel from heaven to believe it is midnight at noon-day, yet I could not believe him. So if I were directly told in Scripture that three are one and one is three, I could not conceive or believe it in the natural common sense of that expression, but must suppose that something dark or mystical was meant, which it pleased God to conceal from me and from all the world. Thus in the text, "There are three that bear record," etc. Am I capable of knowing and defining what union and what distinction there may be in the divine nature, which possibly may be hid from the angels themselves? Again, I see it plainly declared in Scripture that there is but one God, and yet I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God in knowing men's thoughts, in saying, "He and His Father are one," and "Before Abraham was, I am." I read that the disciples worshipped Him; that Thomas said to Him, "My Lord and my God;" and St. John, chap. i., "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." I read likewise that the Holy Ghost bestowed the power of working miracles, and the gift of tongues, which, if rightly considered, is as great a miracle as any, that a number of illiterate men should of a sudden be qualified to speak all the languages then known in the world,

such as could be done by the inspiration of God alone. From these several texts, it is plain that God commands us to believe there is a union, and there is a distinction ; but what that union, or what that distinction, is, all mankind are equally ignorant, and must continue so, at least till the day of judgment, without some new revelation.

But because I cannot conceive the nature of this union and distinction in the divine nature, am I therefore to reject them as absurd and impossible, as I would if anyone told me that three men are one, and one man is three ? We are told that a man and his wife are one flesh ; this I can comprehend the meaning of, yet, literally taken, it is a thing impossible. But the apostle tells us, “ We see but in part, and we know but in part ; ” and yet we would comprehend all the secret ways and workings of God.

Therefore I shall again repeat the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is positively affirmed in Scripture : that God is there expressed in three different names—as Father, as Son and as Holy Ghost ; that each of these is God, and that there is but one God. But this union and distinction are a mystery utterly unknown to mankind.

This is enough for any good Christian to believe on this great article, without ever inquiring any further. And this can be contrary to no man’s reason, although the knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another difficulty of great importance among those who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with several other articles of Christianity ; which is, that our religion abounds in mysteries, and those they are so bold as to revile as cant, imposture, and priestcraft. It is impossible for us to determine for what reasons God thought fit to communicate some things to us in part, and leave some part a mystery ; but so it is in fact, and so the Holy Scriptures tell us in several places ; for instance, the resurrection and change of our bodies are called mysteries by St. Paul ; our Saviour’s incarnation is another : the kingdom of God is called a mystery by our Saviour, to be only known to His disciples ; so is faith and the word of God by St. Paul. I omit many others. So that to declare against all mysteries, without distinction or exception, is to declare against the whole tenor of the New Testament.

There are two conditions that may bring a mystery under suspicion. First, when it is not taught and commanded in Holy Writ ; or, secondly, when the mystery turns to the advantage of those who preach it to others. Now, as to the first, it can never be said that we preach mysteries without warrant from Holy Scripture, although I confess this, if the Trinity may have sometimes been explained by human invention, which might perhaps better have been spared. As to the second, it will not be possible

to charge the Protestant priesthood with proposing any temporal advantage to themselves by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of mysteries. Does this mystery of the Trinity, for instance, and the descent of the Holy Ghost bring the least profit or power to the preachers? No; it is as great a mystery to themselves as it is to the meanest of their hearers; and may be rather a cause of humiliation, by putting their understanding in that point upon the level with the most ignorant of their flock. It is true, indeed, the Roman Church hath very much enriched herself by trading in mysteries, for which they have not the least authority from Scripture, and which were fitted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur, such as transubstantiation, the worshipping of images, indulgences for sins, purgatory, and masses for the dead, with many more. But it is the perpetual talent of those who will have ill-will to our Church, or a contempt for all religion, taken up by the wickedness of their lives, to charge us with the errors and corruptions of Popery, which all Protestants have thrown off near two hundred years; whereas, those mysteries held by us have no prospect of power, pomp, or wealth, but have been ever maintained by the universal body of true believers from the days of the apostles, and will be so to the resurrection; neither will the gates of hell prevail against them.

It may be thought, perhaps, a strange thing that God should require us to believe mysteries, while the reason or manner of what we are to believe is above our comprehension, and wholly concealed from us; neither doth it appear at first sight that the believing or not believing them doth concern either the glory of God or contribute to the goodness or wickedness of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous mistake. We see what a mighty weight is laid upon faith both in the Old and New Testament. In the former we read how the faith of Abraham is praised. Who could believe that God would raise from him a great nation, at the very same time that he was commanded to sacrifice his only son and despair of any other issue? And this was to him a great mystery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to His disciples, or reproaching them with the want of it; and St. Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reasonable; for faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the justice, and the mercy of God, which dependence will certainly incline us to obey Him in all things. So that the great excellency of faith consisteth in the consequence it hath upon our actions; as, if we depend upon the truth and wisdom of a man, we shall certainly be more disposed to follow his advice. Therefore, let no man think that he can lead as good a moral life without faith as with it; for this reason, because he who hath no faith cannot by the strength of his own reason or endeavours

so easily resist temptation as the other who depends upon God's assistance in the overcoming his frailties, and is sure to be rewarded for ever in heaven for his victory over them. Faith, says the apostle, is the evidence of things not seen. He means that faith is a virtue by which everything commanded us by God to believe appears evident and certain to us, although we do not see it, nor can conceive it ; because, by faith, we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

It is an old and true distinction that things may be above our reason without being contrary to it. Of this kind are the power, the nature, and the universal presence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do those who quarrel with mysteries know of the commonest actions of nature ? The growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the smallest seed, is a mystery to the wisest among men. If an ignorant person were told that a loadstone would draw iron at a distance, he might say it was a thing contrary to his reason, and could not believe it before he saw it with his eyes.

The manner whereby the soul and body are united and how they are distinguished is wholly unaccountable to us. We see but one part, and yet we know we consist of two ; and this is a mystery we cannot comprehend any more than that of the Trinity.

From what hath been said it is manifest that God did never command us to believe, nor His ministers to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to the reason He hath pleased to endow us with ; but, for His own wise ends, has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing He commands, thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increase our dependence upon Him.

It is highly probable that if God should please to reveal unto us this great mystery of the Trinity, or some other mysteries in our holy religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless He would at the same time think fit to bestow on us some new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at present, and are reserved till the day of resurrection to life eternal. " For now," as the apostle says, " we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face."

Thus we see the matter is brought to this issue ; we must either believe what God directly commandeth us in Holy Scripture, or we must wholly reject the Scripture and the Christian religion which we pretend to profess. But this, I hope, is too desperate a step for any of us to make.



## TERTULLIAN

(c. 150—c. 230).

**T**ERTULLIAN (Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus) is frequently ranked next to Saint Augustine among the orators and theologians of the early Christian church. He was a man of extensive learning, educated in the Greek and Latin classics as well as in all the literature of the Church then extant. He was born at Carthage, in Africa, about 150 A.D., and educated for the law. His family were pagans and it was only after he had grown to mature manhood that he became a Christian (c. 192 A.D.). Much of his life was passed in Rome. He was active in the controversy with the Gnostics; and when the movement which finally joined Church and State became pronounced he identified himself with the Montanists in opposition to it. The date of his death is not exactly known, but it is believed to have been in the year 230. Among his many works on Christianity and Morals, the most celebrated is the 'Apology' he wrote in defence of Christianity during the persecution under Severus.

### THE BEAUTY OF PATIENCE

(Discourse on James i. 4).

**I**N this world we carry about us our very souls and bodies exposed to injury from all men, and under this injury we submit to be patient. Shall we be grieved by taking thought for things of lesser moment? Away with such defilement from the servant of Christ, that his patience, made ready for greater temptations, should fall away in trifling ones. If any shall try to provoke thee by open violence, the admonition of the Lord is at hand: "To him that smiteth thee on the face, saith he, turn the other cheek also." Let his wickedness be wearied out by thy patience. Be the blow what it may, bound up with pain and insult, he will suffer a heavier one from the Lord. Thou beatest that wicked man the more by bearing with him, for he shall be beaten by Him for whose sake thou bearest with him. If the bitterness of the tongue should break out in cursing or railing, reflect on that which hath

been said : " Rejoice when men shall curse you." The Lord himself was cursed under the law, and yet is the only Blessed. Wherefore let us his servants follow our Lord, and let us take cursing patiently, that we may be able to be blessed. If I hear not with unruffled mind any wanton or naughty word spoken against me, I must needs myself also render bitter speech in my turn, or I shall be tortured by silent impatience. When, therefore, I have smitten another with evil speaking, how shall I be found to have followed the teaching of the Lord, wherein it is delivered unto us that a man is defiled not by the pollutions of vessels, but of those things which proceed out of the mouth. And, again, that there remaineth an account to be given by us for every vain and idle word. It followeth, therefore, that what God forbiddeth us to do, he also admonisheth us to bear patiently from another. Here would I now say a word of the pleasure of patience. For every wrong whether inflicted by the tongue or the hand, when it hath encountered patience, will be finally disposed of in the same manner as any weapon launched and blunted against a rock of most enduring hardness. For it will fall upon the spot, its labour rendered vain and unprofitable, and sometimes recoiling backward will wreak its fury, by a violent reaction, upon him who sent it forth. For a man injureth thee on purpose that thou mayest be pained ; for the gain of the injurer lieth in the pain of the injured. When, therefore, thou hast overthrown his gain by being pained, he must himself needs be pained in missing his gain ; and then wilt thou come off not only unhurt, which even itself is sufficient for thee, but besides this, both pleased by the disappointment of thine adversary, and avenged by his pain. Such is the profit and the pleasure of patience.

As respecteth the rule of that peace, which is so pleasing unto God, who is there at all, that is of his own nature impatient, who will forgive his brother even once, not to say seven times, and still less seventy times seven ? Who while he is in the way with his adversary to the judge will end the matter by agreeing with him, except he first sever from himself that vexation, that harshness, that bitterness, which are in fact the venom of impatience ? How wilt thou forgive and it shall be forgiven thee, if for lack of patience thou be retentive of an injury ? No man divided in spirit against his brother will offer his gift upon the altar, except first by being reconciled with his brother, he return to patience. If the sun go down upon our wrath we are in danger. We may not continue for even one day without patience. And since it directeth every kind of wholesome discipline, what wonder if it administer also to repentance, which is wont to come to the succour of the fallen ! When, in a separation between man and wife (for some cause, that is,

for which it is lawful either for a man or a woman to persevere in continuing in a state of widowhood) this patience waiteth for, desireth, urgeth, their salvation, as for those who will one day begin to repent. How much good doth it confer on both ? The one it hindereth from adultery, the other it amendeth. In the same manner it is present also in those holy examples of patience in the Lord's parables. It is the patience of the shepherd which seeketh and findeth the sheep which was gone astray ; for impatience might easily despise that one sheep. But through patience he undertaketh the labour of the search, yea, and moreover carrieth on his shoulders the deserted offender, a patient bearer of his burden. Again, it is the patience of the father which both receiveth and clotheth, and feedeth the prodigal son, and excuseth him to the impatience of his angry brother. He, therefore, which had been lost is saved, because he began to repent. His repentance is not lost, because it meeteth with pleasure. For by whose rules save those of patience is charity instructed ; that chief mystery of the faith, that treasure of the Christian name which the Apostle commendeth with all the power of the Holy Spirit. Charity, saith he, suffereth long ; therefore, she useth patience. She is kind. Patience doth no unkindness. She envieth not ; this indeed, properly belongs to patience. She savoureth not of wantonness : she hath derived her modesty from patience. She is not puffed up, doth not insult, for this belongeth not to patience. And she seeketh not her own, she beareth with her own, so she may profit another. Nor is she easily provoked ; for otherwise what would she have left for impatience to do ? Wherefore, saith he, charity beareth all things, endureth all things : that is, because she is patient. With good cause, therefore, she shall never fail : for all other things shall be cleared away, brought to a close. Tongues, knowledge, prophecies, are exhausted. Faith, hope, charity abide. Faith, which the patience of Christ has produced : hope, which the patience of man waiteth for ; charity, which patience accompanieth, God being its master.

In this strength of patience Esaias is sawn asunder, and ceaseth not to speak concerning the Lord. Stephen is stoned, and asketh forgiveness for his enemies. Oh, how exceedingly blessed is he also, who against the whole power of the devil worked out in full every sort of patience ! Whom neither the driving away of his herds, nor all that abundance of cattle, nor his sons taken away by a single blow of ruin ; nor, finally, the torment of his body in its wounded state, deprived of his patience, the integrity which he devoted to the Lord : whom the devil smote with all his might in vain. For he was not moved away by so many afflictions from his reverence of God, but he was set as an example for us, and a testimony of the working out of patience, both

in the spirit and in the flesh, both in the mind and in the body ; so that we may neither sink under the damage of our worldly goods, nor the loss of those most dear to us, nor even the afflictions of our own bodies. How did God in this man build up a trophy over the devil ! How did he set up his banner over the adversary of his glory ! When this man, in reply to all the mass of tidings brought to him, uttered nothing from his mouth save thanks to God ! When he denounced his wife, already wearied out with afflictions, and advising a wicked remedy ! Well ! God was rejoiced. Well ! the evil one was cut asunder, while Job was wiping away, with great patience, the filthy discharge from his boils, which he was bringing back, in mockery the worms broke out from them into the same holes and pastures in his perforated flesh. Wherefore this labourer for the victory of God, having beaten back all the darts of his temptations by the coat of mail and shield of patience, presently both recovered from God the soundness of his body, and had in possession twice as much as he had lost ; nay, if he had wished that his sons should be restored he would have been again called their father. But he had rather that they should not be given back to him at that day. Having full confidence in the Lord, he deferred a joy so great to another season. He endured this voluntary bereavement that he might not live without some kind of patience.

Thus is God an abundantly sufficient depository of patience. If thou placest a wrong in his hands, he is an avenger ; if a loss, he is a restorer ; if pain, he is a physician ; if death, he is the resurrection. What a licence hath patience, in having God for her debtor ! And not without cause ; for she observeth all his pleasure, she interposeth her aid in all his commands. She fortifieth faith, guideth peace, assisteth charity, instructeth humility, waiteth for patience, setteth her mark upon confession, ruleth the flesh, preserveth the spirit, bridleth the tongue, restraineth the hand, treadeth temptations underfoot, driveth away offences, perfecteth martyrdom, consoleth the poor, ordereth the rich, straineth not the weak, wasteth not the strong, delighteth the believer, inviteth the heathen, commendeth the servant to his master, his master to God : adorneth the woman, approveth the man ; is loved in the boy, praised in the young man, respected in the old ; is beautiful in every sex, in every age. Come, now, let us describe her form and her demeanour. She hath a countenance serene and placid, a forehead smooth, contracted with no wrinkle of grief and anger, her brows evenly and smoothly relaxed, her eyes cast down in humility, not in melancholy. Her mouth beareth the seal of honourable silence. Her colour is as such as those have who are free from care and crime. Her head is often shaken at the devil, with a smile of defiance. For the rest, her clothing about

her bosom is white and closely fitted to the body, as being neither puffed out nor ruffled. For she sitteth on the throne of that most kind and gentle Spirit who is not in the gathering of the whirlwind, nor in the blackness of the cloud, but belongeth to the soft, calm, and simple Voice, such as Elias knew at the third time. For where God is, there also is his foster child, to wit, Patience. When, therefore, the Spirit of God descendeth, patience never divideth from him, accompanieth him. If we receive her not together with the Spirit, will he abide with us always? Nay, I know not whether he would continue any longer. Without his companion and handmaid, he must needs be grieved at every place and time. Whatever his enemy inflicted he cannot endure alone, lacking the instrument of endurance. This is the way, this the rule, these the words of a heavenly and true, that is, a Christian patience.

## H. TREITSCHKE

(1834-1896).

**H.** TREITSCHKE, historian, was born in 1834 at Dresden, but his family originated in Bohemia. His lectures on politics delivered in Berlin had a great influence on German thought. This effect is vividly described by Professor Thomas Cramb in his book "Germany and England."

### MORALS OF THE STATE

**I**T was Machiavelli who expressed the thought that, when the safety of the State was at stake, the purity of the means employed should not be called in question; if only the State were preserved, every one would subsequently approve of the means. In order to understand Machiavelli, we must take him historically. He is the son of a race that is in the act of passing out of the limitations of the Middle Ages into the subjective freedom of modern thought. Round about him in Italy he saw the prodigious forms of those tyrants in whom the lavish endowments of that gifted people were so wonderfully exhibited. These tyrants of Italy were all born Mæcenases; they also said, like the great artist: "I am myself alone." Machiavelli took delight in these gifted, powerful men. It will ever remain Machiavelli's glory that he set the State upon its own feet and freed it in its morality from the Church; and also, above all, that he declared clearly for the first time: "The State is power." In spite of this, however, Machiavelli himself still stands with one foot on the threshold of the Middle Ages. When he tries to set the State free from the Church, and says, with the boldness of the modern Italian patriot, that the Chair of Rome has hurled Italy into despair and misery, he nevertheless does not get rid of the idea that morality is altogether ecclesiastical, and, while he drags the State away from the Church, he drags it away from the moral law altogether. He says: "The State must pursue its power as its only objective: what is good for that purpose is proper and necessary." Machiavelli tries to think as one of the ancients, and yet he cannot do it, because he has eaten of the tree of knowledge; because he is a Christian without knowing it and without wishing it.

Thus his view of the freedom of political morality has remained in many ways a troubled and confused one, because of his place in a period of transition. That must not hinder us from declaring joyfully that the gifted Florentine, with all the vast consequences of his thinking was the first to set in the centre of all politics the great thought : " The State is Power." For that is the truth ; and he who is not man enough to look this truth in the face ought to keep his hands off politics. We must never forget this great service of Machiavelli's, even if we clearly recognize the deep immorality in other respects of his teaching regarding the State. It is not the fact that he is entirely indifferent as to the means employed by power that revolts us, but that everything turns upon how the highest power is acquired and retained, and that this power itself has no content for him. That the power acquired must justify itself by employing itself for the highest moral good of mankind, of that we find no trace in his teaching.

Machiavelli has entirely failed to see how this doctrine of mere power is self-contradictory even from his own standpoint. Whom does he put forward as the ideal of a clever and capable prince ? Cæsar Borgia. But can this uncanny man be looked upon as the ideal of a statesman even in Machiavelli's sense ? Did he, by chance, create anything enduring ? His State was broken up immediately after his death. After he had brought countless numbers into the trap, he was enticed into it himself and perished miserably. A power that treads all right underfoot must in the end itself perish.

Since, then, Machiavelli's ideas stand out in terrible nakedness and hardness, the book of " The Prince " has in it for most men something quite terrifying, but its effects up to the present day have been immense. Even Napoleon III.'s *coup d'état* was evidently prepared according to Machiavelli's recipe. The book has in practice become a teacher again and again, mostly in his own time ; William of Orange kept it constantly under the pillow of his couch. The whole seventeenth century is filled with Machiavellism, with a statesmanship which tramples the moral laws underfoot as a matter of principle. This " reason of State," a policy that inquires only concerning expediency for the State becomes towards the end of the seventeenth century of an unscrupulousness such as we can no longer form an idea of nowadays. The ugly connotation that the word " political " has had so long among the common people dates from that period. Machiavelli's book was called " The Devil's Catechism," or " The Ten Commandments Reversed ; " his name became a term of disgust ; a great literature of works written against him arose, each one more moral than the other. It is sad to observe that so-called public opinion is always much more moral than

the deeds of the individuals themselves. The average man is ashamed to mention publicly and to approve a thousand things that he actually does. What the ordinary man, when he is not himself concerned, can accomplish in the way of Cossack-like defence of virtue is unbelievable. He who has felt profoundly unhappy, he who has once believed that he would never escape from his inward grief, may become a misanthropist when he listens to his comforters. Therefore among all nations the public opinion that comes to the light is very naturally much more severe than the real thoughts of men.

Of course journalistic phrase-mongers talk of great statesmen as of a disreputable class of men, as if lying was inseparable from diplomacy. The very opposite is the truth. The really great statesmen have always been distinguished by an immense openness. Frederick the Great declared before every one of his wars with the greatest precision what it was he wished to attain. It is true that he did not despise cunning as a means, but upon the whole his truthfulness is one of his predominant characteristics. How potent, with all his slyness in details, is Bismarck's solid frankness in great matters! And it was the most effective weapon for him, for the small diplomatists always believed the opposite when he frankly declared what he wanted. If we survey human callings, in which are the most lies told? Obviously in the world of commerce; and that has been so at all times. Here in the matter of advertising lying has been actually turned into a system. Compared with it diplomacy appears innocent as a dove. And the immeasurable difference therewith! If an unscrupulous speculator lies on the Stock Exchange, he thinks only of his own purse; but a diplomatist thinks of his country if during a political negotiation he becomes guilty of an obscuration of facts. As historians, who seek to survey the whole of human life, we must therefore say that the diplomatic calling is a much more moral one than that of the merchant. The moral danger that is nearest to the diplomatist does not lie in mendacity, but in the spiritual shallowness that is born of the elegant life of the *salon*.

If we now apply this standard of a more profound and genuinely Christian morality to the State, and if we remember that the essence of this great collective personality is power, then it is in that case the highest moral duty of the State to safeguard its power. The individual must sacrifice himself for a higher community, of which he is a member; but the State is itself the highest in the external community of men, therefore the duty of self-elimination cannot affect it at all. The Christian duty of self-sacrifice for something higher has no existence whatever for the State, because there is nothing whatever beyond it in world-history: consequently it cannot sacrifice itself for anything higher.



If the State sees its downfall confronting it, we praise it if it falls sword in hand. Self-sacrifice for a foreign nation is not only not moral, but it contradicts the idea of self-preservation, which is the highest thing for the State.

Thus it follows from this, that we must distinguish between public and private morality. The order of rank of the various duties must necessarily be for the State, as it is power, quite other than for individual men. A whole series of these duties, which are obligatory on the individual, are not to be thought of in any case for the State. To maintain itself counts for it always as the highest commandment ; that is absolutely moral for it. And on that account we must declare that of all political sins that of weakness is the most reprehensible and the most contemptible ; it is in politics the sin against the Holy Ghost.

## WILLIAM TYNDALE

(c. 1484-1536).

**W**ILLIAM TYNDALE, translator of the English Bible, was born in Gloucestershire, at a time when the revival of classical learning in northern Europe had already progressed so far as to make revolution inevitable. He was educated at Oxford for the Priesthood and began his ministry as Chaplain in the family of Sir John Walsh in Gloucestershire. As early as the summer of 1523 he was examined on suspicion of heresy, but having purged himself he was allowed to continue his work, preaching and translating the Bible. In 1524 he visited Luther at Wittenberg and until his death in 1536 he lived on the continent, working from 1524 to 1530 to complete and bring out his translations. In 1535, while living at Brussels, he was arrested for heresy and imprisoned in the Castle of Vilvorde. On October 6th, 1536, he was first strangled and then burned at the stake. His sermon, 'The Use and Abuse of Images and Relics,' is a good illustration both of his eloquence and of his theological opinions.

### THE USE AND ABUSE OF IMAGES AND RELICS

**N**OW let us come to the worshipping or honouring of sacraments, ceremonies, images, and relics. First, images be not God, and therefore no confidence is to be put in them. They be not made after the image of God, nor are the price of Christ's blood; but the workmanship of the craftsman, and the price of money, and therefore inferiors to man.

Wherefore of all right man is lord over them, and the honour of them is to do man service; and man's dishonour is to do them honourable service, as unto his better. Images then, and relics, yea, and as Christ saith, the holy day, too, are servants unto man. And therefore it followeth that we cannot, but unto our damnation, put on a coat worth an hundred coats upon a post's back, and let the image of God and the price of Christ's blood go up and down thereby naked. For if we care more to clothe the dead image made by man, and the price of silver, than the lively image of God and the price of Christ's blood; then we dishonour the image of God, and him that made him, and the price of Christ's blood and him that bought him.

Wherefore the right use, office, and honour of all creatures, inferiors unto man, is to do man service ; whether they be images, relics, ornaments, signs, or sacraments, holy days, ceremonies, or sacrifices. And that may be on this manner, and no doubt it so once was. If (for example) I take a piece of the cross of Christ and make a little cross thereof and bear it about me, to look thereon with a repenting heart at times when I am moved thereto, to put me in remembrance that the body of Christ was broken and his blood shed thereon for my sins ; and believe steadfastly that the merciful truth of God shall forgive the sins of all that repent, for his death's sake, and never think on them more ; then it serveth me and not I it ; and doth me the same service as if I read the testament in a book, or as if the preacher preached it unto me. And in like manner, if I make a cross on my forehead in a remembrance that God hath promised assistance unto all that believe in him, for his sake that died on the cross, then doth the cross serve me, and not I it. And in like manner, if I bear on me or look upon a cross, of whatsoever matter it be, or make a cross upon me, in remembrance that whosoever will be Christ's disciple must suffer a cross of adversity, tribulations, and persecution, so doth the cross serve me and not I it. And this was the use of the cross once, and for this cause it was at the beginning set up in the churches.

And so, if I make an image of Christ, or of anything that Christ hath done for me in a memory, it is good and not evil until it be abused. And even so if I take the true life of a saint and cause it to be painted or carved, to put me in remembrance of the saint's life, to follow the saint as the saint did Christ ; and to put me in remembrance of the great faith of the saint to God, and how true God was to help him out of all tribulation, and to see the saint's love towards his neighbour, in that he so patiently suffered so painful a death and so cruel a martyrdom to testify the truth ; for to save others, and all to strengthen my soul withal and my faith to God and love to my neighbour, then doth the image serve me and not I it. And this was the use of images at the beginning, and of relics also. And to kneel before the cross unto the Word of God, which the cross preacheth, is not evil. Neither to kneel down before an image, in a man's meditation, to call the living of the saint to mind, for to desire of God-like grace to follow the ensample, is not evil. But the abuse of the thing is evil and to have a false faith, as to bear a piece of the cross about a man, thinking that so long as that is about him spirits shall not come at him, his enemies shall do him no bodily harm, all causes shall go on his side even for bearing it about him ; and to think if it were not about him it would not be so and to think if any misfortune chance that it came for leaving it off, or because

this or that ceremony was left undone, and not rather because we have broken God's commandments, or that God tempteth us to prove our patience, this is plain idolatry ; and here a man is captive, bond and servant, unto a false faith and a false imagination, that is neither God nor His Word. Now am I God's only, and ought to serve nothing but God and His Word. My body must serve the rulers of this world and my neighbour, as God hath appointed it, and so must all my goods ; but my soul must serve God only, to love His law and to trust in His promises of mercy in all my deeds. And in like manner it is that thousands, while the priest pattereth St. John's Gospel in Latin over their heads, cross themselves with, I trow, a legion of crosses behind and before ; and (as Jack-of-Napes, when he claweth himself) pluck up their legs, and cross so much as their heels and the very soles of their feet, and believe that if it be done in the time that he readeth the Gospel (and else not) that there shall no mischance happen them that day, because only of those crosses. And where he should cross himself to be armed and make himself strong to bear the cross with Christ he crosseth himself to drive the cross from him ; and blesseth himself with a cross from the cross. And if he leave it undone, he thinketh it no small sin, and that God is highly displeas'd with him, and if any misfortune chance thinketh it is therefore, which is also idolatry and not God's Word. And such is the confidence in the place or image, or whatsoever bodily observance it be ; such is St. Agatha's letter written in the Gospel time. And such are the crosses on Palm Sunday, made in the passion time. And such is the bearing of holy wax about a man. And such is that some hang a piece of St. John's Gospel about their necks. And such is to bear the names of God with crosses between each name about them. Such is the saying of Gospels unto women in child-bed. Such is the limiter's saying of *in principio erat verbum* from house to house. Such is the saying of Gospels to the corn in the field, in the procession week, that it should the better grow. And such is holy bread, holy water, and serving of all ceremonies and sacraments in general, without signification. And I pray you, how is it possible that the people can worship images, relics, ceremonies, and sacraments, save superstitiously, so long as they know not the true meaning, neither will the prelates suffer any man to tell them ? yea, and the very meaning of some, and right use no man can tell.

## JOHN WESLEY

(1703-1791).

**J**OHN WESLEY, the founder of the Wesleyan and the Methodist Episcopal Churches, is described as a facile extemporaneous speaker "whose oratory was colloquial, terse, and homely, but never vulgar." It was probably Sydney Smith, who, after writing a book review, denied that he had prejudiced himself against the work by reading it. The standard authority which thus characterizes Wesley's style is probably entitled to the benefit of a similar denial, for, as a matter of fact, Wesley's style is scholarly rather than colloquial, and classical, rather than homely. He was a graduate of Oxford, and a fellow of Lincoln College, who dearly loved a classical quotation, for its own sake. He quotes English, Latin, and Greek verse with equal pleasure, and apparently with equal facility. Modern editions of his sermons, which omit his classical quotations, do not represent him in what was one of the most striking characteristics of his style. He quoted Homer and Horace with as much energy as he did St. Paul in warning his generation against licentiousness in morals and luxury in dress. His English is always clear and graceful; the movement of his sentences is rapid, and in his style he compares favourably with Butler, Taylor, and Bunyan. "Let those who please," he says, "be in raptures at the pretty, elegant sentences of Massillon and Bourdaloue. . . . Let who will admire the French frippery. I am still for plain, sound English."

He was born at Epworth, June 28th (N.S.), 1703, from a noted family of scholars, his father, Samuel Wesley, being an Oxford graduate, and an intimate friend of Pope, Swift, and Prior. Graduating at Oxford in 1727, John Wesley took orders in the Established Church, of which he always considered himself a member, though he founded Methodism as a protest against the politics of the Establishment and the general demoralization of the aristocratic society of his day. He visited Georgia as a missionary in 1735, spending three years in America. Returning to England, in 1739 he began his great work as an open-air preacher. He died in London, March 2nd, 1791.

## THE POVERTY OF REASON

(From a Sermon on I. Corinthians xiv. 20).

**F**AITH, according to Scripture, is "an evidence," or conviction "of things not seen." It is a Divine evidence, bringing a full conviction of an invisible eternal world. It is true there was a kind of shadowy persuasion of this even among the wiser heathen; probably from tradition, or from some gleams of light reflected from the Israelites. Hence many hundred years before our Lord was born, the Greek poet uttered that great truth,—

"Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth  
Unseen, whether we wake, or if we sleep."

But this was little more than faint conjecture; it was far from a high conviction; which reason, in its highest state of improvement, could never produce in any child of man.

Many years ago I found the truth of this by sad experience. After carefully heaping up the strongest arguments which I could find, either in ancient or modern authors, for the very being of a God, and (which is nearly connected with it) the existence of an invisible world, I have wandered up and down musing with myself: "What, if all these things which I see around me, this earth and heaven, this universal frame, have existed from eternity? What, if that melancholy supposition of the old poet be the real case,—What, if 'the generation of men be exactly parallel with the generation of leaves?' if the earth drops its successive inhabitants just as the tree drops its leaves? What, if that saying of a great man be really true—

'Death is nothing, and nothing is after death?'

How am I sure that this is not the case; that I have not followed cunningly devised fables?" And I have pursued the thought, till there was no spirit in me, and I was ready to choose strangling rather than life.

But in a point of so unspeakable importance, do not depend upon the word of another; but retire for a while from the busy world, and make the experiment yourself. Try whether your reason will give you a clear, satisfactory evidence of the invisible world. After the prejudices of education are laid aside, produce your strong reasons for the existence of this. Set them all in array; silence all objections; and put all your doubts to flight. Alas! you cannot, with all your

understanding. You may repress them for a season. But how quickly will they rally again, and attack you with redoubled violence! And what can poor reason do for your deliverance? The more vehemently you struggle, the more deeply you are entangled in the toils; and you find no way to escape.

How was the case with that great admirer of reason, the author of the maxim above cited? I mean the famous Mr. Hobbes. None will deny that he had a strong understanding. But did it produce in him a full and satisfactory conviction of an invisible world? Did it open the eyes of his understanding to see—

“Beyond the bounds of this diurnal sphere?”

Oh, no! far from it! His dying words ought never to be forgotten. “Where are you going, sir?” said one of his friends. He answered: “I am taking a leap in the dark!” and died. Just such an evidence of the invisible world can bare reason give to the wisest of men!

One of the most sensible and most amiable heathen that have lived since our Lord died, even though he governed the greatest empire in world, was the emperor Adrian. It is his well-known saying: “A prince ought to resemble the sun: he ought to shine on every part of his dominion, and to diffuse his salutary rays in every place where he comes.” And his life was a comment upon his word; wherever he went he was executing justice and showing mercy. Was not he, then, at the close of a long life, full of immortal hope? We are able to answer this from unquestionable authority,—from his own dying words. How inimitably pathetic!

Which the English reader may see translated into our own language, with all the spirit of the original:—

“Poor, little, pretty, fluttering thing,  
Must we no longer live together?  
And dost thou prune thy trembling wing  
To take thy flight, thou know'st not whither?”

“Thy pleasing vein, thy humorous folly,  
Lies all neglected, all forgot!  
And pensive, wavering, melancholy,  
Thou hop'st, and fear'st, thou know'st not what.”

Reason, however cultivated and improved, cannot produce the love of God; which is plain from hence: it cannot produce either faith or hope; from which alone this love can flow. It is then only, when we “behold” by faith “what manner of love the Father hath bestowed

upon us," in giving His only Son that we might not perish, but have everlasting life, that "the love of God is shed abroad in our heart by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." It is only then, when we "rejoice in hope of the Glory of God," that "we love Him because He first loved us." But what can cold reason do in this matter? It may present us with fair ideas; it can draw a fine picture of love: but this is only a painted fire. And further than this reason cannot go. I made the trial for many years. I collected the finest hymns, prayers and meditations which I could find in any language; and I said, sang, or read them over and over, with all possible seriousness and attention. But still I was like the bones in Ezekiel's vision: "The skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them."

And as reason cannot produce the love of God, so neither can it produce the love of our neighbour; a calm, generous, disinterested benevolence to every child of man. This earnest, steady good-will to our fellow-creatures never flowed from any fountain but gratitude to our Creator. And if this be (as a very ingenious man supposes) the very essence of virtue, it follows that virtue can have no being, unless it spring from the love of God. Therefore, as reason cannot produce this love, so neither can it produce virtue.

And as it cannot give either faith, hope, love, or virtue, so it cannot give happiness; since, separate from these, there can be no happiness for any intelligent creature. It is true, those who are void of all virtue may have pleasures, such as they are; but happiness they have not, cannot have. No:—

"Their joy is all sadness; their mirth is all vain;  
Their laughter is madness; their pleasure is pain!"

Pleasures? Shadows! dreams! fleeting as the wind! unsubstantial as the rainbow! as unsatisfying to the poor gasping soul,

"As the gay colours of an eastern cloud."

None of these will stand the test of reflection: if thought comes, the bubble breaks!

### "SACRA FAMES AURI"

(From a Sermon on I. Timothy vi. 9).

**O** YE Methodists, hear the word of the Lord! I have a message from God to all men, but to you above all. For above forty years I have been a servant to you and to your fathers. And I have not been as a reed shaken with the wind; I have not varied in my



testimony. I have testified to you the very same thing, from the first day even unti' now. But "who hath believed our report?" I fear not many rich; I fear there is need to apply to some of you those terrible words of the apostle: "Go to now, ye rich men! weep and howl, for the miseries which shall come upon you. Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall witness against you, and shall eat your flesh, as it were fire." Certainly it will, unless you both save all you can, and give all you can. But who of you hath considered this, since you first heard the will of the Lord concerning it? Who is now determined to consider and practise it? By the grace of God, begin to-day!

O ye lovers of money, hear the word of the Lord! Suppose ye that money, though multiplied as the sand of the sea, can give happiness? Then you are "given up to a strong delusion to believe a lie;"—a palpable lie, confuted daily by a thousand experiments! Open your eyes! Look all around you! Are the richest men the happiest? Have those the largest share of content who have the largest possessions? Is not the very reverse true? Is it not a common observation, that the richest of men are, in general, the most discontented, the most miserable? Had not the far greater part of them more content, when they had less money? Look into your own breasts. If you are increased in goods, are you proportionally increased in happiness? You have more substance; but have you more content? You know that in seeking happiness from riches, you are only striving to drink out of empty cups. And let them be painted and gilded ever so finely, they are empty still.

O ye that desire or endeavour to be rich, hear ye the word of the Lord! Why should ye be stricken any more? Will not even experience teach you wisdom? Will ye leap into a pit with your eyes open? Why should any more "fall into temptation?" It cannot be but temptation will beset you, as long as you are in the body. But though it should beset you on every side, why will you enter into it? There is no necessity for this: it is your own voluntary act and deed. Why should you any more plunge yourselves into a snare, into the trap Satan has laid for you, that is ready to break your bones in pieces; to crush your soul to death? After fair warning, why should you sink any more into "foolish and hurtful desires?" desires as inconsistent with reason as they are with religion itself; desires that have done you more hurt already than all the treasures upon earth can countervail.

Have they not hurt you already, have they not wounded you in the tenderest part, by slackening if not utterly destroying your "hunger and thirst after righteousness?" Have you now the same longing that you had once for the whole image of God? Have you the same vehement desire as you formerly had, of "going on unto perfection?"

Have they not hurt you by weakening your faith? Have you now faith's abiding impression, realizing things to come? Do you endure in all temptations, from pleasure or pain, "seeing Him that is invisible?" Have you every day, and every hour, an uninterrupted sense of His presence? Have they not hurt you with regard to your hope? Have you now a hope full of immortality? Are you still big with earnest expectation of all the great and precious promises? Do you now "taste the powers of the world to come?" Do you "sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus?"

Have they not so hurt you as to stab your religion to the heart? Have they not cooled, if not quenched, your love to God? This is easily determined. Have you the same delight in God which you once had? Can you now say:—

" I nothing want beneath, above ;  
Happy, happy in thy love " ?

I fear not. And if your love of God is in anywise decayed, so is also your love of your neighbour. You are then hurt in the very life and spirit of your religion! If you lose love, you lose all.

Are not you hurt with regard to your humility? If you are increased in goods, it cannot well be otherwise. Many will think you a better, because you are a richer man : and how can you help thinking so yourself? especially, considering the commendations which some will give you in simplicity and many with a design to serve themselves of you.

If you are hurt in your humility, it will appear by this token : you are not so teachable as you were, not so advisable ; you are not so easy to be convinced, not so easy to be persuaded ; you have a much better opinion of your own judgment, and are more attached to your own will. Formerly one might guide you with a thread ; now one cannot turn you with a cart rope. You were glad to be admonished or reprov'd ; but that time is past. And you now account a man your enemy because he tells you the truth. Oh, let each of you calmly consider this, and see if it be not your own picture !

Are you not equally hurt, with regard to your meekness? You had once learned an excellent lesson of Him that was meek as well as lowly in heart. When you were reviled you reviled not again. You did not return railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing. Your love was not provoked but enabled you on all occasions to overcome evil with good. Is this your case now? I am afraid not. I fear you cannot "bear all things." Alas, it may rather be said, you can bear nothing ; no injury, nor even affront ! How quickly are you ruffled ! How readily does that

occur, "What ! to use me so ! What insolence is this ! How did he dare to do it ? I am not now what I was once. Let him know, I am now able to defend myself." You mean to revenge yourself. And it is much, if you are not willing, as well as able ; if you do not take your fellow-servant by the throat.

You are so deeply hurt that you have nigh lost your zeal for works of mercy as well as of piety. You once pushed on through cold or rain, or whatever cross lay in your way, to see the poor, the sick, the distressed. You went about doing good, and found out those who were not able to find you. You cheerfully crept down into their cellars, and climbed up to their garrets,—

" To supply all their wants,

And spend and be spent in assisting his saints."

You found out every scene of human misery, and assisted according to your power :—

" Each form of woe your generous pity moved ;

Your Saviour's face you saw, and, seeing, loved."

Do you now tread in the same steps ? What hinders ? Do you fear spoiling your silken coat ? Or is there another lion in the way ? Are you afraid of catching vermin ? And are you not afraid lest the roaring lion should catch you ? Are you not afraid of Him that hath said : " Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, ye have not done it unto me." What will follow ? " Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels ! "

### ON DRESSING FOR DISPLAY

(From a Sermon on I. Peter iii. 3, 4).

**T**HE question is : What harm does it do to adorn ourselves with gold or pearls, or costly array, suppose you can afford it ; that is, suppose it does not hurt or impoverish your family ? The first harm it does is, it engenders pride, and where it is already, increases it. Whoever narrowly observes what passes in his own heart will easily discern this. Nothing is more natural than to think ourselves better because we are dressed in better clothes ; and it is scarcely possible for a man to wear costly apparel without, in some measure, valuing himself upon it. One of the old heathens was so well apprised of this that when he has a spite to a poor man, and had a mind to turn his head, he made him a present of a suit of fine clothes.

He could not then but imagine himself to be as much better as he was finer than his neighbour. And how many thousands, not only lords and gentlemen in England, but honest tradesmen, argue the same way ? inferring the superior value of their persons from the value of their clothes !

“ But may not one man be as proud, though clad in sackcloth, as another is, though clad of gold ? ” As this argument meets us at every turn, and is supposed to be unanswerable, it will be worth while to answer it once for all, and to show the utter emptiness of it. “ May not, then, one clad in sackcloth,” you ask, “ be as proud as he that is clad in cloth of gold : ” I answer : Certainly he may : I suppose no one doubts of it. And what inference can you draw from this ? Take a parallel case. One man that drinks a cup of wholesome wine may be as sick as another that drinks poison ; but does this prove that the poison has no more tendency to hurt a man than the wine ? Or does it excuse any man for taking what has a natural tendency to make him sick ? Now, to apply : Experience shows that fine clothes have a natural tendency to make a man sick of pride ; plain clothes have not. Although it is true, you may be sick of pride in these also, yet they have no natural tendency either to cause or increase this sickness. Therefore, all that desire to be clothed with humility, abstain from that poison.

The wearing gay or costly apparel naturally tends to breed and increase vanity. By vanity I here mean the love and desire of being admired and praised. Everyone of you that is fond of dress has a witness of this in your own bosom. Whether you will confess it before man or not, you are convinced of this before God. You know in your hearts, it is with a view to be admired that you thus adorn yourselves ; and that you would not be at the pains were none to see you but God and His holy angels. Now the more you indulge this foolish desire, the more it grows upon you. You have vanity enough by nature ; but by thus indulging it, you increase it a hundredfold. Oh, stop ! Aim at pleasing God alone, and all these ornaments will drop off.

. . . . .

Gay and costly apparel directly tends to create and inflame lust. I was in doubt whether to name this brutal appetite ; or, in order to spare delicate ears, to express it by some gentle circumlocution,—like the Dean who, some years ago, told his audience at Whitehall : “ if you do not repent, you will go to a place which I have too much manners to name before this good company.” But I think it best to speak out ; since the more the word shocks your ears, the more it may arm your heart. The fact is plain and undeniable ; it has effect both on the wearer and

the beholder. To the former, our elegant poet Cowley addresses those fine lines—

“Th’ adorning thee with so much art  
Is but a barbarous skill ;  
’Tis like the poisoning of a dart,  
Too apt before to kill.”

That is,—to express the matter in plain terms, without any colouring,—  
“You poison the beholder with far more of this base appetite than otherwise he would feel.” Did you not know this would be the natural consequence of your elegant adorning? To push the question home: Did you not desire, did you not design, it should? And yet, all the time how did you—

“Set to public view  
A specious face of innocence and virtue!”

Meanwhile, you do not yourself escape the snare which you spread for others. The dart recoils, and you are infected with the same poison with which you infected them. You kindle a flame which at the same time consumes both yourself and your admirers. And it is well, if it does not plunge both you and them into the flames of hell!

The wearing of costly array is directly opposite to the being adorned with good works. Nothing can be more evident than this; for the more you lay out on your own apparel, the less you have left to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to lodge the strangers, relieve those that are sick and in prison, and to lessen the numberless afflictions to which we are exposed in this vale of tears. And here is no room for the evasion used before: “I may be as humble in cloth of gold, as in sackcloth.” If you could be as humble when you choose costly as when you choose plain apparel,—which I flatly deny,—yet you could not be as beneficent—as plenteous in good works. Every shilling which you save from your own apparel you may expend in clothing the naked and relieving the various necessities of the poor whom ye “have always with you.” Therefore, every shilling which you needlessly spend on your apparel is, in effect, stolen from God and the poor. And how many precious opportunities of doing good have you defrauded yourself of! How often have you disabled yourself from doing good by purchasing what you did not want! For what end did you buy these ornaments? To please God? No: but to please your own fancy, or to gain the admiration and applause of those that were no wiser than yourself. How much good might you have done with that money! and what an irreparable loss have you sustained by not doing it, if it be true that the day is at hand when “every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour!”

## GEORGE WHITEFIELD

(1714-1770).

**G**EORGE WHITEFIELD, one of the greatest extemporaneous orators of modern times, preached his first sermon at Gloucester in 1736, and his formidable appeals to their consciousness of wrong-doing are said to have "driven fifteen persons mad." In view of this assertion of what is generally accepted as a fact, the reader must judge the extent to which it is a misfortune that Whitefield's written sermons do not at all represent his power as an extemporaneous speaker. It is said by one of his critics that "his printed works convey a totally inadequate idea of his oratorical powers, and are all in fact below mediocrity." While "The Kingdom of God," here used to represent him, does not deserve this sweeping condemnation, it is certainly not equal in force or style to the average sermons of his great associate, Wesley, whom as an extemporaneous speaker he certainly surpassed. Whitefield was born in Gloucester in 1714. He began life as potboy in an inn, kept by his parents in Gloucester, and it is said that in his youth he was addicted to Sabbath-breaking, card-playing and other vicious practices. At eighteen, however, he became more sober-minded, and entering Oxford as a servitor of Pembroke College, he came under the influence of the Wesleys. He preached eighteen thousand times during the thirty-four years of his ministry, visiting almost every town in England, Scotland, and Wales, and crossing the Atlantic seven times back and forth between England and America. He died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, September 30th, 1770.

### THE KINGDOM OF GOD

(Sermon on Romans xiv. 17).

**T**HE kingdom of God is "righteousness." By righteousness we are here to understand the complete, perfect, and all-sufficient righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ, as including both his active and his passive obedience. My dear friends, we have no righteousness of our own; our best righteousness, take it altogether, is but so many filthy rags; we can only be accepted for the sake of the righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ. This righteousness must be imputed and made

over to us, and applied to our hearts ; and till we get righteousness brought home to our souls, we are in a state of death and damnation,—the wrath of God abideth on us.

Before I go further, I would endeavour to apply this. Give me leave to put this question to your hearts. You call yourselves Christians, and would count me uncharitable to call it in question ; but I exhort you to let conscience speak out,—do not bribe it any longer. Did you ever see yourselves as damned sinners. Did conviction ever fasten upon your hearts ? And after you had been made to see your want of Christ, and made to hunger and thirst after righteousness, did you lay hold on Christ by faith ? Did you ever close with Christ ? Was Christ's righteousness ever put upon your naked souls ? Was ever a feeling application of his righteousness made to your hearts ? Was it, or was it not ? If not, you are in a damnable state,—you are out of Christ ; for the Apostle says here : “ The kingdom of God is righteousness ” ; that is, the righteousness of Christ applied and brought home to the heart.

It follows “ peace.” “ The kingdom of God is righteousness and peace.” By peace I do not understand that false peace, or rather carnal security, into which so many are fallen. There are thousands who speak peace to themselves when there is no peace. Thousands have got a peace of the devil's making ; the strong man armed has got possession of their hearts, and therefore their goods are all in peace. But the peace here spoken of is a peace that follows after a great deal of soul trouble ; it is like that calm which the Lord Jesus Christ spoke to the wind : “ Peace, be still ; and immediately there was a great calm ; ” it is like that peace which Christ spoke to his disciples when he came and said : “ Peace be unto you,”—“ My peace I leave with you.” It is a peace of God's making, it is a peace of God's giving, it is a peace that the world cannot give, it is a peace that can be felt, it is a peace that passeth human understanding,—it is a peace that results from a sense of having Christ's righteousness brought home to the soul. For a poor soul before this is full of trouble ; Christ makes application of his righteousness to his heart ; and then the poor creature, being justified by faith, hath peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. My dear friends, I am now talking of heart religion, of an inward work of God, an inward kingdom in your hearts, which you must have, or you shall never sit with Jesus Christ in His kingdom. The most of you may have peace, but for Christ's sake examine upon what this peace is founded—see if Christ be brought home to your souls, if you have had a feeling application of the merits of Christ brought home to your souls. Is God at peace with you ? Did Jesus Christ ever say, “ Peace be to you ”—“ Be of good cheer ”—“ Go thy way, thy sins are forgiven thee ”—“ My peace I leave with you, my

peace I give unto you ? ” Did God ever bring a comfortable promise with power to your soul ? And after you have been praying, and fearing you would be damned, did you ever feel peace flow in like a river upon your soul so that you could say : Now I know that God is my friend, now I know that Jesus is my Saviour, now I can call him : “ My Lord and my God ; ” now I know that Christ hath not only died for others, but I know that Jesus hath died for me in particular. O my dear friends, it is impossible to tell you the comfort of this peace, and I am astonished (only man’s heart is desperately wicked) how you can have peace one moment and yet not know that God is at peace with you. How can you go to bed this night without this peace ? It is a blessed thing to know when sin is forgiven ; would you not be glad if an angel were to come and tell you so this night.

But there is something more—there is “ joy in the Holy Ghost.” I have often thought that if the Apostle Paul were to come and preach now, he would be reckoned one of the greatest enthusiasts on earth. He talked of the Holy Ghost, of feeling the Holy Ghost ; and so we must all feel it, all experience it, all receive it, or we can never see a Holy God with comfort. We are not to receive the Holy Ghost so as to enable us to work miracles ; for, “ Many will say in that day : We have cast out devils in Thy name, and in Thy name done many wonderful works.” But we must receive the Holy Ghost to sanctify our nature, to purify our hearts, and make us meet for heaven. Unless we are born again, and have the Holy Ghost in our hearts, if we were in heaven we could take no pleasure there. The Apostle not only supposes we must have the Holy Ghost, but he supposes, as a necessary ingredient to make up the kingdom of God in a believer’s heart, that he must have “ joy in the Holy Ghost.” There are a great many, I believe, who think religion is a poor, melancholy thing, and they are afraid to be Christians. But, my dear friends, there is no true joy till you can joy in God and Christ. I know wicked men and men of pleasure will have a little laughter ; but what is it, but like the crackling of a few thorns under a pot ? it makes a blaze, and soon goes out. I know what it is to take pleasure in sin ; but I always found the smart that followed was ten thousand times more hurtful than any gratification I could receive. But they who joy in God have a joy that strangers intermeddle not with—it is a joy that no man can take from them ; it amounts to a full assurance of faith that the soul is reconciled to God through Christ, that Jesus dwells in the heart ; and when the soul reflects on itself, it magnifies the Lord, and rejoices in God its Saviour. Thus we are told that “ Zaccheus received Christ joyfully,” that “ the eunuch went on his way rejoicing,” and that “ the jailer rejoiced in God with all his house.” O my friends,



what joy have they that know their sins are forgiven them ! What a blessed thing is it for a man to look forward and see an endless eternity of happiness before him, knowing that everything shall work together for his good !—it is joy unspeakable and full of glory. Oh, may God make you all partakers of it !

Here, then, we will put the kingdom of God together. It is “righteousness,” it is “peace,” it is “joy in the Holy Ghost.” When this is placed in the heart, God there reigns, God there dwells and walks—the creature is a son or daughter of the Almighty. But, my friends, how few are there here who have been made partakers of this kingdom ! Perhaps the kingdom of the devil, instead of the kingdom of God, is in most of our hearts. This has been a place much favoured of God. May I hope some of you can go along with me and say : “Blessed be God, we have got righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost ?” Have you so ? Then you are kings, though beggars ; you are happy above all men in the world—you have got your heaven in your hearts, and when the crust of your bodies drops, your souls will meet with God, your souls will enter into the world of peace, and you shall be happy with God for evermore. I hope there is none of you who will fear death ; fie for shame, if you do ! What ! afraid to go to Jesus, to your Lord ? You may cry out : “O death, where is thy sting ? O grave, where is thy victory ?” You may go on your way rejoicing, knowing that God is your friend ; die when you will, angels will carry you safe to heaven.

But, oh, how many are here in this churchyard who will be laid in some grave ere long, who are entire strangers to this work of God upon their souls ! My dear friends, I think this is an awful sight. Here are many thousands of souls that must shortly appear with me, a poor creature, in the general assembly of all mankind before God in judgment. God Almighty knows whether some of you may not drop down dead before you go out of the churchyard ; and yet, perhaps, most are strangers to the Lord Jesus Christ in their hearts. Perhaps curiosity has brought you out to hear a poor babbler preach. But, my friends, I hope I came out of a better principle. If I know anything of my heart, I came to promote God’s glory ; and if the Lord should make use of such a worthless worm, such a wretched creature as I am, to do your precious souls good, nothing would rejoice me more than to hear that God makes the foolishness of preaching a means of making many believe. I was long myself deceived with a form of godliness, and I know what it is to be a factor for the devil, to be led captive by the devil at his will, to have the kingdom of the devil in my heart ; and I hope I can say through free grace, I know what it is to have the kingdom of God erected in me. It is God’s goodness that such a poor wretch as I am converted ; though

sometimes when I am speaking of God's goodness I am afraid he will strike me down dead. Let me draw out my soul and heart to you, my dear friends, my dear guilty friends, poor bleeding souls, who must shortly take your last farewell and fly into endless eternity. Let me entreat you to lay these things seriously to heart this night. Now when the Sabbath is over and the evening is drawing near, methinks the very sight is awful (I could almost weep over you, as our Lord did over Jerusalem) to think in how short a time every soul of you must die—some of you to go to heaven and others to go to the devil for evermore.

## WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

(1770-1850).

**W**ILLIAM WORDSWORTH was born at Cockermouth, and educated at Hawkshead and Cambridge. He came of stout yeoman stock, and had both a native's and a poet's sympathy with the dalesmen of the Lakes. The first real expression of the true poetry in him was made in *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), enlarged and prefaced with a long prose defence in 1800. Then came the wonderful *Poems of 1807* in two volumes, *The Excursion* (1814) and later works of less importance. The *Prelude*, a most fascinating autobiographical poem, was finished (or revised) in 1805, but was not published till 1851. Wordsworth, in his youth, was "a man of hope and forward-looking mind," and took a large and serious view of the poet's calling. His doctrine of poetic composition and of the poetic office, stated firmly in the *Lyrical Ballads* preface of 1800, brought on him a good deal of contempt and opposition. How sane his general doctrine was can now be seen.

### POETRY AND SCIENCE

**T**AKING up the subject, then, upon general grounds, I ask what is meant by the word Poet? What is a poet? To whom does he address himself? And what language is to be expected from him? He is a man speaking to men: a man, it is true, endued with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness, who has a greater knowledge of human nature, and a more comprehensive soul, than are supposed to be common among mankind; a man pleased with his own passions and volitions, and who rejoices more than other men in the spirit of life that is in him; delighting to contemplate similar volitions and passions as manifested in the goings-on of the Universe, and habitually impelled to create them where he does not find them. To these qualities he has added a disposition to be affected more than other men by absent things as if they were present; an ability of conjuring up in himself passions, which are indeed far from being the same as those produced by real events, yet (especially in those parts of the general sympathy which are pleasing and delightful) do more nearly resemble

the passions produced by real events, than anything which, from the notions of their own minds merely, other men are accustomed to feel in themselves ; whence, and from practice, he has acquired a greater readiness and power in expressing what he thinks and feels, and especially those thoughts and feelings which, by his own choice, or from the structure of his own mind, arise in him without immediate external excitement.

But, whatever portion of this faculty we may suppose even the greatest Poet to possess, there cannot be a doubt but that the language which it will suggest to him, must, in liveliness and truth, fall far short of that which is uttered by men in real life, under the actual pressure of those passions, certain shadows of which the Poet thus produces, or feels to be produced, in himself.

However exalted a notion we would wish to cherish of the character of a Poet, it is obvious, that, while he describes and imitates passions, his situation is altogether slavish and mechanical, compared with the freedom and power of real and substantial action and suffering. So that it will be the wish of the Poet to bring his feelings near to those of the persons whose feelings he describes, nay, for short spaces of time perhaps, to let himself slip into an entire delusion, and even confound and identify his own feelings with theirs ; modifying only the language which is thus suggested to him, by a consideration that he describes for a particular purpose, that of giving pleasure. Here, then, he will apply the principle on which I have so much insisted, namely, that of selection ; on this he will depend for removing what would otherwise be painful or disgusting in the passion ; he will feel that there is no necessity to trick out or to elevate nature : and, the more industriously he applies this principle, the deeper will be his faith that no words, which his fancy or imagination can suggest, will be to be compared with those which are the emanations of reality and truth.

But it may be said by those who do not object to the general spirit of these remarks, that, as it is impossible for the Poet to produce upon all occasions language as exquisitely fitted for the passion as that which the real passion itself suggests, it is proper that he should consider himself as in the situation of a translator, who deems himself justified when he substitutes excellences of another kind for those which are unattainable by him ; and endeavours occasionally to surpass his original, in order to make some amends for the general inferiority to which he feels that he must submit. But this would be to encourage idleness and unmanly despair. Further, it is the language of men who speak of what they do not understand ; who talk of Poetry as of a matter

of amusement and idle pleasure ; who will converse with us as gravely about a taste for Poetry, as they express it, as if it were a thing as indifferent as a taste for Rope-dancing, or Frontignac or Sherry. Aristotle, I have been told, hath said, that Poetry is the most philosophic of all writing ; it is so : its object is truth, not individual and local, but general, and operative ; not standing upon external testimony, but carried alive into the heart by passion ; truth which is its own testimony, which gives strength and divinity to the tribunal to which it appeals, and receives them from the same tribunal. Poetry is the image of man and nature. The obstacles which stand in the way of the fidelity of the Biographer and Historian, and of their consequent utility, are incalculably greater than those which are to be encountered by the Poet who has an adequate notion of the dignity of his art. The Poet writes under one restriction only, namely, that of the necessity of giving immediate pleasure to a human Being possessed of that information which may be expected from him, not as a lawyer, a physician, a mariner, an astronomer or a natural philosopher, but as a Man. Except this one restriction, there is no object standing between the Poet and the image of things ; between this, and the Biographer and Historian there are a thousand.

Nor let this necessity of producing immediate pleasure be considered as a degradation of the Poet's art. It is far otherwise. It is an acknowledgment of the beauty of the universe, an acknowledgment the more sincere, because it is not formal, but indirect ; it is a task light and easy to him who looks at the world in the spirit of love : further, it is a homage paid to the native and naked dignity of man, to the grand elementary principle of pleasure, by which he knows, and feels, and lives, and moves. We have no sympathy but what is propagated by pleasure : I would not be misunderstood ; but wherever we sympathize with pain it will be found that the sympathy is produced and carried on by subtle combinations with pleasure. We have no knowledge, that is, no general principles drawn from the contemplation of particular facts, but what has been built up by pleasure, and exists in us by pleasure alone. The Man of Science, the Chemist and Mathematician, whatever difficulties and disgusts they may have had to struggle with, know and feel this. However painful may be the objects with which the Anatomist's knowledge is connected, he feels that his knowledge is pleasure ; and where he has no pleasure he has no knowledge. What then does the Poet ? He considers man and the objects that surround him as acting and re-acting upon each other, so as to produce an infinite complexity of pain and pleasure ; he considers man in his own nature and in his ordinary life as contemplating this with a certain quantity

of immediate knowledge, with certain convictions, intuitions, and deductions which by habit become of the nature of intuitions; he considers him as looking upon this complex scene of ideas and sensations, and finding everywhere objects that immediately excite in him sympathies which, from the necessities of his nature, are accompanied by an overbalance of enjoyment.

To this knowledge which all men carry about with them, and to these sympathies in which, without any other discipline than that of our daily life, we are fitted to take delight, the Poet principally directs his attention. He considers man and nature as essentially adapted to each other, and the mind of man as naturally the mirror of the fairest and most interesting qualities of nature. And thus the Poet, prompted by this feeling of pleasure which accompanies him through the whole course of his studies, converses with general nature with affections akin to those, which, through labour and length of time, the Man of Science has raised up in himself, by conversing with those particular parts of nature which are the objects of his studies. The knowledge both of the Poet and the Man of Science is pleasure; but the knowledge of the one cleaves to us as a necessary part of our existence, our natural and unalienable inheritance; the other is a personal and individual acquisition, slow to come to us, and by no habitual and direct sympathy connecting us with our fellow-beings. The Man of Science seeks truth as a remote and unknown benefactor; he cherishes and loves it in his solitude: the Poet, singing a song in which all human beings join with him, rejoices in the presence of truth as our visible friend and hourly companion. Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge: it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all Science. Emphatically may it be said of the Poet, as Shakespeare hath said of man, "that he looks before and after." He is the rock of defence of human nature; an upholder and preserver, carrying everywhere with him relationship and love. In spite of difference of soil and climate, of language and manners, of laws and customs, in spite of things silently gone out of mind and things violently destroyed, the Poet binds together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society, as it is spread over the whole earth, and over all time. The objects of the Poet's thoughts are everywhere; though the eyes and senses of men are, it is true, his favourite guides, yet he will follow wheresoever he can find an atmosphere of sensation in which to move his wings. Poetry is the first and last of all knowledge—it is as immortal as the heart of man. If the labours of Men of Science should ever create any material revolution, direct or indirect, in our condition, and in the impressions which we habitually receive, the Poet will sleep then no more than at

present, but he will be ready to follow the steps of the Man of Science, not only in those general indirect effects, but he will be at his side, carrying sensation into the midst of the objects of the Science itself. The remotest discoveries of the Chemist, the Botanist, or Mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the Poet's art as any upon which it can be employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated by the followers of these respective Sciences shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings. If the time should ever come when what is now called Science, thus familiarized to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the Poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the Being thus produced, as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man. It is not, then, to be supposed that anyone, who holds that sublime notion of Poetry which I have attempted to convey, will break in upon the sanctity and truth of his pictures by transitory and accidental ornaments, and endeavour to excite admiration of himself by arts, the necessity of which must manifestly depend upon the assumed meanness of his subject.

## JOHN WYCLIF

(c. 1324-1384).

**J**OHN WYCLIF, who has been called the "Morning Star of the Reformation," made about 1382 the first complete translation of the Bible ever made into English. He may be called the father of English prose in a more literal sense than that in which Chaucer is usually spoken of as the father of English poetry, for it is through his translation of the Bible that modern English became fixed and distinct from the Anglo-Norman court dialect on the one hand, and the Anglo-Saxon "Middle English" dialects of the common people on the other. He was born near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about 1324, and educated at Oxford, where in 1360 he became Master of Balliol College. Leaving Oxford, he became Rector of a parish in Lincolnshire. After work as a priest in other country parishes, he went to Bruges with John of Gaunt, as an ambassador, and, on his return, settled in London, where his oratory made him at once celebrated among the masses and disliked by the higher orders of the clergy, whose political power he antagonized. From this time until his death, December 31st, 1384, he was involved in constant controversies. In 1425, by order of the synod of Constance, his bones were dug up and burned. The ashes were cast into the Swift, a brook which flows into the Avon. "And thus," says an old writer, "this brook did convey his ashes into the Avon, and the Avon into the Severn, and the Severn into the narrow sea, and this into the wide ocean; so the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine,—it is now dispersed all over the world."

### A RULE FOR DECENT LIVING.

**I**F thou be a lord, look thou live a rightful life in thine own person, both anent God and man, keeping the hests of God, doing the works of mercy, ruling well thy five wits, and doing reason and equity and good conscience to all men. The second time, govern well thy wife, thy children, and thy homely men in God's law, and suffer no sin among them, neither in word nor in deed, upon thy might, that they may be



ensamples of holiness and righteousness to all other. For thou shalt be damned for their evil life and thine evil sufferance, but if thou amend it upon thy might. The third time, govern well thy tenants, and maintain them in right and reason and be merciful to them in their rents and worldly merriments, and suffer not thy officers to do them wrong nor extortions, and chastise in good manner them that be rebel against God's hests and virtuous living, more than for rebellion against thine own cause or person. And hold with God's cause, and love, reward, praise, and cherish the true and virtuous of life more than if they do only thine own profit and worship; and maintain truly, upon thy cunning and might, God's law and true preachers thereof, and God's servants in rest and peace, for by this reason thou holdest thy lordship of God. And if thou failest of this, thou forfeitest against God in all thy lordship, in body and soul; principally if thou maintainest Anti-christ's disciples in their errors against Christ's life and his teaching, for blindness and worldly friendship, and helpst to slander and pursue true men that teach Christ's gospel and his life. And warn the people of their great sins, and of false priests and hypocrites that deceive Christian men, in faith and virtuous life, and worldly goods also.

If thou be a labourer, live in meekness, and truly and wilfully do thy labour; that if thy lord or thy master be a heathen man, that thy meekness and wilful and true service, he have not to murmur against thee, nor slander thy God nor Christendom. And serve not Christian lords with murmuring, not only in their presence, but truly and wilfully in their absence, not only for worldly dread nor worldly reward, but for dread of God and good conscience, and for reward in heaven. For that God that putteth thee in such service wots what state is best for thee, and will reward thee more than all earthly lords may, if thou dost it truly and wilfully for his ordinance. And in all things beware of murmuring against God and his visitation, in great labour and long, and great sickness and other adversities, and beware of wrath, of cursing and warring, or banning, of man or of beast. And ever keep patience and meekness and charity both to God and to man. And thus each man in these three states oweth to live, to save himself and help others; and thus should good life, rest, peace, and charity be among Christian men, and they be saved, and heathen men soon converted, and God magnified greatly in all nations and sects that now despise Him and His law, for the wicked living of false Christian men.

## GOOD LORE FOR SIMPLE FOLK

(From a Sermon on Luke v. 1).

**T**HE story of this Gospel telleth good lore, how prelates should teach folk under them. The story is plain, how Christ stood by the river of Gennesaret, and fishers came down to wash therein their nets; and Christ went up into a boat that was Simon's and prayed him to move it a little from the land, and He sat and taught the people out of the boat. And when Christ ceased to speak, He said to Simon, lead the boat into the high sea, and let out your nets to taking of fish. And Simon answering said to him: "Commander, all the night travailling took we naught; but in Thy word shall I loose the net." And when they had done this, they took a plenteous multitude of fish, and their net was broken. But they beckoned to their fellows that were in the other boat to come and help them; and they came and filled both boats of fish, so that well nigh were they both dreynt. And when Peter had seen this wonder, he fell down at Jesus' knee, and said: "Lord, go from me for I am a sinful man." For Peter held him not worthy to be with Christ, nor dwell in His company; for wonder came to them all in taking of these fishes. And so wondered James and John, Zebedee's sons, that were Simon's fellows. And Jesus said to Simon: "From this time shalt thou be taking men." And they set their boats to the land, and forsook all that they had, and sued Christ.

Before we go to spiritual understanding of this Gospel, we shall wit that the same Christ's Disciple that was first cleped Simon, was cleped Peter after of Christ, for sadness of belief that he took of Christ, which Christ is a corner-stone, and groundeth all truth. Over this we shall understand that the Apostles were cleped of Christ in many degrees; first they were cleped and accepted to be Christ's Disciples; and yet they turned again, as Christ himself ordained, to live in the world. After they were cleped to see Christ's miracles, and to be more homely with Him than they were before; but yet they turned again to the world by times, and lived worldly life, to profit of folk that they dwelt with. And in this wise Peter, James, and John went now to fish. But the third cleping and the most was this—that the Apostles forsook wholly the world and worldly things, and turned not again to worldly life, as after this miracle Peter and his fellows sued Christ continually. It is no need to dip us in this story more than the Gospel telleth, as it is no need to busy us what hight Tobies' hound. Hold we us appeased in the measure.

that God hath given us, and dream we not about new points that the Gospel leaveth, for this is a sin of curiosity that harmeth more than profiteth. The story of this Gospel telleth us ghostly wit, both of life of the Church and meedful works, and this should we understand, for it is more precious. Two fishings that Peter fished betokeneth two takings of men unto Christ's religion, and from the fiend to God. In this first fishing was the net broken, to token that many men be converted, and after break Christ's religion; but at the second fishing, after the resurrection, when the net was full of many great fishes, was not the net broken, as the Gospel saith; for that betokeneth saints that God chooseth to heaven. And so these nets that fishers fish with betokeneth God's law, in which virtues and truths be knitted; and other properties of nets tell properties of God's law; and void places between knots betokeneth life of kind, that men have beside virtues. And four cardinal virtues be figured by knitting of nets. The net is broad in the beginning, and after strait in the end, to teach that men, when they be turned first, live a broad worldly life; but afterward, when they be dipped in God's law, they keep them straitlier from sins. These fishers of God should wash their nets in his river, for Christ's preachers should chevely tell God's law, and not meddle with man's law, that is troubled water; for man's law containeth sharp stones and trees, by which the net of God is broken and fishes wend out to the world. And this betokeneth Gennesaret, that is, a wonderful birth, for the birth by which a man is born of water and of the Holy Ghost is much more wonderful than man's kindly birth. Some nets be rotten, some have holes, and some be unclean for default of washing; and thus on three manners faileth the word of preaching. And matter of this net and breaking thereof gives men great matter to speak God's word, for virtues and vices and truths of the Gospel be matter enough to preach to the people.

### CONCERNING A GRAIN OF CORN

(*Nisi granum frumenti.*—John xii. 24).

**P**HILOSOPHERS doubt, whether (the) seed loseth his form when it is made a new thing, as the Gospel speaketh here; and some men think nay, for sith the same quantity or quality or virtue that was first in seed, liveth after in the fruit, as a child is often like to his father or his mother, or else to his eld father, after that the virtue lasteth,—and sith all these be accidents, that may not dwell without subject,—it seemeth that the same body is first seed and after fruit, and thus

it may oft change from seed to fruit and again. Here many, cleped philosophers, glaver diversely ; but in this matter God's law speaketh thus, as did eld clerks, that the substance of a body is before that it be seed, and now fruit and now seed, and now quick and now dead. And thus many forms must be together in one thing, and specially when the parts of that thing be meddled together ; and thus the substance of a body is now of one kind and now of another. And so both these accidents, quality and quantity, must dwell in the same substance, all if it be changed in kinds, and thus this same thing that is now a wheat corn shall be dead and turn to grass, and after to many corns. But variance in words in this matter falleth to clerks, and showing of equivocation the which is more ready in Latin ; but it is enough to us to put that, the same substance is now quick and now dead, and now seed and now fruit ; and so that substance that is now a wheat corn must needs die before that it is made grass, and sith be made a whole ear. And thus speaketh Holy Writ and no man can disprove it. Error of freres in this matter is not here to rehearse, for it is enough to tell how they err in belief.



